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# Media Monitoring Report

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- Deadly faultline threatens to reignite civil war in Sudan  
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Address: UNMIS Headquarters, P.O. Box 69, Ibeid Khatim St, Khartoum 11111, SUDAN  
Phone: (+249-1) 8708 6000 - Fax: (+249-1) 8708 6200

# Highlights

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## **Absence of MPs delays discussion on National Security Act**

**Al-Ray Al-Aam** reports the Parliament yesterday adjourned discussion over the National Security Act due to lack of quorum. The Speaker of the Parliament Ahmed Ibrahim Al-Tahir said that most of the SPLM and opposition parties did not attend the session adding that only one remained for the Parliamentary session. Meanwhile, the NCP Political Secretary Ibrahim Ghandour said the two partners agreed to present the bill of the National Security next Sunday. The Deputy Speaker Mohamed Al-Hassan Al-Amin told reporters that the adjournment of the session had nothing to do with the National Security Act. He said differences were in the power to arrest. On his part, the SPLM Deputy Secretary General Yassir Arman described the absence of the MPs as an indicative to the rejection of the bill.

**The Citizen** reports the Spokesperson of the NDA caucus

## **New crisis emerges in Parliament due to cancellation of membership**

**Al-Khartoum** reports some MPS said the adjournment of yesterday's Parliamentary session was due to National Assembly Speaker's rejection to the cancellation of membership of Lam Akol and Qazi Suleiman who were dismissed from the SPLM.

## **Khartoum High Elections Committee forms committees to review objections on voter register**

**Al-Sudani** reports the High Elections Committee at Khartoum State formed a number of committees from judges to look into objections on the electoral register. The committees will start activities next Thursday.

## **ICG proposes postponement of elections**

**Al-Ahdath** the International Crisis Group proposed postponement of elections to November instead of April 2010 to allow time to resolve outstanding issues related to the vote. It said pre-electoral CPA benchmarks were still outstanding, including agreement on the commissions for the referendum on self-determination for the south and the referendum that will establish whether Abyei district will remain in the north or be integrated into the south.

**AFP** reports Sudan is heading towards 'violent breakup' due to the lack of implementation of peace deals between Khartoum and the west, south and east of the country, the International Crisis Group warned Thursday. "Unless the international community, notably the US, the UN, the African Union Peace and Security Council and the Horn of Africa Inter-Government Authority on Development (IGAD), cooperate to support (peace deals), return to north-south war and escalation of conflict in Darfur are likely," the ICG said. "The main mechanisms to end conflicts between the central government and the peripheries all suffer from lack of implementation, largely due to intransigence of the National Congress Party," of President Omar al-Beshir, the report said

## **Government rejects transfer of French-African Summit, Slams French position**

**Sudan Vision** reports Sudan hailed the Egyptian position rejecting to convene any summit in its territory without Sudan's participation. A statement issued yesterday by the Foreign Ministry said the Egyptian position comes in line with the positions of African and Arab leaders rejecting the IC allegations against Sudan.

**SUNA** reports the Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Muawiya Osman Khalid said

the unwise stances of France will have negative impact on the progress of the peaceful settlement in Darfur and the Francophonie belt of the West African countries.

### **Sudan rules out intention to expel the French Ambassador**

**Akhir Lahza** reports the Government of Sudan (GoS) denied that it had any intention to expel the French Ambassador to Sudan on grounds of "France's position towards Al-Bashir's presence at the African-Summit. However, the GoS strongly criticized France's stance and requested that France stop its "patronizing attitude towards Khartoum." The Official Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Moawia Osman Khaled had strongly accused France of hampering peace process in Sudan. He said that the unwise stances of France would have negative impact on the progress of the peaceful settlement in Darfur and the Francophonie belt of the West African countries.

**SUNA** reports Sudan has welcomed the decision of the Arab Republic of Egypt to refuse hosting of the Summit of Francophonie in its territories without the participation of Sudan in this summit, a matter that suspended holding of the summit and moving it to another place.

