



SECURITY COUNCIL SOUTH SUDAN

A GATEWAY TO A PEACEFUL FUTURE



MAKE THE WORLD YOURS

**HEIDELBERG NATIONAL
MODEL UNITED NATIONS
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STUDY GUIDE**

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Welcome to Heidelberg National MUN 2013!

We are honored to welcome you to Heidelberg National Model United Nations 2013. Two days of intense negotiations and high quality debates are waiting for you, in which you will seize your chance for change by taking a deep dive into a nation's perspectives in global context. Not only will you learn the skills to negotiate your way through highly entangled issues, but you will also join your peers in going beyond the modeling of the United Nations through the confrontation with real world issues.

The University of Heidelberg has a rich history with regard to Model United Nations, beginning with the first participation of a delegation in Harvard WorldMUN 1999. Since then, the student initiative WorldMUN Heidelberg has sent a delegation to every single Harvard WorldMUN conference, as well as to some editions of NationalMUN in New York.

The expertise to host a MUN conference in Heidelberg dates back to Harvard WorldMUN in 2003, which was proudly organized and held in Heidelberg. In 2011, the first Heidelberg National MUN conference was held, aiming to make the MUN spirit and the associated learning opportunities accessible to more students in Heidelberg and beyond, and to provide a platform for the national and international MUN community to gather and prepare for the international conferences at the venerable University of Heidelberg, all while sharing the experiences and the knowledge of one of Germany's most well established MUN initiatives.

After the second edition of Heidelberg National MUN in 2012, this third run of the conference was designed both to match previous delegates' hopes for a two-day event, as well as to feature a small sized single delegate and a large sized double delegate committee for a conference experience tailored to each delegate's preferences.

Heidelberg National MUN 2013 also encourages all delegates to go beyond the committee work. Not only do we encourage you to meet and stay in touch with your Co-Delegates, for example through taking a deep dive into the "Carnival of Cultures", an evening event celebrating the colorful spectrum of cultures that nations represented in the United Nations contribute to the world community, we also encourage you to transform your theoretical consideration from the committee room into real-world impact. In supporting our social initiative ShareHealth!, aiming to improve the dental health of children in Ukraine and Ecuador, you can take a first step towards making your own impact. Our honorable guest speaker, Dr. Ashis Brahma (Apeldoorn, Netherlands) will share with you his experiences as a refugee camp manager and hospital director in Chad, encouraging you further to take your chance for change.

We are looking forward to sharing lively debates with you during the conference days, to stress-free conversations in the breaks, and to breathtaking performances during the Carnival of Cultures.

Your Heidelberg National MUN team,
Rima-Maria Rahal, Tobias Henz & Lutz Mager

Welcome to the Security Council!

Honorable Delegates,

It is my distinct pleasure to welcome you both to Heidelberg National MUN 2013 and to the simulation of the United Nations Security Council. I am honored to serve as your chair for this outstanding committee, where you will have the chance to spend two days of negotiating with your fellow delegates who are equally enthusiastic about our committee and our topic. As a selected member of this committee, I am certain that you will do your best to represent the country you have been assigned as diplomatically as possible, researching your position thoroughly and joining the conference days with a clear focus to bring the committee as a whole forward.

During our two days of negotiating, we will tackle an issue that lies at the core of humankind - peace and security. It is only suitable that this core issue be discussed in this council, so that sustainable and comprehensive solutions can be reached and immediate action can be agreed upon. The Security Council with its extensive competencies to establish peacekeeping operations and international sanctions, and to authorize military actions, offers a unique forum for the conjoint drafting of a resolution that can bring about great change. This change is needed in the region surrounding and including South Sudan. The emergence of the Republic of South Sudan as an independent country has seen a quarrelsome history, with millions of people dying or becoming displaced. It is your challenge to take your chance for change, and to forge it into an agreement that can facilitate a gateway to a peaceful future for South Sudan, the surrounding region and the world community at large.

