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on the efforts of the international community in the area of development and of
'state building' in South Sudan
(2013/2090(INI))

Committee on Development

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MOTION FOR A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION

on the efforts of the international community in the area of development and of ‘state building’ in South Sudan (2013/2090(INI))

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its resolution of 13 June 2012 on the situation in Sudan and South Sudan¹,
- having regard to its resolution of 5 July 2011 on the future of EU budget support to developing countries²,
- having regard to its resolution of 25 October 2011 on the 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness³,
- having regard to its resolution of 18 December 2008 on development perspectives for peace-building and nation building in post-conflict situations⁴,
- having regard to the fact-finding mission of its Committee on Development to South Sudan in July 2011,
- having regard to the final report of the European Union Election Observation Mission on the Southern Sudan Referendum 9-15 January 2011⁵,
- having regard to the Partnership Agreement between the Members of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP), and the European Union and its Member States, signed in Cotonou on 23 June 2000⁶, first amended in Luxembourg on 25 June 2005⁷ and again amended in Ouagadougou on 22 June 2010⁸,
- having regard to the declaration of the Co-Presidents of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly on the situation in Sudan and South Sudan, issued in Horsens (Denmark) in May 2012⁹,
- having regard to the declaration by the EU and its Member States on the Republic of

¹ Texts adopted, P7_TA(2012)0248.

² Texts adopted, P7_TA(2011)0317.

³ Texts adopted, P7_TA(2011)0460.

⁴ Texts adopted, TA(2008)0639.

⁵ http://eeas.europa.eu/eucom/pdf/missions/final-report-eucom-referendum-south-sudan-2011_en.pdf.

⁶ OJ L 317, 15.12.2000, p. 3.

⁷ OJ L 209, 11.8.2005, p. 27.

⁸ OJ L 287, 4.11.2010, p. 3.

⁹ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/acp/2012_horsens/pdf/soudan_en.pdf.

South Sudan's independence of 9 July 2011¹,

- having regard to the Council conclusions of 22 July 2013 on Sudan and South Sudan²,
- having regard to the statement of 5 July 2012 by Commissioner Georgieva on Sudan and South Sudan³,
- having regard to the Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid's humanitarian implementation plan (HIP) for Sudan and South Sudan for 2013 and its modification⁴,
- having regard to the statements by the Spokesperson of High Representative Catherine Ashton of 18 June 2013 on the deadly attack on a United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA) peacekeeper in Southern Kordofan⁵; of 1 May 2013 on the conflict in Sudan's Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states⁶; and of 8 January 2013 on the recent closure of civil society organisations in Sudan⁷,
- having regard to the statement issued locally by the EU Delegation on 25 July 2013, following the dismissal by the President of the entire Government of the Republic of South Sudan⁸,
- having regard to the Dili Declaration 'A new vision for peace-building and state-building' of 10 April 2010⁹,
- having regard to the Deal for Engagement in Fragile States presented at the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan in December 2011¹⁰,
- having regard to the OECD's 2011 Report on International Engagement in Fragile States - Republic of South Sudan¹¹,
- having regard to the World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development¹²,
- having regard to the Report of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel on

¹ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/123591.pdf.

² http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/138254.pdf.

³ http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-12-524_en.htm.

⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/funding/decisions/2013/HIPs/Sudan-SouthSudan_en.pdf.

⁵ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/137507.pdf.

⁶ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/136969.pdf.

⁷ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/134590.pdf.

⁸ http://eeas.europa.eu/statements/local/local_statement_south_sudan_24072013_en.pdf.

⁹ http://timor-leste.gov.tl/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/Dili_Declaration_FINAL_12.04.20101.pdf.

¹⁰ <http://www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/Final%20file.pdf>, page 39.

¹¹ <http://www.oecd.org/countries/southsudan/48697972.pdf>.

¹²

http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/c.html/world_development_report_2011/abstract/WB.978-0-8213-8439-8.abstract.

