

SAAF Update 1-2011
January 26, 2011

Dear Sudanese Friends and Friends of the Sudanese people,

From Melut to Yambio, from Aweil to Torit and all points in between, the people of Southern Sudan are joyous and praise God. The referendum was conducted largely without conflict, with broad participation by the people, without coercion and in an orderly and praiseworthy manner. This is exactly what Sudanese and friends had been praying for and the prayers were answered! What a time of Thanksgiving!

Rev. Ezekiel Kutjok jubilantly noted, "We must thank God for giving us our land. Now, a new Southern Sudan is visible on the horizon. As we receive it, we must join with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. saying "free at last, free at last" and conclude by saying, "Thank you God for giving us our land and for freeing us from slavery, discrimination and Islamic Sharia Law, Amen."

In my own opinion, this referendum is the most significant positive event for Southern Sudanese in over 100 years. But, as Rev. Ezekiel says, "...a new Southern Sudan is visible on the horizon" , it is not here, and there is much work to be done. The articles reflected in this update illustrate the magnitude of the effort required...more hills to climb and rivers to cross. Among these are:

1. Ending slavery and redeeming slaves;
2. Birthing a new nation which now experiences weak governance, corruption, and tribal violence;
3. Continuing marginalization of most Sudanese people and genocide in Darfur;
4. Potential further unrest in northern Sudan leading to anarchy. "If there is a coup, Turabi would take power, not Thomas Jefferson," noted George W. Bush's former envoy to Sudan, Andrew Natsios;
5. Poverty, poor health and nearly no sanitation; and
6. Abyei, border demarcation, wealth sharing, and other post referendum issues.

We must not forget that the genocide in Darfur continues; Abyei, Nubia, Blue Nile, Eastern Sudan and Southern Kordofan remain marginalized and the CPA has not been fully implemented. As the Opinion at the end notes, the roles of well-intended international supporters have not always been constructive.

Despite these challenges, my heart sings with joy. Let us praise God for answered prayers in allowing the referendum. Let us continue to pray fervently, act wisely and give generously that all people of Sudan may have peace, justice, freedom and an opportunity to prosper.

In His Service,

Bill

Bill Andress

Sudan Advocacy Action Forum

In this issue:

* From GOSS Mission-USA and UN

- * South Sudan secures votes to secede
- * South Sudan has political 'roadmap'
- * Hassan Al-Turabi arrested
- * African Union to welcome South Sudan
- * Darfur rebels clash with Sudan's army
- * Secession poses challenge for Khartoum
- * Kiir: Sudan is united until July 9
- * Opinion: The road back from Abyei

From GOSS Mission-USA and UN. "As we prepare to celebrate the results of the Southern Sudan Referendum, we urge the people of Southern Sudan to maintain peace and unity. As people from different ethnicity/ tribes and regions within Southern Sudan, let us hold hands as a symbol of strength as we tackle the next challenges that await our emerging country. If the result of the Referendum is separation, Southern Sudan will be a new country blessed with vast resources, tremendous opportunities and exciting challenges. We now appeal to the Diaspora to return home and assist with development of the country. The skills and experiences you have cultivated outside of Southern Sudan are needed desperately to help build the capacity of those at home; to jumpstart the economy through private investment; and to provide crucial services such as healthcare, education, clean water and sanitation. We all know the satisfaction of living in a home we have built for ourselves, so let us experience the tremendous joy of coming together and building our own country! In the United States, we are pleased to announce the results of the Referendum for the eight (8) polling centers: The total for all eight centers is 98.9 % for Secession and 0.8% for Unity." (Excerpts from GOSS Mission-USA and UN, 01/18/11; emphasis added)

South Sudan secures votes to secede. South Sudan has won the majority of votes needed in order to become the world's newest state, with just 60 per cent of results declared from a landmark referendum. Preliminary figures collated by the AFP news agency January 20 indicated that some areas of Sudan returned 99 per cent landslides for independence. According to AFP, at least 2,224,857 votes for separation had been counted from the previous night. A simple majority of 1.89 million votes was needed from a total of 3,932,588 registered voters. In Lakes state, 99.9 per cent of votes were cast in support of independence. In Central Equatoria, which includes the regional capital Juba and is the south's second most populous state, 98.2 per cent of the 457,452 votes cast were for secession. In Juba, which is now poised to become South Sudan's national capital, cheers and applause rang out as the head of the county's referendum sub-committee announced a 97.5 per cent majority for independence. The final result that will set south Sudan on the path to recognition as the world's newest state in July is not expected before February. First, the state results must be collated at regional level and added to those of southerners who voted in the north or in eight countries of the diaspora. (aljazeera.net, 01/20/11)

