

Bratislava Model United Nations 2011

UN SECURITY COUNCIL



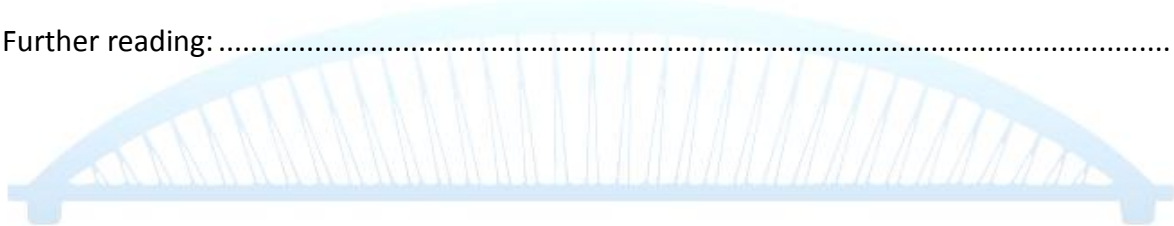
THE SOUTH KORDOFAN CONFLICT

Study Guide

Chair: Richard Svocák

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B R A I M U N
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Letter from the chair

Honourable Delegates,

My name is Richard Svocák and it is my great pleasure and privilege to welcome you at this year's Bratislava Model United Nations. I will be chairing this year's Security Council, and the topic will be the South Kordofan conflict. This study guide consists of information that every delegate is supposed to know. However, further research regarding your country's stance towards the dispute is necessary. Useful links that may help you are provided at the end of the study guide. So I am looking forward to meeting you well prepared at BratMUN 2011. If you need any help, feel free to contact me through email or otherwise.

Richard Svocák, Chair of the UN Security Council



Background

In order to understand the present situation in Sudan (or North and South Sudan), certain information concerning history and the religious, racial and social structure Sudan must be present.

As far as history is concerned, the most important events concerning the present situation occurred in the past 100 years. However, it is also important to mention that in the ancient world, Sudan was the “upper” part of ancient Egypt, and therefore belonged to one of the greatest civilizations of the past. Throughout history, Sudan was a part of many great empires (Roman, Byzantine, Egypt, Persian, Ottoman, and a British colony).

The former native inhabitants of Sudan were Black Africans (Nubians, as the Egyptians called them), but already by the time of ancient Egypt, Arabic people started to migrate into the region, which later brought Sunni Islam into Sudan. Today, 97% of the North Sudanese population are followers of Islam. The inhabitants of South Sudan are mostly Christians, but also a significant 17% Sunni Islam minority is present (Sunni Islam is based on the Sunnah, oral tradition, whereas the Shia recognize only the Quran). What is more important, the South Sudanese president announced that South Sudan is a country tolerant to any religion.

1956 was the year when Sudan gained independence from the United Kingdom. As in many other former colonies, a civil war broke out, lasting for almost 17 years (1955-1972). Belligerents included the Muslim North and the Christian Nilotes from the South. However, the civil war, later known as the First Sudanese Civil War solved nothing, and shortly, in 1983, a second civil war started.

By this time, an experienced soldier (Yom Kippur War, military academy in Egypt, paratrooper training, military attaché to UAE) returned home and was assigned a garrison, soon rising to the rank of Colonel. His name was Omar al-Bashir, and he is the current president of Sudan. He gained power by leading a military coup in 1989 and overthrowing the former government. By 1993 he had disbanded the revolutionary command council for national salvation and got rid of all political parties except in own National Congress Party. Al-Bashir quickly became the only authority in the country.

During his presidency, a new currency was introduced, the Sudanese Dinar. Later throughout the 90's, Mr. President started to behave more democratically, by allowing a presidential election in 1996 (for a 5year long presidency term). However, he was the only candidate in the election. Later, in 1998, a new constitution was ratified, allowing at least a limited opposition to NCP. Nothing unexpected happened, though, until the start of the Darfur Conflict in 1999 (the Justice and Equality Movement from West Sudan...seeks justice and equality, the conflict is still unsolved).

