

~~1974/5~~

Between 82 & 85

NUMERI

Text of the memo I presented to the former President.

The memo on decentralization

Dear President leader,

Blessings and good greetings from God.

In accordance to May Revolution principle of participation of citizens effectively in the government of their country, and supervision thereof, in accordance to the decentralised system;

After perusal of Article 6 of the constitution which provide for the administration of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan on the decentralisation system in accordance to what is specified by law, and Article 6 thereof which provide for the division of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, with a view to achieve popular participation in the government, and apply decentralization which shall be specified by law;

After perusal of section 16 and 19 of the Regional Self-Government of the Southern Provinces Act, 1972;

After taking notice of the Republican order No. 436, 1982 for the appointment of a Vice-President for the High Executive Council and Regional Ministers in the Southern Region;

I beg to submit to Your Excellency the following proposals concerning a new frame work for the system of government in the Southern Region, which does not prejudice the present constitutional status, but only facilitates the working of the system in a way that would secure the fuller implementation of its functions and the ideal achievement of its objectives.

The proposed system, in my view, is an appropriate solution to the issue which excited the current political and constitutional debates in the South; for it constitutes a balance between maintaining the present set up of Regional Government in the Southern Region, based, as it is upon a unified, centralized Regional government for the whole Region, and granting the different parts of the Southern Region a semi-regional and simplified administration, emanating from the Regional Government at Juba and subject to the High Executive Council.

Thus it would be possible to satisfy the need for a centralized power regarding the general functions of Regional Government while satisfying and assuming government over a limited local sector of the South, this will facilitate the efficient management of local affairs and promote immediate initiatives and means in the face of the specific needs of the sub-region. This sub-regional authority would also present the will of local people who would interact with it through response and control.

The popular basis of each sector shall be limited and much simpler in comparison with the complicated social set-up of the whole South that had engendered serious tribal and personal conflicts. The administration in the secondary capital of the South would thus be liberated from these tensions.

Giving effect to these advantageous factors will not sacrifice the important factor of unity signified and represented by the High Executive Council, as a higher authority assuming the functions of general supervision and co-ordination.

Characters of the proposed set-up

The proposed framework is characterized by the following:-

1. There shall be established in each of the areas of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile a branch regional executive organ to be known as the "Sub Regional Executive Council (SREC)" each with three members: a Vice-President of High Executive Council

and two other members of sub-regional minister's status to be appointed by the President of the Republic. The regional executive council shall be presided by the Vice-President of the High Executive Council. For this purpose, there shall be two vice-presidents of the High Executive Council at the initial stage instead of one. One to preside over the sub-regional executive council in Bahr el Ghazal and the other to preside over the sub-regional executive council in Upper Nile. As for the sub-regional executive organ in Equatoria, the President of high Executive Council shall assume the presidency as the incumbent President of HEC is from there. In the second stage, there shall be three vice-presidents, one in each sub-region.

2. One of the two ministers who are members of the sub-regional executive council of each sub-region, shall be charged with services including education, health and housing. The other shall be charged with economics affairs: finance, taxation, production and development.

3. The President of the SREC shall be concerned with good administration of the sub-region, security and public service therein. He shall assume the presidency of the SREC subject to the directives of the HEC of the Southern Region at Juba.

4. The adoption of the proposed executive set-up hardly results in any additional financial obligation. For the total of the ministerial posts would still be approximately the same with the incumbent HEC. This can be achieved by effecting the following amendments:

i) Cancellation of the following posts:

a) The post occupied by the Vice-President of the High Executive Council at Juba:

The two Vice-presidents will replace him; each at a sub-capital and to deputise for the President of the HEC in absence of the latter in turn.

b) Legal Affairs:

Each sub-administration will be left to oversee its legal affairs under the supervision of its president, and central legal affairs shall be vested on the President of HEC;

c) Finance:

This is a function which has to be transferred to the sub-regional administration to secure effectiveness in carrying out their respective functions; otherwise they would be superfluous, wielding little real power under a higher financial authority;

d) Decentralised Government Affairs:

These are affairs obviously operating to the nearest sub-administration.

e) Housing and public Utilities:

These are services of local nature closer to local interests.

ii) Re-amalgamation of the following ministerial functions in the High Executive Council in order to underline planning and co-ordination, leaving the details to the sub-regional administration:

a) Ministry of education and Guidance, on one side, and Health and Social Welfare on the other, to be one Ministry to be known as the Ministry of Education, Health and Social Welfare similar to what is in practice in the Northern Regions.

b) Ministry of the Protection of Wildlife and Tourism, on one side, and Culture and Information on the other to be one Ministry to be known as the Ministry of Information and Tourism. There are precedents for this even in the practice of Central Government of the Republic of the Sudan.

c) Ministry of Co-ordination shall be encompassed in the Ministry of Commerce and Supply; and Rural Development in the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources; after the model of the Central Government in Khartoum.

iii) Amendments are to be effected in the functions of some of the Ministries of the High Executive Council in the following manner:

- a) Ministry of Economic Planning, instead of the present Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.
- b) Ministers shall occupy the posts of the present advisers of ministerial status with portfolios in the new constituted High Executive Council.
- iv) Reconstruction of the incumbent High Executive Council with a lesser number in the light of the foregoing proposals, such as would suit the function of Planning, Co-ordination and higher leadership, as follows:

a) President of the High Executive Council Shall have two capacities as the President of the Executive Organ for the whole South; in another aspect, and as the President of the Executive Organ of Equatoria at the first phase of decentralisation; then the ministries:

- b) Ministry of Economic Planning
- c) Ministry of Education, Health and Social Welfare;
- d) Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources;
- e) Ministry of Transport and Communications;
- f) Ministry of Information and Tourism;
- g) Ministry of Public Service and Manpower;
- h) Ministry of Commerce, Co-operation and Supply;
- i) Ministry of Industry and Mining;
- j) Ministry of Co-ordination (in Khartoum);
- k) Ministry of High Executive Council Affairs;
- l) Ministry of Regional People's Assembly.

