

# The African Union

*Assembly of Heads of State and Government*

**Background Notes**



# Index

<b>Introduction to the Union.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Introduction of Chairs.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Topic One: The Two Sudans.....</b>	<b>5-10</b>
History of the Conflict .....	5-6
Present Situation.....	6-9
The African Union.....	9
Questions.....	9
Recommended Further Research Websites.....	10
<b>Topic Two: The Situation in Libya .....</b>	<b>13</b>
History .....	13-14
The Revolution.....	14-15
The Future.....	15-16
The African Union.....	16
Questions.....	17
Recommended Further Research Websites.....	17

## **Introduction to the Union**

Welcome to the Committee for the African Union! Established in 2002 as the successor to the Organization of African Unity, it consists of 54 member states, and has its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The vision of the African Union is that of: “An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in global arena,” and thus it has key bodies dealing with peace and security, economic issues, judicial issues, political issues as well as technical committees promoting pan-African unity.

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government has supreme authority within the AU, and meets annually to discuss matters pertinent to the continent. The Assembly has the power to emplace sanctions on any member state, and to authorize intervention into a member state for the purposes of peace and security, or in the circumstances when the state’s government is committing grave crimes.

The background guides are your first point of reference for the two topics, however, in order to understand the complexity of the two issues, it is highly advisable to take your research further, and explore the topics from the perspective of your respective nations.

## **Introduction of Chairs**

*Anjali Shah*

Hi, my name is Anjali, and I'll be the Director of the African Union at LIMUN 2012. This is my second year chairing LIMUN, have previously chaired the UNDP. I've also chaired at OxiMUN, and LSEMUN, and am really excited to be at the AU this year. The African Union has enormous potential to enact meaningful and lasting change within the continent, and both South Sudan and Libya feature prominently on its agenda for the year.

I'm currently studying a BSc. In Government at LSE, and am President of its UN Society. In 2011, I was Secretary-General of LSEMUN, an all crisis conference. Outside of MUN, I enjoy debating, writing and reading, and am a business affairs correspondent for *The Star* Newspaper, in Kenya.

*Tim Rouse*

Hi, I'm Tim Rouse, your Assistant Director in the African Union this year. This is my second year at LIMUN, and my second year in the AU; a year ago I had the unenviable task of representing the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya less than a week before the uprising started. I'm delighted to be back with the AU this year; the topics reflect the enormous changes that have happened in parts of the African continent this year, and should lead to an interesting debate.

Personally, I am a second-year History student at the University of Reading. MUN is one of my main hobbies, and I'm the President of Reading University MUN society. This is my seventh MUN conference, and I've also been on a Summer School at the UNOG with a Geneva-based NGO. When I'm not doing MUN/UN related things, I spend the rest of my time playing video games, arguing about politics, and reading about the seventeenth century.

## Topic 1: The Two (2) Sudans

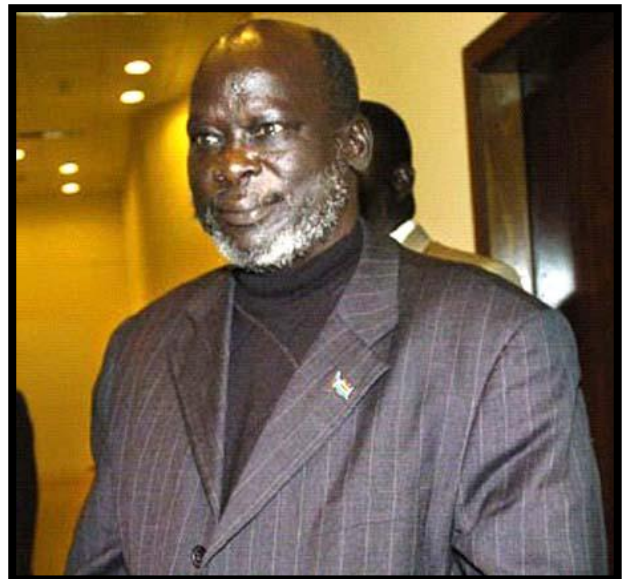
South Sudan gained independence on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 2011, following a January referendum in which 98.83% of the voters backed the split (Ross). With the support of Omar al-Bashir's government, a region that had for decades been advocating independence, formally gained recognition to become the world's newest nation. However, this is just the beginning of the road. Both Sudans suffer from multiple inter and intra state challenges, and mounting tensions are of paramount concern to the African Union at large.