South Sudan has political 'roadmap.' Riek Machar, Vice President of South Sudan said the region has already prepared a "roadmap" for post-referendum governance, dismissing fears of political instability after independence. In a meeting in Juba with a UN delegation led by the chairman of the UN Panel to Sudan and former President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa, Machar explained that the South would emerge politically stable. He said the region has already prepared, and was committed to, a post-referendum governance roadmap. Machar equally assured the top Chinese

diplomat in Juba, Zhu Zhibin, of the future stability of the South. In October 2010, all the South Sudanese political parties held a conference in the regional capital, Juba and agreed on the roadmap to guide the future governance of the region after the referendum. The roadmap stipulates that a constitutional review conference will be conducted after the referendum and will agree on the specifics of the formation of a new transitional broad-based government by 9 July 2011 under the leadership of the current President, Salva Kiir Mayardit. (Sudan Tribune, 01/20/11)

Hassan Al-Turabi arrested. The Sudanese Islamist opposition leader, Hassan Al-Turabi, was taken into custody by Sudan's security members along with a handful of mid-rank members of his Popular Congress Party (PCP). Members of Sudan state security arrived late January 17 at Al-Turabi's house in Khartoum and ordered him to leave with them. A number of Al-Turabi's close aides were also arrested. Sudan Media Center, which is closely linked to the country's National Intelligence and Security Services, said that prisoners captured from the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) in West Darfur admitted their links and receiving support from Turabi's party to carry out military campaigns in the restive region. The Sudanese government has long accused Al-Turabi of having strong ties with JEM, which recently suffered the capturing of some of its senior members by the Sudanese government in western Darfur. (Sudan Tribune, 01/18/11)

African Union to welcome South Sudan. The Chairperson for the African Union and Malawian President, Bingo Wa-Mutharika, said January 25 at the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly that he would persuade the rest of African countries to recognize an independent South if the results show it splits from the north. Wa-Muthariki promised he would campaign internationally for recognition of what will be the newest African state. The visit, which came as the South awaits official announcement of the referendum results, was intended to deliver two messages: 1) appreciation over a successful, for Southerners, vote under the leadership of President Salva Kiir; and, 2) full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. "What you the people of Southern Sudan have done is just short of a miracle; what you have done no other country has conducted," he said in appraisal of the referendum. The Speaker of Parliament, James Wani Igga, asked the African Union to pressure Khartoum to implement the remaining clauses of the agreement. "There is urgent need for the AU to pressurize Khartoum to quickly, amicably and positively respond by solving the outstanding issues ranging from Abyei, demarcation of borders problems and the Protocol of Popular Consultation for two of the states (Blue Nile and South Kordofan) that struggled diligently and faithfully alongside the South for 21 years," he said. "Khartoum needs to be emphatically told to approve and accept whatever product of the Popular Will of the people of the two states that actually suffered marginalization in the hands of Khartoum probably worse than their neighbors, the South Sudan." (Borglobe.com, 01/26/11)

Darfur rebels clash with Sudan's army. Deadly fighting broke out between the Sudanese army (SAF) and SLA-Minnawi faction after SAF carried out sweeping arrests at Zamzam camp for people displaced by the conflict. SLA-Minnawi said they shot down an army helicopter in revenge for the arrests, a claim denied by SAF. "We attacked a combat helicopter in clashes at Tabit," (in North Darfur), said Minnawi. "Everyone on board was killed," he told AFP by telephone, without giving a figure. SAF swept through the Zamzam camp on the outskirts of El-Fasher January 23, arresting 37 people and seizing weapons and ammunition. Zamzam is considered a stronghold of SLA-Minnawi, one of three main rebel groups fighting government troops in Darfur along with the Abdelwahid Nur branch of the SLA, and the Justice

and Equality Movement (JEM). SAF said it had killed 25 rebels in two days of heavy fighting in Tabit and Jebel Marra. The death toll could not be independently verified, but a spokesperson for the SLA-Abdelwahid, Ibrahim al-Hilu, confirmed that there had been deadly clashes in Jebel Marra. The UN-African Union peacekeeping force in Darfur (UNAMID) confirmed heavy fighting in Tabit, but was unable to confirm that a SAF helicopter had been downed. UNAMID said its peacekeepers had been prevented from entering the combat zone by SAF. (AFP, 01/26/11)

