

South Sudan Monitor

July 2011



Independence Day celebrations at the Dr John Garang Mausoleum, Juba by Lauren Hutton

Welcome to the Republic of South Sudan

It is 00h01 on 9 July 2011 and the Republic of South Sudan has been born! The flag was raised for the first time and the national anthem was sung. Dawn broke over a new land; a land of hope and opportunity; a land of passion and heart; a land in which the will of the people has changed history. The fresh early morning air stirred a sense of pride that left even the most cynical enamoured with the possibilities of a brighter future.

South Sudan is a country of extremes. From the climate to the terrain to the levels of suffering that people have had to endure. Independence represents a break from all the challenges and struggles that characterise everyday life for one of the most fragile and less developed states in the world. For just one day, people could forget about

the scale of the challenge that lies ahead and could be immersed in a sense of hope and opportunity that washed away the need and fear that has accompanied so many years of crisis and insecurity.

“A proud flag flies over Juba and the map of the world has been redrawn. These symbols speak to the blood that has been spilled, the tears that have been shed, the ballots that have been cast, and the hopes that have been realised by so many millions of people.”

President Barack Obama, official statement on the independence of South Sudan

But on 9 July 2011, there was no talk about the challenges of overcoming decades of war. There was dancing, singing and celebrating. There was crying and rejoicing. It was a time of festivity in which the diversity of the new state was feted in colourful dance and costumes.



Traditional dancers at the celebrations in Juba by Lauren Hutton

Besides some small hiccups with timing, logistics and sound equipment, the formal ceremony was a great success. People came from around South Sudan to witness the exceptional events. It was a day for South Sudanese to stand together and be recognised as equals; citizens of their own state able to determine their own future.

“We congratulate our brothers in the south for the establishment of their new state. We share their joy and celebration. The will of the people of the south has to be respected.”

President Omar al-Bashir in his address at the celebrations in Juba



Celebrating the proclamation of independence by Lauren Hutton

The need for national unity was echoed in the speech by President Salva Kiir Mayardit who called on South Sudanese to act together in pursuit of peace and prosperity. “You may be a Zande, Kakwa, Lutugo, Nuer, Dinka or Shiluk, but first remember yourself as a South Sudanese. There will be equal access to existing opportunities for all,” said President Kiir in his first address as head of the new state. He also called on all rebels and armed factions to lay down their arms and bring an end to the internal conflicts that threaten the fragile peace. An amnesty deal was offered to rebel forces such as those of renegade General George Athor, Peter Gadet and David Yau Yau.

President Kiir reiterated commitments to accountable, inclusive and democratic governance and called on public servants to end corruption and focus on improved service delivery. The list of needs for the new government is long and there are heightened expectations on the part of the citizens for fundamental and noticeable improvements in their day-to-day existence.

“Today, we open a new chapter – a day when the people of South Sudan claim the freedom and dignity that are their birth right. Together, we welcome the Republic of South Sudan to the community of nations. Together, we affirm our commitment to helping it meet its many responsibilities as a nation.”

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon address at Independence Day celebrations in Juba

The challenge of delivering vital services to a population spread across a vast area is further complicated by the levels of insecurity suffered from inter-communal violence, rebel insurgent activities and from disruptions in the contested border regions. The recent violence in South Kordofan and Abyei cast a shadow over the celebrations in Juba. The kinship of South Sudan with the people of these areas was reiterated by President Kiir who said, “I want to assure the people of Abyei, Darfur, Blue Nile and South Kordofan that we have not forgotten you. When you cry, we cry. When you bleed, we bleed. I pledge to you today that we will find a just peace for all.”

Regardless of the scale of the challenges ahead or the obstacles that stand before them, South Sudanese have the opportunity to carve their own future and to determine their own destiny. If the feeling of 9 July continues, it is the dawn of an extraordinary era. 🇸🇸

Update on South Kordofan, Abyei and Blue Nile

Last month the SSM reported that there is a genuine danger of an arc of insecurity emerging in the border area – stretching from South Darfur and Abyei, across to Unity and South Kordofan states and into Blue Nile and Upper Nile states. This situation continued to deteriorate throughout June.