### **Opposition parties call for amendment of the Criminal Procedures Act**

**Al-Ayaam** reports the National Democratic Alliance Parliamentary group renewed call for immediate investigation with those who committed violations against demonstrators last Monday. The group stressed the need to amend the Criminal Procedures Act and all laws that contravene the constitution. In a statement released yesterday, the group called on those who talked about acts of sabotage to show evidence of that allegation. The statement considered the crackdown by the police on the peaceful procession as a flagrant violation to the constitution and human rights international conventions.

### **Sudan says it will not permit any demonstrations by opposition**

**Sudan Tribune** reports the Sudanese government said it will categorically prevent any attempts to stage demonstrations saying that the conditions in the country are not suitable for this form of expression. The Sudanese presidential adviser and the former director of the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS) Salah Gosh told a convention for the ruling National Congress Party (NCP) that the government will crack down "on any attempts to stir up the absurdity and the destabilization of the country's security".

### **Mbeki: Bashir committed to maintain justice**

**Al-Ayaam** reports President Al-Bashir appreciated the role played by the AU and its high level panel chaired by the former South African President Thabo Mbeki in strengthening peace and stability in Darfur. Al-Bashir was briefed on the efforts taken by the African Panel to implement the recommendations approved by the African Peace and Security Council in its meeting which held in Abuja in last October.

Mbeki pointed out to the commitment of all parties on top of which is the President Al-Bashir to maintain justice, provide the environment conducive to achieve that and to try all crimes perpetrators.

### **South Sudan army collects 592 arms in Central Equatoria**

**Sudan Tribune** reports Southern Sudan army said today that disarmament operations are taking place since four days ago in Central Equatoria state where some 592 gun are collected till now. The region witnessed recently bloody tribal clashes between the Mundari ethnic group in Central Equatoria and Dinka ethnic group from Jonglei and Lacks states. Only from October to November this year over two hundred people were killed during tribal clashes involving Mundari youth. Since December 12, Sudan People's Liberation Army forces from "the 7th Infantry Brigade of the SPLA 2nd Infantry Division deployed in Greater Equatoria, are now

operating in Terkeka County" said a press statement put out by the SPLA spokesperson Maj. Gen. Kuol Deim Kuol. Kuol said "592 guns including one 12.7 mm General Purpose Heavy Machine Gun, one 60 mm Mortar and three RPG-7 were collected," adding the ongoing operations will engulf the other parts of Central Equatoria State in the coming days.

### **NEC meets with UN and donors representatives today**

**Al-Ayaam** reports NEC Chairman Abel Alier discussed yesterday with SRSG Ashraf Qazi current and future cooperation between the two sides concerning the forthcoming elections. Alier told reporters that the meeting focused on the required arrangements for the meeting scheduled Thursday between the NEC and representatives of the UN and the donor countries supporting to the elections in Sudan.

**SUNA** reports the Chairman of the high election committee in North Kordofan State received Wednesday a delegation of the United Nations and briefed them on the preparations for the coming elections in the State. The UN delegation, which includes a number of advisors, affirmed UN readiness to provide the required assistance for the elections in the coming period.

## **Commentaries**

### **Edward Thomas: Ruling elites hold key to curbing strife**

*The alliance is structured around oil - extracted from the south, piped and sold from the north*  
Wednesday, 16 December 2009

All of Sudan's political actors are looking to the coming year of big decisions and deadlines that will mark the end of the interim period charted by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005.

President Omar al-Bashir's National Congress Party (NCP) has shared power with the southern-based former rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) since then: an unlikely alliance that ended a brutal civil war. It was resilient enough to survive the death of the powerful and charismatic SPLM leader John Garang, and the indictment of President Bashir.

For many members of Sudan's ruling elites, that alliance may hold the key to limiting violence in Sudan, whose local conflicts are tied into the politics of its unstable neighbours, and of the weak but fierce central state. Diplomats share this view, and are investing in ways of keeping the coalition partners talking.

