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→ Pls reply to
UNICEF

DATE: 7 AUGUST 2007

NUMBER:

KHA-1224

SUBJECT: Arusha Consultations

Summary: Reports on the Arusha Consultations held with leading personalities and field commanders of Darfur rebel movements, with participation of countries in the region. Analyses the outcome and provides indications on next steps in the political process.

1. As you are aware, Dr. Salim and I convened a meeting of leading personalities of the non-signatory movements to

at Ngurdoto, near Arusha,

Also in attendance were field as well as representatives from Libya. All the major non-represented except that of Abdul

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divisions between the various started by consultations with the separate groups (mainly Tripoli throughout the meeting we also met with the regional actors. As the objective of the meeting was to reach agreement on a common platform among the movements, we soon decided to allow maximum time for their

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own deliberations and convene plenary sessions only as needed. Consequently, only two plenary sessions were held.

3. In Salim's and my opening statements, we stressed that the aim of inviting the movement representatives to Arusha was to create an enabling environment for them to consult amongst themselves, with other participants and with us, focusing on the following issues:

(a) A common negotiation platform of the movements for the resumed talks;

(b) Criteria and level of participation in the final negotiations;

(c) Agenda and venue for the renewed talks;

(d) Inclusion of the concerns of IDPs, refugees, tribal leaders, women and other civil society groups; and

(e) Security and humanitarian matters.

The Common Platform

4. After two days of intensive discussions among themselves, the representatives of the various movements (JEM, SFDA, NMRD, SLM/Unity, SLM/AS and SLM/Khamis) presented a joint paper to us on 5 August outlining their common platform on five main agenda items for the final negotiations: wealth-sharing, power-sharing, security, land/hawakeer and humanitarian issues.

5. Discussion on the venue for the final negotiations was evidently a contentious issue for the delegates. They finally recommended that the resumed talks should take place in 'countries of the regional initiatives or at any other location determined appropriate by us provided the environment and facilities were adequate.'

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6. The movements emphasized that their paper should be treated confidentially but, of course, be used by the Special Envoys in their consultations with the CoS. Furthermore, they indicated their intention to hold a seminar/workshop to formulate their positions in order to prepare their delegates for the negotiations. (Arabic and English texts of the paper presented to us by the movements are attached herewith).

7. Salim and I were highly appreciative, and partly surprised, of the efforts made by the movement representatives to reach a common platform as quickly as they did. They were determined to arrive at joint positions. Practically all of them said that they were in Arusha to take responsibility for the future of Darfur. They came well prepared, with several of them commenting that this was perhaps the last chance to remedy the situation. All expressed gratitude to the AU and UN for organizing this meeting.

8. At the end, Salim and I agreed on Chairmen's Conclusions, after having consulted the movement leaders and the regional countries. The conclusions summarized the four days of consultations (attached herewith). We highlighted the areas in which the movements had formulated common positions:

- readiness to participate in an AU/UN-led mediation process;
- preparedness to keep the platform open for others (read: Abdul Wahid)
- readiness to respect a cessation of hostilities, provided that all other parties make similar commitments;

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- assurance to allow unhindered humanitarian access in Darfur and to refrain from violence against AMIS and humanitarian personnel;
- acceptance of the UNSC resolution 1769 and support for its implementation;
- endorsement of the inclusion of the concerns of all stakeholders in Darfur (IDPs, refugees, traditional leaders and women's groups) in the process of negotiations through an appropriate mechanism.

Suleiman Jamous

9. The issue of the role of Suleiman Jamous partly marred the meeting. Currently in a UN hospital in Kodugli, Jamous continues to represent an important role for SLM/Unity (he was in fact included as a member of the delegation led by Abdallah Yahya). There is currently a groundswell of support for his release, amongst SLM and JEM commanders on the ground in Darfur, as well as internationally.

10. Abdallah Yahya informed us that his field commanders requested him not to participate in the Arusha talks unless Jamous were released. There was a feeling of solidarity by all the movements on this matter in the belief that Mr. Jamous could play a constructive role in the upcoming talks.

11. Salim and I have repeatedly raised the matter with the Sudanese government, including with President Bashir. We have understood that he would be released as soon as the negotiations begin, indicating that the Government expects Jamous to be active solely in the political process.