Sudan and South Sudan (AUHP) published on 31 July 2013¹,

- having regard to the statement of 8 March 2013 of the Spokesperson for the UN Secretary-General on the establishment of the Safe Demilitarized Border Zone between Sudan and South Sudan and the activation of the Joint Border Verification and Monitoring Mechanism²,
 - having regard to the Framework Agreement on the Political and Security Arrangements in the Blue Nile and Kordofan States signed on 28 June 2011³,
 - having regard to the conclusions of reports of the High Commissioner for Human Rights presented to the Human Rights Council at its 21st and 23rd sessions⁴,
 - having regard to the agreements concluded in Addis Ababa between the Republic of the Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan on 27 September 2012⁵,
 - having regard to Amnesty International's 2013 report on the human rights situation in South Sudan⁶,
 - having regard to the Human Rights Watch report 'This old man can feed us, you will marry him'⁷,
 - having regard to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948,
 - having regard to Rule 48 of its Rules of Procedure,
- A. whereas UN Security Council Resolution 1996 (2011) welcomed the establishment of the Republic of South Sudan on 9 July 2011 and whereas the United Nations General Assembly voted on 14 July 2011 to admit South Sudan as a member state(A/RES/65/308);
- B. whereas the newly-created South Sudan is also one of the poorest countries in the world, with 50% of the population living below the poverty line; whereas, having emerged from a war and being situated in an unstable region, it is in danger of failing if the international community and local actors fail to cooperate in developing a joint strategy to turn it into a democratic and inclusive state;

¹ <http://appablog.wordpress.com/2013/07/31/report-of-the-african-union-high-level-implementation-panel-for-sudan-and-south-sudan/>.

² <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=6644>.

³ http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/Two_Areas_Agreement.pdf.

⁴ http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session21/A-HRC-21-34_en.pdf.
http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session21/A.HRC.21.62_en.pdf.

http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session23/A-HRC-23-31_en.pdf.

⁵ <http://www.rssnegotiationteam.org/historic-september-27-peace-agreements.html>.

⁶ <http://www.amnesty.org/en/region/south-sudan/report-2013>.

⁷ <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2013/03/07/old-man-can-feed-us-you-will-marry-him-0>.

- C. whereas the prosperity and the viability of the new state of South Sudan depends to a large extent on constructive and peaceful relations with all neighbouring countries, in particular the Republic of the Sudan, and on the capability of these two countries to resolve their differences and to agree on and implement viable solutions, in particular regarding border conflicts, oil revenue, the final status of Abyei, national debt, and citizenship;
- D. whereas state-building and overcoming fragility requires a long-term perspective and a solid, predictable and stable engagement by the international community;
- E. whereas, while the new country faces a great number of serious challenges, South Sudan has made considerable progress in relation to the key development indicators since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005 was enacted, including a six-fold increase in primary school enrolment, a 25 % decrease in infant mortality, and the establishment of key state institutions at federal and state level;
- F. whereas South Sudan's high reliance on oil production, which accounts for approximately 88 % of national revenue, and which is currently entirely dependent on the Republic of the Sudan for its export is not only economically unviable but also serves as a tool exerting pressure on the new country, thereby causing additional tensions and even conflict, as has been demonstrated over the past two years; whereas South Sudan has concluded agreements with neighbouring Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti to explore the possibility of two new pipelines linking its oil fields to the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean;
- G. whereas suspension of oil production by the South Sudanese Government for over a year and the closure of the oil pipes has deprived the country of one of its principal sources of income and plunged it into a major financial crisis leading to continually harsher austerity;
- H. whereas the 2013 Resource Governance Index, while acknowledging an 'ambitious legal framework designed to promote transparent governance of the oil sector', ranks South Sudan 50th out of 58 countries owing to its authorities having failed to release information about the sector and to establish proper monitoring and auditing mechanisms;
- I. whereas the international community has given important political and material support to South Sudan's independence and viability and its economic and social development and whereas the EU has played a very positive, although not always fully recognised role; whereas the EU and its Member States pledged, on the occasion of South Sudan's independence, to develop a close and long-term partnership with the Republic of South Sudan and its people;
- J. whereas on 23 May 2011, the Council approved a financial package of EUR 200 million for South Sudan to provide the funding for the EU's contribution to the Joint Country Strategy Paper (Response Strategy) for South Sudan 2011-2013;
- K. whereas the international community and international humanitarian organisations have been very responsive to the need to relieve the suffering of people in the region and to which the EU has provided and continues to provide substantial levels of humanitarian aid, including EUR 110 million in 2012 alone;

