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**The Rise of the New Country –
The South Sudan, and the Relation with the EU**

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Abstract: The aim of this article is to present the reason which determined the 99% of the Southern Sudanese to vote for the secession of the largest country in Africa in a plebiscite that breaks the status quo of the borders designed by colonial powers in Africa and the EU interest in the region. Under the supervision of the EU and US the North and South have yet to sit at the table to decide on two points that raise blisters: border demarcation and division of oil revenues. Despite the clear direction taken by the vote in Southern Sudan, the European political class recommended to keep a low profile and not celebrate the breakup of the country until the final results are announced by the United Nation. A qualitative approach is used and the main method used is the observation and a case study about the modalities how Europe is trying also to prevent the repetition of the Yugoslavian situations, by moderating the confrontation between the Dinka (southern tribe) and the Misseria (nomadic Arabs of the north) produced over land and grazing rights for their livestock..

Keywords: secession; oil revenues; plebiscite; human rights; globalization

1 Introduction

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights from December 1948 has a pioneering role because every human person was presented under the protection of the international laws. One of the main principles of the Declaration consists in the next affirmation,, the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world” (Preamble, The universal Declaration of Human Rights). Considering as a guarantor for freedom the UN Declaration, 9 million of persons (animist and Christian people) from the Southern part of the Republic of Sudan, have been decided in January 2011, after a plebiscite, to declare their independence from the north of the country (predominantly Muslim).

This break away tendency is not a singular one after the World War II, many other countries were separate taking into account the race, the history ,the religions or the political preferences of the leaders.

Since the 1990 emerged the following changes on the World map:

- Germany divided after the World War II, was reunited after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.
- Namibia on March 21, 1990 separated from South Africa who administered that former German colony immediately after the First World War.

- Yemen, the North and the South were reunited in 1990 after two decades of hostility.
- Soviet Union, 15 countries have gained independence since 1991.
- Yugoslavia, after a civil war (1991-1995) seceded in 7 countries, including Kosovo.
- Czechoslovakia, both states seceded peacefully in 1993.
- Eritrea obtained its independence after 30 years of conflict with Somalia.
- East Timor, a former Portuguese colony gained the independence in 2002, after 20 years of Indonesian occupation.

Even the South Sudan independence will be officially recognized by all the United Nation countries, including his north neighbor, the Republic of Sudan, the universalism of the Human Rights proclaimed in the UN Declaration seems very difficult to achieve. The UN Declaration is the expression of the occidental history constitution and his values are not always understood by the people with a different cultural background. "This facts are confirmed by The Islamic Declarations, The African Book of Human rights, The Tunis Declaration from 1992, The Bangkok Declaration from 1993, all of these brink to life the basis of Islamic rights, respectively the relations with the African tradition, the criteria and the values of each people, and finally the historical and religious frame within the rights are design" (Gherardi R., 2009, pp.62-63), all of these being different from the western vision.

The aim of this article is to a brave history of Sudan, the 2011 plebiscite and his consequences, and UE positions concerning the South Sudan.

2 Geography, Economy and Common History

The South Sudan and the Republic of Sudan are situated in the South East Africa bordering with: Egypt, Red Sea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Congo, Central African Republic, Chad and Libya. The population was until January 2010 about 39 millions habitants, but starting with this date 9 million will be part of the youngest country from the earth. The official language is the Arab and the most part of the population is concentrated in the Central Plane and along the River Nile. The main cults are: the Islam (70%), Christians, especially Catholics (16,7%), and the Animism of the natives (11,9%). The clime is Wet Tropical in the South becoming more arid in the North with large daily temperature oscillations. In the center is a plain that ascend to the Kordofanian Plateau, the South is a tropical fenland, and in the north provinces prevails the desert. The main watercourse is the River Nile, which forms at Khartoum by the confluence of the White Nile (Bahr el Abyad) coming from Uganda with the Blue Nile coming from the highlands of Ethiopia (Horia C.M. et alli, 2005, p. 456). In the ancient history the territory of Sudan was known as the Kush Country or Nubia, and starting with the second millennium B.C., the country is influenced by the Egyptian civilizations.

In the eight century B.C. appears the Ethiopian Kingdom with the capital of Napata who ruled the Egypt during the 25-th dynasty. In the 6-th and 7-th century the Christianity spread along the country and starting with the 8-th century appear Bedouin Arab tribes imposing the Sunni Islam in the North. The Sultan of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pacha, starts in 1820 the conquest of Sudan, and in the 1863 the British Baker and Gordon were appointed governors of the country submitting for the Egypt all the territory till the borders of Uganda.