### History of the Conflict

Even prior to Sudan's independence in 1956, the South had been struggling for greater representation. As the South is predominantly animist and Christian, and the North Arab and Muslim, there was a seemingly clear ethnic and religious fault line upon which the conflict would later build on.

#### *The First Sudanese Civil War (1955-72)*

As independence approached, it became more and more apparent that the Northern government would renege on its promises to create a federal structure, giving significant autonomy to the south, and to create a secular governmental system, such that religious differences could be accommodated. Rumors of Khartoum-led oppression of southerners led to a mutiny by mostly southern army officials, and precipitated the Anyanya Rebellion, a seventeen-year protracted civil war in which approximately 500,000 people died (US State Dept). However, although the movement did show promise, inter-community disagreements meant that it could better be categorized as a protracted guerrilla resistance.



*John Garang, leader of the SPLM*

### *The Second Sudanese Civil War*

The Civil War came to an end with the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, which promised significant autonomy to the south, especially in religious and cultural matters. Although the pact was a significant step toward peace, it failed to garner the support of some of the Islamic northern parties. In 1983, the Nimeiri government, believing that it would be more advisable to adhere to the demands of the north, embarked upon a policy of Islamicization, introducing a rigid variant of Sharia law, and encroaching upon the autonomy that had been initially granted to the south. This led to the Second Civil War, in which a wide range of periphery states fought against increasing oppression by the government in Khartoum. Of note is the 1990s creation of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), and umbrella organization headed by John Garang. The SPLM had much international support throughout that decade, and there was much regional pressure from the IGAD member states in particular for a solution on the matter.

### *The Comprehensive Peace Agreement*

In 2002, during the first round of another set of IGAD sponsored talks between the government of Sudan and the SPLM/A, the Machakos Protocol was issued, representing an enormous step toward peace and reconciliation. Throughout 2003 and 2004 talks continued, and finally in 2005 a Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed, which included all of the Machakos Protocol, as well as the outcome of later negotiations. (Under this accord, there would be an immediate creation of a Government of National Unity and interim Government of Southern Sudan. Also there were provisions for elections, and for a South Sudan referendum on the issue of unity with the North. These elections were held in early 2011, and the results released on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 2011. The government of Sudan accepted the outcome, and in July South Sudan's Salva Kiir became the first president of the new country.

### **Present Situation**

Although there has been significant foreign direct investment within Sudan in the past six months and the sense of optimism within the country still holds, there are still numerous challenges that are faced by both states.

### *The Abyei Region and Oil*

The Abyei region was to have a referendum on whether to join the North or the South before the split, yet this has yet to occur. This crucial region matters partly because of its economic power (although since a 2009 arbitration decision most oil fields fall outside of its borders - for more info, see <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1912147,00.html>) but more because of ethnic reasons. The Misseriya (a northern nomadic group), and the Dinka Ngok (a southern tribe) both lay claim to the territory. Although under the CPA, the outcome of the region would fall to a vote, this has now been postponed indefinitely, and the peoples of Abyei are on an interim basis currently citizens of both the north and the south. A UN peacekeeping force, the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei has also been established.

The issue of Abyei also brings up the question of oil more generally. As the majority of oil fields fall in the south, but the pipes and refineries are situation predominantly in the north, it is crucial that the two states resolve the issue of oil wealth sharing harmoniously, and maintain the terms outlined within the CPA.

#### *South Kordofan and the Blue Nile*

Both South Kordofan and the Blue Nile fall under the jurisdiction of the north, and are formally part of the republic of Sudan. However, since South Sudan independence, tensions have been rising in these regions, particularly amongst the Nuba peoples, who consider themselves to be southerners. Under the CPA, they were to hold 'popular consultations' in 2011 to determine their future. So far, this has not happened, and both regions have had clashes in the last six months. A UN leaked report in July suggested the occurrence of war crimes in Southern Kordofan, and as of now, there has been little done to meaningfully resolve the tensions. Although initially erupting out of the Abyei conflict, tensions in South Kordofan and the Blue Nile have the potential to erupt into a bloody and tragic onslaught, with the Nubans likely to become the highest victims.

#### *The refugee situation*

Five decades of civil war has resulted in mass displacement, and many of those affected during the numerous conflicts within Sudan are now returning to South Sudan, creating a massive refugee influx. Furthermore, tensions in South Kurdofan and the Blue Nile are currently affecting over a million people, creating yet more difficulties for the new

government. In the north, both internal conflicts and protracted wars with neighbors (such as Chad) have also left many homeless. It is imperative that these refugees be looked after and protected, and the international community can do much to alleviate this issue, both in the South, the North and in disputed regions.