- L. whereas South Sudan is one of the very first countries where joint programming between the European External Action Service (EEAS) and the Commission and EU Member States, aligned with the South Sudan Development Plan, has been put into practice in the form of a Single EU Country Strategy Paper agreed on in December 2011, comprising a total of EUR 830 million in development aid;
- M. whereas South Sudan has not yet acceded to the Cotonou Agreement, with the Government of South Sudan voicing concerns about potential implications for its relations with the Republic of the Sudan; whereas accession to the Cotonou Agreement would not oblige South Sudan to accede immediately to the Rome Statute; whereas this reluctance to accede to the Cotonou Agreement is leading to problems in programming EU aid from 2014 onwards under the 11th European Development Fund, which could potentially result in South Sudan losing out, not only in terms of national allocations, but also with a view to regional funds and substantial European Investment Bank (EIB) resources which would enhance its infrastructure and regional economic integration;
- N. whereas the Council appointed Ms Rosalind Marsden as the European Union Special Representative (EUSR) for Sudan in August 2010 and subsequently enlarged and extended her mandate, but in June 2013 only agreed to a four-month extension until 31 October 2013 in order to integrate it into the mandate of the EUSR for the Horn of Africa, despite her outstanding work and her important role in leveraging the EU's various tools and influence on the developments in the region;
- O. whereas the European Union has provided support for the African Union High-Level Panel composed of the former South African President Thabo Mbeki as chair and to the UN missions, that is to say the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS), the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) and the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNIFSA);
- P. whereas a 'New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States' was formulated by the G7+ group of states (including South Sudan) and the International Dialogue on Peace Building and State Building (IDPS) and then endorsed by the EU, along with 36 countries, at the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan in December 2011;
- Q. whereas an Economic Partners Forum was held in Washington in April 2013 at which a 'New deal Compact' was announced setting out framework provisions regarding further international development aid commitment for South Sudan;
- R. whereas external efforts made with regard to state-building and development can only be successful if the leadership of South Sudan is committed to and will be capable of developing accountable, responsive, and inclusive governance, and overcomes short-term or clientelistic interests; whereas the international community, both private and public, does not tolerate corruption and therefore needs to ensure that the provision of aid or investment does not lead to or encourage harmful practices;
- S. whereas a social security net is lacking and access to services such as health care, electricity and water remains extremely limited; whereas, according to some estimates, only one third of the population has access to clean water and whereas water access issues

have exacerbated communal conflicts;

- T. whereas the illiteracy rate is estimated at over 80% (the highest rate of female illiteracy in the world) with girls accounting for only 25% of school pupils, the lowest rate of female access to education in the world; whereas there is a shortage of teachers;
 - U. whereas the vast areas of arable land in South Sudan mean that agriculture in that country not only has great potential in terms of lucrative commercial and local job creation prospects, but could also help alleviate food shortages in South Sudan itself and, in the longer term, meet the needs of neighbouring countries;
 - V. whereas South Sudan has practically no permanent road, rail and inland waterway transport infrastructures; whereas it is necessary to develop these infrastructures to boost the country's economic growth, as well as trade, market access and job creation;
 - W. whereas the quantity of landmines and unexploded ordnance (UXO) still buried in South Sudan since the civil war is estimated to be in the millions;
 - X. whereas internal security remains one of the critical challenges for South Sudan, with several low intensity conflicts giving rise to a serious humanitarian situation; whereas abuses by South-Sudanese security forces, including extra-judicial killings, rape and torture during civilian disarmament campaigns, have been reported repeatedly; whereas the post-2005 efforts in the field of demobilisation, disarmament, and reintegration have stalled and whereas an acceptable retirement scheme for veterans is lacking;
 - Y. whereas journalists have been frequently threatened, arrested and detained without charge; whereas security forces have been reported to harass and illegally detain journalists; whereas South Sudanese authorities have failed to carry out prompt, effective and impartial investigations into attacks on journalists, or cases such as the killing of the government critic and journalist, Isaiah Abraham;
 - Z. whereas weaknesses in the justice system give rise to serious human rights violations; whereas there is an almost total lack of legal aid in the criminal justice system;
 - AA. whereas the high prevalence of child marriage, with nearly half of all girls in South Sudan between the ages of 15 and 19 being married, creates an environment that increases their vulnerability to physical, sexual, psychological, and economic abuse;
1. Welcomes the most recent signs of eased tensions between the governments of South Sudan and the Republic of the Sudan, demonstrated during the visit of the South Sudanese President to the Republic of the Sudan in early September 2013, and the statements of good will on both sides on this occasion; underlines that the economic and social development of both countries depends to a large extent on peaceful and collaborative relations between the two countries;
 2. Calls on the governments of both countries and the international community to increase efforts to resolve the outstanding issues left unresolved after the expiration of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005 and South Sudan's independence in July 2011, which are still obstacles to good neighbourly relations, and to abstain entirely from the use

of threats and military force and the support of irregular armed forces in the region;

