

**SPECIAL POLITICAL  
AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE**  
BACKGROUND GUIDE

A world map in shades of blue and white, centered on the Atlantic Ocean. Overlaid on the map is the NHSMUN 2010 logo, which consists of the text "NHSMUN" and "2010" flanking a circular graphic of white squares arranged in a grid pattern.

**NHSMUN 2010**



# NATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL MODEL UNITED NATIONS

The 36th Annual Conference • March 17-20, 2010

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October 2009

Lisa Cuesta  
Secretary-General  
University of Pennsylvania

Jerry Guo  
Director-General  
Dartmouth College

Ryan Burke  
Conference Director  
University of South Carolina

Emily Robertson  
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Under-Secretary-General  
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Luke Russell  
Under-Secretary-General  
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Jenny Gai  
Under-Secretary-General  
University of Pennsylvania

Chris Talamo  
Under-Secretary-General  
Dartmouth College

Dear Delegates,

Let me be the first to welcome you to the 2010 National High School Model United Nations Conference! My name is Max Ross, and I serve as the Under-Secretary-General (USG) of the General Assembly Mains Committees (GA Mains). As far as my duties as USG are concerned, I stay heavily involved with your Directors, Assistant Directors, and Chairs during both the preparation and simulation parts of the conference. Essentially, my job is to ensure that all aspects of the GA Mains committees run smoothly, from the time that topics were selected last spring to the time that actual debate takes place in committee this winter. You will soon see for yourselves that your dais is both exceptionally talented and extremely dedicated, and there is no doubt that this will be reflected in your experience at the conference. My advice to you: come well prepared, have an open mind, and get as much out of the experience as you possibly can! The conference will only be as great as its delegates are, and I have no doubt that all of you will help make NHSMUN 2010 productive and enjoyable for all.

Now, a little bit about myself: I was born and raised in New Jersey, and despite the bad rap that out-of-state residents frequently give it, I would never want to grow up anywhere else! I'm currently a junior at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, where I'm studying Romance Languages and International Studies. I have a number of hobbies and passions, but none is quite as thrilling as the airing of a new episode of *LOST*. That's right—if you would ever like to discuss theories, characters, or your favorite scenes of what I consider to be one of the finest shows in the history of television (or if you are not a *LOST* fan and need someone to explain why it is a valuable time investment), please contact me!

Including my years as both a delegate and staff member, this year's conference will be my seventh consecutive NHSMUN, six of which I have spent on GA Mains. Needless to say, I am very fond of these larger committees. I greatly enjoy the diverse perspectives that surface during debate, and I'm sure that this year will be no exception. Although I will not be sitting on the dais, I will be floating around the different GA Mains committees and ensuring that everything is going smoothly. I will be highly accessible throughout the conference, and if you see me walking by, please stop me and introduce yourself!

Your esteemed Directors and Assistant Directors have been hard at work for the past year working with the rest of staff to ensure that you will have the best experience possible at the conference. I'd like to ask all of you to put effort into these topics and to respect the mission of our conference and the integrity of our staff.

I'm very excited to meet all of you in March! Until then, please feel free to contact me at the email address or telephone number below with any questions or concerns that you may have.

Sincerely,

Max Ross  
Under-Secretary-General, GA Mains  
maxross03@gmail.com | (732)-859-6466



NHSMUN is a project of the International Model United Nations Association, Incorporated (IMUNA). IMUNA, a not-for-profit, all volunteer organization, is dedicated to furthering global issues education at the secondary school level.



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*Under-Secretary-General*  
Dartmouth College

Dear Delegates,

Hello and welcome to NHSMUN 2010! My name is Chelsea Wagenbrenner, and I will be your Director for the Special Political and Decolonization Committee. I hope you are as excited as I am about the opportunity to simulate this committee. This year, the topics will cover a number of issues involving political struggles and sovereign states. Specifically, we will be discussing the politics of peacekeeping in Darfur, and the development of states in Eastern Europe. These topics are challenging even to the international community at large, but I am certain that with diplomacy and enthusiasm, you will create exceptional resolutions. I'm looking forward to hearing your views, reading your papers, and aiding in your research.

I have been attending Model UN conferences since my sophomore year of high school when my political science teacher said we could go to New York City. Ever since my first conference at Georgia Tech, I was addicted to Model UN. Since then, I have participated in nine conferences and have been an Assistant Director at both NHSMUN and UGA MUN. In addition to my role in NHSMUN, I will also be directing a committee at the UGA high school conference and a committee at the Southern United States MUN Conference. Currently, I am in my second year at the University of Georgia, where I'm majoring in international relations with a minor in Arabic. I have been working vigorously on your background guides and am very excited about hearing your ideas at the Hilton.

Please think carefully about the information contained within the following pages. There is great background information in this guide, and it will be beneficial to our debate if you use this information as a tool to assist you in your own research. Do not hesitate to contact me with any questions you may have. I realize that every Director always tells you to contact him/her for help on your research, but I really mean it! I have access to many online databases and an expansive library at school, and I will be happy to assist you however I can. I am ecstatic about meeting you all at the Hilton. Happy researching!

Sincerely,

Chelsea Wagenbrenner  
[chelsea.wagen@gmail.com](mailto:chelsea.wagen@gmail.com)

325 Taylor Oaks Drive  
Roswell, GA 30076



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## A NOTE ON RESEARCH AND PREPARATION

Delegate preparation is paramount to a successful and exciting National High School Model United Nations 2010 Conference. We have provided this Background Guide to introduce the topics that will be discussed in your committee; these papers are designed to give you a description of the topics and the committee. They will not give you a complete description of the topic areas and they will not contain the most up-to-date information, particularly in regards to rapidly evolving issues. We encourage and expect each delegate to fully explore the topics and be able to identify and analyze the intricacies of the issues. Delegates must be prepared to intelligently utilize their newly acquired knowledge and apply it to their own countries' policy. You will find that your state has a unique position on the topics that cannot be substituted for or with the opinions of another state.

The task of preparing and researching for the conference is challenging, but it can be interesting and rewarding. We have provided each school with a copy of the **Delegation Preparation Guide**. The Guide contains detailed instructions on how to write a position paper and how to effectively participate in committee sessions. (**Note:** some position papers have unique guidelines that are detailed within respective committees' Background Guides.) The Guide also gives a synopsis of the types of research materials and resources available to you and where they can be found. A brief history of the United Nations and the NHSMUN conference are also included. The annotated rules of procedure complete the Delegate Preparation Guide.

An essential part of representing a nation in an international body is the ability to articulate that state's views in writing. Accordingly, it is the policy of NHSMUN to require each delegate (or double-delegation team) to write position papers. The position papers should clearly outline the country's policies on the topic areas to be discussed and what factors contribute to these policies. In addition, each paper *must* address the Research and Preparation questions at the end of the committee Background Guide. Most importantly, **the paper must be written from the point of view of the country you are representing at NHSMUN 2010** and should articulate the policies you will espouse at the conference. All papers should be typed and double-spaced. The papers will be read by the Director of each committee and returned at the start of the conference with brief comments and constructive advice.

You are responsible for sending a copy of your paper to the Director of your committee. Additionally, your delegation is responsible for bringing a bound copy of all of the position papers—one for each committee to which your school has been assigned—to **the conference** (to be submitted during registration). Specific requirements of the bound copy have been sent to the faculty advisor/club president. In addition to position papers, each delegation must prepare one brief summary statement on the basic economic, political, and social structures of its country, as well as on its foreign policy. Please mail country summary statements to the Director-General of NHSMUN 2009 at the address below. All copies should be **postmarked** no later than **February 15<sup>th</sup>** and mailed to:

Jerry Guo, Director-General  
Hinman Box 658  
Dartmouth College  
Hanover, NH 03755

Chelsea Wagenbrenner, Director  
325 Taylor Oaks Drive  
Roswell, GA 30076

(Country Summaries)

(Individual papers)

Delegations are required to mail **hard copies** of papers to the Director-General and Directors.  
**NHSMUN Staff will not consider e-mail submissions as an adequate substitution.**

*Delegations that do not submit position papers to Directors or Summary Statements to the Director-General will be ineligible for awards.*

## COMMITTEE HISTORY

The Special Political and Decolonization Committee (SPECPOL) is the fourth of the six General Assembly Main Committees and, as such, is commonly referred to as the Fourth Committee. The current Fourth Committee, created in 1993, is actually a hybrid of two former committees: the Decolonization Committee (formerly the Fourth Committee) and the Special Political Committee. SPECPOL's mandate allows it to address a variety of political concerns during its yearly meetings, like decolonization, self-determination, or international peacekeeping issues (GA/SPD/341).

More recently, the Fourth Committee has considered the political ramifications of issues often similar to those addressed in the Disarmament and International Security (DISEC, or the First Committee), the Security Council, and the Human Rights Commission. Past sessions of SPECPOL have considered a wide variety of topics, ranging from the effects of atomic radiation to the rights of indigenous tribes worldwide. Despite the discussion of similar issues, SPECPOL provides an unparalleled opportunity for representatives outside of countries' permanent missions by providing them with a chance to participate in debate. This, in turn, enables the Fourth Committee to determine the issues the international community considers to be of the utmost importance.

The jurisdiction of the Fourth Committee is such that it cannot directly command military activity or place sanctions or restrictions upon member States. However, as with all General Assembly committees, SPECPOL can create resolutions calling for a specific action or advising other bodies and organizations of recommended operations. Considering the similarities in the topics they both address, the Fourth Committee often makes recommendations to the Security Council.

In its most recent sessions, the Fourth Committee has addressed a large variety of topics. Examples include the occupied Golan Heights, the general conflict between Israel and Palestine, and issues surrounding peacekeeping in general (A/RES/62/108, A/C.4/63/INF/3/Rev.1). The Committee is critical to the United Nations because its mandate allows for the discussion of topics that other committees omit. This substantive accessibility, combined with the representation and participation of all United Nations Member States, provides the Fourth Committee with a notably strong credibility.

Because the Fourth Committee discusses the political details and international relationships of countless topics in such a unique perspective, SPECPOL is an integral body within the General Assembly. As such, its analysis of and recommendations on topics are taken into serious consideration. It should be apparent that this committee plays a crucial role in the resolution of political issues within the international community.

## SIMULATION

The NHSMUN 2010 simulation of SPECPOL will be as close to the real committee as possible. This means that we will be discussing each topic, formulating ideas, and then bringing together solutions into resolution format. While working in this committee, it is important to remember that the reality of the United Nations is that committees such as SPECPOL do not have the authority to demand action or impose sanctions. Thus, our power and success depend on our ability to create comprehensive solutions reached through a process of consensus building. The enforcement of our resolutions can only happen when nations individually support them. It is, therefore, imperative that all nations keep consensus building as a major priority in session. This does not, however, mean that national policy can be disregarded. On the contrary, a country should in no way sacrifice the policy of its national government for the sake of forming a consensus. Rather, each individual nation should work towards a compromise that encompasses the interests of both the global community and world citizens while maintaining the integrity of each nation's policy.

