

### **Heglig: The Escalation that Dictated New Conditions**

Abdullah Mohamed

Khartoum - The relations between Sudan and South Sudan have entered a new phase in which Sudan adopted a new methodology in handling the issues on the negotiations table after the attack on the Sudanese oil-rich area of Heglig on April 10th 2012 by the army of South Sudan.

Military and political escalation followed. It is worth mentioning that Heglig is no longer a disputed area after the international arbitration by the Hague-based Court which ruled Heglig to be a Sudanese region.

The Sudanese Armed Forces have issued the orders to liberate Heglig according to the rules of the international Law that authorizes countries to defend themselves and their territories. In the meantime, the Sudanese government ceased all negotiations with South Sudan unless certain conditions were met.

A diplomatic Campaign:

The Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs led a diplomatic campaign to expose the aggression of South Sudan on Heglig and other Sudanese territories, the campaign kicked off by enlightening ambassadors in Khartoum and informing them of the situation of developments in Heglig, at a meeting that took place on April 18th, seven days after the occupation of the territory.

Rahamtullah Mohammed Osman, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared the cessation of all negotiations with the Government of South Sudan, explaining that this is a stage of deterring aggression and self-defense according to the International Law.

Mr. Osman refuted the allegations of South Sudan that Heglig is Southern Sudanese territory, indicating that Heglig is not one of the disputed areas on the borders in addition to the fact that the Court ruling in The Hague clearly states that Heglig is a Sudanese territory. Therefore, attacking Heglig cancels and violates what was agreed upon regarding borders.

The diplomatic campaign is not going to halt even after the liberation of Heglig by the Sudanese Armed Forces and expelling the army of South Sudan out of it on April 20th 2012.

Ambassador Omer Dahab was appointed head of the Crisis Management Committee in order to meet the developments in the situation in the security, political, and diplomatic issues and their effect on the relations between the two countries. Discussing the issues between the two countries became obsolete under the current tension.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement in which it specified the conditions of the government for resuming negotiations.

The statement revealed that the Sudanese delegation is not going to resume negotiations unless the government of South Sudan acknowledges the previously ratified security agreements, renounces the Ninth and Tenth battalions in the Sudanese states of South Kordofan and Blue Nile, discontinues its support to the Darfuri Rebel Movements, and acknowledges the borders of January 1st 1956, that in addition to the compensation the government of the South should pay for the losses they wreaked in Heglig.

Escalation:

Since the independence of South Sudan on July 9th 2011, the relations between the parent country and South Sudan have not been stable. The two sides have signed a number of framework agreements regarding security and economic issues, while the issues of debts, water, borders, and others remained unsettled.

The oil issue has dominated most of the negotiations rounds, and the attack on Heglig made the Sudanese government raise the ceiling of demands in the negotiations, a government that always dealt with South Sudan on the basis of good neighborhood and prevention of escalation.

For the two sides to resume negotiations, the Sudanese government set forth several conditions, such as financially compensating Sudan for the damages wrought on Heglig by burning the oil fields by the army of South Sudan.

Ali Ahmed Karti, the Sudanese Foreign Minister said that the Sudanese government agreed to the resumption of negotiations with South Sudan in accordance to the recommendations of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union in Addis Ababa on April 24th 2012.

Mr. Karti clarified that this resumption is bound by the condition that only the security issues be discussed; explaining that discussing the other economic and commercial issues is out of the question for now. He stressed the importance of complying with the demands and conditions of Sudan.

Facts:

The Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not stop at only enlightening ambassadors, it also took practical measures to achieve a diplomatic victory over the policies of South Sudan whose voice has subsided, not only that, but South Sudan is now sending messages showing good intentions, and that was obvious in the statement made by Deng Alor, who is in charge of foreign affairs in South Sudan Government, when he said that his country is ready for negotiations.

Al-Obeid Murawah, Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that Sudan had asked the African Union to form a committee to assess the damage on the oil facilities in Heglig and the other losses in South Kordofan and Blue Nile states.