As documented by Eric Reeves on 28 June 2011¹, “The litany of egregious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law over the past five weeks is simply overwhelming – in South Kordofan, in Abyei, but in other areas along the North/South border as well. Just in the past two weeks, the regime’s Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and militia allies in South Kordofan have: threatened to shoot down UN humanitarian aircraft in the region (<http://goo.gl/AsqX>); shot, tortured, and arrested national members of the UN peacekeeping mission in Sudan (UNMIS) in Kadugli, capital of South Kordofan (<http://www.sudantribune.com/UN-condemns-arrest-of-its-national,39329>); denied freedom of movement to UNMIS personnel in nearly all locations; deployed intelligence officers in Kadugli, disguised as Red Crescent workers, to compel the removal of displaced civilians who had taken refuge at the UNMIS headquarters in Kadugli; denied UN and non-governmental relief organizations use of the Kadugli airport, thus creating a vast and growing humanitarian crisis (<http://goo.gl/12Zg5>); engaged in house-to-house searches for Nuba civilians, arresting or summarily executing all thought to have ‘southern sympathies’ (www.hrw.org/en/news/2011/06/10/un-au-urge-end-sudanese-abuses-s-kordofan); and engaged in what Amnesty International has called ‘indiscriminate attacks, bombing from high altitudes with imprecise bombs in areas which include civilians’ (<http://goo.gl/m9vlQ>). These bombing attacks have extended to territories in South Sudan.”

Towards the end of June, under the banner of the Mbeki Panel and through much negotiation in Addis Ababa, there has been a glimmer of hope and agreement has been reached on Abyei, South Kordofan and Blue Nile. The UN has authorised the deployment of a 4,200 strong Ethiopian brigade to Abyei. Security Council Resolution 1990

gives the Ethiopian soldiers a six month mandate including the authorisation to use force to protect civilians and humanitarian workers. The Ethiopian force should be in place by early July.

Regarding South Kordofan and Blue Nile, on 28 June a framework agreement was reached which called for the creation of joint security and political committees and the conducting of the popular consultation process. However, whether this agreement will be implemented is the question. If past performance is any indication of future behaviour, moving from diplomatic agreements into concrete actions where improved governance, security and humanitarian relief become a reality for the Nuba, may be beyond the intention of the Khartoum regime.

Outside of diplomatic pressure and the use of soft power, there are few options for intervention in South Kordofan. This is not an inter-state conflict but rather an internal dispute with cross-boundary dimensions. It is more similar to Darfur than to the North-South conflict. Protection of civilians would require a firm message from the international community and would require silencing the air power of Khartoum.

Many possible reasons could have influenced the increase in violence in the border states in the lead up to southern independence. It could have been an orchestrated negotiation ploy or the playing out of domestic political agendas or most simplistically, the humanitarian crisis could all just have been about oil and revenue. Oil is one of the key drivers that most people refer to when talking about the insecurity that has plagued North and South Sudan for so many years. Oil provides a very neat and compact reason that provides an understandable rationale for some of the worst atrocities ever witnessed on this continent.

Thus combined with ethnicity and identity, oil has become part of a picture of a complex conflict. As our Oil and Conflict Timeline has shown over the past editions of the Monitor, there is a real and quantifiable connection between oil and increased conflict in the oil-producing areas. The danger, however, is for analysts to over-estimate the importance of oil and identity and to miss out on important motivating dynamics in both Khartoum and Juba that impact on efforts to realise sustainable security. 🌐

¹ Eric Reeves, "International Crimes and Threats to Peace in Sudan are Mounting Rapidly" 28 June 2011
<http://www.sudanreeves.org/Article341.html>

Working towards a legal framework for small arms control

On 26 June, residents of Juba awoke to a disarmament campaign to ensure maximum security for the Independence Day celebrations. During the operation, which involved house to house searches as well as vehicle inspection by teams composed of military, police, prison and wildlife service officers, over 700 weapons were collected from Juba residents. Weapons recovered included two anti-aircraft guns, AK-47 assault rifles, machine guns, pistols and ammunition.