There will be two main forms of discussion in this committee: formal debate and caucusing. In formal debate, we will follow a speaker's list wherein each speaker will speak for a limited amount of time on the issue at hand. While this is an extremely important part of debate, another very useful forum is the caucus, where the rules are suspended for a set period of time, and countries are allowed to speak informally to each other, without the constraints of parliamentary procedure. This allows for nations to work together in formulating working papers and resolutions, and can also be very effective in dealing with differences nations may have over specific points in a given topic. Another extremely effective tool for this committee will be the moderated caucus, where the chair suspends the speaker's list and recognizes nations that wish to speak one after the other for a limited amount of time. This allows for more countries to express ideas without having to wait their turn on the speaker's list. When used efficiently and maturely, the moderated caucus is one of the best methods of debating small points quickly that SPECPOL can utilize.

The topics in this committee are all challenging and will require a great deal of research. However, because we would like to emphasize *compromise* and *innovative solutions*, pre-written resolutions are not allowed at this conference. While your nation may have some informal ideas about possible solutions, you may not bring them to the conference in resolution form; this would defeat the purpose of the committee, which is to work together and compromise.

As your Director, it is my job to address any problems or questions delegates may have regarding the substantive portion of this committee. Oftentimes, delegates have difficulty adjusting to the procedural structure of Model United Nations, and so the Assistant Director and I will always be on hand to help you with any concerns. This means that you may contact me at any time for help, and I will gladly assist you, both before and during the conference. During the committee itself, the Assistant Director and I will be moderating the debate and helping to establish a general direction for each topic. However, in the end, you, the delegates, will run this committee, and it is up to all of you to make it the best that it can be.

Something that will aid in delegate preparation is a new program NHSMUN is starting this year: blogs. Each Director and Assistant Director will maintain a committee blog covering new developments and critical analysis of issues related to the topic. Delegates are encouraged to comment on the staff's posts and ask questions; starting a dialogue before the conference will lead to more comprehensive and effective solutions. View the committee blog at:

<http://nhsmun2010specpol.wordpress.com>

The staff will update the blog at least three times a month. **Delegates are highly encouraged to stay updated on new posts and whatever information the dais provides.**

# THE POLITICS OF PEACEKEEPING IN DARFUR

## TOPIC A

### INTRODUCTION

In 2004, the Security Council passed Resolution 1564, establishing a Commission of Inquiry into Darfur to study the conflict over the following months. The official report of the Commission noted that “there were some 1.6 million internally displaced persons as a result of the ongoing violence and more than 200,000 refugees from Darfur in neighboring Chad. The report asserted that the government of Sudan (GoS) forces and allied militia had committed widespread war crimes and crimes against humanity, including murder, torture, mass rape, summary executions, and arbitrary detention. The Commission also determined that the *janjaweed* militia operated alongside, or with ground or air logistical support from, the GoS’s armed force” (“History” 1). This report displayed the true nature of the conflict in Darfur between the people, their government, and paramilitary forces.

*Janjaweed* is literally translated as “a man with a gun on a horse.” These militiamen are primarily members of nomadic “Arab” tribes who have been in conflict with Darfur’s settled “African” farmers, and the conflict is frequently colored by such ethnic rhetoric by its participants. Darfur is the region in western Sudan which has been shaken by conflict and violence since 2003 when two rebel groups, the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), “demanded that the Arab-ruled Sudanese government begin to share power and end the economic marginalization of Darfur” (Reeves 1). The GoS and the Sudanese military were still bound up in the Second Sudanese Civil War to the south, and in the absence of a strong government response, the *janjaweed* militias formed. They began attacking not only rebel encampments, but also any civilians they believed were supporting the rebels. Amnesty International was one of the first non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on the ground, and it reports that as of today, 300,000 have been killed and 2.6 million displaced (“History” 1).

With such a crisis, there have already been many peacekeeping attempts since the start of the conflict, including the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) with a much more detailed mandate to assist AMIS in 2006, the UN-AU hybrid mission in Darfur in 2007, and an EU mission in Chad and the Central African Republic (EUFOR) supported by a UN mission (MINUCRAT) in 2007 (“History” 1). The violence and fighting in Darfur gained international attention in 2004, leading to the Security Council’s passage of Resolution 1564 and the referral of the situation in Darfur to the International Criminal Court (ICC), a body not directly affiliated with the UN (Condorelli 1). In 2007, The ICC indicted “two Sudanese men, Ahmed Haroun, Sudan’s Minister of Humanitarian Affairs, and Ali Kushayb, a *Janjaweed* militia leader, on 51 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in Darfur.” Because they are not parties to the Rome Statute, which established the ICC, both men initially remained free in Sudan (“History” 1). This attempt to try two men for war crimes was the first individual prosecution in Sudan, though it should also be noted that Sudan is not a member of the ICC and has not signed the Rome Statute. In 2008, the ICC would later indict the president, which led the GoS to notify the court that the GoS would plan to hold its own trials for war crime suspects (“History” 1).

With the violence in the region of Darfur continuing to escalate in spite of the many peacekeeping operations already in place, it is clear that more must be done. Peacekeeping operations cannot be successful without the full cooperation of all rebel groups and the GoS. Each group has their own political motives that need to be recognized, and the politics behind the actions of peacekeeping missions in Darfur must be discussed at length in committee in order to approach the conflict from the perspective of an impartial peacekeeper. Equally as important, the impact of the politics of all parties involved in the conflict needs to be analyzed to find the best solution. The number of displaced persons should also be taken into account, because it brings conflict to Sudan’s neighboring states, which are not entirely stable themselves. The sovereignty of every major state must also be a concern when deliberating about the situation; Sudan is an independent state and

must be treated as such. The international community can dramatically help curb the conflict taking place in Darfur, but it requires swift and decisive action.

It is crucial to find a means of assembling a stable Sudan and stopping the outflow of displaced persons and crimes against humanity by reevaluating the peacekeeping operations in place and possibly by creating new ones if the need arises. Before any reevaluation takes place the political aspect of the conflict must be addressed. Each rebel group has political motivation; this conflict is not purely ethnic. Whether it is over a lack of fertile land or a voice in the government these things must be addressed before any peacekeeping mission can succeed.

## **HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE ISSUE**

### *History of violence and forced assimilation*

While the conflict in Darfur truly began in 2003, there has always been bloodshed over fertile land in the area. The region of Darfur was taken over by an Anglo-Egyptian government (often referred to as the Condominium) in 1898; this foreign occupation ended Sudan's religious government under the Mahdi and eventually its independence as a nation (Daly 88). The Darfur Sultanate, then independent of the Mahdi government, integrated itself into the Condominium as an autonomous power, though the British Army ended the Sultanate by force only two decades later. In the early nineteenth century, Darfur consisted primarily of the Fur people (an ethnic group; Darfur literally translates to "land of the Fur"), farmers, and nomadic camel herders in the North. The farmers depended on the land and the natural resources of the region such as water. Destroying the independent governments of what is now Sudan changed the political structure of the region and caused the people to assimilate under the rule of a foreign power. When Sudan gained its independence from Great Britain in 1956, the region of Darfur remained under Sudan's governance.

The 1960's saw many severe droughts, which made tribes fight for water and arable land. This marked the true beginning of raids and violence in Darfur which would initially not affect other more developed areas of Sudan. Political coalitions between ethnic groups and tribes within ethnic groups began to form to survive in harsh circumstances and to have a larger political voice in the government.

### *The progression of the political systems*

The government of Sudan was a democratic government until 1983, when President Gaafar Nimeiry began to enforce Shar'ia, or Islamic law. At this time, the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) which was supported by the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) formed in opposition to a national legal system based on Shar'ia law. The SPLM served as the political wing, while the SPLA served as the military wing of a unified rebel group, and were therefore not considered independent organizations. In addition to their goal of revoking the Shar'ia laws, SPLM/A also called for a re-division of the largely autonomous South, which was largely Christian or Animist and did not wish to live under Muslim rule. This then led to Sudan's second civil war since independence in 1953, which took the lives of many civilians and caused great economic and infrastructure damages.

The new Sudanese government in 1985 overturned the Hudud laws (those that specified Quranic penalties for breaking Shar'ia laws), a move that was backed by the SPLM/A. The SPLM also demanded that the presiding government reconsider Shar'ia for all Sudanese. On the eve of this decision making process in 1990, there was then a forced military coup leading to a military-backed government. The new government was known as the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation (RCC-NS). They claimed that their coup was to restore Islamic values that were fundamental to Sudanese society against the increasing encroachment of secularism within the government. The coup was primarily made up of officers from the tribes in northern Sudan who had close personal connections to the leader of the coup, Lieutenant General Umar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir. RCC-NS initially stressed that its authority was only in a transitional stage necessary to prepare the country for genuine democracy ("Sudan" 1). There was also little to no

representation of any other minority group in the government during this transition, and people immediately began to suspect the intentions of the new leadership. al-Bashir assumed the roles of both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defense. The so-called transitional government replaced parliament with specialized committees and banned all other political activity.

### *Ethnic and Regional Tensions:*

Although Darfur is a predominantly Muslim region, more than 40% of the region is comprised of non-Arabs, who identify better with ethnic groups in Chad than the majority of the population in Sudan. Therefore, it is particularly important to distinguish between *religious* and *ethnic* tensions. One of the first prominent examples of ethnic tension took place in the 1980's, when civil strife in Chad spilled over to the Darfur region of Sudan. As governmental instability worsened, the Zaghawa were one of the major ethnic groups to flee Chad as refugees because many of their brethren lived in Darfur along the Sudan-Chad border. The influx of refugees only worsened the effects of the droughts and tensions soon arose between the non-Arab Fur and the Arab Zaghawa (Daly 218-219). The Fur believed that the RCC-NS supported Fur enemies by arming them for guerilla attacks, and the Zaghawa believed that the Fur intended to drive them from their new settlements by use of force. These regional problems in Darfur would only elevate the tensions facing the national government, which itself kept strained relations with Chad. The lack of representation combined with the suspicions by local groups of government actions elevated tensions in Darfur. The buildup to conflict was slow, but mistrust between the various tribes and ethnicities was never resolved, and in 1995, conflict broke out anew.