5. The status of the Regional People's Assembly shall remain as it is with all its functions and method of election. In addition, I propose that out of the Regional People's Assembly, be drawn up a consultative council, whose function shall be to conduct debates, submit proposals and recommendations to the sub-regional executive council. The Consultative Council shall not be granted legislative powers and the Regional People's Assembly at Juba, shall retain the right over the whole executive organ, the HEC and the SRECs in the sub-capitals.

Conclusion:

The proposed set-up in the South shall then be:

The HEC: The President, plus eleven ministers as indicated in the list above.

The Sub-Regional Executive Councils: One Vice-President and two sub-regional ministers for each of the three sub-regional executive councils as shown below.

Vice-President of the HEC and President of the SREC at Wau.
Responsible for Administration, Security and Public Service in Bahr el Ghazal.
Plus Two Ministers:
Minister for Services
Minister for Planning and Finance.

Vice-President of the HEC and President of the SREC at Juba.
Responsible for Administration, Security and Public Service in Equatoria.

Plus Two Ministers:
Minister for Services
Minister for Planning and Finance.

Vice-President of the HEC and President of the SREC at Malakal.
Responsible for Administration, Security and Public Service in Upper Nile.

Plus Two Ministers:
Minister for Services
Minister for Planning and Finance.

Consultative Council:

To be constituted out of the respective members of the Regional People's Assembly representing each Sub-Region, as a Consultative Assembly to the Sub-Regional Executive Council, to provide counsel and submit recommendations to the Sub-Regional Executive Council, but in no way to assume a legislative power.

Joseph Lagu
Vice-President

H.E. General Joseph Lagu,
Vice-President,
The People's Palace,
Khartoum.

5th April 1984.

Dear General,

I should like to thank you most cordially for the hospitable reception you gave to me and my colleagues when we were brought to see you in your home by the General Secretary of Khartoum University Students Union.

It was a most informative hour for us, and we were grateful to you for being so frank and open.

We think of you in your many responsibilities and in your concern for all the peoples of the Sudan.

It was helpful to hear from you how Christians are meant to behave with the right attitudes to Muslims.

Perhaps you will be interested to read the enclosed article which deals with the attitudes of British Christians (or people who were supposed to be Christians) towards the Chinese.

With respectful greetings,

Yours sincerely,

P.J.Everington

MAY '84



THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

VICE PRESIDENT

Dear Peter,

Thank you very much for your letter and kind words. I was myself happy that the Students were able to bring you to my house so that we had that useful meeting.

I am aware that people like you can be useful to the different societies if you can find your ways to them and share your ideas with them. I hope you will continue in your efforts to the benefit of all mankind and may God help you and strengthen you in the difficult mission.

In conclusion, I thank you for the copy of the NEW WORLD NEWS you enclosed for me.

Again, my thanks and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Vice President of the Republic

Khartoum.

12th June, 1984

H.E. The President of the Republic,
People's Palace,
Khartoum.

The views and proposals in the note attached to this letter were made by us, the undersigned, as a contribution to current debate on proposed amendments to the constitution.

As assistants to Your Excellency for many years, we have always found encouragement, from you, to express our opinions freely and candidly, even if they may not often agree with your own. We present copy of these views and proposals to Your Excellency in the understanding of our past practice. Some of the issues brought out in the proposals for amendment of the constitution are so important that it was necessary for us to express a viewpoint on them. For several years before the Addis Ababa Agreement you had reflected for long hours on how to resolve the conflict in the South. In the end a political settlement was reached. The praise and acclaim you received for the political settlement of the Southern problem was spontaneous within our national borders and worldwide. It was truly deserving. It was our honour and privilege then to have been on your side as humble participants and assistants to you.

We believe that the promulgation of the national constitution in 1973 was possible and its passage smooth because of the political settlement for the South.

It is our considered view that some of the issues of conflict in South to which a political settlement was made are currently being raised anew in the proposed amendments to the constitution. Practically, old solutions are being repudiated and new solutions are being offered in these proposed amendments. A new constitution is indeed in the making to replace the present one. Having had the opportunity to see the proposed amendments, we felt duty bound, as your former assistants in the political settlement, to bring our views with the deepest respect, to your attention. We

are also making these views available to the People's Assembly while its members prepare for debate of the amendment in the select committee and on the floor of the Assembly.

We have an abiding belief that Your Excellency will take these views generously and graciously as you have done on similar momentous occasions, in the long years of our fruitful collaboration.

Your Excellency, accept the assurance of our highest esteem.

(sgd)
Joseph Lagu

(sgd)
Abel Alier

H.E. Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri,
President of the Republic,
People's Palace,
Khartoum.

Views and proposals on certain aspects
of the proposed amendments to the
Constitution

It took 18 years from the date of attainment of independence in January 1956 to the end of 1973, for the Sudanese people to agree on a national constitution. It took that long to agree for the people in the South wanted adequate constitutional guarantee and their brothers in the north did not demonstrate a readiness to accept such guarantees. During that period of constitutional vacuum, at least three constitutional committees were set up and two Constituent Assemblies. Southerners in frustration staged walk-outs from these bodies when no adequate guarantees could be mutually agreed upon. Hence a national constitution could not be promulgated. What did the people from the South want then? Why did they have to be that insistent on their view point? The South wanted a recognition and acceptance of simple objective and vital facts, namely the existence of diversity of cultures, historical differences and economic social backwardness of the South. The South objected then specifically to four main things on which some political leaders in the north tended to insist. These were:-

- (a) a theocratic (religious) constitution;
- (b) a constitution which did not recognise the historical and cultural differences between the South and the north and would not acknowledge that the unity of the country should be based on these objective realities;
- (c) a constitution that would not recognise the historical, political and cultural necessity to provide for an autonomous self-governing status for the Southern Sudan within one united Sudan;
- (d) a constitution that did not give sufficient recognition to human rights and fundamental freedoms for all the people of the Sudan irrespective of religion, race, origin or birth.