### *Socio-Economic Conditions in South Sudan*

This new state is amongst one of the worlds poorest, and decades of conflicts have left the country devastated. The maternal mortality rate is the highest globally, and 84% of women are illiterate (South Sudan, BBC). More than half of primary school aged children are not in class, and the people have benefitted little from oil wealth.

Corruption rates in the new government are still high (South Sudan Nhial), and the lack of strong opposition parties within parliament makes for unfruitful debate. Currently, there are seven active rebel groups in the new state, and poor living conditions



could lead to renewed violence in the already fragile country. State building is a long and often bumpy process, and the new nation is faced with managing ongoing conflicts, building infrastructural systems virtually from scratch, educating its people and trying to implement democracy for the first time in the region's history.

### *The International Criminal Court*

The ICC currently has issued an arrest warrant for Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir, the first time in history that a sitting head of state has been wanted for gross crimes. The African Union has had mixed responses to this arrest warrant, but is urging its member states to comply with international law. Although not directly relevant to discussions on the issues between Sudan and South Sudan, this arrest warrant nonetheless is at the back of the minds of all members of the African Union, and raises the question of how an international body such as the AU should respond to international law, and to what extent they should press compliance.

## **The African Union**

The AU has a massive role to play in the Sudanese conflict, both from its peace and security mandate, and its ability to support state building and good governance. The challenges are numerous, and not all member states are necessarily supportive of the peace building activities. But, as the most important pan-African body, it is crucial that it rises to meet the challenges of the two Sudans, and plays its role in avoiding mass crimes against humanity, and the destitution of a population so elated by independence. In particular the IGAD member states will take a key interest in seeing peace in this region, but other African powerhouses will too look to the Sudanese situation as a means to exemplify to the West the promise that an African solution can have for an African issue.

## **Questions**

- What is your state's position toward the Sudanese conflict and how is it affected by it?
- What can the African Union do to mediate the Abyei region border disputes?
- What can the African Union do to calm tensions in South Kordofan and the Blue Nile?
- How is your state affected by questions of ethnicity and wealth sharing, and what recommendations will it make based on that toward peacekeeping and territorial dispute resolution in the Sudanese region?
- What is your country's position on Omar al-Bashir?

## **Recommended Further Research Websites**

The African Union Website:

<http://www.au.int/en/>

US State Department's Background Notes on South Sudan:

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5424.htm>

BBC Maps on a Country Divided:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12115013>

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement:

<http://unmis.unmissions.org/Portals/UNMIS/Documents/General/cpa-en.pdf>

United Nations Mission in Sudan Website:

<http://unmis.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=515>

## **Bibliography:**

*African Union Official Website*, (2001). Retrieved from <http://www.au.int/en/>

African Union, Peace and Security Council. (2011). *Communique*. Retrieved from website: [http://au.int/en/dp/ps/sites/default/files/297th FINAL PSC Communiqué - Sudan EN.pdf](http://au.int/en/dp/ps/sites/default/files/297th_FINAL_PSC_Communique_-_Sudan_EN.pdf)

Boswell, A. (2011, September 02). Sudan's conflict spreads: Is this the start of a new civil war?. *Time*. Retrieved from <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2091688,00.html>

Copnal, J. (2011, May 23). Sudan: Why abyei is crucial to north and south. *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13502845>

Gladstone, R. (2011, November 11). U.N. officials accuse Sudan of a bombing. *New York Times*. Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/12/world/africa/un-officials-accuse-sudan-of-bombing-south-sudan.html?\\_r=1&ref=southsudan](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/12/world/africa/un-officials-accuse-sudan-of-bombing-south-sudan.html?_r=1&ref=southsudan)

Ross, W. (2011, July 08). *South sudan: How long will the smiles last?*, *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14085832>

South Sudan: Country profile. (2011). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14069082>

South sudan. (2011, November 11). *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/south-sudan/index.html?scp=1-spot&sq=south sudan&st=cse>

South sudan nhial deng nhial: We are on brink of war. (2011, December 09). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-16115699>

Sudan backs independence results. (2011, Feb 07). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12379431>

Sudan: Country profile. (2011). *BBC*. Retrieved from

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14094995>

US Department of State, Bureau of African Affairs. (2011). *Background note: Sudan*.