The conflict that took place in Darfur and Chad was a veritable maelstrom, and every group fought against the other. Self-proclaimed "African" tribes like the Fur accused "Arab" tribes like the Zaghawa (though they were far from the only combatants) of trying to expel the other from Darfur and claim the whole territory for themselves, and the "Arab" tribes made similar arguments (Flint 57). Chad, under the new Zaghawa president Idris Déby, indirectly supported many of the Zaghawa tribes and their allies, although the new state did not send troops so as to maintain relations with Sudan. The GoS, however, was already embroiled with the Second Sudanese Civil War in South Sudan, and could not send troops or military materiel to Darfur to quell the fighting. Instead, the government hired militias overseen by Sudanese military officers to bring an end to the conflict; these militias were the precursor for the modern *janjaweed* militias, and, in fact, many modern *janjaweed* members were trained during the 1995 conflict. The government-sponsored militias were violent and unforgiving, and attacked any tribe they believed were involved in the conflict. The constant attacks by the GoS militias brought the tribes to the negotiating table, and peace was quickly achieved. However, once the military oversight had departed, the militias continued to raid and pillage villages across Darfur, and they won the ire of almost every tribe in the province, Arab or African (Flint 63).

With famine and violence in the region of Darfur, two new rebel groups began to build up their militias. The Sudanese Liberation Movement and Sudanese Liberation Army (SLM/A) developed as a coalition between Zaghawa, Fur, and other tribes to fight against the militias, which they alleged were still supported by the GoS. The SLM/A sought to oust the RCC-NS from Khartoum as an illegitimate government and create a new, democratic, secular state in its wake. In a press release that the SLA sent out in 2003, they outlined their objectives to create a "united democratic Sudan on a new basis of equality, complete restructuring and devolution of power, even development, cultural and political pluralism and moral and material prosperity for all Sudanese" ("The Sudanese" 1). The SLA also made it clear that the government should be divorced from any religious influence: "Religion is a source of spiritual and moral inspiration for our peoples that serves the needs of our peoples and the entire humankind in their pursuit of peaceful interaction and greater moral and spiritual ascendancy. The state machinery belongs to all Sudanese regardless of their religious or spiritual values and its neutrality must be preserved. Religion and politics belong to two different domains" ("The Sudanese" 1).

Though the SLM/A was always the most popular rebel movement, another group, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), is still played a significant role and "was launched in the 1990's as an alternative to all Northern-based political parties" according to a report from the Justice and Equality Movement ("Justice" 1).

The JEM is a strictly Islamic movement, and agrees with the principles behind the RCC-NS coup, particularly the continuance of shar'ia law; however, they believe that the current government is not Islamic but rather an excuse to give special privileges to the northern tribes that the top government officials hail from. Despite their Islamic platform, they still believe that Islamic law should not apply to Sudanese citizens who are not Muslims, and for this reason they have won support throughout Darfur, even among non-Muslims. The JEM's long term goals are to become political party in a democratic Sudanese state. They have been in negotiations with the GoS before, though the rhetoric of the organization seems to indicate that they believe that the RCC-NS can only be removed from power by force.

The *janjaweed* are perhaps the most enigmatic actor in the conflict. The militias are spread throughout Darfur, and generally live in their own communities. Most *janjaweed* fighters tend to self-identify as Arab, though the fighters hail from individuals from all tribes. Their tactics are quite brutal: the fighters will general sweep through villages, looting and burning the buildings and never hesitating to kill the inhabitants ("Frontline: On Our Watch"). Though they lack any central leadership, and the various militias only share a name in common, they still all initially worked towards the goal of eradicating the SLA/M and JEM and fighting to bring the Islamic mission of the RCC-NS government to Darfur. However, as the conflict has developed, many of these groups have simply reverted to banditry, killing men and women and destroying villages that they simply believe are using their resources or lands. There are lingering concerns of whether or not the GoS is actively supporting these militias, which is one of the primary arguments behind labeling the conflict in Darfur as genocide. Some military officials have been convincingly indicted of providing oversight and aid as in the 1995 conflict, but there is no convincing evidence that implicates President al-Bashir in such support.

The public and international doubts of a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Darfur are only escalated by the importance assigned to ethnic and tribal divisions. The lack of a unified culture in Sudan (whether it be civic or ethnic) is problematic to the resolution of the fighting: "the insurgencies in Darfur are divided along tribal and ethnic lines—a reflection of the complexity of the ethnic, social and economic tensions of the area" ("An Agreement" 53). Between the many tribes, there is lingering tension over grazing and water rights, which has been a conflict in the region since the first tribes started to settle farms, abandoning their nomadic tradition and interfering with the routes used by those who still wished to graze. This mistrust between the tribes is still a source of infighting within the SLA/M and the JEM, and has accounted for much of the ineffectiveness of the organizations.

One of the few uniting factors among these tribes are the common dissent against the government and complaints about their lack of representation. While this was effective for uniting the rebel groups at first, this understanding has since broken down, as successive rebel victories has reinvigorated the distrust between the tribes. By the summer of 2004, the JEM had become highly volatile, and was ejecting child rebel groups such as the National Movement for Reform and Development (NMRD) (Daly 299). The SLM/A was also demonstrating internal conflict that threatened to dissolve the organization. By 2004, the SLM/A had come under the complete leadership of Mina Arkoi Minawi, a controversial figure among the officers of the rebel group. As the SLA became more successful in repelling the Sudanese forces, many started to accuse Minawi of targeting Arab tribes in Darfur under the (allegedly forged) assumption that they were supporters of the GoS. This infuriated members of Arab tribes, though the collapse of the SLM/A would not come until the peace process began. Furthermore, infighting between the JEM and SLM/SLA grew considerably as well, as their differences in structure and policy proves impossible to reconcile. In the end, Minawi's SLA fought and routed the weak militants of the JEM (Flint 163-164).

### ***Roadblocks to Peace***

The main difficulty in establishing a stable peace in the region is that many actors on every side of the conflict are paramilitary or not recognized by the international community. This makes forming a legally binding international agreement with these groups extremely difficult, for even if the peacekeeping operations in the area are given a broad enough mandates to see that the terms of the agreement are enacted, there are no penalties for the groups if they violate the terms of the agreement. Sanctions against rebels are ineffective, and their monetary and weapon resources are difficult to track and freeze. To make matters worse, the rebel

groups have broken up into factions who do not always agree. The various splinter groups from the SLM/A refuse to even recognize each other, and bringing all of these fragment organizations to the same negotiating table is seemingly impossible. There is even some measure of concern about the GoS following the peace agreement because there is no guarantee for the GoS that the rebels will respect their terms.

Specific provisions with regards to external aid within the peace agreement and the ceasefire agreement have also been broken in countless instances since the day they were signed, further hindering any efforts to control the situation. For example, NGO travel permits have been denied by the GoS, and United States aid officials from USAID have had their access restricted by the GoS and even been attacked by rebel groups: “The GoS and, to a lesser extent, the rebel groups have hindered the humanitarian community from accessing affected residents and IDP’s in Darfur. According to UN and NGO officials and USAID, as well as UN reports, the GoS has restricted access to Darfur for NGO’s and UN agencies by delaying or denying visas” (“Progress” 50). This goes against both written agreements because they can no longer be monitored. The GoS has only allowed AU forces in the area, and rebel groups control many roads that are also delaying humanitarian needs.

### *Peace Agreements*

An excellent case study of how peace agreements can go awry is the ceasefire signed shortly after violence broke out in 2003. The oversight of this agreement was problematic since it was not initially monitored, as the AMIS was overextended. According to The Economist, “Sudan's government promised to allow aid agencies free access to its western region of Darfur—a promise it has made and broken several times before. More importantly, it promised to make Darfur a military no-fly zone, so it should stop dropping barrel bombs on Darfur's villages and refugee camps and strafing them from helicopter gunships” (“An Agreement” 53). Some saw this ceasefire agreement as only something on paper for the international community, not as real relief for the Sudanese citizens. The AMIS was the only mission in 2004, and according to one general, “The AU has only a few vehicles to transport its men overland and almost no aircraft on hand. It has too few tents to shelter even its men now on the ground. And the valuable computer equipment that has been given for communications came with software and instructions written only in German, which no African there understand” (53).

Fighting continued without any real attempts at peace negotiations until the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) in 2006. This agreement sought to solve political problems to bring an end to the conflict, but was plagued by doubt and distrust. It was initially conceived as a comprehensive agreement between the GoS and all of the rebel groups in Darfur, but many of the rebel fighters did not trust that the GoS would fulfill their end of any agreement made. The JEM withdrew from the negotiations shortly after they started, and many members of the SLM/A were suspicious of the whether or not the GoS would respect their end of any agreement made. As the negotiations developed, it became clear that Minawi was trying to secure himself a place in the GoS government, and looked as though he was trying to abandon the SLM/A for personal gain. During the extensive political intrigue concerning the DPA, many Zaghawa leaders stayed with Minawi and signed the agreement, but the Fur leaders did not (“An Agreement” 53). As part of the agreement, Minawi was given a place within the highest ranks of the GoS, serving as Senior Assistant to the President of the Republic, fourth in the line of succession to the President. The elements of the SLM/A that did not agree with Minawi’s platform then fractured into many organizations, many of which claimed to be the true SLM/A. The final version of the DPA was signed in May 2006 only between the GoS and the SLM/A faction controlled by Minna Minawi (the largest break-away group). Incidentally, Minawi was the last leader of the unified SLM/A (Daly 302). To this day, however, there are still many groups that call themselves the SLM/A and continue to fight against military forces.

Reports on the peace agreement and the opinion of the international community have shown that “some consider the [DPA] to be a smokescreen behind which violence, destruction, displacement of people and rape of women will continue as before” (“An Agreement” 53). It has a number of the same problems as the ceasefire agreement with the distrust from the people for the peace agreement actually being enforced. The public dissent against the motives of the government is based in historical precedence. “The very uneven

application of the ‘comprehensive peace agreement’ bringing the North-South Civil War (1983- 2005) to an end leads observers to wonder about the good faith of the Sudan Government” (“An Agreement” 53). The CPA between the SPLM/A and the GoS was forced on both sides by the severe loss of revenue to the GoS by the rebellion. Little revenue being lost by the GoS because of the conflict in Darfur, as successive governments have paid less and less attention to the development of the region since Sudan achieved independence and census information for taxation purposes is outdated. The majority of the dissent for the current peace agreement comes from the fact that Sudan could easily allow the conflict to continue with minimal loss of materiel and revenue, and thus has a diminished interest in solving the conflict.