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12. Our decision to also invite field commanders to the Arusha Consultations turned out to be a positive move. Their presence, according to several participants, gave an impetus to our discussions. Their support helped to achieve a speedier outcome than would otherwise have been possible.

13. The role played by Ahmed Ibrahim Diraige (SEDA) was also important in guiding the movement leaders in their deliberations. As a former governor in Darfur, he acquired an 'elder statesman' status. It is likely - and desirable - that he will continue to play a positive role for and in the upcoming negotiations.

Regional Actors

14. Four regional actors were represented in Arusha: Chad, Egypt, Eritrea and Libya. All in all, they acted constructively in the proceedings. Eritrea and Libya had, as you know, also been instrumental in consultations with specific groups during the past few months.

15. While the lead of the AU-UN mediation is now apparent to all and accepted by the regional actors, the upcoming activities of the regional countries are to be closely followed. One of the regional actors, for instance, predicted the break-up of JEM before the negotiations begin. Similarly, what their reactions would be if any of the individuals/groups they currently host decide to change alliances is hard to know. All of them appear to be competing to host the resumed negotiations.

16. In sum, the regional countries' full support of our efforts cannot be taken for granted. Our Joint AU-UN

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Mediation Support Team (JMST) will keep close contact with them. Their role is crucial.

Observations

17. It might not be an exaggeration to label the Arusha meeting a success or at least an important step towards the final negotiations. The timing was favourable - coming just after the meeting in Tripoli and, above all, after the adoption of the UNSC resolution on 31 July. The timing was also good for the movements, as they have recently spent much time in Asmara and Tripoli coordinating their positions and trying to unify their movements. There is now an even stronger and more urgent mandate for the AU/UN to move ahead towards negotiations as soon as possible.

18. Also, the outcome of the meeting was significant as it provides a more solid basis for our future work. Both the Chairmen's Conclusions and the movements' common platform provide important benchmarks in an accelerating political process.

19. This is the first time that the movements have all been in one place since the end of the Abuja talks (with the exception of Abdul Wahid). On their own initiative, they decided to meet in a closed forum in which all movements were present. This demonstrates the seriousness with which they took their participation and that dividing lines, sometimes, are not as sharp as perceived from the outside.

Next steps

20. Following the Arusha Consultations, Salim and I have agreed to intensify consultations with the Sudanese Government on the venue, timing and agenda of the meeting

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as well as on, cessation of hostilities and other issues related to the negotiations. I have already started these discussions in Khartoum earlier today and Salim will continue next week. As we now have an idea of the major issues for the agenda from the movements, it is our intention to begin detailed discussions with the Government. In our recent meetings in Khartoum, senior state officials had indicated the intention to set up a working level committee to begin work on negotiation issues. Salim and I have accordingly directed our JMST to begin discussions with the government team immediately.

21. As earlier indicated, Salim and I intend to recommend to you and Chairman Konare to issue invitations for the resumed negotiations before the end of August. The criteria for participation and a tentative list of participants are being collated by the JMST. Consultations with the Sudanese government and other stakeholders on possible location for the talks are ongoing. I shall report developments on this matter in due course.

22. The movements' recognition of the need to consult with IDPs, refugees, traditional leaders and civil society organizations also represents a significant step forward. They urged Salim and me to finalise our consultations and to develop a mechanism to channel those views into the final negotiations. My visit to the three Darfur states this week will be one step in this direction. It is important that these efforts to reach out are harmonized with Abdul Mohammed's preparatory work for the Darfur Darfur Dialogue.

23. Lastly, I understand that Mr. Annabi will be briefing the Security Council on Thursday 9 August. A statement by

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the Presidency welcoming the outcome of Arusha would, in my view, be useful in recognizing and accelerating the progress on the political track.

24. I will be in Khartoum and Darfur for the remainder of the week and plan to have talks with President Idriss Deby of Chad in N'Djamena on Friday. I will be accompanied by Ambassador Bonbou Niang, representing Salim Salim, with whom I have coordinated my programme.

Best regards.