Disarmament operations in South Sudan have tended to be carried out in a haphazard manner rather than as part of an overall framework setting out a comprehensive plan to ensure security and long-term stability. There have been disarmament operations in parts of the South every year since 2006. Although often large amounts of weapons have been recovered through voluntary as well as forceful operations, disarmament was often carried out in one community and not in the next and protection has often not been granted to those communities who were disarmed. Limited awareness-raising and involvement of local leaders and chiefs has meant that the communities have often been ill-prepared and suspicious of the motivation behind such operations. Lack of appropriate storage facilities, inadequate monitoring of collected stockpiles by the security forces as well as porous borders with neighbouring countries has meant that in many cases communities could easily re-arm.

The South Sudan Bureau for Community Security and Small Arms Control has been working on the development of a legal framework that will address the problems associated with the widespread proliferation of small arms in South Sudan. With the independence of South Sudan, this task is more urgent than ever. Key areas to be addressed through policy and legislation on small arms control include modalities and measures for:

- removal of small arms from unauthorised persons
- possession, use and licensing of small arms
- storage and stockpile management of firearms
- border control including legislative controls over the import, export and transit of firearms on South Sudan's territory


- controlling existing stocks, including registration and marking of firearms.

Objectives of the South Sudan Bureau for Community Security and Small Arms Control

The objectives of the Bureau are to:

1. Lead and co-ordinate the development and review of arms control policies
2. Mobilise support from international and local partners for a range of interventions to enhance community security
3. Enhance co-ordination and co-operation between government, civil society and partners
4. Strengthen information-sharing and cooperation on small arms matters nationally, regionally and internationally
5. Facilitate civil society and community involvement in developing and implementing strategies to address community security concerns

<http://www.goss-online.org/magnoliaPublic/en/Independent-Commissions-and-Chambers/Bureau-for-Community-Security-and-Small-Arms-Control.html>

Conducting awareness-raising and public education on small arms as well as addressing underlying reasons for possession of firearms such as insecurity and lack of development is critical in order to ensure voluntary disarmament in South Sudan. Policy and legislation will need to be supported by detailed implementation strategies for public awareness-raising, voluntary civilian disarmament, as well as a strategy to capacitate law enforcement agencies to implement the provisions of a legal framework on small arms control. 

Exploring the impact of inter- and intra-state disputes: community security in Warrap State

For the people of Warrap State, independence brings the hope of development and increased security. Over the past few months, there have been grave security concerns as conflicts in neighbouring Abyei and Unity States have spilled over into Warrap and impacted upon the already fragile stability. This article explores the multifaceted community security challenges being faced by the citizens of Warrap. It is informed by extensive field research and primary data collection conducted in the area by Saferworld staff in May and June 2011.

The socio-economic conditions in Warrap are similar to those found in the other South Sudanese states: livelihoods are largely dependent on cattle rearing with some small scale farming and micro-enterprise trading. Service delivery challenges impede access to education and health care. The state authorities are challenged to provide security services throughout the area. One of the gravest sources of insecurity is cattle raiding. Tonj North and Tonj East counties are affected by inter-communal cattle raiding throughout the year. It is mainly practised by youth at cattle camps with the desire to acquire wealth and is often accompanied by abduction of women and children.



Dry season in Tonj East, Warrap by Pete Muller

Warrap also experiences a lot of cattle raiding across the border with Unity State, especially from Mayom county affecting Gogrial East, Tonj East, Tonj North and Twic counties. These activities have claimed many lives and cost a lot of damage to property. However, with the rainy season, the

cross-border cattle raiding with Unity State is likely to reduce as cattle herders from both sides move their cattle from the swampy areas towards drier land; the flooding of the swamps acts as a barrier against an incursion from either side. Despite all this, there remains increased fear of potential attacks from Peter Gadet and his loyalists based out of Mayom county in Unity State. This potential for destabilisation was illustrated on 20 June 2011 when a group of armed soldiers allegedly loyal to the renegade rebel leader attacked Turalei, Twic county killing about 11 people and leaving others injured.