Also, during Al-Bashir's presidency, the second civil war has come to an end in 2005, being concluded with a comprehensive peace agreement, which grants autonomy to South Sudan. South Sudan finally became an independent country in 2011.

Al-Bashir is the only incumbent head of state wanted by the International Criminal Court. An arrest warrant dates back to 2008, due to a suspicion of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes mostly based on evidence from Darfur. But, recently, a new mass grave has been spotted by satellite in South Kordofan, and, therefore, further charges might arise. Al-Bashir is also notorious for embezzling a personal USD9 billion fortune.

Another important figure in Sudanese politics was Hassan al-Turabi, who is sort of a religious leader of the country (something compared to the ayatollah in Iran), who was during al-Bashir's presidency he elected as a speaker of the National Assembly. He tried to put into practice Islamic Sharia law in northern Sudan). However, he also played a prominent role in the former government, having been the minister of justice in 1979. Tensions between al-Bashir and al-Turabi grew, since al-Turabi got involved with Islamic fundamentalists providing shelter to terrorists who tried to assassinate Egypt's president, but also inviting the late Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden to visit Sudan. His connections with world terrorism resulted in the placement of Sudan on the US' list of states that sponsor terrorism (August 1993).

Summary of Casualties

Total number of dead in Sudan in the past 50 years during various military conflicts may vary between 4 and 5 million; in addition there are a roughly equal number of people displaced due to various conflicts.

United Nations and the international response

After it appeared that the Darfur conflict has come to an end, in early 2003 a new rebellion of Sudan Liberation Movement/Army and Justice and Equality Movement groups in the western region of Darfur began. The rebels accused the central government of neglecting the Darfur region, although there is uncertainty about what the rebels demand. Both the government and the rebels have been accused of atrocities in this war, although most of the blame has fallen on Arab militias (Janjaweed) allied with the government.

The rebels have alleged that these militias have been engaging in ethnic cleansing in Darfur, and the fighting forced hundreds of thousands of people to leave their homes and flee, many of them seeking refuge in neighbouring Chad, but also in south Sudan. There is not an exact number of casualties, but casualties are estimated to be in hundreds of thousands combined from both military, starvation and disease deaths. Peace talks between the southern rebels and the government made substantial progress in 2003 and early 2004, although skirmishes in parts of the south have reportedly continued. The two sides have agreed that, following a final peace treaty, southern Sudan will enjoy autonomy for six years, and after the expiration of that period, the people of southern Sudan will be able to vote in a referendum on independence.

Furthermore, oil revenues will be divided equally between the government and rebels during the six-year interim period. The ability or willingness of the government to fulfil these promises has been questioned by some observers, however, and the status of three central and eastern provinces was a point of contention in the negotiations. Some observers wondered whether hard line elements in the north would allow the treaty to proceed.

- A final peace treaty was signed on 9 January 2005 in Nairobi. The terms of the peace treaty are as follows:
- The South will have autonomy for six years, followed by a referendum on secession.
- Both sides of the conflict will merge their armed forces into a 39,000-strong force after six years, if the secession referendum should turn out negative.
- Income from oilfields is to be shared evenly between north and south.
- Jobs are to be split according to varying ratios (central administration: 70 to 30, Abyei/Blue Nile State/Nuba mountains: 55 to 45, both in favour of the government).
- Islamic law is to remain in the north, while continued use of the Sharia in the south is to be decided by the elected assembly.

Over two months since the conflagration in the Sudanese border state of South Kordofan broke out, violence continues to persist, and the warring parties have not reopened dialogue. Despite findings by the United Nations report that suggest war crimes and

crimes against humanity have been committed in the conflict, the international response has moved little beyond rhetoric.

The security situation in South Kordofan, where fighting between the Sudanese army, or SAF, and the insurgent SPLA-N has been ongoing since early June, “remains tense and volatile” through the latter half of July, according to the latest U.N. readout of the situation on the ground. Areas controlled by the SPLA-N continued to be bombed, and landmines planted throughout the state capital of Kadugli posed a considerable threat to civilian life and limited the access of humanitarians, according to the report,. While a number of humanitarian efforts have made progress, the report noted that U.N. agencies remained short of fully operational, partly due to recently introduced procedures by the Sudanese government’s humanitarian arm, which have “hindered” the ability of international staff to enter the state. An estimated 200,000 civilians have been displaced by the conflict, according to the U.N.