1. 1955-1972

During this period, differences of opinion on the type of guarantees to constitution should contain for the South led not only to political stalemate and socio-economic stagnation in the country, that period was also characterised by civil strife and instability.

2. Revolution of 25th May 1969
and 9th of June Declaration

Declaration of 9th June 1969 gave recognition to the historical and cultural differences between the South and the north and concluded these differences should be accepted, for the unity of our country must be based on these realities.

It is now common knowledge that the 9th June Declaration paved the way for the conclusion of the historic Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972. And everybody knows or should know that the Addis Ababa Agreement, which incorporated the 9th June Declaration made it possible for the first time for the people to promulgate the national constitutional charter of 1973, the national constitution. The national constitution was an outcome of genuine soul-searching discussions and long-drawn debates, among sons and daughters of this country. The debates were initially started from 28th May 1969 by the combined meetings of the Revolutionary Command Council and Council of Ministers; they were continued in Addis Ababa between November 1971 and 27 March, 1972 and concluded in the Constituent Assembly toward the end of 1973. All these debates at these various fori and venues demonstrated so cogently and clearly that the nation was most earnest in its quest for a charter, a constitutional document, which should lay down mutually acceptable foundations of Sudan's sovereignty and unity in diversity.

3. National Constitution

The constitution contains basic provisions without which it would not have been possible to promulgate it.

Herebelow are indications of some of these provisions:

Article 8: "Within the unitary Sudan there shall be established in the Southern Sudan a Regional Self-Government in accordance with the Southern Provinces Self-Government Act, 1972 which should be an organic law and shall not be amended except in accordance with the provisions thereof."

This provision affirms and incorporates regional Self-Government Status for the Southern Sudan. It achieves four things: The first is that a constitutional stamp to Self-Government Status of Southern Sudan is given in the constitution by a Constituent Assembly whose members were duly elected for the sole purpose of making a national constitution. Secondly, it demonstrates that the Addis Ababa Agreement has a special political, historical and cultural significance which administrative decentralization in other parts of the country does not and should not claim to have and there is thus no parallel or comparison between the Southern Provinces Self-Government Act and the Regional Government Act, 1980. Thirdly, it stands as a reminder to all present and future legislatures that the Addis Ababa Agreement was a political settlement between the South and the north and should always be viewed as such. Fourthly, its inclusion in the constitution fulfils a mutual understanding at the time of political settlement namely that the Addis Ababa Agreement would have its place in the national constitution. For all these reasons, elimination of article 8 and its replacement by general provision of administrative decentralization undermines and finally does away with this important political agreement. Also the proposed amendment of article 8 comes at a time when the very existence of the Southern Provinces Self-Government Act, 1972 has been in question following the Presidential Decree No. 1 of June 1983.

Article 9: This article provides two main sources of legislation for the legislature, that is to say, Custom and Islamic law. Provision of custom as one of the two main sources of legislation is an affirmation of the importance of custom in our society. It is also a recognition and acceptance that common and cultures constitute a set of pillars of

the foundation on which this young state struggling nation is expected to grow in strength and maturity and in unity in diversity. The inclusion of custom as a source of law was also an affirmation of the 9th of June Declaration and the Addis Ababa Agreement. "The unity of our country must be based on these objective realities." To temper with this provision or belittle it, is to touch on the sensitive cords of our cherished unity and disturb it to no one's benefit and to the country's bewilderment.

Article 16: The provision gives recognition to the value of heavenly religions - Islam and Christianity - as it also does to "noble aspects of spiritual beliefs." It confirms our people's deep religious commitments and mutual respect, difference and tolerance to all religions. It will be recalled that many days and sleepless nights were spent during the debate of the constitution, in working out a mutually acceptable formula, expressing the importance of recognition of different spiritual values in our society and the mutual respect that should be given to each of these religious benefits. It was not at all thought wise then to legislate against traditional beliefs, nor could there be a justification for it now. To do so would be to ignore a sizeable opinion and feeling in the country.

A religious belief or affiliation is a human right of an individual and should or ought to be respected by others. The individual should and must not also lose or be deprived of his civil and political rights because of his religion. So it was understood and recognized in 1973 that religion was to God and the nation was for all citizens, equal in opportunity, equal in rights and equal obligations. There should not be discrimination on grounds of religion. Yet at the same time the constitution has given recognition to values of dominant religion in the Sudanese society.

In considering any amendment to the national constitution the question should be posed; by doing so in the legislature depriving any citizen of his human and civil rights on

grounds of religion, race or origin? If our proposed amendment should lead us to such a discrimination, then it should be dropped.

Article 80-110 (President of the Republic)

The highest public office in the land can be attained through popular mandate from people by any Sudanese, who is born of Sudanese parents, is sane and enjoys political and civil rights.

The possibility, however remote, that any citizen become the President of the Republic reinforces in that citizen a healthy positive desire to grow up as an exemplary person; the possibility of becoming the President reinforces in that citizen loyalty to the land, the state and its people. Similarly that a citizen has the right and opportunity to take part in the election of the President of the Republic enhances in that citizen a feeling of political contentment that he is part of the nation. Participation in the election of the President gives the citizen a sense of fulfilment of practical exercise of a democratic right. That there is no discrimination based on religion or race in the national constitution, against the attainment of the President of his election to that office, is a proud testimony to the foresight of all the representatives of our people in that Constituent Assembly of 1973.

A proposal to change the constitution to introduce a discriminatory clause to bar some citizens against aspiring for the office of the President or vote for the candidate for the President, should be carefully weighed. What good will it do that cannot be done now without such a discriminatory clause? Weight that against the political and social problems it can create to the country. A system in which the President attains office by the consent of all his people who have all had an opportunity to vote for or against him, is the system we prefer. The present constitution provides for this arrangement.