According to the UNHCR, 68 percent of the nearly 70,000 registered refugees from Abyei sought sanctuary in Turalei and Mayan Abun, Twic county.

Not only are the people of Warrap vulnerable to increased insecurity emanating from Unity State, but the return to conflict in Abyei in May, also strained the limited resources and services available. Warrap State borders the disputed Abyei area and its Twic county became host to thousands of refugees. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 68 percent of the nearly 70,000 registered refugees from Abyei sought sanctuary in Turalei and Mayan Abun.² Some schools were occupied by these refugees causing disruptions. The health sector also experienced increased service delivery challenges.

Given the pre-existing service delivery deficits, the influx of refugees has exacerbated the limited state capacity. The presence of refugees in Warrap has created a lot of anxiety in some communities. There are already perceptions amongst some community members that the Abyei residents not only compete for resources, but also bring increased risk of insecurity including aerial attacks from the Sudan Armed Forces.

Warrap State profile

Warrap State has historically been the most underdeveloped state in South Sudan. With a total land area of 31,027 km², the nearly one million inhabitants suffer from food scarcity due to droughts and as a result severe competition for water and grazing land. The main ethnic group is the Nilotic Dinka and minority tribes include the Luo and Bongo.

<http://unmis.unmissions.org/Portals/UNMIS/Referendum/Warrap.pdf>

² www.unhcr.org/4dedff109.html

Exploring the impact of inter- and intra-state disputes: community security in Warrap State – contd

The arrival of internally displaced people (IDPs) from Abyei has also had an impact upon humanitarian aid delivery to returnees from the North. Earlier this year 29,000 people returned.³ The number of returnees and IDPs has been decreasing over the past months. Between 2005 and 2010, 114,464 returnees and more than 55,000 IDPs were in Warrap⁴.

As a result of the influx of IDPs and returnees there have been tensions over land allocation and congestion of returnees' sites in Kwajok town and Twic. These unresolved tensions have been aggravated by the influx of people from Abyei as well as by increased displacement in Warrap following attacks from Gadet's forces and inter-communal violence due to cattle raiding.

Additionally, conditions in Warrap have deteriorated in the past months due to the severe fuel and food shortages that have been experienced across South Sudan. With supply routes from the North purposefully blocked and the rainy season impeding transport from Kenya, Uganda and Juba, both humanitarian operations and day-to-day existence have become more challenging.

Warrap statistics

Percentage of population who are food insecure: 20 percent

Percentage of population who are severely food insecure: 15 percent

Number of primary health care centres: 20

Maternal mortality rate: 2,173/100,000

Under-5 mortality rate: 176/1,000

Gross primary school enrolment rate: 21.9 percent


Percentage population dependent on agriculture: 3.75 percent

<http://unmis.unmissions.org/Portals/UNMIS/Referendum/Warrap.pdf>

With independence, there is the hope of normalising trade relations with the North and the reopening of much needed supply lines. The Abyei agreement and the deployment of the Ethiopian troops also bring about the possibility for the

residents of Abyei to return home. These positive trends will far to relieve some of the current pressures and community security tensions in Warrap. Dealing with Gadet remains a challenge, however, and there are hopes that an amnesty deal or some form of negotiated settlement – similar to that offered to David Yau Yau – can mitigate the potential for further violence and displacement.

The real challenge for Warrap, so similar to that of other South Sudan states, is to reduce the impact of violent cattle raids and to build increased community security based on access to socio-economic and security services. The capacity of the South Sudan Police Service is limited and some people expressed the desire for a more visible and robust policing capacity. There is a perception that policing personnel do not receive sufficient wages or training and have difficult working conditions.

Building state capacity while faced with severe security challenges is an immense task. Reducing the impact of other conflicts on the people of Warrap is vital for the future stability and development of the area. 