Secession poses challenge for Khartoum. With an overwhelming vote for secession of South Sudan, reality has begun sinking for North Sudanese. The Muslim-dominated North is slowly coming to terms with the split of Africa's largest state, with analysts predicting the eventual partition of the Sudan into four countries. "Sudan will divide into four countries; North, South, East and West", Samin, a resident of Algezira in the North told Gurtong. She, however, agrees that secession is a choice of the South Sudanese, which they should be full granted. Many Northerners have also supported Sudan President Omar Hassan al Bashir's comments that he will accept the outcome of the referendum and accord South Sudan the necessary support. "Of course we are not happy that South Sudan is breaking away but there is no way the separation of South Sudan can be stopped and for peace and security to prevail, the Southerners should be left to have their own country", said another Northerner who did not wish to be named. Mohamed Abdalaziz in Blue Nile State's capital Damazine told Gurtong that even in the North there are pro-separatists, including parties like the Popular Congress Party (PCP). A journalist who also preferred anonymity said the secession of South Sudan is a wakeup call to the Khartoum government. "What the Khartoum government should prepare for now is more clamor by other regions for independence as well as internal grumbling by other political parties who will want a share in the governance of the remaining parts of Sudan", he said. Already the PCP President and former veteran NCP member Hassan Al Turabi has been arrested for calling on President al Bashir to re-align his government into an inclusive government as the Comprehensive Peace Agreement comes to an end on July 9, 2011. (Gurtong.net, 01/25/11)

Kiir: Sudan is united until July 9. Regardless of the referendum result, Sudan will remain united until July 9, 2011 as stipulated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, President of the Government of Southern Sudan Salva Kiir Mayardit said. In his address at a church in Juba on January 16, Kiir said that all national documents like passports and the Sudanese Flag should remain in place. Kiir emphasized that people should not preempt results of the referendum and should remain calm. He thanked the National Congress Party for helping in making the referendum possible, adding that their leadership should be respected. (mirayafm.org, 01/16/11)

Opinion: The road back from Abyei. Abyei has so far proved to be the most difficult part of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) to implement, more difficult, even than the determination of the rest of the North-South boundary or the division of oil revenues. Deng Alor, the former head of the SPLM delegation to the Abyei Boundaries Commission (ABC), has described the progressive erosion of the definition of the 'Abyei Area' that followed the presentation of the ABC report this way:

"When the issue of Abyei was discussed and resolved in Kenya [in the CPA negotiations], we thought that was the end of it. The protocol says the decision of the experts shall be final and binding. When the experts came up with their decision

and presented it in July 2005, President Bashir rejected the decision by the experts. That was the first violation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Later, in 2008, Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) attacked the area, destroyed the area, burned the town of Abyei. As a result, SPLM and the National Congress Party (NCP) went into a very long discussion. At the end, the NCP suggested that the Dinka were given a bigger land, more than they really deserved, and said we had to go for international arbitration. The SPLM accepted international arbitration. We went to The Hague; we spent almost one year. And in the end, the ruling the tribunal came up with, both of us accepted. The ruling was supposed to be, again, final and binding on the parties. Three or four months later the NCP reneged on The Hague ruling. Now they are coming again and saying, 'You have to give us the northern part of Abyei.' We lost almost sixteen thousand square kilometers as the result of The Hague ruling. Now they want us to give them, again, something like 4,000 square kilometers."

If Sudan is to travel the road back from Abyei to a sustainable peace, then a resolution to the dispute should be based on the following:

- 1) A recognition of the root causes of Abyei's conflict, in line with the Machakos Protocol, which was the framework document for the CPA;
- 2) The full implementation of the intent of the Abyei Protocol of the CPA, through a referendum expressing the democratic will of the residents of the Abyei Area, as now defined by the Public Court of Arbitration's (PCA) 2009 ruling in the Hague;
- 3) A recognition by the US government that the recent interventions of their mediators have made a resolution less, rather than more likely, and a reversal of their current attempt to mediate through the imposition of a further territorial compromise; and
- 4) The establishment of separate mechanisms to address the worries of cattle herders that their post-referendum access to essential pastures and water sources will be restricted.

(Excerpts from opinion by Douglas H. Johnson, gurtong.net, 01/17/11)