On the political side, leaders of the SPLM-N have at once publicly hardened their position—declaring their intent to ally with Darfuri rebel groups to overthrow the ruling National Congress Party—while quietly keeping channels to the Sudanese government open. SPLM-N chairman Malik Agar recently met with Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, who is an increasingly influential broker between the Sudanese government and its various negotiating partners. Agar is also governor of Blue Nile state, which neighbours South Kordofan and whose population shares in many of the same grievances; the potential for conflict to spread to Blue Nile is likely a factor behind Agar’s more flexible stance.

Whether the proposed alliance between the various rebel movements will actually result in a politically and militarily unified force that will pose a threat to the Sudanese government is up in the air. Discussions are ongoing between the SPLM-N and Darfur rebel groups, and the history of rebel movements fracturing in Sudan, often provoked by meddling from Khartoum, is long.

On Monday, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights issued the public version of a report documenting human rights and humanitarian law violations committed in the first month of fighting in South Kordofan. (The draft report, leaked weeks ago, was previewed on Enough Said.) Though most of the report’s substance and recommendations have been preserved, the tone of the public version is noticeably subdued and some details removed or changed. Notably, the public version no longer includes language in the draft text that underscored the SAF’s “especially egregious” conduct toward civilians, and analysis that the Sudanese government’s actions were what triggered the conflict.

The edited version also revised an incident detailed in the original text in which government police and armed men were described as carrying weapons in and out of the UNMIS protective perimeter (where thousands of Internally Displaced Persons had sought

refuge) without intervention from U.N peacekeepers. In the new version, government police and armed men carried weapons in and out of an “IDP area situated *outside* the UNMIS protective perimeter” (emphasis added). The public version also removed details of an incident in which government security agents posing as Sudan Red Crescent workers effectively forced thousands of IDPs out from what was supposed to be a U.N. protected area.

Last week, 53 U.S. members of Congress signed a letter to President Barack Obama that called for a “vociferous response from the United States” in response to the attacks on the Nuba and asked the president to make a personal public statement “condemning the violence in Southern Kordofan and unconscionable attacks on civilians.” Whether congressional pressure will move the U.S. administration from dialogue to action on this pressing issue remains to be seen.

The United Nations Security Council voted on 3 June to demand that Sudan and Southern Sudan withdraw troops from the Abyei Area. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon voiced support for efforts to end the conflict in late June 2011, saying on 29 June that Sudan and the SPLM-N must work quickly for a cessation of hostilities. A United Nations Mission in the Sudan human rights investigation in June and early July, prior to the mission's disbandment, found that “condemnation is insufficient” for the atrocities it said had been committed by the Sudanese military during the fighting, including attacks on UNMIS offices and personnel, though it also criticised the SPLM for violations. In August, the United States attempted to persuade the Security Council to pass a resolution condemning the violence, but it was blocked by Sudanese allies Russia and China. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres responded to the outbreak of violence in Blue Nile in September by saying both sides must work to prevent “yet one more refugee crisis” in the region. Ban also expressed concern over the violence.

Economy

Before the split up, Sudan was the 10th largest country by size on our planet. The economy of South Sudan is one of the world's weakest and most underdeveloped, with South Sudan having little existing infrastructure and the highest maternal mortality and female illiteracy rates in the world as of 2011. In 1992, the Sudanese Pound replaced the dinar as Sudan's currency. Until a referendum, South Sudan will be the first to use the new currency, nicknamed 'the Sudani'. Finance Minister David Deng Athorbie announced the creation of the South Sudanese pound to go into effect a week after independence. South Sudan is one of the poorest countries in the world; most villages in the country have no electricity or running water, and the country's overall infrastructure is lacking with few paved roads anywhere in the country.