Retrieved from website: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5424.htm>

## **Topic 2: The Situation in Libya**

### **History**

Libya first gained independence from foreign powers in 1951, having previously been controlled by first the Ottoman Empire, then Fascist Italy, and finally occupied by Britain and France after the Second World War. It secured independence through negotiations at the United Nations, and the United Kingdom of Libya was formed under King Idris. This new country joined the League of Arab States in 1953, the United Nations in 1955, and was a founding member of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963.

In 1969, a group of Army officers with Moammar Gaddafi at their head deposed the monarchy while the king was out of the country. The new 'Libyan Arab Republic', later renamed the 'Libyan Arab Jamahiriya', was headed by a Revolutionary Command Council, with Gaddafi at its head. The state which emerged over the next decade publicly espoused ideas of pan-Arabism, Arab socialism, and direct democracy. In theory, the country was governed by the General People's Congress, comprised of delegates chosen from People's Congresses that included all Libyan citizens; however, the reality was an autocratic government with the charismatic Colonel Gaddafi at its head.

Though a member of the Non-Aligned Movement and rejecting Communism, Gaddafi's government forged close links with the Soviet bloc and its army was supplied with Soviet weaponry. Gaddafi's foreign policy was based upon his beliefs in Arab unity, the advancement of Islam, and opposition to imperialism and Zionism. These policies led Gaddafi's Libya down a path of supporting international terrorism for much of its existence. The Colonel expressed support for many international acts of terrorism, and the Libyan government was linked to several events, perhaps most famously the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 in 1988, also known as the Lockerbie bombing. This led to international isolation, culminating in the UNSC passing S/RES/748 (1992), imposing sanctions on Libya from 1992.

At the turn of the new millennium, Gaddafi began to pursue different policies, and sanctions were soon lifted after an agreement was made to put the perpetrators of the Lockerbie bombing on trial. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya began to normalise diplomatic relations with

the Western world, and Gaddafi's regime began cooperation with western states, including purchasing large quantities of arms from states such as the UK.

### **The Revolution**

In February of 2010, after protests and successful revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, an uprising began in Libya. Protests began in the eastern city of Benghazi, the country's second-largest, where Gaddafi's security forces reacted swiftly and violently, killing several on the 16<sup>th</sup> February. The next day, a planned "Day of Revolt", saw violent clashes across the country between demonstrators and security forces, with at least thirty demonstrators killed. Over the next week, the protests grew into a full uprising. The city of Benghazi fell under the control of protestors who flew the flag of the old Libyan monarchy in place of Gaddafi's plain green flag. Unrest in Tripoli prompted Gaddafi to use the Libyan Navy to shell parts of the city. Meanwhile, Gaddafi sought to retain control, making vitriolic speeches in which he condemned the uprising, accused the rebels of being on hallucinogens, and swore to fight to remain in power.

By the end of the month, what had begun as protests was now a civil war. In Benghazi, *de facto* capital of the rebels, a National Transitional Council (NTC) had been established to serve as the political face of the revolution, comprising various prominent anti-Gaddafi activists and dissatisfied members of the regime.



Defections from the Libyan armed forces had led to a rebel force capable of conducting a military campaign, and pro-Gaddafi forces clashed with rebels across the country. However, the rebel advance along the coast towards Tripoli was halted on March 6<sup>th</sup>, and a pro-Gaddafi counteroffensive advanced as far as Benghazi.

Internationally, the Gaddafi regime was coming under increasing pressure. Many Western nations were evacuating their citizens where possible, and the Gaddafi government was being heavily criticised for its treatment of protestors. The Libyan mission to the UN had defected, loudly criticising Gaddafi, as had the staff of numerous Libyan embassies

worldwide. On the 26<sup>th</sup> February, the UNSC unanimously passed S/RES/1970 (2011), which imposed sanctions on the country and referred it to the ICC. The governments of France, the UK, and the USA began to call for Gaddafi's removal and, if necessary, international intervention to facilitate it. On 17<sup>th</sup> March, the UK, France, and Lebanon proposed a resolution in the UNSC which would authorise the establishment of a "no-fly zone" over Libya and foreign intervention short of an occupation force. This proposal was supported by the League of Arab States, and passed as S/RES/1973 (2011) with five abstentions, including Russia and China, despite earlier comments from the NTC and AU rejecting the idea of foreign intervention in Libya.

The military intervention was initially carried out by the UK, US, and France, alongside several other states, and was later run as a NATO operation. The intervention involved aerial interception as well as the deployment of cruise missiles against military targets. These attacks have been connected with significant numbers of civilian deaths, although details remain unclear and are confused by Gaddafi loyalists exaggerating the numbers killed.