3. Urges the Republic of the Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan to respect fully the Addis Ababa agreements of September 2012;
4. Recognises and fully supports the good offices of the EU Special Representative for Sudan and South Sudan and other EU partners; calls on all EU institutions and Member States to maintain a constructive dialogue with the Republic of the Sudan and also to contribute to developing a positive outlook for the future of the people of Sudan;
5. Calls on South Sudan and Sudan to make best use of the wealth and potential which the oil resources in the region represent for both countries;
6. Calls on all groups and parties within South Sudan to develop a joint vision for their country and its peaceful, prosperous and equitable development;
7. Urges South Sudan to ratify the Cotonou Agreement between the EU and ACP states, in order to permit the long-term commitment of the EU to South Sudan's development and underlines that South Sudan's accession to the Agreement should in no way affect reconciliation and constructive relations with the Republic of the Sudan which, in fact, has a long-term interest in the prosperous development of all of its neighbours;
8. Calls on key international partners, especially EU Members States, the Commission and the EEAS, to maintain their commitment to development and state-building and to human security for all South-Sudanese people; supports the engagement of the EU as a key partner in the context of the *New Deal* through a State Building Compact;
9. Recalls that all forms of budgetary support to developing countries require proper risk management tools, should be complimentary to other aid modalities, and need to be backed-up by proper parliamentary scrutiny of the national budget in the recipient country, as well as by other forms of accountability and by the participation of citizens, and that these measures need to be ensured and supported both by the national government and the respective aid donors;
10. Encourages the EEAS, the EU Special Representative and the Commission to enhance awareness and visibility of the EU's very positive contributions to a peaceful, democratic transition and to the economic and social development of South Sudan; is concerned that putting an end to the mandate of the EU Special Representative for Sudan and South Sudan, at a time when a number of commitments contained in the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the September 2012 Addis Ababa Agreement still have not been fully met, could further decrease this visibility and reduce the leverage of the EU and its Member States;
11. Welcomes the fact that the EU has committed EUR 285 million in development aid to South Sudan since 2011, when South Sudan gained independence (excluding Member State aid), in addition to humanitarian aid;
12. Supports the focus of EU aid for South Sudan on agriculture, democratic governance and the rule of law, education, and health; welcomes the Commission's efforts to provide

support for capacity-building of the South Sudanese legal system, in particular, to provide technical assistance to the judiciary and the Supreme Court; welcomes EU support to the National Legislative Assembly of South Sudan;

13. Welcomes EU support to the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel for Sudan and South Sudan (AUHIP) while, at the same time, calling for a review of the panel with a view to assessing its effectiveness; regrets that EU support has not always been fully visible;
14. Underlines the need to support mechanisms which will allow for a proper and transparent use of oil revenues; calls on the South-Sudanese authorities and the National Legislative Assembly, as well as international partners and companies present in South Sudan to contribute to greater transparency in the generation and use of those revenues; welcomes the recent passing of the Petroleum Revenue Management Bill by the National Legislative Assembly;
15. Stresses the need to make major investments in infrastructure, in the provision of basic services and in agricultural development in South Sudan;
16. Stresses that ensuring human security for all South-Sudanese people requires a renewed effort by the Government of South Sudan and its international partners to follow through with the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of armed groups and to undertake broader security sector reform (SSR) leading to a reduction in the size of the standing army, as well as its professionalisation, full respect for civilian control and the chain of command, as well as greater respect for human rights among the armed forces;
17. Calls upon the Government of South Sudan to continue to cooperate fully with the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) and to facilitate the UN in fulfilling its mandate, in particular the protection of civilians; urges UN member states to uphold their commitment to UNMISS while realistically adapting, if necessary, its mandate, taking account of the evolving capacity of the South-Sudanese authorities to provide human security over the coming years;
18. Underlines the importance of replacing the Transitional Constitution by a permanent constitution based on popular consultation and support; calls on the EU and its Member States to accompany and support a locally owned and driven constitution-making process, which must involve all groups of society, including women and those living in peripheral regions;
19. Urges the South-Sudanese Government to increase efforts to establish a roadmap, in order to sustain the transition until the constitutional order and the rule of law have been fully re-established throughout the country, through the organisation of democratic, free, fair and transparent elections in 2015; calls on the EU and its international partners to increase their support for the upcoming electoral process;
20. Calls on South Sudan's National Security Service (NSS) to end harassment of human rights activists and journalists and the unlawful detention and censorship of journalists, in contradiction of South Sudan's Constitution, which requires the government to guarantee freedom of the press;