Natural Resources

South Sudan exports timber to the international market. Some of the states with the best known teaks and natural trees for timber are Western Equatoria and Central Equatoria. One of the major natural features of South Sudan is the River Nile, whose many tributaries have sources in the country. The region also contains many natural resources such as petroleum, iron ore, copper, chromium ore, zinc, tungsten, silver, and gold. The country's economy, as in many other developing countries, is heavily dependent on agriculture. Some of the agricultural produce includes cotton, peanuts, millet, wheat, Arabic gum, sugarcane, cassava (tapioca), tropical fruit, and sesame.

Oil

Prior to its independence, South Sudan produced 85% of Sudanese oil output. The oil revenues according to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement were to be split equally for the duration of the agreement period. Since South Sudan relies on pipelines, refineries, and port facilities in Red Sea state in North Sudan, the agreement stated that the government in Khartoum would receive 50% share of all oil revenues. Oil revenues constitute more than 98% of the government of South Sudan's budget according to the southern government's Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and this has amounted to more than \$8 billion in revenue since the signing of the peace agreement.

In recent years, a significant amount of foreign-based oil drilling has begun in South Sudan, raising the land's geopolitical profile. Oil and other mineral resources can be found throughout South Sudan, but the area around Bentiu is commonly known as being especially rich in oil, while Jonglei, Warrap, and Lakes have potential reserves. During the autonomy years from 2005 to 2011, Khartoum partitioned much of Sudan into blocks, with about 85% of the oil coming from the South. Blocks 1, 2, and 4 are controlled by the largest overseas consortium, the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company. GNPOC is composed of the following players: China National Petroleum Corporation, with a 40%

stake; Petronas (Malaysia), with 30%; Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (India), with 25%; and Sudapet of the central Sudan government with a 5% share. Due to Sudan's presence on the United States' list of state sponsors of terrorism and Khartoum's insistence upon receiving a share of the profit from any oil deal South Sudan conducts internationally, US oil companies cannot do business with landlocked South Sudan. As such, US companies have virtually no presence in the South Sudanese oil sector.

The other producing blocks in the South are blocks 3 and 7 in eastern Upper Nile state. These blocks are controlled by Petrodar which is 41% owned by CNPC, 40% by Petronas, 8% by Sudapet, 6% by Sinopec Corp and 5% by Al Thani.

Another major block in the South, formerly called Block B by the North Sudanese government, is claimed by several players. Total of France was awarded the concession for the 90,000 square kilometre block in the 1980s but has since done limited work invoking "force majeure". Various elements of the SPLM handed out the block or parts thereof to other parties of South Sudan. Several of these pre-Naivasha deals were rejected when the SPLM/A leader Dr. John Garang de Mabior lost power.

The wealth-sharing section of the CPA states that all agreements signed prior to the CPA would hold; they would not be subject to review by the National Petroleum Commission (NPC), a commission set up by the CPA and composed of both Khartoum and Southerners and co-chaired by both President al-Bashir of Khartoum and President Kiir of South Sudan. However, the CPA does not specify who could sign those pre-CPA agreements.

According to some reports, the People's Republic of China has offered to extend a line of credit to South Sudan for several years while an alternative pipeline to the Kenyan coast is laid and an export deal is worked out with the Kenyan government, but this scenario is regarded as less likely than continued South Sudanese dependence on Sudanese infrastructure. If such a deal were struck, though, and South Sudan began exporting oil from Kenyan ports, the US would become a potential trade partner and South Sudanese oil importer. In the meantime, the South Sudanese government intends to lobby the US to ease restrictions on American companies doing business with Sudan.

To sum up, South Sudan's economy is one of the world's weakest and most underdeveloped as of 2011, most villages in the country have no electricity or running water, and the country's overall infrastructure is lacking with few paved roads anywhere in the country. South Sudan is hoping that the country's newly gained independence will help the country's economy in the upcoming years.

Economy of North Sudan (Sudan)

Until the second half of 2008, Sudan's economy boomed on the back of increases in oil production, high oil prices, and large inflows of foreign direct investment. GDP growth

registered more than 10% per year in 2006 and 2007. From 1997 to date, Sudan has been working with the IMF to implement macroeconomic reforms, including a managed float of the exchange rate. Sudan began exporting crude oil in the last quarter of 1999. Agricultural production remains important, because it employs 80% of the work force and contributes a third of GDP. The Darfur conflict, the aftermath of two decades of civil war in the south, the lack of basic infrastructure in large areas, and a reliance by much of the population on subsistence agriculture ensure much of the population will remain at or below the poverty line for years despite rapid rises in average per capita income. In January 2007, the government introduced a new currency, the Sudanese Pound, at an initial exchange rate of \$1.00 equals 2 Sudanese Pounds.