In 1898 Anglo-Egyptian condominium is formed after the battle of Ormundan, and this type of organizations lasted until 1955 when the southern Sudanese entered on the First Sudanese Civil War.

Since the independence from the United Kingdom many Islamic military regimes have dominated the national politics. In September 1983, the President Jaffar al-Numeiry created a federal state including three states in Southern Sudan. But he later introduced sharia law and dissolved the three states of the south, which caused the Second Sudanese Civil War. This second civil war displaced over four million inhabitants of the south. Some fled into the southern cities, including Yuba, others migrated to the north cities, like the capital Khartoum, and even to other neighboring countries. In 1989 the general Omar el Bashir became president, prime minister and leader of the armed forces.

In January 2005 an agreement guaranteed the autonomy for the rebels for 6 years, followed by a referendum. A separate conflict erupted in Darfur region, where almost 200 000 of black population was exterminated. In 2011 a referendum was voted in order to stop the ethnic and territorial problems. The country will be split into two national entities, a Muslim and pro-Arab in the north and in the south a traditional and animistic nation (Luca G. et al, 2007, p.195). In all this time, the economy of Sudan has been working with the IMF to implement macroeconomic reforms. A new currency, the Sudanese Pound, was introduced in January 2007 at an initial exchange rate of 1\$ equals 2 Sudanese Pounds. Sudan began exporting crude oil in the last quarter of 1999 and the economy grew up on the back of increases in oil production, high oil prices and significant inflows of foreign direct investment until the second half of 2008. The Darfur conflict, the two decades of civil war in the south, the lack of basic infrastructure in large areas, and a reliance by much of the populations on subsistence agriculture ensure much of the populations will remain at or below the poverty line. While the oil sector continues to grow, services and utilities play an increasingly important role in the economy with agriculture production remaining important as it employs 80% of the work force and contributes a third of GDP. After the referendum of southern secession, Sudan saw its currency depreciate considerably and the Central Bank of Sudan intervened strongly in the market. Until the segregation the GDP of Sudan was about 66 billions \$ (2010), and per capita 2 200 \$ (CIA, The World Factbook, Sudan).

In such circumstances a common management based on the economical issues is recommended between the two countries. „The need of a management increases, as the countries become more and more interdependent. If the interdependence is really very close each state is forced to treat the actions of other states as if they would be events that occur inside their own borders. The reciprocity of the dependence determines each state to survey the others with precaution and suspicion” (Waltz K. N., 2006, p. 279).

3 The Plebiscite and his Consequences in the South Sudan

In 2011 the boxes have decided between 9 and 15 January the destiny for up to 4 million southern Sudanese, who were called to vote if they remain united with the great Sudan, or becomes the youngest state of the planet. More than 2000 polling stations were spread over an area almost as large as the Iberian Peninsula. For the most of the voters the referendum was the second of their lives after the Sudanese general election from 2010. The majority of the residents have a high level of illiteracy but in our opinion they do not have demonstrated ignorance managing the crucial change of the Sudanese borders. From the four million, over 60.000 people live abroad (USA, Canada, Kenya, Egypt etc) and they certainly contribute to the emergence of the new state. Three days after the start of voting, the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement has officially announced that they already obtained a 60% more than enough to declare independence. The final result, released in February, was in an unexpectedly high proportion (98%) in favour of the independence for an area who for 40 years has been dominated by war and international marginalization (EFE Agency, 7 February 2010).

As a symbolic act the new country will proclaim the independence on July 9, 2011 even six years after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which meant the end of the second Sudanese Civil War. In front of the international public opinion the North said it would be the first to recognize the new state. The South Sudan has already chosen the flag and the anthem, and as the currency it will continue to use the Sudanese pound (El Mundo, Sudan del Sur concluye el referendun para decidir su futuro).

But the obstacles appear from now and it seems that it will take some time until this state could be able to organize their government and institutions. Even the president of Sudan, Omar al Bashir said that he will respect the election results, no one yet knows who will be the new state's borders. In the South Sudan there are 85% of oil reserves, but its processing facilities are located in the North. According to the declaration of the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Luis Moreno Ocampo, the president Bashir would deposited in UK private accounts over 6.800 millions euro coming from oil revenues (El Mundo, Sudan del Sur, Nuevo estado en Africa).

