



## COUNTRY REPORT – 15 NOVEMBER 2007

### HAVEN

#### Constitutional Order and Political Parties

The ethnic disputes and armed clashes of the late 1970's and early 1980's, which ended in the Kona Accords, have left an unstable legacy. In essence, they established a constitutional republic, democratic in form more than in substance. Key positions in government are, by terms of the 1986 Accords and 1987 Constitution, held on an ethnic basis. The founding texts do not, however, specify which position is to be held by each of the various groups. In practice, the Prime Minister, Chief Justice (Head of the Judiciary), Police Commissioner and Defense Minister have traditionally been Awri and members of the largest party; the President of the Republic, the Speaker of the *Zulaa* and the Chief of Staff have always been Banam appointed from among the members of the second largest party. Elections for the *Zulaa*, the lower chamber of parliament are held every 3 years, and government is formed from among its members. The government is formed by majority vote in the *Zulaa*. At least 45% of the Ministers must be Awri and a same minimum proportion, Banam. Members of the upper chamber, the *Sahi*, are appointed for life by the *Zulaa*; by law, half of them must be Awri, the other Banam.

The main political parties include the AHOI (Awri Haven Organization) and HUB (Haven Union of Banam). Since late 1987, AHOI has enjoyed a clear majority in the *Zulaa*. AHOI's majority did not translate into a major political advantage due to the constitutional 'parity' provisions. Other parties include the competing QWOP (Qwami Workers Party), a marginal neo-Marxist offshoot of the SPAQ and SPAQ itself (Socialist Party for the Advancement of Qwami), who habitually win 5-7 of the 233 *Zulaa* seats between them.

The last round of elections, held on 28 October 2007, won the HUB 110 seats and AHOI 98. SPAQ and QWOP received the remainder (22 and 3 seats, respectively), sparking bitter allegations of rigging by AHOI and its followers. Some international observers, including former US President Jimmy Carter of the New Democracy Institute, voiced concern over the integrity of the elections.

This was the first time HUB received more votes than AHOI. Since 1987, the composition of the government and its major policies have been the subject of detailed negotiations by the country's two leading parties. This was due to the country's unique constitutional arrangements as well as past election results: SPAQ has never before received enough votes to tip the scales in favor of either AHOI or HUB.

## Political and Security Situation

At first, the political settlement contained in the Kona Accords appeared to have been successful. Between 1988 and 1993, Banam and Awri alike seemed to have accepted the need for co-existence and cooperation. Stability reigned, and many foreign investors were attracted by favorable terms offered by the government. This enabled the country to undertake major projects: public infrastructure throughout Haven was significantly improved (except in the mountainous far north) between 1988 and 1990; social security and a national health system were introduced between 1990 and 1992; Haven started playing a significant role in regional politics and became a member of many inter-governmental organizations between 1989 and 1992. Until 1993, it also joined every major multilateral treaty (accompanied with a robust policy of acceptance of compulsory dispute-resolution mechanisms). Between 1990 and 1995, Haven's GNP sky-rocketed. These trends came to a halt in 1996, and then reversed. As suspicion was sown among ethnic groups; Haven's political order gradually stagnated and stalemated. The *Zulaa* and *Sahi* did not enact much legislation since that year. The national treasury is now depleted. Haven ceased paying its contributions to the international organizations of which it is a member. It has not participated in any multilateral conference since that year, nor ratified any major treaty. With the immobilization of the political system and the growing tension in recent years, foreign investors, as a rule, wound-up their business.

The last election campaign reminded many of the disputes and armed clashes of the late 1970's and early 1980's. Tabled early 2007, AHOI's proposal for constitutional reform, which many Banam (including some HUB leaders) perceived as an attempt to take away their constitutional protections, led to the forming of Banam bands who disrupted public order, mainly in the 'mixed cities', during most of 2007. In turn, many Awri in towns and the countryside associated in groups sometimes prone to violence. These usually invoke the name *Vigilante*, a name used by the notorious Awri commandos of earlier rounds of hostilities. Violence included clashes between demonstrators. Republican Army (RA) and Republican Police (RP) units usually stood by, in what a foreign observer described as "a noble and frantic attempt by commanders in both sides to prevent direct clashes between the two". Another commentator, however, pointed out that both the RA and the RP could have prevented incidents like the so-called 'Kona Massacre' – one of the few incidents in which firearms were used during the campaign.

Two HUB and three AHOI *Zulaa* candidates died before or during the last election campaign, though foreign commentators tend to ascribe some of these death to internal party settling of scores. It seems that one of these incidents may have been the result of natural causes.