May it be reemphasized, because it is important, that any proposal to change the provisions of the constitution relating to who may be the President; how should he be elected and who

could take part in his selection, ought to be reserved. Any proposal to change these provisions for something else should deserve a historical pause and a lot of reflection, accompanied by wide, sober and open debate of the new proposals.

The question should be what greater national unity do we gain by the changes we propose?

4. Proposed Amendments to the Constitution

Referring to the proposed amendments to the constitution, our humble views are herebelow indicated.

a. Amendments to articles 8, 9 and 10

The point we wish to stress is that what was agreed upon in the political settlement of the Southern problem and reflected in various parts of the constitution should not be disturbed for reasons we have already indicated and elaborated on. We view that articles 8, 9 and 16 of the constitution should be preserved, for the reasons and justifications which moved the Constituent Assembly of 1973 to provide them, are still valid, relevant and topical today.

b. Other amendments

Other proposed amendments such as these relating to fundamental human rights, the nature of state, the Presidency and the legislature, are equally substantial and even far reaching. Taken as a whole they practically amount to repeal of the constitution and its replacement by a new constitution with new values.

In these proposed amendments, human rights of certain categories of citizens are proposed to substantially compromised or even eliminated. The democratic process and practice under the present constitution are proposed to be reduced instead of being enlarged.

The question thus arises whether the People's Assembly, under these circumstances, should turn itself into a Constituent Assembly to undertake what is in effect a repeal of the constitution and replace it with a new one, now in the form of proposed amendment. Or, considering that these proposals are matters "relating to our country's supreme interests," should

they not be referred to a public referendum? Article 116 of the constitution covers this latter alternative course of action. The third course of action is to drop the amendments and give time to proponents of the proposals to review them and if need be, invite open debate on them.

There is a practical and constitutional difficulty in the Assembly turning itself into a Constituent Assembly, to pass the proposed amendments. It was not elected to repeal the constitution and make a new one. The easiest alternative course of action is to drop the amendments for the time being and encourage academic debate on the issues raised. Failing to adopt this second alternative, then the issues should be referred to the people for a referendum.

"The President of the Republic may, after consultation with the People's Assembly refer matters relating to the country's supreme interests to a public referendum the result of which shall be binding as from the date of its announcement." Article 116 of the Constitution.

The referendum should be conducted according to existing laws governing the conduct of referendum and plebiscites. However, to complete the constitutional process for changing the constitution, the National Congress of the SSU should be summoned as a matter of urgency before the proposed referendum is conducted. The Congress should discuss the proposed amendments and in particular the manner of nomination of SSU candidate for the Presidency as well as the position of the alliance of the working forces in the proposed amendments.

It is hoped that these views and proposals will find adequate consideration and response from authoritative decision-makers.

(sgd)
Joseph Lagu.

(sgd)
Abel Alier

NOTES FOR H.E. VICE PRESIDENT
GEORGE BUSH OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. Welcome Mr Vice President once more to the Sudan and to my office. It is an honour for me that you have included in your programme, a call on me in my office during your visit to our Country, The Sudan. My Southern compatriots who are aware, appreciate and assume that Your Government is anxious to have a close look at the problems facing our people, and the situation prevailing in the Southern portion of our Country; to them that is the significance of Your Excellency's meeting with me this hour.
2. Dear friend; you are a friend because your Country and people have been friendly with us ever since we reached the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972, and although by then we had no diplomatic relations with you, your Government gave the largest contribution towards the resettlement in the South of our Country, as the people returned from the bush and from the neighbouring countries. Even now, as we have new crises covering the entire Sudan, your Country is in the lead in helping us. So you are a friend, and your entire people starting from Your Great President down to the masses of the American people are firends to us, we Sudanese.
3. We do not hide our problems from our friends. In the South our main problems are Backwardness and Under-development. Any meaningful assistance from a friendly people is to be geared towards raising the standard of our masses and helping them to develop and catch up at least with their compatriots in the more enlightened and developed areas of the Sudan. To be specific, the South needs its infrastructure to be built; and by this, priority must go to the construction of roads, then the improvement of the River Transport and the electrification of our towns. None of our towns has electricity twenty-four hours.

4. Other problems bothering our people are the South-North relations which from time to time erupts and interferes in the progress of any developments in the South, which is always the scene of the fighting. The issues involved are: cultural, then racial.
5. In the Addis Ababa Agreement, a provision was made for the development of cultures and customs of the people of the South. the recent introduction of the Sharia to govern the political, social and cultural life of the people of the Sudan, has come to down grade the Southerners and place them effectively into the position of second class citizens. Certainly, this is not acceptable to them neither can they accept the position of a minority people, knowing that they are one third of the population and inhabit a definite geopgraphical area of the Sudan, the South. to them the leadership in the North is not serious about the unity of the Country so long as they could afford to introduce issues that tend to complicate matters.
6. Regarding decentralisation in the Sudan in general, and particularly in the South, the principle was accepted by most people as it would reduce the areas of friction there. Because the South within itself has ethnic problems which were not catered for in the Addis Ababa Agreement. But the decision and the way it was implemented did not involve them as they expected. It appears now to have touched and eroded the Addis Ababa Agreement. The arrangement arrived at in the Agreement in 1972, appears to be more democratic than the one drawn out after the Regional Government Act 1980. Southerners prefer to stick to what was an arrangement for them and to have decetralisation effected within it.
7. Southerners in general are not communists and communism is little known among them. Those in the leadership of the current rebellion have all worked with me in

various capacities including their leader John Garang. It was on my personal recommendation that he was selected and sent for a company commanders' course in one of the United States military academics. There was no communistic tendency then ever seen in him.

8. If, however, they appear now to be communists or their movement communistic, this could be due to the environment in which they have found themselves, or they have to be in order to get the aid they badly need to promote their struggle. The way out of this situation is to eliminate the causes of friction in the South-North relations which is not difficult, because the Southern struggle only amounts to what was a struggle for Civil rights in the United States of America some years back.

Vice President
Joseph Lagu
Peoples Palace
Khartoum

6th March, 1985

Khartoum,

12th. April, 1985.