21. Urges the authorities of South Sudan to carry out prompt, effective, and impartial investigations into all allegations of threats and attacks against human rights activists and journalists and to hold those responsible to account, in accordance with international standards; welcome recent steps taken by authorities to investigate the killing of civilians and alleged human rights abuses by the armed forces;
22. Urges the Government of South Sudan to do everything in its power to put an end to extrajudicial executions and to identify and bring to justice the security officers accused of the killing of the journalist Isaiah Abraham;
23. Calls on the South-Sudanese Government to set out a national action plan to end child marriages;
24. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the governments and parliaments of the Member States, to the Government of South Sudan, the Human Rights Commissioner of South Sudan, the National Legislative Assembly of South Sudan, the African Union, and the Secretary General of the United Nations.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

1. South Sudan's journey towards independence and the work left to do under the CPA

The Naivasha Peace Agreement (known as the 'Comprehensive Peace Agreement', or CPA), which was adopted in 2005 and brought to an end 22 years of civil war in Sudan, stipulated that general elections should be held four years later (they were held later than scheduled in July 2009), and a self-determination referendum held in the South. The entire international community supported the signature of the CPA, and undertook to follow the peace process through to its conclusion and provide funding for the elections and the referendum. The same was true for the European Union, which sent an electoral observation mission and committed significant amounts of funding to provide technical support for the first free Sudanese elections in over 20 years. The overwhelming majority of South Sudanese citizens voted in favour of independence in the referendum, even though no agreement had been reached between the North and the South on any of the key problems needing to be resolved, in particular the demarcation of borders. The electoral mission's final report concluded that the referendum process had been credible in spite of major shortcomings, and that it had been a remarkable political and organisational achievement given the timeframe. Yet the referendum in the South was not the only requirement laid down in the CPA.

The CPA also stipulated that a referendum should be held on the status of Abyei (an extremely oil-rich border region of South Kordofan) and that the conflicts in the two Sudanese states of South Kordofan and Blue Nile should be resolved. The conflicts are still ongoing, it has not been possible to hold a referendum on Abyei, and public consultations are currently suspended. The CPA also called on the two parties, in the event of the country being split, to settle contentious issues relating to citizenship, power sharing, the distribution of wealth and in particular oil revenues, and debt sharing, and to adopt agreements on security arrangements etc. Progress in this area has also been meagre.

The stipulations of the CPA have therefore not yet been fully implemented, and the work of the international community is not over. Now that two years have passed since South Sudan gained independence, the aim of this report is to review the status of this young country and the problems it faces, since these factors dictate the stability of this whole section of the Horn of Africa. Are Europe's efforts in this respect adequate? Are these efforts sufficiently visible? Has it chosen the right priorities? It is far from being the only actor on the stage, since the UN is active in both the North and South of the country, having deployed missions (UNMIS, UNMISS) and provided considerable resources to stabilise the conflict zones such as Abyei (UNISFA) and Darfur (UNAMID). The African Union is also a key player. The fact that the Addis Ababa cooperation agreements and eight supplementary agreements (on oil, trade, border issues, banking operations, respective national statuses, pensions, certain economic issues and security measures) were concluded on 27 September 2012 and that the implementation plan for the agreements was subsequently signed on 12 March 2013 was due to the intervention of the African Union High-Level Panel (AUHIP) composed of the former South African president Thabo Mbeki as chair and former presidents Pierre Buyoya of Burundi and Abdulsalami Abubakar of Nigeria. The European Union has provided the Panel with financial support. These agreements allow in particular for the re-opening and re-exploitation of the South Sudanese oil wells, which are completely dependent on Sudanese

infrastructure (oil pipelines etc.) and have been closed for over a year, but the agreements remain extremely fragile and could potentially be used as a means of coercion by Sudan, as shown by President al-Bashir's recent backtracking on 9 June 2013.