The alliance is structured around oil – largely extracted from the South; piped and sold from the North. The SPLM and NCP can more or less keep each other in power if they share the oil between themselves, and that is the structural reason why both parties could do a deal which allows the referendum to go ahead – allowing southern voters to get their chance to leave the north – with a minimum of violence and with mutually acceptable terms of divorce. It's hard to think of a peaceful alternative to an SPLM-NCP deal, and for that reason it's something that many wish for. But not everybody wishes for it.

The "terms of the divorce" involve negotiations on currency, nationality, security, Nile waters – all much more complex issues than the procedural law on the referendum that has taken a year of fractious negotiation to agree. Reaching these deals will consume much political energy, and elites may neglect or bargain away pressing problems, such as peace in Darfur, for their sake.

And elite deal-making in the last year of the CPA will maintain the kind of exclusionary politics that has cut off Sudanese state elites from its people. Sudan's two elites need to find a way of working together that will resolve their problems, and simultaneously open up to new constituencies, if they are to turn the country away from violence.

The writer is the author of a forthcoming Chatham House report, "Decisions and deadlines: a critical year for Sudan"

## Deadly faultline threatens to reignite civil war in Sudan

*The uneasy peace that has kept the two disparate halves of Africa's biggest nation together is under threat*

By Daniel Howden in Bentiu - Wednesday, 16 December 2009

As Sudan approaches its fifth anniversary of peace, the fragile accord which has held the north and the south together is unravelling and Africa's biggest country is sliding back dangerously towards what was the continent's longest war. Momentous elections are due in a matter of months, a referendum on separation looms and Sudan's complex ceasefire is in open crisis.

All over the south there are soldiers in new uniforms; the army was paid for the first time in six months last week. Around 2,000 people have died in violence there this year and the government of southern Sudan says small arms are pouring across the border. In the north, which is led by Omar al-Bashir, the president wanted for war crimes, opposition leaders have been jailed after protests over democratic reforms and crisis talks in Khartoum have failed to halt public demonstrations.

"Now we're seeing the crunch," says Sudan analyst John Ashworth. The "endgame" of the historic Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) has arrived, he explains, and the fact that "the north gave away more than it could afford" to get the ceasefire means new conflict is almost inevitable.

Tunguer Kueigong is among those who think that 2009 will be the last year of peace. In Bentiu, the dusty capital of Unity State, the paramount chief of the Nuer, southern Sudan's second largest tribe, holds court in his "office" under the shade of a mahogany tree. "You know the north will not just let the south separate like this," he says, matter-of-factly. "If it happens, the people must fight."

The traditional leader understands better than most that the biggest obstacle to peace is oil. Unity State produces half of Sudan's oil. His time as chief has coincided with the discovery of the first sign of Sudan's huge oil wealth, here in the state 33 years ago.

Tunguer's playful garb, sunglasses and a Manchester United cap pulled tight over his head, belie his status. Southerners from ministers to herders come to his "office". Gesturing occasionally to his unopened briefcase perched on a plastic stool, he explains the benefits that oil has brought to Unity State. "When we didn't know we had oil we built schools and clinics," he says. "Because of the oil there is nothing."

Since the discovery of crude, the preferred method of extraction has been to clear the local population by force and meet any opposition with overwhelming military power. For much of the last three decades this has meant war. The fighting in Unity State, Tunguer recounts, has seen people being bombed in their villages, burnt alive in their huts and children rounded up and marched north to become slaves. "When we tried to fight them we had only small guns; they had bombs," he says.

The reality of Unity State sits uncomfortably with its name. A super-hot expanse on the western fringe of the great Sudd Swamp, it sits on the northern border of what may become South Sudan under the terms of the deal that ended the civil war. For now it looks politically to the south but its economic wealth is pumped north to the Arab-led government in Khartoum.

Its oil fields are guarded by army units dominated by northern security forces, with two of them outright occupied by the northern-controlled Sudan Army. The state infrastructure has been built in spite of its people for the purpose of extraction, not development. Its countless miles of straight roads were built to transport oil, not to connect communities.