### *Progressions of Peacekeeping Missions in Darfur*

Even though many peacekeeping missions have been deployed to the region, there are still millions of lives at risk in Darfur. Amnesty International was among the first NGOs in the region and has since then been using the media to spread awareness of the issue by providing still pictures and films of the crisis to raise international awareness (“History”). International humanitarian aid and NGO reports have allowed for extra insight concerning the problems facing peacekeeping efforts in Darfur. “The humanitarian crisis is exacerbated by the remoteness of the area, restrictions by the Sudanese government on humanitarian operations, press, human rights monitors, and rampant insecurity on the ground. Attacks by armed assailants on aid workers have drastically reduced operations, and humanitarian aid groups no longer have access to some areas of Darfur” (“History”). These reports from various peacekeeping missions deployed to the region are also valuable intelligence assets, but have also been noted to be inaccurate and biased at times, making the conflict difficult to fully understand for anyone in the international community (“History”).

The African Union Mission (AMIS) was the first peacekeeping mission deployed into Darfur in July of 2004. It initially received a great deal of international acclaim as being an “African solution to an African problem,” and the international community was hopeful that Sudan would be more willing to work with its neighbors than with global organizations or the UN (O’Neill 35-36). However, from the beginning, the mission was on unstable footing. Although the peak of the violence in Darfur was in 2003, AMIS took a great deal of time to be approved and deployed, and was actually sent into Darfur much later than planned. However, with only 7,000 people deployed by 2007, Amnesty International reported that AMIS was “under-equipped, with too few personnel on the ground and too limited a mandate to provide security for civilians” (“History” 1). Additionally, although AMIS was deployed to monitor and report, the group also tried to provide security for civilians and aid workers, and the lack of a mandate to do so made such efforts both difficult and controversial.

To address these problems, the UN Security Council altered the mandate of the United Missions in Sudan (UNMIS) in 2005 after passing Security Council Resolution 1590. Though the mission’s primary goal is to monitor the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the GoS and the SPLA/M that ended the Second Sudanese Civil War, the mission was also tasked with providing assistance to AMIS once the Darfur conflict became increasingly violent. Because it was established to provide political support for collaboration between the SPLM/A and the GoS, the mission was also useful for providing the diplomatic framework that led to the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA). Even though UNMIS is based in Southern Sudan and AMIS in Darfur, there has also been some degree of cooperation between the two missions. However, because AMIS was administered by the African Union and UNMIS by the UN, there were a number of logistical problems with the coordination of relief efforts and security programs.

Ultimately, it appears that the problem with these peacekeeping missions in Darfur, Sudan is that they have not been successful in ending the fighting, which continues to this day. After recognizing the failures of the AMIS mission, in 2008 AMIS was transformed into a new, hybrid mission established by the UNSC, called the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). This mission was created by Security Council Resolution 1769 and was soon followed by the deployment of 26,000 peacekeepers (S/RES/1769 (2008)). UNAMID is given full authority to deploy its forces as it deems within its capabilities. UNAMID is meant to fully implement the DPA by preventing “the disruption of its implementation and armed attacks and to protect civilians without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Sudan” (“History”

11). This was the first mission in Darfur with the ability to protect civilians in its mandate not just to monitor and report. It also stresses that the success in Darfur will be through diplomatic means not military means. While these are impressive goals for the government and the peacekeeping missions, they are not being accomplished fully in Darfur and the fighting still continues.

The Darfur conflict has also spilled over Sudanese borders, and now there is related violence in Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR). To address the proliferation of violence, the Security Council passed Resolution 1778, which authorized the placement of a European Union mission in Eastern Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR), to be also supported by a small UN peacekeeping mission (EUFOR and MINURCAT, respectively) (S/RES/1778 (2008)). This force is meant to train and work with the police forces and national army guards to protect civilians in the region. The mission is also working towards the goal of promoting rule of law and human rights, particularly with regards to interactions between the refugees and the local inhabitants. MINURCAT will include a maximum of three hundred police and fifty military liaisons when it is fully deployed (“History” 12). One of the most important goals in this resolution is to work with the governments of Chad and the CAR to protect their borders and train their own police.

### **CURRENT STATUS**

Currently, the GoS and the AU are protesting the arrest warrant that the ICC has put out for the President of Sudan. Luis Moreno-Ocampo, the ICC prosecutor, is responsible for the case against President al-Bashir and his pursuit of al-Bashir has earned him a great deal of criticism. As recent UN news has reported: “today Ocampo appears to be the one on trial with even some of his early supporters questioning his prosecutorial strategy, his use of facts and his personal conduct” (Lynch 1). As Moreno-Ocampo loses support for the arrest warrant, observers are starting to note that arresting the President and placing him on an international court for trial would only slow the process of a political resettlement.

Key support for Bashir’s regime from figures like Moammar al-Gaddafi, leader of Libya, has also allowed diminished support for the arrest warrant and the ICC. “Libyan leader, Moammar Gaddafi, and Gabon’s Jean Pin, the two leaders of the AU, are mounting a campaign to press the African states to withdraw from the treaty body that established the international tribunal” (Lynch 2). The withdrawal of all the AU states would greatly damage the international community as the ICC is currently only supported by the bare majority of world nations that have ratified the Rome Statute. Sudan’s UN ambassador states, “the court has been isolated and the prosecutor stands naked.” With such dissent being focused on the court, Ocampo has written, “It is normal: when you prosecute people with a lot of power you have problems.” He also states, “I still think it is genocide and I will appeal,” referring to the ICC’s refusal to include charges of genocide in the arrest warrant.

UNAMID is currently at 68% full deployment with 13,455 uniformed personnel on the ground, far behind the initial deployment schedule (“Darfur” 1). The slow deployment of the mission is a grave issue for the security of the region, as combat continues today; in a report to the Security Council in August, Secretary General Ban Ki-moon condemned the armed clashes which have erupted in North Darfur in recent months, initiated by elements of the rebel JEM against SLM/A (Minawi), now a pro government faction (“Darfur” 1). This clash of the rebel groups is a problem with their diversity and the reasons behind their unity. Another peace agreement needs to be finalized because, if not, the rebel groups will continue to have internal problems. As the government works with one group, the others fall into factions and more problems arise. Until these problems are solved the violence just forces more citizens out of their homes to escape the violence.

The UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has been working closely with the peacekeeping operations and NGO’s to set up humanitarian aid and safe camps for the refugees. They have already addressed 1,800 resettlement cases, which still only represents a small fraction of the 250,000 refugees that are being sheltered in Sudan by UNHRC camps in addition to another 70,000 in Chad and the Central African Republic (“First” 1). The UNHCR forces are not meant to act as the UN peacekeeping operations, and their specific mandates do not include security for the refugees or conflict resolution between the refugees and the

local inhabitants. Even so, while attempting to maintain safe environments, they still must endure raids and attacks. In June 2009, there was an attack in Birao, in the Central African Republic, where there was a UNHCR-led refugee camp. There were also three hundred refugees and three thousand internally displaced persons (IDPs) at the camp. To prevent further raids, MINURCAT has stationed three hundred blue helmets there for extra protection, but this isn't even close ("Top" 1). The refugees who have already been displaced from their homes must be protected from raids by the *Janjaweed* or the rebel groups. Any new peace agreement needs to be negotiated with that in mind.

### *Resumption of Peace Talks*

According to a UN report released in June 2009, "a number of armed rebel movements in Darfur [said] they are ready to resume peace talks in Darfur" ("Darfur's" 1). These talks were originally halted by the JEM and SLA after the GoS held members of the rebel groups in prison and the rebels refused to continue the negotiations until they were released. Other groups in Sudan have now chosen to resume peace talks, and the negotiating forces in the UN are trying to persuade them to work with JEM and SLA during these talks. Djibril Yipene Bassole, the joint AU-UN chief mediator stressed "the need for all sides to the conflict to agree to a cessation of hostilities so that the humanitarian situation inside Darfur can improve and those civilians who have sought refuge in camps for IDP's can return home" ("Darfur's" 1). A unified cessation of hostilities favors a peace agreement that each rebel group, citizen and group in the government can agree on.

There is also a high level AU panel on Darfur (AUPD) which seeks to "advance peace process between GoS and various rebel forces in the Western Sudan region" (African 1). Such is the AU's attempt to understand the needs of all of the people in Sudan under the new government and an added measure to prevent future problems. According to a UN news report, "the AUPD has listened to Sudanese political parties, civil society, representatives, rebel movements, Arab nomads, native administrators, tribal leaders, IDP's, women, youth, and others in Khartoum" (African 1). The role of various rebel groups will also be key in determining whether there will be a peace agreement, and ultimately, elections.

### *Upcoming Elections*

The 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) requires local state, and national elections by July 2009, but they have since been rescheduled for 2010. Reasons cited for the delays are often associated with the slow administrative processes in the government. Additionally, the CPA demanded the passage of a National Election Act, making all elections legitimate by rule of law. The target date for implementation of the act was 2006, although it was not until 2008 that it was enacted. The National Election Commission, which was also created under the Act was also delayed and the members were not appointed until 2008 (Schwartz 1). The purpose of the commission was to count the ballots and help organize the elections.

An additional requirement for a successful election in Darfur also necessitates an accurate count of the population. A census was sent out in April and May of 2008, yet the results still have not yet been tabulated. Until the census returns, no elections can be held, as there is no database of citizens eligible to vote (Schwartz 1). Though the administrative obstacles of the elections seem daunting, they are relatively unimportant to the very prospects that there will not even be an election. The ongoing violence in Darfur remains a primary obstacle in determining whether or not there will be elections. With conflict in the country continuing to escalate, the commission needs to determine the risks they are willing to take in order to ensure voting in the region.

The peacekeeping operations already in place could support the fair implementation of elections in Darfur, but the commission has still not asked for any international or UN support. Based on the overall progress of the provisions of the CPA, it is also unlikely that elections will occur in 2009. When it comes to the issue of violence it would not be the first time that a country during the time of war has held elections: Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo have experienced similar electoral stumbling blocks. However, most of the international community still believes that a new peace agreement will be necessary for elections and voting to take place in Darfur.

Transition to a new democracy must always be handled delicately. The turnout for an election during times of violence is often demoralizing; and more so when there are run-off ballots, as voter turn-out usually decreases by half. According to Stephanie Schwartz, a foreign policy analyst at United States Institute for Peace, refugees and IDP's will also have trouble voting, because "the electoral law also requires voters to register in the constituency where they have lived in the last three months and present some form of personal identification" (Schwartz 1). It is possible that such a requirement will consequently prevent refugees and IDP's from voting, given their high physical transience and forced detachment from their original constituencies. This will also prevent any refugee or IDP from voting if they have been out of the country or lost all of their possessions during the conflict. These people are the individuals who have been affected the most and they will have little to no input in the new government. The relatively recent census conducted to determine voting districts did not cover the IDP camps in Darfur; hence, the size of the assemblies will also not be accurate with regards to refugees in particular.