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In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Compassionate

In response to the invitation extended by the mediation and following serious and fruitful consultations the leaders attending the meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, reached a consensus on the following issues:

1. Date: the negotiations should within a maximum three months period and no less than two months.
2. venue: Countries of the regional initiative or any other state which the mediation would find having the propitious environment and necessary facilities to ensure the success of the negotiations.
3. Issues to be negotiated within the framework of resolving the Darfur problem. The negotiations should resolve around the following papers:

1. Power sharing Paper
2. Wealth Sharing paper
3. Security Arrangements Paper
4. Land and Hawker Paper
5. Humanitarian matters

1. Document on Power

1. Participation of the People of Darfur in power at the federal level on the basis of their population size;
2. Participation of the People of Darfur in all Economic institutions, corporations and authorities as well as Banks and Commissions at Federal level on the basis of their population size.
3. Representations in the Civil Service and Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the basis of the Population size and adoption of the principle of positive discrimination.

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4. Self-determination for the Darfur Region within a united Sudan
5. Representation of the people of Darfur in the regular forces (Army, Unified Police and Security) on the basis of the population size.
6. The National capital: the People of Darfur shall be represented in the administration of the National Capital and its institutions, proportionate with the population size.
7. Implementation mechanism
8. Guarantees for implementation
9. Transitional Period.

II. The Document on Wealth

1. Compensation (procedures - mechanisms)
2. The National income on the basis of the criteria for sharing, between the Federal Government and the Region.
3. Reconstruction and Rehabilitation.
4. Development (programmes and financing)
5. Exploitation of the Region's subterranean resources and wealth.
6. Implementation mechanisms

III. Security Arrangements Paper

1. Keeping forces during the Transitional forces
2. Status of the forces at the end of the Transitional period
3. Comprehensive Ceasefire and Final Security Arrangements
4. Implementation Mechanisms and guarantees

IV. The Paper on Land

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1. Land issues (Diar Hawkeer)

V The Humanitarian Matters

1. Requirements for the return of IDPs and refugees and diaspora –
(evicted from amongst Darfur) the people to their places of origin
(operations and funding)
2. Means for ensuring security, rehabilitation of IDPs and refugees

Arusha, 5 August 2007

استجابة للدعوة المقدمة من الوساطة و بعد مداولات جادة و مثمرة أجمعت القيادات الحاضرة في اجتماع أروشا في تنزانيا على النقاط التالية :

- 1- الزمن : يجب ان تبدأ المفاوضات في فترة لا تتجاوز الثلاثة شهور و لا تقل عن شهرين.
- 2- المكان : دول المبادرة الإقليمية أو أي دولة أخرى، تراها الوساطة يتوافر فيها المناخ و المقومات المناسبة لإنجاح المفاوضات .
- 3- مواضيع التفاوض :

في اطار حل قضية دارفور يجب ان تتركز المفاوضات في الاوراق التالية :

- 1- ورقة تقاسم السلطة
 - 2- ورقة تقاسم الثروة
 - 3- ورقة الترتيبات الامنية
 - 4- ورقة الارض و الحواكير
 - 5- الملف الإنساني
- أولاً : ورقة السلطة:

- 1- المشاركة في السلطة على المستوى الفدرالي بمعيار الحجم السكاني لأهل دارفور .
- 2- المشاركة في كافة المؤسسات و الشركات و الهيئات الاقتصادية و البنوك و المفوضيات على المستوى الفدرالي بمعيار الحجم السكاني لأهل دارفور .
- 3- التمثيل في الخدمة المدنية و وزارة الخارجية بمعيار الحجم السكاني و اعتماد مبدأ التمييز الإيجابي.

- 4- الحكم الذاتي لاقليم دارفور في اطار السودان الموحد.
- 5- تمثيل أهل دارفور في القوات النظامية (الجيش و الشرطة الموحدة و الامن) بمعيار الكثافة السكانية .
- 6- العاصمة القومية : يجب تمثيل أهل دارفور في ادارة العاصمة القومية و مؤسساتها بنسبة الكثافة السكانية.

7- آليات التنفيذ.

8- ضمانات التنفيذ.

9- الفترة الانتقالية.

ثانياً: ورقة الثروة :

- 1- التعويضات (الاجراءات - الأليات)

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- 2- الايزاد القومي و أسس التقاسم بين الحكومة الفدرالية و الاقليم.
- 3- إعادة الاعمار و التأهيل.
- 4- التنمية (البرامج و التمويل)
- 5- استغلال الموارد و الثروات في باطن الارض في الاقليم.
- 6- آليات التنفيذ.