The historical process has been overshadowed by the tribal clashes that took place around the border of the town of Abydei and its border regions (people of the area is one that must decide whether it will unite with North or South). Lacking the consensus, the referendum was postponed sin die at Abydei with the hope that will be signed at the end of this year. Both capital city, Yuba and Khartoum, enjoy strong allies among the tribal communities: Dinka (animist tribes in the south) and misseriya (Arab nomads from the north) who are fighting for land, pasture and livestock, their daily necessities of life. For the Arabic tribes misseriya and bagarra the land of Abydei are an ideal place for the dry season. The arab nomand are for the native Dinka just guests, they can graze but have no right on the land. The Dinka who represent 10% of the Sudanese population are the oldest inhabitants of these lands. ,, Protected by the wetlands and the water of the Nile, they were affected by the civil war emerged in 1983. This war caused more than 500.000 victims among them (because of fighting, starvation and drought) and pushed into neighboring countries hundreds of thousands of people (LAROUSSE, People Enciclopedy, 2006, p.145). According to the Carter Center the referendum has reached, international standards in terms of organizations and freedom of expression of the voters" (Carter Center: Advanced Human Rights and Alleviating Sufering).

4 General Consideration about South Sudan

The South Sudan is an autonomous region comprising 10 states with the capital in the city of Yuba. The Sudanese government allowed the autonomy of the region by the Peace Agreement signed on January 9, 2005 with the People's Liberation Army in Sudan, giving end to the Second Sudanese Civil War. Southern Sudan has an area of approximately 619.745 square km. (excluding the claims over other territories) and is bordered with Ethiopia in the East, Kenya, Uganda and Congo in the South and the Central African Republic in the West. In the North it is an Arab and Muslim Region who is under the control of the central government of Sudan. The interim Constitution of Southern Sudan was adopted on December 2005, and a plebiscite for the independence took place from 9 to 15 January 2011. The official results showed a 98,83% support for the independence who will be proclaimed on July 9, 2011(El Pais, Sudan del Sur se enfrenta a un reto istorico) ..

Together with the Interim National Constitution of the Republic of Sudan, the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan is the supreme law in the new country (The Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan,2005). Southern Sudan has its own government, cabinet ministers, unicameral parliament, and a supreme court. The President is Head of State, Head of Government and Commander in chief of the

SPLA Army. The legislative power resides temporarily in the government and the unicameral parliament called the Legislative Assembly of Southern Sudan (170 members elected by popular vote).

The South Sudan has a population of about 9 million people. These are mainly people who are dedicated to rural life and are devoted to a subsistence economy. The autonomous region has been hit hard by the war, with the exception of 10 years of calm since Sudan's independence in 1956. This resulted in a failure of infrastructure development, destruction and displacement: more than 2 million people died and more than 4 million have been displaced or are refugees from civil war and its consequences. The Dinka, whose population is estimated at about three million people are the most numerous communities in the South Sudan.

The South Sudan has many more tribal languages than in the north zone. The language of education and government business is English which was approved as an official language from the south part of Sudan since 1928. The distinctive Juba Arabic dialect was developed in the nineteenth century among descendants of Sudanese soldiers, originating mainly from the Bari tribe, is a lingua franca widely used in the South Sudan. However the English is used as an official language in areas where Juba Arabic is not spoken. Moreover are widely used the African languages Dinka (3.000.000 speakers) and Nuer (1.400.000 speakers). According to the legislation of the region, English, Juba Arabic and all the tribal languages are official (Sudan del Sur, Wikipedia.es). After the long periods of war, poverty and hunger spread among the population. The South Sudan has mineral resources, especially oil and according to the peace agreement from 2005 participates in the profits of these. According to a World Bank study about oil revenues that accumulate, the government could reduce poverty and improve living conditions for the people of South of Sudan. According to Tehran Times, South Sudan has 85% of the country's oil reserves. Oil revenues in accordance with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, signed in 2005, split in equal parts over the period of the agreement.

The southern Sudanese practice predominantly the traditional beliefs and Christianity (which include the Episcopal Church of Sudan and the Roman Catholic Church). In South Sudan are very popular many traditional and modern games especially wrestling and simulations battles. The traditional sports are practiced especially after the harvest season to celebrate the end of the agricultural seasons. The games attracted a large number of spectators who sang, play drums and danced in support of their favourite wrestlers.