It is also imperative that all rebel groups including the JEM, the SLA, and the GoS agree that a peaceful election is necessary for not only their own interests, but those of other groups as well. Elections are important to a nation because without them, development halts and a democratic government is not feasible. The ability to ensure the continuation of a peaceful democratic process based in the very interests of a nation's people is something that must be maintained for reasons not only associated with political stability, but also economic and social strength. Such a system will also inevitably create comprehensive civic nationalism, rather than separatist and ethnic nationalism.

It is possible to bring Sudan to this optimistic scenario, following the end of all fighting. Refugees who have been long awaiting the safe return to their homes must be granted a chance to do so, and neighboring countries must aid in patrolling the borders and rebuilding the nation. These goals can also be achieved by granting additional access to international peacekeeping missions and pushing cooperation between rebel groups of the GoS.

Ultimately, one of the most important considerations today are the innocent people of Darfur that are still dying in large numbers. *Janjaweed* soldiers continue to raid defenseless refugee camps and often leave few survivors. It is also imperative that this committee address the political ramifications not having elections and find solutions for this problem before the GoS reneges on its commitments in the CPA.

### *ICC Warrant*

The GoS also wants to see a unified and peaceful Sudan, but they stress their sovereignty as an independent nation through their actions taken against international involvement in Darfur. In September of 2008, the president of Sudan met with AU officials to discuss the ICC warrants for arrest of the president and two other Sudanese men for war crimes and crimes against humanity. The president of Sudan and the AU both agreed that the referral of the case to the ICC and the warrants were ill-advised. "Sudanese officials said that the visit came in the framework of the AU's efforts to push the UN Security Council to prevent the ICC from issuing an arrest warrant against the Sudanese president" ("Sudan's" 1). When it comes to these accusations President al Bashir has denied any knowledge of humanitarian violations or war crimes, and maintains that Darfur is an internal conflict (Aliprandine 1). While the GoS has been working with the JEM and the SLA towards peaceful negotiations, the president still denies any connections with the *Janjaweed* which is the basis for the warrant. The warrant will be postponed because "in October 2008, the court announced that more evidence regarding the charges would need to be presented before further action related to the case is taken" (Aliprandine 1).

The arrest of the President of Sudan may cause problems for the delicate political balance within the governmental politics of Sudan. With many rebel groups spread across the nation, all vying for power and representation in Sudan, removing the president may only lead to another coup. It may also cause the Sudanese people to see the government as illegitimate because their president can be removed by an international source. However, if there is not an investigation into the allegations of the ICC, the international community could find itself ignoring a humanitarian crisis.

## **BLOC POSITIONS**

### **African States**

These states were among the first to respond to the violence in Darfur under the auspices of the AU in July of 2004. Since then, they have been adamantly involved in every mission in Darfur. They have been working within the framework of the AU and the UN to make UNAMID a stronger mission. These nations are generally more sympathetic for the GoS, recognizing the difficulty of managing a government in an unstable region. African nations have also played a huge role opposing the ICC warrants, and are among the most vocal states calling for the withdrawal of the warrants. The AU support for the president of Sudan shows the African unity and their sincere hope for eventual peace in the region.

### **East Africa and Neighboring States**

The states bordering and within close proximity to Sudan have also had a very influential and unique role in the peacekeeping progress. Chad and CAR have worked closely with the EU and the UN to make sure that MINUCRAT and EUFOR run smoothly. Not all of the bordering countries have strong economies or very stable political systems themselves, and these states will often find themselves threatened by the insecurity of the refugee camps. For example, some of the tribal issues that started in Western Darfur spilled over into Chad with the refugees, further adding to the intertribal conflict in that nation. As Matthew Conway has stated, “The UN refugee agency has compared the situation in Chad to that of Rwanda in 1994, when some 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were massacred over 100 days. ‘We are seeing elements that closely resemble what we saw in Rwanda in the genocide, and we have an opportunity here to avoid such a tragedy from occurring again’” (Wadlow 86).

The governments of Chad and CAR have worked very diligently to contain the violence to Darfur. It is important to note that this is a problem when it comes to raids in the refugee camps: “Eastern Chad is home to more than 200,000 refugees from Darfur who have fled violence inflicted on the region's black tribes by the government of Sudan and its allied Arab militias, known as the *Janjaweed*. Now these Arab militias have begun crossing the border to attack black tribes in Chad, where they are often joined by local Chadian Arabs. More than 100,000 non-Arab Chadians have been driven from their homes, and threaten to overwhelm aid agencies in the area” (Wadlow 86). The fear of the violence truly spreading into Chad like it did during the genocide in Rwanda with The Democratic Republic of Congo is powerful. This has made the surrounding countries have a strong role in the peacekeeping discussion between the rebel groups and the GoS.

### **Western States**

These states have sent the most troops to the peacekeeping missions in Darfur besides the AU. The EU had several resolutions in their sessions about the situation in Darfur. Most of the resolutions were concerned about the regional security with the world today being so interdependent. “According to the Joint action 2007/108/CSFP(1), the policy objectives for the mandate of the European Union Special Representative (EUSR) for Sudan take into due account regional ramifications of the conflict in Darfur for the Republic of Chad and the Central African Republic” (“EUFOR” 1). The EU has voiced its concern for the region and along with discussions with the SC they determined that a military effort would be most useful in Chad and the CAR. EUFOR is the mission that was approved by the SC resolution 1778 and given a similar mandate to UNAMID. Some of the very first AU missions into Darfur were joined with efforts from Chad, the EU, and the US for field investigations (“Progress” 51).

Both the EU and the US are also a part of the ceasefire commission which files, reports and investigates to determine which parties break ceasefire agreements. The joint commission that reviews the reports also includes member of the EU and representatives from the US (“Progress” 51). The US congress has been active in addressing the conflict in Darfur. For example, on 22 July 2004, the US house and senate each passed separate resolutions citing events in Darfur as acts of genocide (“Progress” 51). The US has also

passed legislation recognizing that the GoS has supported the *Janjaweed*: in his last term as President, George W. Bush noted that genocide was occurring in the region and requested that the United Nations investigate the events (“Progress” 51). The US has played an active role in working with the UN and the EU to classify the situation in Darfur and determine what peacekeeping operations are necessary. The US has also worked with UNHCR to relocate some of the refugees and IDP’s into the US. Both the US and the EU have been helpful to the situation with their resources.

### COMMITTEE MISSION

Members of SPECPOL must come together to analyze the current peace process in Darfur and how it can be accelerated to accommodate the wishes of both the rebels and the GoS. This is a very current and on-going issue, as rebel groups continue to fight both *Janjaweed* and GoS forces, so the members of the committee must be constantly keeping up with the progress of the situation. Members also need to fully understand the mandates of each mission laid out by Security Council resolutions and know all of the details involving the peace and ceasefire agreement of 2004 and 2005. It is important that members recognize the problems associated with each of these agreements and the possibility of a new peace agreement.

The difficulty in assessing all of the issues with respect to this topic is partially due to the fact that the rebel groups in the area are splinter groups from either the SLM/A or the JEM, and are infrequently willing to negotiate with each other, viewing the other groups as illegitimate organizations. This, in turn, makes it also difficult to come up with a comprehensive peace agreement for all differing interests in Sudan.

When addressing the situation on an international level, the issue of a nation’s sovereignty is also at stake. The disruption of an already fragile political system can prove to be disastrous, and delegates should take care to accommodate all sides of the conflict. In addition, there is the issue of the ICC and its legitimacy in this situation which has already been altered by the GoS.

The committee will also need to decide on an appropriate course of action to create steps to relieve the people of Darfur and allow the refugees to return to their homes. Finally, the committee also needs to look into the upcoming elections and if a peace agreement would be possible before the established date of 2010.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATES IN EASTERN EUROPE

## TOPIC B

### INTRODUCTION

In today's interconnected world, it is important for a stabilized world economy to have rapidly developing, democratic states around the world; thus, the development of the precarious Eastern European states and the security of their peaceful political transitions is extremely important. Most dictionaries will define a developed country as a highly industrialized nation. During the Cold War, developed nations were branded as being "first world", the Soviet Union and its communist allies as the "second world", and everyone else, "third world". These terms are no longer used today as a result of the fall of the Soviet Union, and have been replaced by more nuanced classification systems. Nonetheless, we can currently reduce a number of these classifications today to one that ultimately divides geographic notions of the North and South; otherwise known as the North-South Division.

The most commonly applicable theory for categorizing countries in terms of development divides them into four categories: underdeveloped, least developed, developing, and developed. These classifications are not well defined but are used in a state-by-state basis in concurrence with statistical data such as the Human Development Index (HDI) or Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDP/capita). The problem with this classification system is that certain nations do not follow the same steps in becoming "developed" and often do not even fit into any category. These types of problems of unconventionality have forced us to define an entirely new category of countries that are described as being *in transition*. According to the United Nations, countries in transition are: "mainly developing countries of east Europe, and some of the developed countries dominating the United Nations (UN) cannot afford to regard these countries as developing because of similar civilization" ("United Nations Definition" 1).

Under most other classification systems, most countries in Eastern Europe show characteristics similar to those of developed countries such as the United States and Great Britain, but have not been sovereign for a long enough period of time to be considered fully developed ( in both political and economic terms). There are also questions with regards to the degree of dependence on neighboring large nations or regional blocs such as Russia or the European Union (EU) compared to their more developed counterparts. Although the division of *developed* versus *developing* is used almost universally, a strict definition specifically differentiating the two still does not exist. As the World Trade Organization (WTO) explains: "there are no WTO definitions of 'developed' and 'developing' countries...members can define for themselves whether they are 'developed' or 'developing' countries, but other nations can challenge the decision of a member to make use of provisions available to developing countries," ("WTO" 1). With no declared guidelines in the World Trade Organization (WTO) it is important that member states are accountable for one another, because there are certain rights for developing countries and not developed.

When a state declares itself to be lesser developed, they receive trade benefits and increased leniency when it comes to penalties like those for loan defaults, which may not be necessary if a country has a stable economy. The UN agrees with the WTO and respects the sovereignty of each member state in noting that "the assignment of countries or areas to specific groupings is for statistical convenience and does not imply any assumption regarding political or other affiliation of countries or territories by the United Nations. The designations 'developed' and 'developing' are intended for statistical convenience and do not necessarily express a judgment about the stage reached by a particular country or area in the development process" ("Standard" 1). The statistical information comes from the standard of gross domestic product per capita (GDP per capita), a low cost of living and inflation. The Human Development Index (HDI) has also been used in this statistical analysis. It includes a high life expectancy, literacy, educational attainment, and GDP per capita (1).