The international community has kept step with events, and the United States, the European Union, Norway and 40 other governments and international organisations held a Forum meeting in Washington on 16 April 2013. The Forum saw the launch of a partnership to strengthen governance, political inclusiveness and sustainable development in South Sudan and to consolidate the progress made since it gained independence. Within this framework and alongside the Troika formed by the US, UK and Norway, the European Union played a key role in drawing up a roadmap seeing to establish a New Partnership with South Sudan, which will take shape as a New Deal compact based on reciprocal undertakings, likely to be endorsed during a High-Level Investment Conference later in 2013. South Sudan must meet certain benchmarks in terms of improved economic and political governance, financial management of the public sector, natural resource management and the fight against corruption in exchange for financial aid from its international partners, including budgetary support from international financial institutions, a state-building contract with the European Union and a Multi-Donor South Sudan Partnership Fund.

2. Economic and human development

South Sudan is one of the poorest countries in the world, with 50.6 % of the population living below the poverty line according to the criteria set in the Millennium Development Goals. Access to high-quality drinking water is a recurrent problem during the dry seasons. The health system is also seriously flawed and the country is sadly notorious for having some of the worst health indicators in the world; infant mortality stands at 153.5 per 1 000 children, for example, and maternal mortality rates reached 2 053 deaths per 100 000 women in 2010 according to UNICEF figures. Enormous progress is needed in the field of education in order to overcome illiteracy (which affects 80 % of the population), particularly among women (the female illiteracy rate is the highest in the world), and to combat school absenteeism among six to eleven-year-olds (which stands at 64 % and affects over one million children), the shortage of teachers and shortcomings in the field of professional training.

South Sudan's economy, which remains fragile and largely dependent on oil, is undermined by limited domestic production and a heavy dependence on imports. The country suffers from a shortage of qualified workers in all strategic economic sectors. Although it boasts abundant natural resources (oil, iron ore, copper, chromium, gold, zinc, diamonds, tungsten, mica, hardwood, hydraulic energy etc.), these do not provide a sufficiently solid foundation for structural transformation, which means that it is impossible to reap the full benefit of their availability. Economic diversification is thus weak, and every effort should be made to implement sustainable development and inclusive growth strategies in order to reduce hydrocarbon dependence. An increase in local food production and the expansion of food processing and export industries are just some of the ways of achieving diversification, along with building the transport infrastructure (road, canal, rail and air) which is needed for this diversification and which boosts access to markets.

However economic development remains entirely dependent on political developments in the

country, and in particular on relations between the North and the South. In January 2012 the South stopped exports of oil to the North, putting itself at risk given its complete dependence on the international community. The Washington Conference endeavoured to mobilise international aid to prevent a social and economic collapse, which would have severe political repercussions. Even though negotiations brought about a new agreement to resume the supply of oil to the North, however, they faltered again in June 2013, this time because of the North. The use of oil as a weapon by both the North and the South is merely a symptom of the lack of any normality in relations between the two countries. The situation is undoubtedly preferable to the resumption of war, but it results in economic dependence on the international community which is barely sustainable for the latter. Projects which involve refining alternatives and exports of oil via Kenya and Ethiopia are being examined, but these would only be medium-term solutions for South Sudan and would require investors, who have so far been lacking. South Sudan's main partner in this area is still China.

It is not only political issues which are holding up development in South Sudan: prerequisites for sustainable economic development also include good governance, the fight against corruption, a properly functioning administration and infrastructure building, and this is where the European Union and its Member States are making a difference. A Response Strategy for South Sudan¹ was adopted by the Council in December 2011. EUR 285 million has already been earmarked for this purpose under the ninth EDF, bringing the total EU contribution to EUR 830 million. This funding will go towards achieving food security, taking account of issues relating to natural resources, health, education, the rule of law, water and hygiene in the young state.