While most Awri are convinced that the election results were rigged, some nevertheless do not support Prime Minister Ratef's staunch refusal to step down. Many flee the country, fearing Banam rule. Banam usually deny any flaw in the electoral process, contending that many Awri disagree with Ratef's attempt to dispossess them. The only Banam who publicly called for 'clean, internationally-supervised elections' – the former nominee for Nobel Prize for Literature, Vnetan Ionbrad – was found shot in his Kona home on 18 October 2007. While progress was reported in the HUB and SPAQ coalition negotiations, SPAQ leaders, in an unexplained move, abruptly left the capital in mid-November; an unconfirmed report suggests that they 'took to the mountains'.

## Geography and Demography

Haven's neighbours are: to the north, the People's Republic of Rama (PRR); to the east and south, the State of Bisgan; and to the west the Republic of Menoty. Half of the border with the State of Bisgan is constituted of the river Politis (on two different segments). The second biggest river, the Konalis, runs southwards from the mountains in the north and meets the Politis within Haven's territory, around 100 km south of the capital city.

Haven has a surface of approx 380,000 square kilometers and about 31 millions inhabitants.

The central plain is populated by both Awri and Banam, though the former are more thinly dispersed in the east, and the latter – in the west. The capital Kona, 'The Golden Jewel' in one of the native languages, lies at the heart of the plain. Its population, like that of four other of the seven main cities (Daria, New Daria, Solita and Tolka), is mixed. The towns of Pesti in the west and Boldim in the east have much clearer majorities, the inhabitants of the former being for the most part Awri and of the latter Banam. The mountainous 'far north' is the home of the Qwami minority. Nomadic until the early 1900's, this group entertains a centuries-old distrust of central government. Qwami separatism is not often expressed. Unconfirmed reports indicate that Qwami secessionist groups such as the QWOP are supported in more than words by the PRR. The harsh climate and inaccessibility of the Drakensbirks, as well as the PRR's closed-borders policy, all combine to make confirmation of such reports difficult.

Between independence (declared on 3 October 1975) and the mid-1990's, the ratio between Haven's ethnic groups remained constant, with very marginal variations: Awri (55%); Banam (43%) and Qwami (2%). Ratef's 'Our Future in Our Hands' 1994 campaign, which offered significant incentives to large families, upset this balance: while both Awri and Banam politicians are extremely opposed to holding a census, the Awri are now estimated to form 65% of the country's population, and the Qwami no less than 12%. A leading, London-based Banam political analyst suggests that the HUB "has been criminally too slow to recognize that the campaign was not designed, as it was marketed, at carving a 'regional role' for Haven but rather as a subtle means to disenfranchise the complacent Banam". M. Minerva also suggests that the financial incentives offered by the government could not likely benefit "the more secular, better-educated, traditionally-liberal Banam" who always had a low birth rate. Other commentators, such as Professor Lupin of Oxford University, suggested however that "while economic prosperity following the Kona Accords was beneficial to everyone, it was far more significant for the Awri. Many Awri families could afford, for the first time, to have more than one or two children".

## Economy

Haven's economy heavily relies on agricultural products from its central plain, mining and steel industries located in the east of the country, and on tourism. With a depleted national treasury and foreign investors wounding-up their business, the country also started to draw on foreign aid. The immobilization of the political system and the growing tensions between ethnic groups make most analysts think that this source might soon dry up as well.

## Culture and Religion

Haven is a State with an abundant mix of cultures. Subject to a series of invasions in the past, the country's inhabitants imported into their cultural life many different elements brought by

these invaders. The three major ethnic groups present on Haven's territory nowadays have however developed clearly distinguishable traditions. Although they share the same religion (Balinism) the Awri, Banam and Qwami very much differ in their interpretations of its founding text (the Book of Bali) and in their practices.

### **Languages**

There are a number of different languages spoken in Haven. Tawri, the language spoken by most of the Awri, shares common roots with Tebanam used by the majority of the Banam. However, the native language of the Qwami (Qwantia) is of a totally different origin and quite distinct from all other native languages. English, widely spoken in Haven, is used as the lingua franca.

### **Tourism**

Haven has more than one place of interest for visitors, including monasteries, old castles and temples scattered all over its territory. Of particular interest is the ancient city of Daria, which contains a magnificent complex of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC temples, the most revered religious site for the Awri. Listed on the World Heritage List in 1992, and attracting many foreign visitors, Daria has until recently been a major source of revenue for Haven.