Research compiled at the UN data archive holds the key to the criterion and standards to which nations are held and evaluated by the UN. One example includes data compiled by the United Nations Population

Division, which reported “more developed regions comprise all regions of Europe” (Stavrov 6). This is noteworthy as it constructs “Europe” into a single entity and fails to recognize a much different reality: one of a continent with a wide spectrum of a highly developed Western Europe to a much lesser developed Eastern Europe. According to the UN Population Division, “Eastern Europe has the lowest life expectancy and it has experienced reductions in life expectancy at birth since the late 1980’s” (“United Nations” 14). Among these parameters for development, the study reports Moldova and Ukraine to have the lowest values. Eastern Europe is classified in the study as Belarus, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, and the Ukraine.

For the purpose of this simulation, the committee will also include all of the Balkan and Baltic countries not on the previous list: Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Republic of Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro. These countries have more in common than just their geography; they also share distinctive and formative histories. These countries all suffered under neo-colonialism; either under the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia, or as communist satellite states. These countries were primarily ruled by communist dictatorships throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after mostly being subsumed by empires prior to the turn of the century.

These newly independent countries struggle to maintain their national sovereignty under the shadow of Russia, and are often subject to Russia’s “near-abroad” policy. This policy asserts that Russia, as a former empirical power, has a privileged influence in the region. These countries are greatly influenced by forces of globalization and other trade partners, as well as by relations with the European Union, that their emerging markets have brought. However, some policies and relations with Russia are heavily influenced by the often-tenuous trade relationship of energy sources with Russia.

Eastern European states have many factors to consider in their political and economic development. It is crucial that this committee decides whether or not the UN needs to step in as a moderating force and ensure that established countries do not exploit the transitional countries of Eastern Europe. If this committee does determine that the development of these countries is being hindered by the struggle for influence, then immediate international action should be taken to ensure a peaceful and humanitarian nature of this process.

## **HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE ISSUE**

The distinctive histories of Eastern European states have largely determined the manner in which they developed today. It is important to fully understand the developmental path of these countries and people. It is also important to understand how these people adapted to foreign rule, and how this influenced their national character, especially with regards to regional politics and development. This will bring a better understanding of the struggles that a number of Eastern European states had to face in joining the modern international community. This will inexorably help facilitate an informed discussion over whether or not the UN needs to step in as a moderator. Finally, it is important to determine the relationship between the historic political and economic transitions and interstate relations of Eastern European countries in order to establish the relationship’s significance.

### ***Political History***

Eastern European countries can be divided into two regions by way of both geographic and historical divisions. The first region is often referred to as the “near abroad,” or post-Soviet satellite states, which are some terms used to describe independent states that were once part of the former Soviet Union. The second region consists of the independent states of the former Yugoslavia and Balkan states. Using strictly geographical standards, the Balkan region is often described as “the area south of the Danube and Sava rivers: Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, the European part of Turkey, and the former socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia)” (Cavazos 1). These borders were established at the Bucharest and London conference of 1913 (Stavrou 68). With its strategic location between Europe and the Middle East, the region was important to several of military successes since the time of the Ottoman Empire. This region has been fought over territory for centuries. According to historian and

scholar, Nikoloas Stavrou, “[c]ommencing with the French Revolution, major European powers had used the Balkans as a testing ground for their global schemes. Besides being an attractive piece of real estate, this region was useful for territorial trade-offs whenever the European balance of power required adjustment” (Stavrou 67).

It was not until the Cold War escalated in the post-World War II years that a number of Eastern European and Balkan states were used by Russia as a type of “proxy” and defense against the West. When Soviet Russia gained immense international power and influence these countries also inevitably fell under the so-called “Iron Curtain,” of communism. The Balkan countries were also too young to survive independently and would often be dependent on any aid a greater power could provide. This also encouraged early economic dependence. The influential European powers at the time “had seen to it that the boundaries were carved in such a way that a state of permanent irredentism was assured. It was for this reason that after the second Balkan War, the borders of no Balkan state followed any type of ethnic boundaries” (Stavrou 68). This paved the way for many inter-Balkan clashes, observed in particular with the creation and breakup of Yugoslavia. With the lack of any clear ethnic boundaries, foreign powers were free to exert significant influence over the people and easily suppress ethnic nationalism.

### *The History of the Balkan Countries*

Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria, while never part of Yugoslavia, have been traditionally tumultuous because of their geopolitical strategic value. Stavrou takes note of the considerable attention this region has received over the years in pointing to Albania as an example: “Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Bolshevik Russia, and Maoist China all figured prominently in shaping Albania’s foreign policy” (Stavrou 67). These countries had a large role in manipulating Albania for its resources, such as land and manpower. In 1927, all oil, chrome, and copper concessions went to Rome while “Mussolini was expected to financially help the king maintain a royal lifestyle, even though the latter was reduced to a puppet and his kingdom to a tourist curiosity” (Stavrou 69). Many Balkan nations needed the support of their regional “Great Power” to maintain their economy, and would fall under successive spheres of influence of whomever was willing to offer the most trade and aid: “By 1936, the King [of Albania] had realized the implications of Rome’s intentions and attempted to wiggle out of its embrace. Belatedly he sought to replace Italy with Great Britain, a bigger, more powerful and also ‘more distant patron’” (Stavrou 70). Bulgaria was a portion of the Turkish-majority Ottoman Empire during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878 (“Historical Highlights” 1). Romania, though not part of the Soviet Union, experienced communism under a series of dictators throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and underwent transformation to a free-market, democratic system at the same time that the Soviet Union collapsed. The recent history of these three countries included subjugation to imperial forces, planned economies, human rights violations, and dictatorship, which explains the difficulties they have had in developing as rapidly as their Western European neighbors.

### *Transitions due to International Influences in the Balkans*

These political and economic changes would come from being the client to a powerful patron. “In September 1944 following the defeat of the Axis powers in WWII, communism emerged as the dominant political force within Bulgaria” (“Historical Highlights” 2). Bulgaria would gradually work to regain its democratic roots with multiparty elections in 1990, with a victory from the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Union of Democratic forces later in 1991 (“Historical Highlights” 2).

There are also enduring economic ramifications for this transition period from a state of communism. “As Bulgaria emerged from the throes of communism, it experienced a period of social and economic turmoil that culminated in a severe economic and financial crises starting in late 1996- early 1997” (“Historical Highlights” 2). The country is currently working towards Euro-Atlantic integration, democratic reform, and development of a market economy. In 2007 it became a member of the European Union.

Albania was also greatly affected by its relationship with Italy, particularly with regards to political thought. Historian Nikoloas Stavrou writes that “Fascism had been a flourishing ideology in Albania since 1927”

(Stavrou 71). Still today, Albania struggles to develop democratic institutions and become a competitive force in the global market.

Romania, however, was particularly devastated by its political “benefactors.” David Turncock recounts that “there was immense damage to human capital and not enough attention was given to economic efficiency...both considerations have a bearing on the scale of poverty today making for difficult choices over the ongoing transitions, characterized by low credit rating and high perceived political risk” (Turnock 119). The Romanian economy was greatly tied to that of the Soviet Union, and the fall of the Soviet Union resulted in the collapse of the satellite states as well.

Albania’s borders formerly included Kosovo, parts of Greece, western (Former Yugoslav Republic of) Macedonia, segments of Montenegro, and a piece of Serbia (Stavrou 71). This caused tensions with its neighbors of Yugoslavia, otherwise known as the “great Serbia.” Albania also implemented policies attempting to create a mono-ethnic state and called for the deportation of any non-ethnically Albanian citizens. Stavrou notes how ethnically singular Albania had become, writing, “the Albanian irregulars have succeeded in making Europe’s most mono-ethnic piece of real estate” (Stavrou 82). Such regional disputes would default back to greater regional disputes and the influence of “patron” countries.

### *History and transitions of former Yugoslavian republics*

In 1918, as David Pryce-Jones reports, “the first ‘Great Serbia’ was created in the peace process of Versailles, the Serbs had their way, and the kingdom of Yugoslavia was duly welded from other peoples and their homelands” (Pryce-Jones 28). Communist Yugoslavia was torn apart after the fall of the USSR in 1980 by nationalistic forces and sentiments. A poly-Slavic federation, it contained Serbs (one-third), Croats (one-fifth), and Bosnian Muslims (9%) (Cavazos 1). While the state was broken up by strong nationalism, the newly separated countries all had new ethnic conflicts. Serbia, which consisted of the Serbians, Bosnians, and the Krdjinana experienced a number of new ethnic clashes (Cavazos 1). Cavazos takes note that though there were a number of ethnic groups in the region, the Serbs quickly became the most powerful ethnic group: “The Armyinas mainly compose of Bosnian Serbs before Yugoslavia dissolved. This disintegration allowed the Bosnian Serbs to quickly attain the majority of their territorial objectives” (Cavazos 1). The territorial objectives included any land the different nationalities could get and caused a significant amount fighting which only harmed the development of the already precarious independent states.

The conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina between the Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) became one of the dominant conflicts in the region in the 1990s. “Bosnia-Herzegovina was a self proclaimed state of the Bosnian Serbs” who were fighting against a ‘Greater Serbia’ supported by the Eastern Orthodox Church (Cavazos 1). The Roman Catholic Croats also fought in the ethnic clashes, but joined with the Bosnian Muslims.

Due to the ethnic fighting over territory and claim to titles of the greater Serbia, the UN had to intervene in 1992 with a forced ceasefire (“People and History: Croatia” 1). Ethnic clashes would continue and allow for Croatia to expand in gained territory. Following a second ceasefire in 1993, Croatia gained the Republic of Krajina, a former Serbian territory (“People and History: Croatia” 1). In 1995, the Dayton Peace Accord was finally signed by each former Yugoslavian state to respect each other’s sovereignty (Cavazos 1); the Dayton Accords created a partitioned Bosnia-Herzegovina, which divided the territory into the *Republika Srpska* and the Federation of Bosnians and Croats. In spite of all the fighting between Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia, both Macedonia and Slovenia were able to withdraw from the Yugoslav alliance without any ceasefires. Unlike Croatia and Bosnia, Slovenia was able to avoid (for the most part) any type of ethnic violence within its borders (“Slovenia: History” 2). This is important to note since Slovenia also appeared to have developed at a much quicker pace than its neighbors, and joined the EU in 2004.