Your Excellency,

It is now common knowledge that the Southern Region of the Sudan was created as a result of the Addis Ababa Agreement, concluded on 27th. February 1972. The Agreement was embodied in the Southern Provinces Self-Government Act, 1972 with supporting protocols and decrees:-

- (a) to organize ceasefire;
 - (b) for absorption of 6200 anyanya officers, N.C.Os. and men, into the People's Armed Forces;
 - (c) to organize and effect repatriation and resettlement of returnees and displaced persons;
 - (d) to grant amnesty to those who were charged of committing criminal acts or omissions during the period of insurgency;
 - (e) for creating additional sources of revenues to the Southern Region Treasury to supplement what is provided in the Regional Self-Government Act.
2. The mechanism for changing the Addis Ababa Agreement is provided for under Section 34 which requires that the national legislative organ should support the amendment by three-quarters majority and support of two-thirds of majority of voters in the South in a referendum carried out in that part of the country.

3. The Addis Ababa ^{Agreement} was in force from 3rd. March 1973 till 5th. June, 1983 when Republican Order No.1 was suddenly issued. The Order not only eroded into the Addis Ababa Agreement, the Order actually abrogated the Addis Ababa Agreement. Republican Order No.1 did not decentralize the power under the Agreement and "transfer" it to the people in Equatoria, Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile as has always been claimed. The Order actually effected retransfer of most of the important powers under the Agreement to the central government. Examples of the powers transferred include financial powers; most legislative and executive powers, democratic powers and security arrangements, which organize the balancing of security powers.

The call by a number of Southerners then for "decentralization," that is to say, transfer of some powers nearer to the people in various parts of the South, necessarily implied that some powers, including supervisory and controlling powers, would remain with one Southern Regional Executive, Administrative and Legislative Organs in Juba. These latter Organs were to constitute the link between one Southern Sudan Regional Government and the Central Government in Khartoum.

The call for decentralization was taken advantage of and made a pretext by the head of the central government executive to carry out his own predetermined designs of dismantling the Addis Ababa Agreement, through the instrument referred to above as Republican Order No.1. This unilateral and illegal action once again raised the age old north-south question of trust; whether promises made and agreements reached would ever be kept. As matters stand today that question constitute an obstacle against future consultations over outstanding problems currently facing the nation in the Southern Sudan.

4. For all the foregoing reasons, we the undersigned respectfully suggest the followings:-

- (a) Republican Order No.1 of 5th. June, 1983 be cancelled and the Addis Ababa Agreement be restored. This should contribute toward a confidence-building process which will be necessary in tackling problems of current concern in the South;
- (b) Citizens resident in the South will be at liberty in the future to discuss and resolve, on their own and on the basis of the Regional Government Act 1972, any matter regarding genuine further administra-

5. This view (in 4 para (a)) is a contribution in support of the viewpoint presented to you about three days ago in a written memorandum by University teachers, University Students, workers, professionals and politicians from the Southern Sudan.

We beg to remain.



Yours faithfully,

Signed:-



1. Lt. General (R),
Joseph Lagu,
Former Vice President of
the Republic and
Signatory to Addis Ababa
Agreement.

~~2. Abel Alier~~

Addressed:

First Lt. General,
Abdel Rahman Mohamed Hassan Suwar El Dahab,
Chairman of the Military Council.

24th July, 1985

His Excellency,
General Abdel Rahman Suarradahab,
Chairman Transitional Military Council,
People's Palace ,
K H A R T O U M

Dear Brother Abdel Rahman,

The greater part of my life has been devoted to what is often termed " The Southern Problem" - I have rebelled, I have fought, I have administered and finally I had the privilege of being a Vice-President.

This last appointment gave me a national view whereas previously my attitude and approach might have been limited to the Southern Perspective .

Sooner or later there will be a Conference or Congress on the Southern Problem - I attach a memorandum which may be considered by personal contribution .

You will see that I regard the problem a National Issue and not just the Southern Problem, although it may well have been sounded first and loudest from the South .

I consider it my duty and role to continue influencing the shaping of my Country - if only to complete what I have devoted so much of my life and risked everything for.

Sincerely yours,



JOSEPH LAGU
Lieutenant General Retired

NOTES ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION
IN THE SUDAN

1. Historical records have not been good between the South and the North if taken as distinct Regions. Addis Ababa Agreement that had been widely applauded from within and without had not been fully implemented especially the part touching Abieei and the areas that considered themselves culturally and ethnically belonging to the South and would wish by referendum join the South. Further the erosion of the Agreement started immediately after it was ratified. The total abrogation of the Agreement by the very man who signed it will make it very difficult for any other future Agreement to be reached between the South and the North if they remain so.

2. Therefore, it will only be the same Addis Accord that will be revised to suit any future political arrangement that must cover the Sudan as a whole. This will be easy if a general consensus is arrived at for a Federal System of Government for the Sudan, the implementation can be immediate and without any further studies because the colonial powers divided the Sudan into administrative units similar to a Federal arrangement. The 9 Provinces of the Sudan as they left them resembled States in a Federal Republic. Each Governor was responsible for the good administration of his Province, he sent reports and received directives from the Colonial Office through the Governor General who and his staff resembled the Federal Government.

3. Our political problems started when education and economic projects did not begin in all the Provinces evenly as the administrative layout. Education and economic projects were started in areas near to the seat of what was the Central Government of the Governor General. The aim was to provide the colonial administration with subordinate staff and generate cash for the administration of the territory as a whole. That was the beginning of the imbalance and the roots of our political problems. The subordinate officials so produced began to develop feelings of being next to the colonial officials and their right to replace them when the time will come for them to leave. They forgot that as the Sudan is not homogeneous they would not be accepted as such outside their home Provinces. As it later became the case,

Some kinds of local nationalism developed along side within the administrative divisions and as in the case of the South versus the North, separate administrative policies were set up in each. The South being in addition sealed off from the North as a form of protective measures. In Darfur also separatism was developed as that Province was added to the Sudan after the first World War. It is worth mentioning here that even the military formations were formed in a similar manner to the administrative layout. For example the Equatorial corps had its men recruited from the Southern tribesmen and the areas of their service was the South, the East arab camel corps and the West arab camel corps had their men recruited from the Eastern and Western Sudan respectively, and so were their areas of services.