As spring turned into summer, the NATO intervention and the rebel offensive continued, and on or around August 22<sup>nd</sup> the capital city, Tripoli, fell to rebel forces. Gaddafi loyalists held out in several strongholds; when the last of these, the city of Sirte, fell at the end of October, the civil war was at an end. Moammar Gaddafi was found and killed in Sirte on the 20<sup>th</sup> October, and the war was declared at an end on the 23<sup>rd</sup> October.

### **The Future**

The Libyan people are now faced with the task of building a new government for themselves. The main agency through which they are doing this is the NTC, now expanded to 51 members. An interim government was formed in November 2011, and an elected constitutional assembly has been promised within eight months. The shape of the future Libyan government is not yet clear, but it is likely to include, as the NTC and interim government have, several former members of Gaddafi's government, notably Mustafa Abdul Jalil, Minister of Justice under Gaddafi and now chairman of the NTC. This raises questions of continuity, and there have been calls from protestors to exclude members of the Gaddafi government from public office in the new country.

One of the biggest challenges is the ideological differences between many of the rebels. While united against the Gaddafi regime, the rebels consist of many different factions, including radical Islamists, democratic socialists, nationalists and free-market capitalists. It is yet to be seen whether these groups will interact through democracy and politics or through the armed militias which persist in Libya as ‘guardians of the revolution’.

Economically, Libya is extremely dependent on its oil resources, which contribute over half of its GDP and provide an enormously valuable asset in international trade and diplomacy. Some of the positive legacies of the Gaddafi regime include a higher life expectancy than any of the surrounding countries, a literacy rate of around 89%, much higher than its neighbours, and the Great Manmade River, a project to bring fresh water from a desert aquifer to meet the demand on the coasts.

With only an interim government, and one focused primarily on internal issues, Libya has yet to develop extensive foreign relations. They have, unsurprisingly, shown support for the rebels in Syria, and have forged links with some other Arab and North African nations such as Qatar and Sudan, both of which supported the NTC during the uprising.

### **The African Union**

Gaddafi’s government long participated in the African Union, and Gaddafi was a strong advocate of African unity. The African Union did not authorise the NTC authorities to occupy the Libyan seat within the AU, until the 20<sup>th</sup> October 2011. However, since then, it has welcomed moves towards stability in the country. On 21<sup>st</sup> October, the AU stated that *“since the onset of the crisis in Libya, the AU has called for, and tirelessly worked towards, a solution that meets the legitimate aspirations of the Libyan people for democracy, respect for human rights and good governance.”* The African Union has sought to encourage a process of national reconciliation, and has offered support in achieving this.

Within the African Union committee, it should be remembered that Libya has not yet found its place in the international community, but is so far showing signs of moderate Islamism and a commitment to democracy. It is, fundamentally, a North African and Arabic state, but the new government has found support across the continent. However, there are several African countries which have opposed the NTC government; these include much of the SADC, many of whom opposed the NTC’s claim to Libya’s seat at the UN.

## Questions

- What is your state's position towards the NTC government?
- What are your state's hopes for the future of Libya?
- How do you see the African Union and other African nations being involved with Libya in the future?
- What points would you hope to see passed in a resolution?

## Recommended Further Research Websites

The African Union Website: <http://www.au.int/en/>

US State Department's Background Notes on Libya:

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm>

## **Bibliography**

*African Union Official Website*, (2001). Retrieved from <http://www.au.int/en/>

African Union, Peace and Security Council. (2011). *Communique*. Retrieved from website: <http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/297th%20FINAL%20PSC%20Communique%20C3%A9%20-%20%20Libya%20EN-1.pdf>

African Union, Peace and Security Council. (2011). *Communique*. Retrieved from website: [http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/communique%20-%20Libya%20\\_eng\\_-21-10-11%20\\_2\\_.pdf](http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/communique%20-%20Libya%20_eng_-21-10-11%20_2_.pdf)

African Union, Peace and Security Council. (2011). *Press Release*. Retrieved from website: <http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/Press%20Release-Libya-eng-23-11-11.pdf>

Aftermath of the 2011 Libyan Civil War. (2011) *Wikipedia*. Retrieved from: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aftermath\\_of\\_the\\_2011\\_Libyan\\_civil\\_war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aftermath_of_the_2011_Libyan_civil_war)

ICJ Judgment on *Questions of Interpretation and Application of the 1971 Montreal Convention arising from the Aerial Incident at Lockerbie*  
Available at <http://www.icj-cij.org>

Information on the Great Manmade River:  
<http://www.gmmra.org/en/>