To support you in your quest to seize this challenge, this study guide has been composed to help you in the initial phase of your preparation, and to guide you towards key issues that could be addressed in a resolution. I hope you find it a helpful starting point.

Warmest,

Rima-Maria Rahal

Introduction to the Problem

The emergence of the Republic of South Sudan as an independent country has seen a quarrelsome history, with millions of people dying or becoming displaced. Following the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement and a referendum in which 99% of the population voted for a split from Sudan, ultimately leading to the declaration of independence of the Republic of South Sudan in July 2011, the young nation has still not found peace. On the contrary, ethnic conflicts manifested in cattle-raids are raging, several boarder conflicts and disputes over water and grazing rights give rise to yet more instability. Despite its abundant oil reserves, fertile grounds and first investments into the underdeveloped infrastructure of the landlocked country, South Sudan is still among the poorest nations in the world, with half of the population below the poverty line.

Challenges for the Security Council

The Security Council is facing the need for immediate action to support the South Sudanese people in multifaceted areas. Although there are two ongoing peace keeping missions in the region, settlements of the ongoing national and international conflicts need to be achieved. Moreover, the improvement of the South Sudanese humanitarian situation and the development of stability as well as a democratic and economically fruitful environment remain challenges to be solved.

Difficulties

The situation in Sudan is complicated by the long history of the conflict, and the multitudinous sources of conflict that can be identified. The situation in the Sudan region is at once a religious, an ethnic and an economic conflict.

Historical Background

Roots of the Conflict

The unrest in the Sudanese region can be traced back in history to the end of the 19th century, when Sudan was under the reign of a Turco-Egyptian administration dating back to a conquest of the Egyptian ruler in 1821. Although much needed improvements of the infrastructure in Sudan were granted under the Egyptian rule and the production of cotton flourished, a restructuring of the administration put corruption and mismanagement into place. The Sudanese people suffered from this administration and from the rise of other external factors, such that a revolt arose in 1881. After the brief Mahdiah rule of the winners of the revolt, which put the Sudanese people under more regional tensions, the Mahdists were defeated and Sudan effectively became a British colony, although it was officially governed by Egypt. In the period of the Anglo-Egyptian rule, Sudan was already effectively governed as a country split in half: the northern, Muslim region was considered different from the southern, Christian region of Sudan, and treated as such. The South Sudanese population lacked confidence in the northerners because the Arabs from the northern territories had traded the predominantly African southerners as slaves in the nineteenth century. To protect the southerners from the north, “the south had been kept as a 'closed district' to the northerners; while Christian missionaries had a free hand, the Arabic language and Islam were both strongly discouraged”¹. However, this protectionism and non-cooperation left the south underdeveloped both in economics and in education, and gave further rise to separatist ideals.

Sudanese independence - with little regard for the south

In the wake of the Egyptian revolution of 1952, in which the Egyptians sought to free themselves from the British rule, the Sudanese rose for their their independence from Egypt and Britain. After several years of tension, the Sudanese were granted a vote to decide on their independence. Consequently, the British withdrew and Sudan became independent in 1956. However, to the people in the southern territories of Sudan “the attainment of independence, in which they did not play any major part, was no more than a change of British domination for that of the northern Sudanese”². The southern Sudanese strived to make their voice heard in the Sudanese Parliament. However, their issues received only little political attention in lower bodies of the government, leaving the southerners wary and dissatisfied³.

Internal unrest and Civil war

Thus, reaching independence did not guarantee for internal stability in Sudan. Rather, more than a decade of unrest followed, kindled in 1958, when a military coup overthrew the elected civilian government. Four year later, the military government had - in the eyes of many - failed, and the politicians were accused of nepotism and misuse of funds.

*Indeed, with the exception of the illegal Communist party and to a lesser extent the Muslim Brothers, none offered a convincing ideological approach to the problems of the day. It was on these two organisations, by and large, that the mantle of opposition fell; they approached this task by infiltrating among the students, the workers, the tenants, and the professional associations. These pressure groups continued in their respective fields to harass the military regime until it collapsed.*⁴

Civil war broke out in the southern regions of Sudan, led by the Anya Nya (Madi: *snake venom*) movement, a separatist rebel army. In 1964, the military government was overthrown in the “October Revolution” by a united front of opposition from Muslims, communists and others, and replaced by a predominantly Muslim government, again leaving the voice of the southerners largely unheard.