ثالثاً: ورقة الترتيبات الامنية :

- 1- الاحتفاظ بالقوات خلال الفترة الانتقالية.
- 2- وضعية القوات في نهاية الفترة الانتقالية.
- 3- وقف اطلاق النار الشامل و الترتيبات الامنية النهائية.
- 4- آليات و ضمانات التنفيذ.

رابعاً: ورقة الارض :

- 1- قضايا الارض (الديار و الحواكير)

خامساً: الملف الإنساني:

- 1- متطلبات إعادة النازحين و اللاجئين و المهجرين من اهل دارفور إلى ديارهم الاصلية.(العمليات و التمويل).
- 2- وسائل تأمين و و إعادة تأهيل النازحين و اللاجئين.

أروشا 5 اغسطس 2007

The Chairmen's Conclusions from the Arusha Consultations

At the invitation of the AU and UN Special Envoys for Darfur, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim and Mr. Jan Eliasson, leading personalities of the Darfur Movements held consultations in Ngurdoto, Arusha, Tanzania, from 3 to 6 August 2007. The regional countries Chad, Egypt, Eritrea and Libya also participated in the meeting. Several Field Commanders were also present.

The Arusha meeting aimed at creating an enabling environment for the non-signatories to meet and consult amongst themselves, with other participants and the Special Envoys in order to facilitate the preparations for the negotiations.

The discussions focussed on the following issues: (a) Need for a common negotiation platform of the Movements for the resumed talks; (b) Criteria and level of participation in the final negotiations; (c) Agenda and venue for the renewed talks; (d) Inclusion of the concerns of IDPs, refugees, tribal leaders, women and other civil society groups; and (e) Security and humanitarian matters.

The meeting stressed that the conflict in Darfur can have no military solution and that a political solution is of utmost urgency.

The Representatives of the Darfur Movements present:

- I. Reaffirmed their commitment to the Road-Map of the Special Envoys for re-energising the political process;
- II. Expressed their commitment and readiness to fully participate in the forthcoming negotiations under the leadership of the AU/UN in partnership with regional actors, and with the support of the international community;
- III. Presented a common platform on power sharing, wealth sharing, security arrangements, land/hawakeer and humanitarian issues, for the final negotiations. They also recommended that final talks should be held between 2-3 months from now in countries of the regional initiatives or in any other country that the mediation considers suitable in terms of environment and facilities, to ensure the success of the negotiations;
- IV. Decided to keep open the possibility for those who were invited but did not participate in the Arusha Consultations, to join their common platform, in order to have an inclusive representation of the movements in the final negotiations;
- V. Reiterated their readiness to respect a complete cessation of hostilities provided that all other Parties make similar commitments;

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- VI. Expressed their commitment to allow free access to humanitarian aid agencies, to refrain from any act of hostilities against the personnel and assets of the African Mission in the Sudan (AMIS), as well as against humanitarian organisations in Darfur;
 - VII. Welcomed the adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1769 on 31 July 2007, which authorised the deployment of the Hybrid Operation and expressed support for the ongoing political process. They also pledged their full co-operation for the implementation of the Hybrid Operation, bearing in mind that it would contribute to ending violence and insecurity on the ground;
 - VIII. Urged the Special Envoys to continue and finalize their consultations with IDPs, refugees, traditional leaders and civil society organisations, including women's groups in an effort to develop a mechanism to channel their views and positions into the final negotiations.

The Special Envoys welcomed these common positions as an important development in the preparations for the negotiations. They also commended the representatives of the movements for the seriousness they demonstrated during the consultations.

With respect to the issues relating to the negotiations, *inter alia*, venue, timing and cessation of hostilities, the Special Envoys will consult the Government of the Sudan and other stakeholders, bearing in mind the views expressed by the representatives of the movements.

During the Consultations, the representatives of the movements expressed their concern over the situation of Mr. Suleiman Jamous. The Special Envoys recalled that they had taken up this issue on several occasions with the Government of the Sudan. They expressed their intention to pursue the matter in view of the role Mr. Jamous can play in the political process.

The Participants expressed gratitude and appreciation to the Government and People of the United Republic of Tanzania for hosting the meeting and for the generous hospitality extended to the participants.

Ngurdoto, Arusha, 6 August 2007