He also said that the Government of Sudan has also filed a complaint to the African Union against the Government of the South that supports the Darfuri Rebellion and performs acts of aggression against the Sudanese, Chadian, and Central African Joint Forces. Sudan has filed the same complaint with the United

Nations, too.

Condemnations:

According to political experts and analysts, the Government of South Sudan has lost militarily and politically by attacking Heglig.

The international community that has always sided with South Sudan changed its tone and issued statements of condemnation and disapproval and despite the vagueness of some Western statements, their threatening pitch towards the government of Sudan turned mild.

The future of the relations between Sudan and South Sudan has become clear in the light of the current circumstances since Sudan has welcomed the suggestions of the AU High Implementation Panel (AUHIP) headed by Mbeki, suggestions to resume negotiations with the government of South Sudan which already showed its readiness, but the conditions set forth by the government of Sudan which include assessment of damages and payment of compensation and that discussion should only focus on security issues, make the future of the relations between the countries subject to the acceptance of South Sudan of Khartoum's conditions.

Last Updated: 2 hours 9 minutes ago



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### **Editorial :Leading the Way**

Sudan Vision

The Sudan after Heglig victory must not be like Sudan before.

Heglig had painted an unparalleled epic as the Sudanese people proved their purity and bright stances.

On its part, the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) proved that it is immune to the enemies and never accept insults.

The above introduction is important because the consequences of Heglig incidents created a new political concept represented by the overwhelming support to SAF and the differentiation between the nation's interests and the narrow partisan ones.

The masses of citizens and their leaders have overcome the incidental political ordeals and transcend towards capacious horizons in recognizing the national dignity.

The government must benefit from the unification of the internal front through bracing the national building to confront all the plots against the nation.

That being the case, the government should reconsider several policies to overcome the upcoming stage.

The first file to be reviewed is the economic file because what happened in Heglig targeted mainly our economic resources.

The first step in dealing with the economic file should be reducing the government expenses.

The reduction of government expenses requires a profound surgery starting with reducing the number of constitutional posts holders, cancellation of unnecessary allowances, and reduction of housing allowances, in particular, for Ministers to 50% at least.

All the expenditure should be directed to the development of the sectors that can achieve rapid results in increasing the production such as electrification of the agricultural projects.

The security and military file should also be a priority as the government should design a defence system considering the changes in the borders and the types of aggression and the targeting of the internal and external enemies.

Our foreign policy should be reviewed to continue the crisis management in all fronts so as to avoid the plot aiming at imposing Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Information policies also need to be reviewed to transform it to an institutional mechanism for reflecting the realities on the ground and enlightening the international community and the media worldwide over all the developments in the country, and that could never be achieved unless there is a clear strategy in this sector which is supposed to have an effective role in the upcoming stage.

Last Updated: 5 hours 38 minutes ago



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### **Editorial :Hard Facts**

Sudan Vision

It was a must for Sudan to liberate Heglig irrespective of the cost as the matter was connected to sensitivities more than being calculations.

If they repeat Sudan will liberate its lands with the logic.

It could have been better than it was; but the Government of South Sudan believed on what it was told behind the scenes and transformed the Republic of South Sudan into a functional state disregarding that the First World provides only incitement to the Third World countries.

We were, and we are still sympathizing with South Sudan people since they were citizens among us up to this time when they became citizens of an independent state.

It was hoped that the South will have a leadership that can, at least, read the history and the present in favour of the future; but unfortunately the conduct of the Government of South Sudan contradicts that fact.

The history tells us that Eritrea practiced a civil war against Ethiopia – which was the motherland – for decades and failed to obtain its independence through war.

The Republic of the former USSR tried the same and also failed.

In Yemen, The southern part of the country also attempted to get its independence through guns and it also failed.

All those had their instigators, but when it comes to action they just stay in the spectator seats.

However, South Sudan itself entered into the longest civil war in the continent which continued for more than half a century and did not succeed to achieve its independence but after it sat down round the negotiations table.