Macedonia’s secession from Yugoslavia in 1991 was affected less by ethnic or armed conflict than its neighbors (“History: Macedonia” 2). However, the country would soon have problems in 2000 with governance and ethnic representation in government. This eventually led to an international intervention;

“Ethnic minority grievances rapidly began to gain political currency in 2000, leaving many in the ethnic Albanian community in Macedonia to question their minority protection under, and participation in, the government...the expanded coalition of ruling ethnic Macedonia and ethnic Albania political leaders, facilitated by the US and the European Union (EU) diplomats, negotiated and signed the Ohrid Framework Agreement in August 2001 which brought an end to the fighting” (“History: Macedonia” 2). With such recent discord, Macedonia has had a much more difficult time developing and integrating itself into Euro-Atlantic partnerships and economy. After the break-up of Yugoslavia, all of the countries worked towards democratic government and assimilation into the Euro-Atlantic world, including memberships in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the EU. This assimilation has been increasingly difficult considering the ethnic minorities fighting for autonomy. The situation in Kosovo presents a perfect current example of an ethnic minority working towards autonomy.

### *The history of the “near abroad” and Russian influences*

The “near abroad,” or post-Soviet satellite states consist of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Poland, and Moldova (as well as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan, which are not addressed in this topic). With the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918, Bolshevik Russia ensured Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine that they would exist independently (Peznik 48). However, Russia broke this treaty and in 1919, Belarus became the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, then the Lithuanian-Belorussian Soviet Socialist republic (Peznik 48). This would mark the beginning of an ongoing and direct influence of Russia on the sovereignty of these areas.

When the Red Army entered Poland in 1944 and 1968, Czechoslovakia signed the Warsaw pact (Bielski 2, “History: Czech Republic” 2). The Soviet Union soon forcibly incorporated Estonia as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939 (“History: Republic of Estonia” 1). The Soviets then moved into Latvia in 1940 and eventually Ukraine (“History: Latvia” 1). The denial of these states’ sovereignty would affect them immediately. The justification for the takeover of these states by Russia was that both Belarus and Ukraine were incorporated within Russia before the formation of the Soviet Union. This notion of imperialistic precedence is associated with the fundamental idea that “Russia viewed Belarusian history as essentially Russian, and the annexation of Belarusian territories was viewed as part of a natural reunification of Russia” (Peznik 48). The narrative is mirrored with the case of Ukraine “Russians claim to Ukraine rest in good measure on the historical fact that the first Russian state was located in Kiev today’s Ukraine capital” (“In the Border” 19). These two countries have had variable relations with the Russian government since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Czechoslovakia was the only European country to remain a parliamentary democracy from 1918-1938, but it too would be subsumed into the Eastern bloc after the war (“History: the Czech Republic” 1). Relations between two countries following the First World War were strong as Czechoslovakia planned its own democratic elections. Political leadership in the state “hoped the Soviet Union would allow Czechoslovakia the freedom to choose its own form of government and aspired to a Czechoslovakia that would act as a bridge between the East and the West” (“History: the Czech Republic” 2). Such a notion of a former satellite state acting as a bridge between the East and West was one that was relatively progressive for the time period. Hungary and Moldova were also forcibly brought under the former Soviet Union’s control. Hungary, however, fought independently in the First World War where it lost one third of its original territory (“People and History: Hungary” 1). This takeover would only escalate when “on January 20, 1945, a provisional government concluded an armistice with the Soviet Union and established the allied control commission, under which Soviet, American, and British representatives held complete sovereignty over the country,” (“People and History: Hungary” 1). Following this intervention into the country’s sovereignty, the government became communist. In 1949 Hungary would adopt a Soviet style government (“People and History: Hungary” 1).

### *Political and Economic transitions of Eastern Europe*

While the governments of all of these countries were influenced by the Soviet Union and communism, so were their various economic markets and industries. For instance, Latvia's farms were collectivized in 1949 as part of an effort of economic integration into the Soviet Union ("History: Latvia" 1). Nationalization (forcible takeover of industry by state ownership) of particular industries made it extremely difficult for the establishment of a free market in the new state. Eventually, the Lithuanian communist government collapsed in 1993 not directly because of the collapse of the former Soviet Union, but because its banks could no longer function. The Lithuanian economy was devastated by the effects of the Russian financial collapse in 1998, because its economy was so closely tied to that of Russia ("Politics: Lithuania" 5). The issue with the Lithuanian economy made other markets reliant on that of the Soviet Union's economy, which was rife with stagflation (corresponding stagnation and inflation) and no growth.

Unlike the other former satellite states, Poland initially had strong relations with the West and enjoyed unprecedented economic growth. According to an Eastern European historical narrative, "fueled by infusions of Western credit, Poland's economic growth rate was one of the world's highest during the first half of the 1970s" ("Politics: Lithuania" 2). Growth was still could not protect Poland from the collapse of the Soviet Union's economy. Similar to the case of Lithuania, "the Hungarian economy was reorganized according to the Soviet model" ("People and History: Hungary" 1). This model was adopted by every Soviet country but eventually faltered for all the nations. Poland, in fact was economically sound prior to the Soviet Union's intervention. This example sets a good precedent for the positive influence of international investment. Estonia, for example, would later become a democracy with a free market economy. "An integral part of Estonia's transition to a market economy during the early 1990's involved reorienting foreign trade to the west and attracting foreign investment to upgrade the country's industry and commerce" ("History: Estonia" 2). While almost all of these states currently have democratically-elected governments and free-market economies, it is still a good example and it shows how important the integration of a country into the world economy can be to that country's development.

Belarus' political system was one of the governments most stagnated by the Soviet rule. During the rule of the Soviet Union, "Belorussian dissidents remained restricted to a narrow group of isolated intellectuals, artists, and highly educated citizens, making it difficult to extend the concept of the struggle for a nation state to other levels of society" (Peznik 48). Unlike many other Soviet Republics, Belarus did not have a popular uprising against the Soviet rule. A small group of dissidents also caused "the strengthening of the Russian character of the country and economic interdependence with the Soviet Union" (Peznik 48). The current president of Belarus, Aleksandr Lukashenka (sometimes referred to as the last dictator in Europe) "continues to view nationalistic efforts as dangerous and as 'an enemy of the people,'" (Peznik 48). Belarus continues to suffer from a distinct lack of infrastructure, civic freedoms, and institutions necessary for a flourishing, independent state.

All states in Eastern Europe have gone through a number of enormous political, social, and economic transitions. It is important to the international community that these countries are not permanently categorized as "transitioning" and have opportunities to attract foreign investment and partnerships based on sovereign rights. It is imperative in today's interconnected world that the Eastern European states are able to develop according to their capacity of the natural and human resources. Knowing the history of Eastern Europe and the brief transitions of the political and economic systems, it is important that the committee determines whether or not the ongoing struggle for influence in the region can continue.

### *Energy Dependence*

While Russia no longer has official imperial control over states in Eastern Europe, the oil and gas dependence that Eastern Europe has on Russia has shown to be an important factor for retaining control over the independent states. The EU has yet to formulate an energy policy for the entire union, and Karl Liuhito of the Pan-European Institute of Turku School of Economics stated that "should the EU be unable to design a common energy policy for itself, the Kremlin will create an energy policy for Europe" ("Baltic"). Eastern

European states are variably dependent on energy resources from Russia, up to 100%; and could suffer harsh winters and economic standstills should that source cease to export to them. While many states, such as Poland and Estonia are pursuing alternative energy sources, such as wind technology, nuclear energy, and liquefied natural gas (LNG), there still remains a pressing need to diversify energy resources to promote a stable and accelerated path to economic development.

### *EU Enlargements*

The European Union's landmark 2004 expansion and subsequent 2007 expansion pushed the borders of the EU into former communist areas. The Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and Poland became Member States in 2004, after accomplishing rigorous benchmarks set forth by EU regulations that require new members to prove their sustainability to the alliance. Romania and Bulgaria followed suit in 2007. As EU members, these states have the benefit of policies such as the Common Agricultural Policy and the Schengen Treaty that promote economic development. In exchange, they must achieve and maintain high standards of human rights, institution-building, and economic reform. The EU has found that the enlargements into Eastern Europe have been beneficial to both the new Member States and the institution as a whole; it has "boosted the economies and improved living standards in the new Member States, thereby also benefiting the old Member States notably through new export and investment opportunities" and "helped build and consolidate democracy after the demise of the communist regimes" ("Communication").

Integration of Eastern European states into the EU has proved somewhat problematic in the overall geopolitical atmosphere of the European continent. The Russian Federation has exhibited displeasure at the alleged encroachment of the West into its traditional sphere of influence, although Russian leadership has been careful to maintain valuable trade and travel relations with the EU. The prospect of further enlargement to Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus, while far off, may disrupt the relationship further.

### **CURRENT STATUS**

A number of current trends and indicators can be used to assess the economic and developmental status of Eastern European states. These include factors such as the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of a state and the Human Development Index, which ranks countries based on opportunities provided to the population, such as "leading long and healthy lives, [being] knowledgeable, [having] access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living, and [being] able to participate in the life of the community" ("The Human"). The GDP per capita for each country is a commonly used statistic for determining whether or not a state is developed. The current Gross Domestic Product per capita of most Eastern European states is the lowest in all of Europe. Slovenia is ranked 21 on the list of European nations with a GDP per capita of only US\$21,695. The Czech Republic is next with US\$19,495 and following is Estonia with a GDP per capita US\$16,461. The numbers decrease dramatically in descending on the list: Hungary, Slovakia, Lithuania, Poland, Latvia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia, Ukraine, Belarus, Bosnia, Albania, Serbia, and Moldova with GDP/capita US\$2,374.

Identifying low levels of inflation is another commonly recognized trait of developing countries. Bosnia-Herzegovina has the lowest rate, with 1.6% inflation on consumer goods in 2007. Closely following are Macedonia, Czech, Slovakia, Albania, Slovenia, Poland, Croatia, Romania, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary, Belarus, Bulgaria, Latvia, Serbia, Moldova, and finally Ukraine with a rate of 12.8% inflation. As a basis of comparison, Japan has a relatively low rate of 1%, and Myanmar ranks the highest with 35% ("European" 1). However, GDP per capita does not always directly correlate to levels of inflation. For example, the Czech Republic has a high GDP per capita but a low level of inflation, while Moldova has a low GDP per capita and a high level of inflation.

The Czech Republic compares to developed EU countries with regards to civil and political liberties. The standards for this indicator are ranked from 1-7. For instance, The Democratic Republic of Korea was given a 0 on the scale and the highest was granted to Portugal with a 6. Macedonia is ranked a 3.5, Ukraine is a 3,

Bosnia and Albania are each 2.5, and Belarus is 1. Every other country is between 4 and 5.5 (“European” 1). This is a very important scale because it is very reflective of the situation. Belarus, which still exists under dictatorship, ranks as a one while other “near abroad” countries that are now in the EU such as Latvia and Lithuania are 5.5. The literacy rates of the entire populations of these countries are exceedingly high. The lowest is Albania with 86.5% and the highest are Poland, Latvia, and Estonia with a 99.8% literacy rate (“European” 1). Every country in consideration of this topic but Albania has a literacy rate of at least above 96%; Albania also has a low civil liberties rating.