Unity is home to the cattle-herding Nuer and Dinka, southern Sudan's two largest tribes. With its rich resources, impoverished people, tribal tensions, history of violence and predatory extractive industries, the state is a microcosm of this troubled country.

While the Darfur crisis in the west of Sudan dominated world headlines, the tortuous negotiations that led to the CPA, which marks its fifth anniversary next month, commanded greater interest in the country itself. The deal ended a conflict that claimed 2 million lives and left Sudan with a generation born into war. The fighting, which pitched the primarily Christian and

animist south in a guerrilla campaign against the Arab-led north, registered strongly in the US where the Christian lobby led by Billy Graham pushed Washington to take sides.

Diplomats are concerned that a new round of fighting could see a proxy conflict between Khartoum's main sponsor, China, and the Western allies of the south, including the US. Under the terms of the ceasefire between the military government of President Bashir and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), the south has governed itself for an interim period before nationwide elections are held in 2010, followed by a southern referendum on self-determination in 2011.

With the country's first national poll in a quarter of a century coming, the south is wracked by violence. Medical group Doctors Without Borders said this week that 2,000 people had been killed and another 250,000 displaced during 2009. Legislation supposed to define how April's elections and then the 2011 referendum would work remains unsigned in Khartoum ahead of next week's deadline. A partial deal on Sunday was hailed by both sides as a "breakthrough" but many in the south remain sceptical about whether elections will be held at all.

The question of who would control Sudan's oil revenues after a potential split in to two countries is completely absent from the CPA. A newly created South Sudan would contain as much as 87 per cent of Sudanese oil, much of it in Unity State, Upper Nile, Jonglei and the contested Abyei area, which is also due to vote on joining the south. "These are the states the north cannot afford to lose," says Mr Ashworth, an analyst with the Dutch-based Pax Christi peace institute.

For the vast majority of southerners long-cherished independence is on the horizon and with it, freedom from decades of misrule and the imposition of unwanted Sharia law. For the north, there is the prospect of losing half the country and two-thirds of its income.

Khartoum points to the mounting death toll as evidence that the south is ungovernable. President Bashir's opponents accuse the government of funnelling arms and money into the south to destabilise it and delay a vote on separation. "The north relies on the principle of divide and rule," says Taban Deng Gai, governor of Unity State. "They will not allow the south to be a feasible state." He accuses Khartoum of recruiting militias again, a tactic which was used to devastating effect during the civil war.

In the last four years of the 22-year war, Unity State saw a reign of terror led by the militia of Paulino Matip, a Nuer warlord who defected to the northern camp. President Bashir was indicted by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity after using similar militia tactics in Darfur.

There is disagreement over the origins of violence in the south but the prolonged civil war undoubtedly incubated rivalries between major ethnic groups. Much of this year's fighting, however, has broken the mould of previous cattle raids and skirmishes with large-scale massacres occurring. Even on the political level there are deep divisions. The SPLM is dominated by the Dinka and led by Salva Kiir Maryadit, the president of southern Sudan. Power struggles between the president and his Nuer vice-president, Riek Machar, have almost paralysed the movement, which would rather skip the April elections and move straight to a vote on secession from the north.

In the meantime, much of the meagre oil revenues that have gone south have been absorbed by corruption – a fact acknowledged by Washington which recently cut aid to the administration in the south's capital, Juba. While President Bashir denies interfering in the south, analysts suspect that Khartoum will seek to contrast a peaceful vote in the north in April with predicted unrest in the south. This could then be used with the international community to argue for a delay in holding a referendum. However, any stalling over a vote on secession could also see the south declare independence unilaterally.

If the referendum bill is not agreed before parliament is dissolved on 23 December "then war is imminent", said a senior foreign intelligence source. He added that any attempts to delay the historic referendum, pencilled in for 9 January 2011, would provoke a violent response from the south: "On the 9th expect a referendum or a bloodbath."