What South Sudan achieved through negotiations was out of reach by war.

Now the question that poses itself is why South Sudan did repeat what history proved to be failure after they the Republic of South Sudan is recognized after reaching a peace agreement after lengthy talks witnessed by the international community.

The war between two states is worst than the wars with rebel movements.

As for the ongoing war between Sudan and South Sudan, it is definite that the former can withstand for another hundred years enduring all its consequences, but the latter will die after a year or so.

We don't want that to happen, but if there is one mature politician in Juba, he should recognize that through just superficial studies in geography and history.

It is the role of Juba people to look for an alternative to the existing ruling SPLM, and it is not the role of Khartoum to provide such service.

Last Updated: 23/04/2012

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**What Is Main Loss of Juba in Heglig?**

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The South Sudan army has lost over 60% of its soldiers and equipment with senior officers fell in captivity. The captives have revealed the plans of the South Sudan armed forces.

The South Sudan army has lost its first battle with the country it was part of it a matter that negatively affected the morales in the SPLM army and the SPLM leaders who mistakenly believed that the South Sudan are capable of changing the political and military equation and of defeating the Sudanese armed forces.

The government of South Sudan now tastes the taste of these losses. This huge loss was a result to the miscalculation as it was a jump in the dark that began with a new stance claiming dispute over Heglig and ended with a statement claiming withdrawal from Heglig although everybody knows that the SPLM army was defeated in Heglig.

The SPLM stance raises the question; why did the SPLM withdraw from Heglig after its announcement that Heglig is a Southern Sudanese territory.

The battle of Heglig has proven that the SPLM army it not as strong as it was claiming. Now, it seems that the Israeli and US experts are thinking of demobilizing two thirds of the SPLM army as was revealed by a US diplomat.

The defeat of the SPLM army in Heglig has stressed the importance of demobilizing it and transferring it into a regular army.

Last Updated: 1 day 2 hours ago

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### **Good Day :African Mediation, Criticism and Suggestions..! (4-4)**

MekkiElmograbi

What is the role of AU on the mysterious and destructive relationship between Darfuri militias and SPLA? I think AU has to move (in a military action) against the sponsorship and full support that Darfuri groups have been receiving continuously from Juba – SPLMA Government.

Although, the African mediators deserve trust and respect, I do believe that they have to listen to our criticism on their role in Darfur.

The attacks over Sudan come from three sides; South Sudan Army, SPLMN and Darfuri Movements as a part of SRF-Sudanese Revolutionary Front. Darfuri movements refused to join Doha agreement and continued their military operations in spite of condemnation of AU and UN.

Moreover, they targeted UN and AU forces and employees, kidnapping and killing them. They targeted humanitarian workers and activists. AU Mediation led by Mbeki started their works in Sudan in Darfur and then the AU moved the file of "two Sudans" to AUHIP. It seems that they did not take the right decision on the issue of Darfuri movements.

The Darfuri side in SRF declared the war in spite of international pressures to join Doha Agreement. They put Darfuri people on the front lines of new war between North and South along the "international borders" which is a big violation. They refused all peace agreements and moved beyond their region to wage the war between two countries.

This matter is totally different from the conflict between SPLMN and the Government of Sudan.

SPLMN can claim that they need time and guarantees for the process of (DDR – Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration).

South Sudan Government can ask for more funds and so on, but there is no justification for Darfuri Movements because they are fighting an international war. And there is no reason for AU to slow down the Military process against Anti-Peace Militias of Darfur. AU has to shoulder the responsibility and to move a step forward against out-of-law militias.

When we compare African efforts with international intervention we put in our minds that the trend of prolonging conflict in not appearing at all in African Mediation.

The comparison that we wrote about it before between African Mediation and the internationals was based on the fact that African Mediation has a strong African culture and experience which can be used in the process and it gains the trust of African community.

But how can Darfuri people trust in these slow steps toward movements fought in Libya against its people and now are fighting along international borders between two countries fueling it with Darfuri bloods.