Finally peace - Addis Ababa Accords

With the country rattled by two more coups in 1969 and 1971, the Addis Ababa Accords⁵ between the current government and the Anya Nya separatist group from the south seemed like a beam of hope. The civil war was ended, and the southern region of Sudan was established as the Southern Sudan Autonomous Region, granting the people a some degree of autonomy and self-governance. This agreement was also incorporated into the constitution of Sudan.

Oil!- The second civil war

The Addis Ababa Accords brought peace to Sudan for almost a decade. However, with the discovery of oil along the north-south border and in the Southern Sudan Autonomous Region beginning in 1978, the situation changed again for the worse. The debate over the rights to exploit the southern Sudanese oil resources let tempers flare. The situation became more and more unstable, and the influence of Muslim fundamentalists who challenged the Addis Ababa Agreements increased. Finally, all of Sudan was declared an Islamic state under the law of Sharia in 1983, and the Southern Sudan Autonomous Region was abolished. Following these crucial steps, the second Sudanese civil war broke out in 1983. The Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) fought the Sudanese government, aiming to reestablish an autonomous southern Sudan and to liberate all oppressed Sudanese people, no matter whether in the north or in the south.

The civil war raged for twenty-two years, becoming the longest civil war in African history, and costing the lives of one to two million people, affecting not only those actively engaged in the fighting, both seasoned soldiers and child soldiers, but also civilians who died of starvation and drought. In this dire situation, more than 4 million people in the south of Sudan were displaced and fled their homes. The civil war spread to the western Sudanese region of Darfur, where Arabs were accused of apartheid campaigns and ethnic cleansing against the African Sudanese people by UN officials. More and more people fled Sudan, many of them leaving for Chad, which was already struggling with internal conflicts.

The way to peace - Independence for South Sudan

There was little room for negotiation in the nineteen years that the war raged on between 1983 and 2002. It was only in 2002 that a somewhat lasting cease fire was forged, marking the beginning of peace talks.

Making progress since 2003, the peace talks between the Sudanese government and rebels weathered several years of continued unrest and further escalation in Darfur. Finally culminating in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005, the civil war was ended and terms for the future of Sudan were agreed on, indicating that wealth and power would be shared. An interim solution was created for the south of Sudan, which received autonomy for six years and was granted the right to a referendum on independence in 2011. In these six years, the revenues from the exploitation of oil reserves were divided

equally between the government and the SPLA. Employment opportunities in administration were divided among the parties, although favoring the government. Moreover, the Sharia was applied only in the north, whereas the south would have an elected assembly to decide on the legislative system. In 2011, South Sudan declared its independence from Sudan after a referendum in which an overwhelming majority voted in favor of the separation.⁶

Foreign interventions

Although the situation in Sudan escalated to a point of a humanitarian catastrophe, although atrocities against civilians have been reported from both sides, and although the conflict raged on for two decades, it initially received comparatively little attention by external observers.

Only in 1989 was an international humanitarian action plan put into place (Operation Lifeline Sudan), which supplied the Sudanese people with food. The aid was extended to 1990, but many donors wavered in their support because of the human rights abuses reported from Sudan and the Sudanese government's support of Iraq in the Gulf War. In 2000 and 2001, when droughts struck the country, more food donations were sent to Sudan.

The Sudan conflict was not addressed in any of the Security Council Resolutions between 1983 and 1996. Only in Resolution 1044, Sudan was called on to deliver several suspects associated with an assassination attempt directed at the Egyptian president Mubarak, Resolutions 1054 and 1069 imposed sanctions on Sudan for the non-compliance with this call, which were only terminated in Resolution 1372 (28 September 2001). The Sudan conflict is not the topic of any other resolution until 2004.

