



SPECIAL REPORT

ABOUT THE CIVIL WAR IN SUDAN

Civil war has plagued Sudan since 1955, pitting the Islamic North against the Christianized South. The first of the war lasted from 1955 to 1972, when the Addis Ababa Agreement granted the South local autonomy. The abrogation of the agreement by then president Jaafar Nimeiri led to the resumption of phase hostilities in 1983. The principal parties to the current conflict are the government in Khartoum, led by the National Islamic Front, and the Sudan People's Liberation Army in the South, which in 1991 split into two factions that are fighting each other as well as the Khartoum government. According to estimates prepared by the U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1.3 million southerners have died since 1983 as a direct or indirect result of the war.

Sudan Symposium Generates Momentum for Mediation

Progress toward reconciliation among factions in the conflict in Sudan received a boost from a two-day public symposium in Washington in late October. Participants included an unusually diverse group of Sudanese intellectuals and leaders. The unprecedented dialogue helped sharpen issues and enabled participants to exchange views as never before. The sessions at the Rayburn House Office Building were organized by the United States Institute of Peace and the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa.

Building on the momentum generated by the symposium, Rep. Harry Johnston (D-FLA), chairman of the subcommittee, later mediated negotiations between representatives of the Torit and Nasir/United factions of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). His efforts produced an agreement between the two southern groups to settle their differences peacefully. "The flow of events—initial discussions among largely nonpolitical opinion leaders, followed by unofficial, informal exchanges among political leaders, both of which provided a framework for Representative Johnston's mediation effort—demonstrates how unofficial activities can supplement formal peace-making efforts," said Chester A. Crocker, chairman of the Institute's Board, who presided over the symposium's opening session.

The proceedings began on October 20 with sessions organized by the Institute and featuring presentations by prominent Sudanese intellectuals and opinion leaders from both the northern and southern parts of the country. The meetings focused on the political, cultural, and religious sources of the Sudanese conflict and possibilities for ameliorating them. Those who made presentations were Dr. Francis Deng, Dr. Peter Nyot Kok, Bona Malwal, Dr. Ali A. Abbas, Dr. Kamal Osman Salih, Dr. Taisier Mohamed Ahmed Ali, Bishop Paride Talban, and Dr. Michael Duany.

The symposium reconvened on October 22 under the auspices of the subcommittee, which had invited John Garang, head of the Torit faction of the SPLA, and Riek Machar, leader of the Nasir/United faction, to participate. They and other political figures, continued the public dialogue on issues that fuel divisiveness and armed conflict among the Sudanese.

The audience for the symposium included 150 Sudanese, some of whom had traveled from Sudan and other countries. Their questions and commen-

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taries helped sharpen the issues under discussion. "This dialogue was unique in that such a diverse group of intellectuals and political leaders engaged in an extensive discussion and debate," said one participant. This setting was a crucial "ice breaker" that paved the way for Representative Johnston's mediation effort. (A copy of the subcommittee's October 22 announcement about the negotiations is attached.)

The symposium also clarified key issues that must be resolved before a broader framework for peace in Sudan can be achieved. The most pressing issues are as follows:

Prospects for National Reconciliation

- What is the relative importance of racial, religious, and cultural differences as sources of conflict between North and South?
- Can a meaningful peace agreement be signed between the current government in Khartoum and the southern groups?
- Is the establishment of a secular state the only way to maintain the integrity of Sudan, or can other means be found to protect the rights of religious minorities?
- When, if at all, would it be useful for an international mediator to help with the peace process?

Southern Concerns

- What kind of self-determination is acceptable to the South and are southerners willing to settle for less than complete secession?
- Must a political agreement among factions in the South precede an overall agreement with the North?
- Do the two southern factions hold incompatible views on Sudan's future, and can they agree on a common political vision?
- How can human rights and democratic principles be promoted within the SPLA?

Northern Issues

- Must political forces in the North achieve greater unity before concluding an agreement with the opposition in the South?
- To what extent can the ruling National Islamic Front as well as other northern parties be trusted not to push arabization and islamization of the South following a peace agreement?

Several of the papers presented at the October 20 portion of the symposium will be issued in a forthcoming Institute publication. Contributors to the report are Francis Deng, Peter Nyot Kok, Bona Malwal, Ali A. Abbas, Kamal Osman Salih, and Taisier Mohamed Ahmed Ali.

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Committee on Foreign Affairs

Subcommittee on Africa

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
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Southern Sudanese Leaders Agree on Principles of Peace

Rep. Harry Johnston (D-FL), chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, today announced a breakthrough peace agreement between two rival liberation movements in southern Sudan. Dr. Riak Machar and Dr. John Garang, commanders of opposing factions within the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, agreed to end hostilities.

The two leaders, meeting for the first time in two years at the invitation of Mr. Johnston, conducted intensive negotiations in Washington. Dr. Garang and Dr. Machar agreed to the following:

1. Agreed on the right of self-determination for the people of southern Sudan, Nuba Mountains, and marginalized areas;
2. Agreed to an immediate cessation of hostilities and monitoring of this agreement;
3. Agreed to set an agenda for peace, reconciliation, unity, and democracy;
4. Recognized that the conflict between us must be resolved through peaceful and democratic means;
5. Appreciate and encourage the regional effort for peace, reconciliation, and unity in southern Sudan, Nuba Mountains, and other marginalized areas, and call upon the international community to support this effort;
6. Agreed to cooperate and facilitate relief work in areas where people are affected by war, famine, and disease;
7. Agreed to oppose the policies of the NIF government in Khartoum, and other subsequent regimes that deny the right to self-determination of the people of southern Sudan, Nuba Mountains, and other marginalized areas; and
8. Agreed to inform the regional leaders of this agreement, and urge that the follow-up meeting take place no later than November 15, 1993.

DONE this 22nd Day of October 1993, in Washington, D.C.