One of the famous icons of the African Mediation is the former president of South Africa Mr. Thabo Mbeki. Mbeki has been a great figure in promoting the idea that African political and military conflicts should be solved by African people with an international support not colonial intervention.

Mbeki must refer "Darfuri Movements and Juba Support" to AU-Peace and Security Council with a recommendation of military action.

Oil, borders, four freedoms and other issues to be on the negotiation table but this matter must not.

Last Updated: 2 days 6 hours ago

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## **Editorial :AUHIP Mission Will it Pay Off?**

Sudan Vision

According to infiltrated reports the AUHIP chairman, former South African President, Thabo Mbeki will be on focus again in the political arena, as reports pointed that Mbeki will visit Khartoum and Juba within the coming hours to continue his mediation in resolving the outstanding issues, the first step of which is to convince the two parties to resume the Addis Ababa talks for signing a non-aggression pact as an approach to enter into negotiations in good faith.

Mbeki is supposed to hold several meetings to urge Sudan and South Sudan to resume the suspended talks, but before Khartoum had put forward four conditions to resume the talks with South Sudan after Heglig incidents.

On top of the conditions is that South Sudan must recognize the agreement signed before and the security Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) besides activating the non-aggression pact signed by the Chiefs of Intelligence of the two countries last February.

Khartoum also demands Juba to recognize 1956 borders and stop attacking Sudan besides the withdrawal of all SPLA troops from its territories.

The disengagement of SPLA nine and ten brigades is one of the conditions to resume the Addis Ababa talks besides South Sudan stopping providing support to insurgents of the Darfur non-signatory movements.

The damages of Heglig oil facilities resulted from the recent SPLA attack should also be compensated by the Government of South Sudan.

The international community should consider the reasonable demands of Sudan before any attempts to convince its leaders to resume the Addis Ababa talks through pressing on South Sudan to accept the conditions for resuming the talks.

Juba announcement that South Sudan is ready to negotiate with Sudan the conflict over the oil transit fees is not enough to resume the Addis Ababa talks.

We believe that the current political situation after the recent aggression of the SPLA makes it difficult, if not impossible, for Khartoum to accept entering into talks with Juba.

It is high time for Juba to admit that it committed a grave mistake against Sudan by occupying a Sudanese area which has never been subject to dispute between the two countries.

The acknowledgement of Juba is indispensable to guarantee non repetition of Heglig incident in the future and to set a concrete base for the future relations between the two countries.

In short, Heglig aggression availed several valid pressing cards in the hands of Khartoum which could be used in its negotiations with Juba.



Last Updated: 24/04/2012



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## **Reasons behind Setting Fire to Heglig Oil Fields**

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With the support of friendly countries, the Sudanese ministry of oil has announced success in putting out the fire set by the SPLM army of South Sudan in Heglig area.

The minister of oil Awad Ahmed Al-Jaz said that the burning and sabotage operations hit the central processing station, the pipeline, the electricity stations, the main stores and the operation stations. Upon a visit from Heglig, Al-Jaz said that the burning and sabotage incidents were not committed randomly, but by experts.

This strange situation raises several questions on the nature of the goals of the attack on Heglig as it is obvious that destroying the oil facilities was one of these goals.

The attempt to use foreign experts specialized in destruction of oil fields and installations is undeniable fact that the attack aimed to destroy the Sudanese oil in Heglig as part of the South Sudan economic war on Sudan that began with the shutdown of oil production.

The destruction of the oil installations was not the sole goal for the attack on Heglig because the SPLM of South Sudan could use intelligence means to destroy the oil fields without any direct military intervention as it did.

But, it seems that there are other agendas for the attack. In this regard, it is important to indicate that the attack aimed also to draw the attention of the Sudanese government away from the movements of revolutionary front and the attempts of occupying Taludi area in South Kordofan.

The South Sudan government believed that the attack on Heglig would help the rebels occupy Taludi and Om-Dafoug areas in South Kordofan. However, the armed forces were able to repulse these attacks.

Last Updated: 2 days 6 hours ago