Only when the situation in Darfur, a relatively late addition to the Sudanese conflict, escalated such that the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator Jan Egeland referred to the Darfur situation as "one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world"⁷ and US Secretary of State Collin Powell referred to it as genocide⁸ did the machinery of UN intervention fully kick into gear. Humanitarian help was delivered, and the investigation of human rights violations in Darfur began (Security Council Resolution 1564, 18 September 2004).

Regarding sanctions, the Security Council imposed an arms embargo non-governmental entities and individuals in Darfur (Security Council Resolution 1556, 30 July 2004, which was expanded in scope and added to by a travel ban the freezing of assets on several individuals (e.g., Security Council Resolution 1591, 29 March 2005).

With regard to peace keeping, in the Security Council Resolution 1590 on 24 March 2005, the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) was deployed with the objective to support the implementation of the CPA. After South Sudan reached independence in 2011, it was replaced by the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS, Security Council Resolution 1996, 8 July 2011), charged to consolidate peace and security and to help to establish the conditions necessary for the development of the young nation; and the African Union – United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID, Security

Council Resolution 1769, 31 July 2007), aiming to protecting civilians, to facilitate humanitarian aid and to further the political process in Darfur.

Current Situation

The current situation between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan is aptly described as “not quite war, not quite peace”⁹. Indeed, the international community is increasingly worried that the tensions between the two nations will escalate and bring the whole region to war again so shortly after the CPA. Many fear the CPA may not be a very ‘comprehensive’ or ‘final’ accord, but only a relatively long cease fire. Others expect the status quo to hold, such as John O. Voll, professor of Islamic history at the Georgetown University: “I do not see things improving much and basically think that the current style of destructive but low-level violence will be the order of the day.”¹⁰

In sum, the situation seems to oscillate between threats such as the statement of the Sudanese president Omar Hassan al-Bashir that the South Sudanese government was only an “insect” that he promised to liberate the people from,¹¹ and carefully friendly negotiations, for example with regard to the disputed Abyei area, which are referred to as “going well”.¹² The instability of the relations between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan are based on a multitude of problems in the region.

No real peace and no security - ongoing conflicts

Although the secession of South Sudan was achieved, severe border conflicts between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan are hindering the way to actual peace. The ongoing border conflicts between Sudan and South Sudan not only cause further casualties and problems for civilians in the affected areas, but also devour a substantive part of the budget of both nations. Rebels continue to fight in the disputed Abyei region, in Darfur and in the South Kordofan region.

Most notably, the status of the Abyei region is still hotly debated. Before the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA, Security Council Resolution 1990, 27 June 2011) was deployed to demilitarize Abyei and to monitor the peace process in the region trapped between Sudan and South Sudan, Abyei saw considerable action before and after a ceasefire was negotiated.

Finally, the situation in Darfur remains perilous, causing considerable inner turmoil for the Republic of Sudan. Although given some degree of autonomy under the CPA with the Transitional Darfur Regional Authority until a referendum about the future status of Darfur could be held, the status of Darfur remains unstable to date.

Oil!

The biggest source of tensions between Sudan and South Sudan since the secession is indisputably oil. The rich oil reserves of the region and yet unexploited oil fields are mostly located within the borders of the Republic of South Sudan. During the transitional period after the CPA and before the secession of the Republic of South Sudan, the oil revenues were split equally between the south and the north. After South Sudan became independent, however, negotiations began again.

While the north urged to continue splitting the revenue equally between the two nations, South Sudan wanted better terms, causing many voices in the north to call for seizing the oil fields. The temporary seizing of the northern Sudanese Heglig oil fields by South Sudan in April complicated the matters further.¹³ However, the oil pipelines run through the territory of the Republic of Sudan, causing some distress in the south that the resource that accounts for 98% of their national budget¹⁴ could be illegally tapped. More pressingly, the Republic of Sudan began negotiations on the cost of transporting the oil through their territory and through the oil terminal at Port Sudan. As a landlocked country, South Sudan fully depends on the neighboring north to facilitate its oil transport abroad. However, the transport costs skyrocketed in the complex negotiations, such that the oil revenue for South Sudan reduced dramatically.