4. When national movements for the independence of the country started, again it was from the same areas where education and economic development sprang up, as it was there that the elite community emerged. They never envisaged that local nationalism in the Provinces will cause them problems later. The colonial powers on reversing the Southern policy did not plan with it a programme leading to a smooth integration. It was all sudden and revived the Southern fears and suspicions of yet another Northern hegemony. Even the Southern policy that sealed the South away from the North, did not rule the South as one entity, the South continued even then as separate Provinces only loosely connected by that policy. In fact the South gained its oneness through the Addis Ababa Agreement.
5. The race for independence and the struggle to maintain the oneness of the Sudan from particularly the North and by the North did not go hand in hand with the aspirations of their compatriots in the other parts of the Sudan especially the South, which all along indicated its line of thoughts as different. Time has come for orderly and soberly assessment of the situation with objective conclusions. A glance at the past administrations may help to draw up the objective conclusions. This should include a look at the one Southern administration under the High Executive Council and the current problems as result of Equatorians continued request for a separate administration. We have learnt in our history, that the immediate causes of the disturbance in the South that led to the 17 years civil war, were the arrival of Northern officials to the South to fill the positions then to

be vacated by the departing colonial officials. It was the same resentment that caused the units of the Southern corps to mutiny. And, after the inception of the Southern Regional Government in Juba, the same feelings of rejection of the Dinka in particular, and the other Nilotic tribes began to mount up, hence the built up of Equatorial local nationalism.

6. Therefore I suggest the application of the Federal System for all the Sudan, with the 9 Provinces of the Sudan as constituent States. The arrangement arrived at in Addis Ababa as the basis to start and the size of the first Regional Government in Juba to be adopted, it was as follows : Under the Chairman of High Executive Council were Ministers holding the portfolios of : -

1. Finance, Planning and Natural Resources.
2. Information, Culture and Tourism.
3. Communications and Transport.
4. Agriculture and Animal Production.
5. Health.
6. Rural Development and Co-operatives.
7. Public Service and Labour.
8. Housing and Public utilities.
9. Regional Administration, Police and Prisons.
10. Education
11. High Executive Council (cabinet) Affairs.

This arrangement will be in line with the Regional administration that has been on until the 6th April, 1985 and the infra structure already laid. More to consider will be :-

- a) Definition of State Powers ;
- b) Relations between Federal and State Governments;
- c) Allocation of sources of revenues;
- d) Sharing of what are regarded as National Wealth discovered in certain states ;
- e) And the subsidy of poorer states.

In adopting the system of Federalism the problems arising from the September laws will automatically drop because each state will feel free to accept or reject the laws.

7. There are examples of Federal systems around the World, and a few of them may be examined with the view of extracting from them what could fit in our situation, especially of collective leadership and head of State represented by a State Council with rotating chairmanship .

8. The Indian type of Parliamentary Republic from Federal level down to the State Assemblies may be looked into, as India and the Sudan resemble each other in many respects and they came under the same colonial power. The seat of the Federal Capital will be within the boundaries of the old Khartoum , Khartoum I and Khartoum II .

JOSEPH LAGU

24th July, 1985

AN OPEN LETTER
TO
COLONEL JOHN GARANG DE MABIOR

By LIEUTENANT GENERAL JOSEPH LAGU

JANUARY 16, 1987.

True Copy

96 Gunnersbury Avenue
London W5 4HB

January 16, 1987.

Dear Colonel,

I refer to your verbal message delivered by Major Arok Thon, during his visit to the United Kingdom in September - October 1986. This letter will give you a broad feature of what can be considered my advice.

My understanding of the situation has been that you were forced to rebel by the series of events that rapidly preceded the military action on the battalion then at Bor Town, when they refused to move to the North as they were ordered. You were in the same town on your normal annual leave, and had not been notified by the Armed Forces GHQS, so that you could get out of the town. Under the circumstances, I thought any person facing a similar situation could be left to take only the option you yourself took. I told the former President this, when I was impartially explaining to him the circumstances that (to my imagination) forced you to move with those troops when they were attacked. I repeated the same to the National Assembly when the then Speaker of the Assembly asked me to enlighten the Assembly as to what I thought could have contributed to the fresh outbreak of hostilities in the South, erupting first seriously at Bor Town.

Whatever you had in mind, if not what I assumed, still I think you have expressed your disappointments enough and subsequently demonstrated the ability to halt anything being imposed by force on any section of the population. There are many who sympathize and agree with you in this regard, even among the Northerners. It is appropriate now that you soften the situation, halt the bloodshed and reduce human suffering by responding to the demand for peace, if the other side also indicates willingness.

Renewal of Conflicts

I presume some of the causes for renewed conflicts in the South, this time reaching some areas in the adjacent Districts in the North and therefore shaking the whole country, could be these:

1. Disappointments among Southern politicians about the weak points of the economic arrangement in the Addis Ababa Agreement that they discovered.
2. The apparent lack of seriousness on the part of the

Central Government about carrying through economic development projects in the Southern Region of the Sudan.

3. The re-introduction of the rotation of troops in the country affecting the Southern Command, whereby the Southern elements of the command will be required to move to the North, contrary to the security arrangement laid down in the Addis Ababa Agreement.
4. The uprooting of the Southerners, affecting also their black compatriots coming from other Regions for a similar reason, that is the search for work, from Khartoum and the other economic centres in the North, in a notorious operation known as "CASHA", chasing them back to their places of origin which illustrated racial discrimination (Apartheid of some form) in the Sudan. I did not remain silent but wrote a report on that after a visit to the South, following my appointment as a Vice-President, and I presented the matter in a subsequent meeting of the "Security Committee." The operation was halted, though shortly resumed.