Sudan is buffeted by civil war, political instability, adverse weather, weak world commodity prices, a drop in remittances from abroad, and counterproductive economic policies. The private sector's main areas of activity are agriculture and trading, with most private industrial investment predating 1980. Agriculture employs 80% of the work force. Industry mainly processes agricultural items. Sluggish economic performance over the past decade, attributable largely to declining annual rainfall, has kept per capita income at low levels. A large foreign debt and huge arrears continue to cause difficulties. In 1990 the IMF took the unusual step of declaring Sudan uncooperative because of its non-payment of arrears to the Fund. After Sudan backtracked on promised reforms in 1992–93, the IMF threatened to expel Sudan from the Fund. To avoid expulsion, Khartoum agreed to make token payments on its arrears to the Fund, liberalize exchange rates, and reduce subsidies, measures it has partially implemented. The government's continued prosecution of the civil war and its growing international isolation continued to inhibit growth in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy during 1999. The government has worked with foreign partners to develop the oil sector, and the country is producing just over half a million barrels per day (2007, from Sudan tribune website).

Sudan's primary resources are agricultural, but oil production and export are taking on greater importance since October 2000. Although the country is trying to diversify its cash crops, cotton and gum Arabic remain its major agricultural exports. Grain sorghum (durra) is the principal food crop, and wheat is grown for domestic consumption. Sesame seeds and peanuts are cultivated for domestic consumption and increasingly for export. Livestock production has vast potential, and many animals, particularly camels and sheep, are exported to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab countries. However, Sudan remains a net importer of food. Problems of irrigation and transportation remain the greatest constraints to a more dynamic agricultural economy.

Mean wages were \$1.39 per man-hour in 2009. Current GDP per capita of Sudan grew 46% in the Sixties reaching a peak growth of 170% in the Seventies. But this proved unsustainable and growth consequently scaled back to 34% in the Eighties. Finally, it shrank by 26% in the Nineties.

Until the early 1970s Sudan's agricultural output was mostly dedicated to internal consumption. In 1972 the Sudanese government became more pro-Western, and made plans to export food and cash crops. However, commodity prices declined throughout the 1970s causing economic problems for Sudan. At the same time, debt servicing costs, from the money spent mechanizing agriculture, rose. In 1978 the International Monetary Fund negotiated a Structural Adjustment Program with the government. This further promoted the mechanized export agriculture sector. This caused great economic problems for the pastoralists of Sudan.

During the late 1970s and 1980s, the IMF, World Bank, and key donors worked closely to promote reforms to counter the effect of inefficient economic policies and practices. By 1984, a combination of factors, including drought, inflation, and confused application of Islamic law, reduced donor disbursements and capital flight led to a serious foreign-exchange crisis and increased shortages of imported inputs and commodities. More significantly, the 1989 revolution caused many donors in Europe, the U.S., and Canada to suspend official development assistance, but not humanitarian aid.

However, as Sudan became the world's largest debtor to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund by 1993, its relationship with the international financial institutions soured in the mid-1990s and has yet to be fully rehabilitated. The government fell out of compliance with an IMF standby program and accumulated substantial arrearages on repurchase obligations. A 4-year economic reform plan was announced in 1988 but was not pursued. An economic reform plan was announced in 1989 and began implementing a 3-year economic restructuring program designed to reduce the public sector deficit, end subsidies, privatize state enterprises, and encourage new foreign and domestic investment. In 1993, the IMF suspended Sudan's voting rights and the World Bank suspended Sudan's right to make withdrawals under effective and fully disbursed loans and credits. Lome Funds and EU agricultural credits, totalling more than one billion Euros, also were suspended.