3. Security, humanitarian aid, human rights and establishment of the rule of law

As well as political tensions and the current lack of a properly constituted state, security remains one of the crucial challenges for this young state, as well as being a permanent destabilising factor giving rise to serious humanitarian problems. In addition to conflicts with the Sudanese Armed Forces, there are currently several zones of instability in South Sudan:

- the (oil-rich) border region of Abyei, disputed by South Sudan and Sudan (controlled by UNISFA), where tensions are currently running high between the Dinka Ngok and the Misseriya. It should be noted that humanitarian organisations have had severely limited access to Abyei since May 2011, and none of them have had access to the zones in the north of the Abyei region.
- inter-tribal or inter-ethnic conflicts in the South Sudanese state of Jonglei (mainly between the Murle and the Lou-Nuer) and hostilities between the SPLA and the forces of David Yau Yau (SSDM/A) have also given rise to huge displacements of populations and grave concerns about the safety of civilians. The Unity state faces similar security issues (e.g. cattle raids between the states of Lakes and Unity, the fight for access to resources etc.). Humanitarian access has not been restricted by civilian authorities in the zones controlled by the SSDA.

¹ EU Single Response Strategy for South Sudan 2011-2013

The European Union continues to provide South Sudan with considerable amounts of humanitarian aid under the global funding decisions and annual Humanitarian Implementation Plans (HIPs), in addition to the development aid funding provided through the LRRD scheme (Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development), but the figures supplied by ECHO – 140 million for 2011 and 157 million for 2012, with 110 million for South Sudan alone in 2012 – encompass both Sudan and South Sudan due to the cross-border nature of humanitarian crises.

However the impact of these armed conflicts on civilian populations, the huge numbers of displaced persons, the persecution of human rights activists and journalists, the plundering of cattle and natural resources etc. are proof of the urgent need for South Sudan to establish controls along its borders and to secure these borders effectively. Although efforts have already been undertaken by the South Sudanese authorities in this respect thanks to significant amounts of external assistance (including the establishment of the South Sudanese National Police Service (SSNPS), a National Security and Disarmament Council (NSDC) and a Demobilisation and Reintegration Council (DRC), disarmament campaigns, a programme to downsize the army and reassign its members to the prison services, a wildlife protection service and fire bridges), many challenges still remain, particularly in terms of strengthening border and migration management, launching civilian disarmament campaigns, implementing control and registration measures for small arms and light weapons and tightening up legislation in this area, measures to combat domestic violence etc.

Capacity building in the field of justice and the rule of law in South Sudan is a further key aspect of stabilising and building the state. The country is suffering from a severe shortage of basic public services, and confidence in the corruption-beset South Sudanese judicial system is extremely low. Major challenges must be overcome, such as the extent to which customary law is enshrined in the legal system and the many existing inequalities, particularly gender-based, which are maintained as a result, the severe lack of access to justice for citizens and the shortage of certain professionals, in particular judges and lawyers. The same is true as regards the need for professionalisation and the need to educate the judiciary, state officials and civil society in Sudan about legal instruments and international and human rights standards. The European Union's goal in this respect is to ensure that South Sudan becomes a 'sustainable inclusive development state', with efforts focused on three agendas: a state-building agenda, a nation-building agenda and a regional integration agenda.

4. Conclusions

This brief overview of the progress made by South Sudan and the challenges it still faces has made it clear that, far from abandoning this young state after the 2011 referendum, Europe is fully committed to working together with the country, as is the entire international community. However, the report should attempt to provide answers to some of the questions which still remain unanswered:

- There has been very little discussion within the European Parliament on this commitment or on the strategy which is being followed, even though they are of crucial importance for the Horn of Africa. Parliament has barely been involved in developing this strategy and there has been a lack of transparency in respect of the criteria used and the priorities set. The future of South Sudan depends on good relations with the North: what diplomatic

efforts have been undertaken by the European Union? We have a Special Representative for the Horn of Africa, but media visibility for the European Union's involvement has failed to do justice to the support given by it. In particular, all political negotiations between the North and the South have been entrusted to the African Union High-Level Panel led by President Mbeki but co-funded by the European Union. How can we avoid neo-colonialism while not missing out on the benefits of a political operation funded by the European Union? Furthermore, the Special Representative Rosalind Marsden has been informed that her mandate will come to a close at the end of October 2013, even though South Sudan's problems have become more acute and are far from being resolved. Is this really wise? How can we evaluate the European Union's contribution?

- It would be easier to help South Sudan if the revised Cotonou agreements were signed, but this would also complicate relations with Sudan, given the arrest warrant issued for the Sudanese President al-Bashir. How can we solve this problem?