In January 2012, after Sudan seized South Sudanese oil tankers to settle allegedly unpaid transport fees,¹⁵ South Sudan suspended the oil production entirely. This suspension that ended only in September 2012¹⁶ came with a plethora of austerity measures, as the major source of the South Sudanese budget had been put on hold. Other than spending cuts and increased taxation driving up prices, food insecurity rose, layoffs and a galloping inflation are feared.¹⁷ In the gamble between the two governments, the people continue to suffer, and international supporters begin to dither.

Internal struggles

South Sudan is facing serious internal tensions between the ethnic groups residing in the territory. Numerous conflicts flame up again and again in South Sudan, comprising cattle raids between the various ethnic groups living together in close vicinity and burnt down villages, leaving hundreds without shelter. In addition to smaller-scale conflicts, large scale destruction of homes and violence against tribes possibly amounting to genocide continue to worsen the situation. The Nuer White Army has been reported to intend to “wipe out the entire Murle tribe on the face of the earth as the only solution to guarantee long-term security of Nuer’s cattle”¹⁸, a statement that is characteristic of the current internal conflict in South Sudan.

Humanitarian situation

Corruption is yet another burden that South Sudan needs to bear. Severe cases of corruption lead to the suspension of 75 senior government officials in June 2012,¹⁹ and to the loss of a considerable sum that would have been needed elsewhere.

Thousands of displaced people have not returned to their homes, and some of them now find themselves living in a nation that is not theirs, being stuck on the ‘wrong side’ of the border, for example in the Nuba mountains.²⁰ While the displaced persons are still a question causing great humanitarian concern, the rest of the population is also facing severe problems. With an urban population of only 20% and 80% of the population residing in rural areas, the underdeveloped infrastructure makes supplying the people with goods they do not produce themselves difficult. This is also problematic with regard to medical care. The people in South Sudan suffer from one of the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates worldwide, and other diseases such as the dengue fever, meningitis, diarrhea, rabies, hepatitis and others continue to pose a large humanitarian problem.

Moreover, South Sudan can be considered as one of the poorest and least developed nations worldwide. More than half of the population live below the poverty line, the maternal mortality rate is exceptionally high, and the literacy rate is among the lowest world-wide, since only 27% of the total population can read. Among women, the percentage of those who can read is only 16% - an indicator for the problematic status quo of women's rights. The underdeveloped infrastructure and the economy resting mainly on oil revenues, agriculture and timber make for a dire look into the future.

Visions for the Future

The situation in the Sudan region is at the tipping point. If the status quo cannot be consolidated and a gateway into a peaceful future cannot be paved soon, the region could collapse into the renewed escalation of the dormant conflict.

Block Positions

Western and Eastern donors

Donors both from a western and from an eastern background contribute greatly to stabilizing the situation in the Sudan region by ensuring that developmental and humanitarian aid can be delivered. However, it must be considered that donors may wish to secure an influential position in the oil-rich region, and that the delivery of aid could also be bound to certain conditions.

Supporters of the Republic of Sudan

The Republic of Sudan is predominantly backed by Arab states, supporting the muslim population

Supporters of the Republic of South Sudan

The Republic of Sudan is predominantly backed by African nations in the region - supporting the largely African population. However, the directly neighboring countries also fear a new wave of refugees in case of a new eruption of the dormant conflict.

Other receiving countries

Other nations also receiving developmental and humanitarian aid may be supportive of the Sudan region and wish for a swift improvement of the situation. However, concurrence with regard to the delivery of aid may be perceived.

Questions a Resolution should answer.

1. How can the internal ethnic conflicts in South Sudan be resolved?
2. How can the humanitarian situation in South Sudan be improved?
3. How can the tension between Sudan and South Sudan be eased?
4. How can the border conflict in the Abyei region be resolved?

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