5 UE Position Concerning the Situation in the South Sudan

Even we cannot speak officially about the recognition of South Sudan until July 2011, UE always had a special interest in the region. Because of the increase of the Islamic religious fanaticism, appeared since the second half of the nineteenth century in the recent 50 years this area has been abandoned to the specificity of regional beliefs and traditions.

A change of vision occurred after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 when EU officials realized that they should get involved by financing regional projects in Sudan to improve a very poor social environment which at any moment can metamorphose into a breeding ground for terrorism. The security and stability of the area from a geographical and humanitarian point of view, especially after the independence, are strong reasons that lead the UE to support this country through various means and programs. We believe that the division of Sudan have created a new geopolitical environment in the region and the European Union will certainly give priority to support the new independent state to reorganize its economic, social and administrative structures.

In the context of globalization it is very important that the EU should continue to develop and reinforce its values on the African continent. The continuous presence of the EU in the area must defend its security by preventing terrorism, illegal migration, human trafficking and organized crime. We consider that the European message should be after the independence very coherent and to provide a strong support for this country. With all due respect for the African culture we affirm with conviction that the security issues in South Sudan and the tension that have already emerged with the northern neighbour make us to believe that the problem of security in the region cannot be resolved without external support or without the contribution of an international organization such as the UN.

Particularly important for the European diplomacy should be to prevent in Sudan an identical situation with the Yugoslavian conflict. The concern arises if we take into account that the internal factors are somewhat similar between two areas (religious and linguistic differences, different ethnic groups, desire for secession). Learning from the mistakes made in the Balkan War, EU could engage in the crisis management in the region of the South Sudan and could suggest various strategies in different fields (political, economic, social etc). In order to avoid a new Kosovo, UE officially asked from the Republic of Sudan to stop any kind of political repression until the new state's independence and to determine a common understanding with his new neighbour from the South about the region of Abydei. Foreign ministers from the 27 European countries have recommended to Khartoum that the whole separation process to be conducted with maximum transparency. The Council is concerned about the increasing political repression in the region and the damage to the civil rights, the 27 reported in a press conference. Freedom of expression and release of media journalists arrested is also an area where progresses need to be done. In this sense UE demanded to the peace missions of the United Nations and African Union in Darfur to intensify their efforts to achieve a political solution in the region.

As a general conclusion UE was satisfied with the current statues of the creation of the new state asking to Khartoum not to intervene with force in the south territory. For Europeans the attack on civilians and UN personnel are war crimes and the seizure of persons is unacceptable. Extremely important is also considered the UN missions in the area the efforts to increase women's presence in public life and supporting NGOs that deal with refugee's problems. The last requirement to Khartoum refers to the fulfilment of the Naivasha peace agreement from 2005 who proposed the restoration of a civilian government to rule the Republic of Sudan. Since the current territory of the South Sudan has become a second Persian Gulf due to massive oil reserves Europe's attention has been even more intensified because ensuring energy security is closely linked to global security. From 2007 when the Russian Federation temporarily interrupted the Ukrainian access to its resources, UE decided to intensify the process of finding new energy resources to ensure a partial independence from natural gas and oil by eastern origin. Even before the secession of Sudan in 2007 the EU has realized the need of concluding various agreements on the energy field and the development of an Africa –Europe partnership. Currently EU cannot achieve its economic goals only from its own resources therefore the new state reserves will certainly attract the attention of European companies. Lately the topic of energy security is increasingly debated in all G8 summits. USA and China are the most important rivals for the Sudanese oil.

6 Conclusion

The South Sudan is an autonomous region comprising 10 states with the capital in the city of Yuba. The Sudanese government allowed the autonomy of the region by the Peace Agreement signed on January 9, 2005 with the People's Liberation Army in Sudan, giving end to the Second Sudanese Civil War. In February 2011, after a plebiscite the South Sudan becomes the youngest state of the planet. The security issues in South Sudan and the tension that have already emerged with the northern neighbour make us to believe that the problem of security in the region cannot be resolved without external support or without the contribution of an international organization such as the UN. In the case of Sudan in the last two decade it has been shown that economic and military issues are closely interconnected. In this country the economic failure is linked to political problems and violent armed conflicts. The main international approach for the South Sudan is the principle of 'bottom-up', the decision on the type to be adapted, the unity of an intervention and the used modalities should take into account the basic needs of the people suffering from inefficiency and insecurity (Profiroiu M. et alli, 2008, p. 457). The current threats to this country have become global (terrorism, regional conflicts, organized crimes, the proliferations of weapons of mass destructions etc) and in these circumstances international cooperation has become a necessity.

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