These were some of the factors that fermented and contributed to renewal of hostilities in which you became involved. "Islamic Sharia Laws" were proclaimed later, only to add fuel to the already burning fire. There is therefore a cause, and I am not asking you to surrender. I am trying to guide you towards peace with honour. Nevertheless, I am now aware of the remarks you made in your manifesto (paragraph 18 and paragraph 24).

My commitment to peace

I committed myself to peaceful ways of solving political problems, when I accepted to send a delegation and later went to Addis Ababa myself to sign the Peace Agreement there in 1972. Therefore, I am talking to you about peace and how to obtain it. In that regard I did my best to preserve that peace, although my partners on the other side behaved differently by progressively edging me off, violating the terms of the Agreement or watering them down. Of course, I did not shy off as they might have expected, I fought political battles to reclaim what I believe was my rightful place, and retain the main substance of the Agreement. That struggle might have contributed to the divisions among our people in the Southern Sudan and sowed seeds of bitterness, but I am not the one to blame. The other party to the Accord is to blame. I suggest that you call for unity (if you can remove weeds that sprouted out of the seeds as mentioned above) and attain consensus among your own section of the population, and by that I mean the unity of the Southern Sudanese. In most of my writings I have defined the Sudan as two peoples and hence two countries, the Southern Sudan and the Northern Sudan, which within themselves can be categorised further.

Whatever you may stand for, your base is still the South. Most of the people there must first understand and believe in what you are introducing and willingly support you before you go any further towards the North. At the moment you have partial support in the South, your strong holds are still within your tribal lands and the men around you mainly come from those lands. What does this mean for the future even within the South? There is need for you to win others to join you through continuous persuasion, convincing actions, and demonstration of good intentions. While in the process of doing this, present a scheme for attaining peace in the country as a whole. With your staff, draw up a draft proposal for submission by the political wing of your movement, the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), for peace talks and make it known widely so that, you will be understood to be aiming for peace.

I would suggest the outline to be as follows:

- a) Cease-fire,
- b) Formation of a Provisional Government,
- c) Interim arrangement,
- d) Administration of the South and other Regions,
- e) The future and use of the Armed Forces.

Cease-fire

Upon initial Agreement, to be ordered simultaneously by the Government of the Republic of Sudan and the SPLM leadership, and pledges made thereof for its observance. If need be, neutral troops possibly from OAU member states requested and deployed to monitor the observance of the cease-fire.

Provisional Government

The structure of the Government is to be agreed upon mainly by the present Government of the Sudan, the SPLM leadership and any other contending party that may be. The Government may maintain the present pattern with some modifications, that is the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, and, what is often overlooked in the South and regarded in the North as exclusive monopoly for the citizens there, the Central Government institutions. The Council of State is to continue to have 5 members, but to be drawn from wider areas of the country with a view to attaining equitable representation. The South this time is to be represented by two members instead of one, the other three to be selected from the East, West and from the remaining part of the Northern Sudan. Chairmanship of the Council is to rotate as it was on the attainment of Independence in 1956.

The Council of Ministers should also cover the whole country as evenly as possible, so that fair decisions can be reached during the interim period. This point is important to smooth

relations between the various Sudanese peoples after this bloody civil strife, that has not been only between South and North but complex even within the two parts of the country separately. In the case of the North the results of the last general elections can be taken as guidelines as the situation in the North was conducive enough to elections. As for the South, other criteria have to be considered since the security situation did not allow elections there.

Central Government Institutions

A system has to be drawn up and agreed upon whereby "Central Government Institutions" can be apportioned fairly to enable citizens from all parts of the Sudan to participate. Such examples can be found in the sisterly Federal Republic of Nigeria. These institutions must cease to be solely reserved for the residents of Khartoum, Wad Medani or inhabitants of the riverain areas from Kostî to Wadi Halfa.

It is unequivocally clear now that education in Sudan is no longer a rare commodity in the hands of a few coming from the areas mentioned, but reasonably spread throughout the country. Consequently, qualified people can be found in most areas to represent their people and plan for their future.

This demand for fair representation dates back to pre-independence period. It was first sounded in the South when the politicians there felt that the only way to secure that was to call for a "Federal system of government" for the Sudan. That genuine demand was obstructed by the successive Khartoum governments, civilian and military alike, as those governments have been dominated all the time by those who thought political power was left for them by the departed colonial powers; and pass them on to their children, regardless of the harm to the country's unity through such endeavours.

Now it is time for those who benefit from the backwardness and ignorance of others, to know that the others have awoken, and they should therefore think soberly because those others will claim their share. Any further resistance to prevent and deny to those only asking for their share, will be meaningless and out of step with the world trend for changes and reforms. World opinion will not be with them. They may receive sympathy only from unprogressive, or unrealistic peoples of those areas of the world, where sanity and rationality are rare to find.

Interim Arrangement

This will include the Provisional Government mentioned above, the Regional or Provincial administrations, the Cease-fire Commission etc. For Regional Administrations, I would suggest the immediate application of the "Federal system of Government" for the Sudan in the pattern of countries like

Nigeria or India, with the 9 provinces keeping their borders as the Colonial Powers left them or as the former President left them as Regions. The provinces or Regions could become the "States" in a Federal Republic of the Sudan. I submitted a proposal to that effect to the then Chairman of the Military Council (copy attached). Previously I had other views regarding the administration of the Southern Region (Provinces or Regions). Those views can also be considered.

Cease-fire Commission

This has to be set up in a similar manner to what it was in 1972, or in accordance with the international precedents. Neutral officials should be invited to observe strict compliance with the terms of the cease-fire to be agreed upon.

The Future and use of the Armed Forces in the Sudan.