The Human Development Index (HDI) is the most recently used statistical indicator for development. The latest HDI scale indicates that Niger is the lowest with 0.2 and Norway is the highest with 0.98, for a comparison. All of the nations in Eastern Europe are between 0.7-0.8 except for Moldova which is 0.671 and Slovenia which is 0.904 (“European”). These statistics can be very useful for classifying information but for the purpose of this committee it is important to look at the causes of these statistics. Between the countries’ histories and their current situations there is a clear correlation to their HDI ratings which come from foreign influence today. This is a topic about the region that this committee should discuss.

Although the Eastern European states are at different stages of development, they all face similar challenges in modernizing their agricultural sectors to become competitive in regional and European markets. “Brain drain” has also been a common problem in other transitional states, particularly within this industry. The Balkan economies need “a balanced approach that emphasizes increased competitiveness of the agri-business sector while providing alternative income opportunities in rural communities to help future generations avoid the poverty traps” (“New” 1).

Such therefore indicates the necessity for “social safety net,” which includes things such as unemployment pensions or welfare. It is a plan set up by the government to help people who have lost their jobs so that they can become employed again and not lose everything. This is a concept which is evident in all highly developed countries and steps such as alternative income for the agricultural areas of the Balkans could be the first to create this. The Eastern European countries all need strong social safety nets, provisions to prevent brain drain, and economic stability. This committee needs to decide the best methods to do this in addition to the influence on these developing factors by Russia or the European Union.

There are other problems in Eastern Europe that could also greatly affect development in the region. The ethnic problems that arise from constantly changing governments and close proximity of ethnic groups must be considered. The best example is Serbia and Montenegro with their recent split in 2006 and Kosovo, an ethnic group that recently split from Serbia. The United Nation has decided to intervene as they did several times when Yugoslavia first broke up: “Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has appealed for cooperation and constructive engagement from all concerned for a reconfigured United Nations mission in Kosovo, which he says is continuing to play an important role amid the changing reality on the ground following Kosovo’s declaration of independence from Serbia last year [2008]” (“Secretary-General” 1). The UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) called for a more active role by the EU than when the mission was first created in 1999. The EU is now currently attempting to set up “dialogue with Serbia on provisions in six areas: police, courts, customs, transport and infrastructure, boundaries and Serbian patrimony”, according to a recent document by the Secretary General (“Secretary- General” 1). Such a development would be imperative to maintaining stability in the region. Since Kosovo was recently a part of Serbia if it were to be an independent state the easiest way to develop it would be by example from Serbia since the people are already accustomed to the Serbian government. There is also a European Union rule of law mission (EULEX) and a NATO mission (KFOR) (“Secretary-General” 1). With all of the support in the region there are still problems within: “Mr. Ban also noted that Kosovo authorities continued to act on the basis of the ‘Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo’ and made a series of public statements requesting UNMIK to conclude its mission, ‘asserting that Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) is no longer relevant and that they had no legal obligation to abide by it’” (“Secretary-General” 1).

Without full cooperation from all ethnic groups, any attempt by the UN would be futile. It is also important that the UN be the strongest presence in the region. At present, the Serbian government is denying Kosovo’s

attempt to be an independent state and Russia has demanded that the Security Council do something to prevent a rebellion in Kosovo. Russia is in support of a united Serbia so Kosovo leaders are looking for western support to rebel: “A decade after a bloody separatist war with Serbian forces that claimed 10,000 lives, lawmakers pronounced the territory the Republic of Kosovo and pledged to make it a ‘democratic, multiethnic state.’ Its leaders looked for swift recognition from the U.S. and key European powers” (“Kosovo” 1). Russia is not content with Kosovo’s turn to the West for support. The ethnic problems in the region are evident because after the collapse of the Soviet Union the strongest country with the best Patron gained all the extra land that it could. Without the Soviet Union preventing rebellion in the region, ethnic groups felt that autonomy could be reached. It is not unlikely that situations such as Kosovo may continue in Eastern Europe. It is also not unlikely that each state will be a continued battle between the East and the West even with the Cold War being over.

Kosovo is only an example of what might ensue in the near future if the UN does not have a united front on succeeding regions of sovereign member states. With NATO and the EU trying to help states developing and having missions in countries like Kosovo, Russia will always feel threatened as long as it considers its sphere of influence to still be strong.

The committee must also take immediate action on its decision on whether it can act as a moderator and allow the most influential state to move in or to have a united international front to work diplomatically to help the countries of Eastern Europe develop with stable economies that will be contributing factors to the international community.

## **BLOC POSITIONS**

### *The European Union*

The Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria are the newest states in the European Union. Besides aiding with talks between Kosovo and Serbia, the EU has worked closely with the UN and NATO to prevent violence in the Balkans (2.29 p1). The EU plays a prominent role in making sure that the violence in the Balkans stays to a minimum so that it does not affect EU member states. They have had an immense presence in working towards the stabilizations process following the Dayton Agreement. It is also looking at the region as potential contributors to the EU. For this reason, the EU is focusing on reform objectives and providing possible framework for such reform in the region (McBride 1). This idea of the Balkan states and all of Eastern Europe being geographically strategic is a very important reoccurring theme, which explains the ongoing struggle over which a country has a true patron client relationship. Outside of the Balkans, the EU has expanded out to many former Soviet bloc states, reminiscent of the Baltic states, and has often engaged in intense negotiations with these states. The EU has a strong interest in the development of these states, and would be very supportive of a concerted international effort to help these nations develop.

### *Russia*

Russia has vested interests in seeing Eastern Europe develop economically and politically; however the ramifications of further development threaten Russia’s regional relative power. Furthermore, economic viability of these states would provide a better consumer base for Russian energy exports. However, development of democratic institutions would most likely cause Eastern European states to look further toward integration with Euro-Atlantic institutions, which Russia perceives as a threat to regional influence. Economic development in the region could also lead to an increase in alternative energy development, closer ties to the United States (a Cold War foe that Russia has yet to fully reevaluate its relationship with) and Europe, and possibly empowering historical tensions that underlie Russia’s relationship with Eastern Europe.

### *Other Developing Countries*

Despite the fact that this issue focuses on one region, the situation can easily be applied to many other regions. Since the Monroe Doctrine, the countries of South America are traditionally in the “sphere of influence” of the United States. It would be very beneficial for these countries to have a role in any discussions due to their similar situation. The African countries are similar to the Eastern European countries in their recent independence and restructuring. They were originally formed based on ethnic lines, which changed after colonization. Their borders today are similarly defined by foreign influence. There are several cases of ethnic conflict going on in the region such as in Darfur, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Geographical differences are not a cause for other states to not be indirectly related to a conflict. Resolutions to conflicts can easily be broadened to include more than one region.

### **COMMITTEE MISSION**

Members of SPECPOL must come together to analyze the development of countries in Eastern Europe and their status in the world today. They must decide whether development in these countries is being stifled by foreign influence in a beneficial or harmful manner. International cooperation is the key to attaining successful economic cooperation. It is up to this committee to openly discuss all aspects of development and these countries’ political transition. The committee must look at the past political and economic transitions and where the countries are today to determine the next steps towards becoming sustainable. While using known development processes such as the Copenhagen Process, it is important that the body works on steps to making the region a stable and vital part of today’s economy.

The difficulty in assessing all of the issues with respect to this topic is due to the undeniable sovereignty of these countries, which cannot be violated. Much of the development in the region thus far has been going on since 1990; in such a short time span, it is important to determine that the region is stable. The disruption of an already fragile political framework can prove to be disastrous. In addition, another issue is whether uniform measures applied in one country are appropriate for a different one.

Furthermore, it is absolutely vital to consider the interests of all countries, regardless of developing or developed, in order to come up with a truly comprehensive approach. While SPECPOL does have the right to see an issue in need of military or economic sanctions and submit it to the Security Council for review; these options may not always be progressive and best for the world as a whole. The economic well-being of developing states and the preservation of the new liberal economic order are on the global agenda. It is important that this committee gains an international understanding of any rebellion region and maybe set guidelines for what to do with a future rebellion.

Finally, this committee has the responsibility of helping guide the international community’s position on the region, such as the ways in which economic and political development can be aided, and the acceptable roles of the East and West in such development. If the foreign involvement proves not to be acceptable the committee then needs to plan a way to diplomatically relieve this involvement and possibly use the UN as a moderating body in the region. The area of Kosovo should be addressed specifically in the framework of foreign involvement. It is important that the international community stands united against or with succeeding territories. It is also important that the international community find assistance for the region similar to Non Governmental Organizations (NGO’s) or the UN, not ideologically polar countries.

## RESEARCH AND PREPARATION QUESTIONS

*As mentioned in the Note on Research and Preparation, it is imperative that delegates answer each of these questions in their position papers.*

### TOPIC A

1. Has your country had any involvement in a peacekeeping mission in Darfur? If so, what role did it play?
2. If your country has not been involved in the situation in Darfur, why have they not taken any action?
3. Does your country believe the situation in Darfur is considered genocide? Why or why not?
4. Has your country had any peacekeeping missions involved with a crisis within its borders? If so, how did your country deal with this, and was the mission successful?
5. Has your country decided upon its position on the situation, the peace agreement, and the ceasefire agreement?
6. Has your country ever had elections during a time of violence, and if so, what was the result?
7. Does your country believe an election in Sudan is possible without a new peace agreement?
8. What is your country's standpoint on the referral by the SC of the situation to the ICC?

### TOPIC B

1. What have the developmental transitions of your country been? What political/economic transitions has your country gone through to become the country it is today?
2. Has your country used any theories in development involving the economy/ political systems? If so, did these processes work? If not, why?
3. Has your country had any involvement in the history and or development of Eastern European countries? If so, was it a lasting involvement that still affects the countries today?
4. Does your country have a stance on the breakaway of Kosovo? Does it have troops helping in the UN, EU, or NATO mission?
5. Has your country had ethnic problems that have led to a breakaway of a region? If so, how did your country deal with this rebellion and how did the international community deal with such events?
6. Does your country invest in Eastern European countries? How has it affected your country and the country you have invested in?
7. Does your country rely on Russia or another single source for oil or gas? How has this affected your economy?
8. In what ways can urban environments be used to improve healthcare systems? For instance, think about factors related to access and equity.

## IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS

*The following documents have been hand-selected by Directors to further aid in delegate preparation. Please make a concerted effort to read and analyze these documents prior to the conference.*

### TOPIC A

SC/Res/1778. "The situation in Chad, the Central African Republic and the subregion." 2007.

S/Res/1769. "Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan." 2007.

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