As a result of oil export earnings around \$500 million in 2000–01, Sudan's current account entered surplus for the first time since independence. In 1993, currency controls were imposed, making it illegal to possess foreign exchange without approval. In 1999, liberalization of foreign exchange markets ameliorated this constraint somewhat. Exports other than oil are largely stagnant. The small industrial sector remains in the doldrums, spending for the war continues to pre-empt other social investments, and Sudan's inadequate and declining infrastructure inhibits economic growth.

Since January 2007, a new currency was introduced in parallel to the Sudanese dinar, the new Sudanese pound, at the conversion rate of one new pound for one hundred dinars (or one thousand old pounds). Starting July 2007, the Sudanese pound is the only Sudanese currency that is legal tender.

Infrastructure

The country's transport facilities consist of one 4,800-kilometer, single-track railroad with a feeder line, supplemented by limited river steamers, Sudan airways, and about 1,900 km. of paved and gravel road—primarily in greater Khartoum, Port Sudan, and the north. Some north-south roads serve the oil fields of neighbouring South Sudan. The 1,600 kilometre Greater Nile Oil Pipeline extends from the Heglig (Sudan) and Unity (South Sudan) oil fields via the Nuba Mountains and Khartoum to the oil export terminal in Port Sudan on the Red Sea.

Sudan's limited industrial development consists of agricultural processing and various light industries located in Khartoum North. In recent years, the Giad Industrial Complex in Al Jazirah state introduced the assembly of small autos and trucks, and some heavy military equipment such as armoured personnel carriers and the proposed "Bashir" main battle tank. Although Sudan is reputed to have great mineral resources, exploration has been quite limited, and the country's real potential is unknown. Small quantities of asbestos, chromium, and mica are exploited commercially.

Oil

Extensive petroleum exploration first began in Sudan in the mid-1970s. Significant finds were made in the Upper Nile region and commercial quantities of oil began to be exported in October 2000, reducing Sudan's outflow of foreign exchange for imported petroleum products. Today, oil is an important export industry in Sudan. Estimates suggest that oil accounts for between 70% and 90% of Sudan's total exports. The primary importers of Sudanese oil are Japan, China, South Korea, Indonesia, and India. Most of Sudan's oil reserves are located in the Muglad and Melut rift basins in the south of the country. Oil fields in the south, such as those at Heglig and in the South Sudanese state of Unity, formerly part of Sudanese territory, are linked to the country's refineries via pipelines. The two largest oil pipelines are the Greater Nile Oil Pipeline, which travels 1,600 kilometres from the Unity oil field to Port Sudan on the Red Sea via Khartoum, and the PetroDar pipeline, which extends 1,380 kilometres from the Palogue oil field in the Melut Basin to Port Sudan.

Crude oil from the Muglad Basin is known as "Nile Blend" and is refined at the Khartoum crude oil refinery. In 2006, the China National Petroleum Corporation upgraded the Khartoum refinery, doubling its capacity to 100,000 barrels per day. There are 2 important points connected with oil, firstly Sudanese president al-Bashir has amassed a fortune of 9 billion USD (illegally), secondly the disputed region of South Kordofan is a major source of oil.

Embargos

On November 3, 1997, the U.S. government imposed a trade embargo against Sudan and a total asset freeze against the Government of Sudan under Executive Order 13067. The U.S. believed the Government of Sudan gave support to international terrorism, destabilized neighbouring governments, and permitted human rights violations. A consequence of the embargo is that U.S. corporations cannot invest in the Sudan oil industry, so companies in China, Malaysia and India are the major investors.



Questions a resolution needs to address

- *How is the UN Security Council supposed to react in order to solve the conflict?*
- *What about the demand for a non-fly zone?*
- *How can the living conditions of people in the region improve?*
- *How to prevent further casualties?*



Further reading:

<http://www.sudantribune.com/South-Sudan-s-president-holds,40286>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13767146>

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/aug/08/south-kordofan-preventing-next-darfur>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13882924>

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Opinion/Commentary/2011/Jul-05/Probe-UN-neglect-in-South-Kordofan.ashx#axzz1aPnseHNt>

<http://www.southsudan.net/>

<http://www.sudantribune.com>

No-Fly zone:

<http://www.sudantribune.com/Rebels-call-for-non-fly-zone-in,40048>