Small arms and cattle-raiding in South Sudan – in pictures

South Sudan's independence signifies a new start for a region that has faced decades of violence. But the proliferation of small arms and the police force's limited ability to protect local communities are issues that need to be addressed.

Saferworld compiled a photo series that was published by The Guardian on 7 July 2011:

www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/gallery/2011/jul/07/southern-sudan-small-arms-cattle-raiding-in-pictures

³ www.unsudanig.org/new_gateway/returnee/110303%20OCHA%20Returnee%20Update.pdf

⁴ <http://unmis.unmissions.org/Portals/UNMIS/Referendum/Warrap.pdf>

Oil and conflict 1997-2000: From exploration to production

Jan 1997 Arakis announces major oil find at El Nar, Unity State.

Jan 1997 Rebels open an offensive in Blue Nile threatening the hydro-electric complex at Damazin. Khartoum responds with aerial bombardments.

Feb 1997 Riek Machar officially joins the Khartoum government.

Feb 1997 Sweden's IPC/ Lundin Oil with Petronas of Malaysia, OMV-AG of Austria and Sudapet sign agreement for exploration of Block 5A in Unity State.

March 1997 China National Petroleum Corporation begins exploration and development of Block 6 in South Darfur and Western Kordofan.

April 1997 Khartoum Peace Agreement signed between Sudan and the South Sudan United Democratic Salvation Front. The forces of Machar and Kerubino Bol provide a buffer zone between Garang's SPLM and the oil fields.

Oct 1997 Arakis awards the contracts for the oil pipeline to China Petroleum Technology and Development Corporation (1110km) and Mannesmann Handel AG of Germany (500km).

Feb 1998 Pro-Khartoum Bentiu-based warlord, Gen Paulino Matiep with SAF support, stages attacks against civilians around the Block 5A concession resulting in massive internal displacement. Aid workers are forced to evacuate parts of Western Upper Nile and Unity.

Feb 1998 Seizing Wau, Bol rejoins Garang's SPLA. The reunion between Bol and Garang is short-lived and Bol joins forces with Matiep in Bentiu. Bol later dies after being injured during a confrontation between Matiep and Peter Gadet.

June 1998 SPLA continue the offensive in Blue Nile capturing key strategic installations, roads and towns.

July 1998 Canadian firm, Talisman begins negotiation to purchase Arakis. Talisman commits US\$ 760 million for spending on Sudan projects over the next 2 years.

Sept 1998 SPLA offensive in Equatoria is successfully repelled by government forces.

1998 During pipeline construction in South Kordofan, fighting occurs between Nuba SPLA and government forces.

Jan 1999 25% of pipeline is complete and more than 110 oil wells have been drilled.

March 1999 Talisman announces oil exports from Sudan will commence before end of 1999.

April 1999 Completion of pipeline linking Heglig and Red Sea terminal.

May 1999 Villages on the eastern end of Heglig attacked and burned by the Sudanese Army causing displacement of up to 2,000 civilians.

May 1999 Matiep and SAF overcome Machar forces leading to the withdrawal of Machar's forces from Block 5A. The violence forces Lundin to halt operations until November 2000. SPLA threaten to attack oil fields and push into strategic positions that put oil installations in Upper Nile within range of the SPLA's artillery.

July 1999 1,200 government forces sweep through Western Upper Nile, killing scores of civilians, abducting hundreds and burning more than 6 000 homes. In a 10-day offensive on the edge of Heglig, Antonov bombers, helicopter gunships, tanks and artillery attack civilians across a 100-km swathe of territory. All relief flights to people living around the oil fields are banned.

Sept 1999 First shipment of 600,000 barrels of oil leaves Port Sudan.

Oct 1999 Peter Gadet splits from Matiep's South Sudan Unity Movement and aligns with SPLA. Gadet's forces bombard Bentiu and attempt to take parts of Unity State for the SPLA.

Jan 2000 Riek Machar formally resigns from the government. Machar does not align with the SPLA and forms Sudan's People Democratic Front calling for an independent southern state.

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