This I suppose will be your main concern, because the Armed Forces have been used by the Khartoum governments in the past, to impose Northern will and culture on the South and to maintain the dominance of the Northern political elite that inherited power from the colonial Masters over the rest of the masses of the Sudanese people. The future Armed Forces of the Sudan must never again reflect the character and safeguard the interest of any racial or ethnic groups, but of the nation as a whole. All possible precautions have to be taken so that the Armed Forces do not become instruments for any would-be dictators to use to seize power and impose their will on the nation. Experience has shown in the Sudan and elsewhere that such men do not usually have any political programmes to offer, but they tend to learn on the job after seizing power. Often the motive is to have their turn in ruling the country and their names entered in the various publications, regardless of the instability the country suffers. Such men from now onwards must plan to come to power through the ballot box which is a better way to political office, because it offers hope for further chances even after electoral defeat. There are no precedents of other ways of returning after the loss of power, least of all, through the barrel of a gun. Those who first gunned their way to power normally do not survive when they lose.

Therefore security in the South which no doubt will be your priority, and safety of Democracy in the Sudan, will lie in keeping the Armed Forces politically neutral to deny this type of adventurer their use to grab political power. The pre-independence system of the composition of the Sudan Defence Force (SDF) and the deployment of its units can still meet the requirements of the defences of Sudan. The South may, as in the time of the SDF, become a "Military Zone." Such a zone will be the responsibility of a "Southern Command" as the "Equatorial Corps" of the SDF was renamed shortly before the mutiny of August 1955. The Command will send units outside its zone only when the territorial integrity of

the country is threatened at other ends and for similar reasons receive re-inforcements from the other commands of the Armed Forces. As part of the Armed Forces, the command will participate in any peace-keeping missions outside the borders of the Sudan upon which the UN or OAU will request the Sudan to contribute. For any other Missions that the South as an African entity may not be interested in (as may be expressed by Southern leadership, legislatures etc), the North, if she so desires, may send her own volunteers for such missions, as she participated on the side of Arabs in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948.

Military Pacts

The South must stand against any "Military Pacts." Such pacts could be aspired to on the Sudan side by some Northern leaders to attain foreign support for suppressing rebellions in the South or opposition groups in the North. For these reasons, the former President made the following pacts:

- a/ With Libya, through which he secured Libyan intervention in 1971 that reinstated him to power.
- b/ With Egypt, when he was anticipating a fresh rebellion in the South, due to his systematic moves in eroding the Addis Ababa Agreement having secured a political compromise with Sadig el Mahdi in 1977 at Port Sudan.

After that, in my assessment, the former President never made any political decisions in good faith. He played tricks, befriending one to hit the other, making alliances with this political group in order to destroy that group etc. He was certainly not sincere to the Egyptians when the change of leadership occurred there, after the tragic death of President Anwar Sadat. He only tried to exploit the situation and hurried to sign the "Complementarity Treaty," which with the more experienced late President he was reluctant about. He seized the opportunity to sign both the "Complementarity Treaty" and the "Defence Pact," with the new Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, whom he thought he could influence, and thereby extract what he wanted from the Egyptians.

In an unprecedented case, the Defence Minister in the Provisional Government, while on a visit to Libya following the overthrow of the regime of the former president, signed a "Defence Pact" with that country's leaders without being mandated by his colleagues. An explanation was demanded from him on his return and he threatened to resign, staying away from his office for over a week. But because of the circumstances then facing the Government, the unprecedented nature of its own composition, the ambivalence and ambiguity within it, further conflict was avoided so that the group collectively could survive.

The matter was left to cool and the Minister resumed coming

to office. In that way the country was committed to the Military Pact with Libya. The motive was to secure aid to suppress a rebellion originating from the South and threatening to spread to other parts of the country, that is the movement started and being led by you. There the integrity and sovereignty of the state was compromised, as there could be no aid without strings.

In conclusion, I will stress that emphasis on ideologies may not be appealing to the people in the Sudan. In the North they are predominantly muslims and they will react negatively to what is alien and contrary to the teaching of Islam; in the South too, there will be negative reaction as Christianity has established roots there and is quite influential. It was the source of inspiration during the 17 years civil strife. Southerners, I assess, will not be excited by ideologies. Their concern will remain to keep their aspiration as before.

I will therefore advise that you present your programme plainly and educate the Sudanese to understand and accept it. What do you offer to the Sudanese people when you succeed? And what type of society do you want to see emerge in the Sudan, or in your part of the country, Southern Sudan? I hear people ask these questions.

Please accept my wishes and regards.

Yours sincerely,

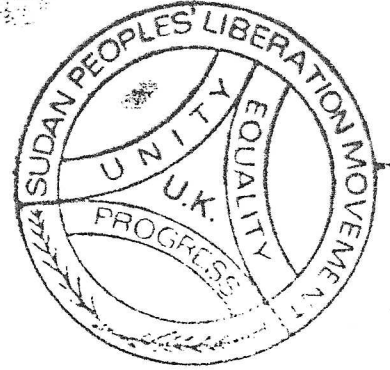
(SGD)
Joseph Lagu

Addressed to:
Colonel John Garang de Mabior
Leader of SPLM/SPLA

295A, Finchley Road
London NW3 6DT.

22 Jan. 1987

General (Rtd) Joseph Lagu
96 Gunnesbury Avenue
London



INVITATION TO SPLA/SPLM HQs

Dear General Lagu,

I have been directed by Colonel Dr. John Garang chairman SPLA/SPLM Political and Military High Command and Commander-in-chief of SPLA, to confirm his official invitation to you to visit his HQs.

You will recall that this same invitation was first conveyed to you by Major Arok Thon Arok in October last year.

I have also been instructed to deliver to you a ticket for the trip to and fro.

Best wishes and regards.

Yours Sincerely

Stephen M. Baak
Chairman of SPLA/SPLM
London Office

THE REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
SECRETARIAT GENERAL
PRIME MINISTER OFFICE



جمهورية السودان
مجلس الوزراء
الإمانة العامة
مكتب رئيس مجلس الوزراء

23 February 1987

NO.: CM/SG/PMO/1/A/1/2

Dear Joseph Lagu,

The Prime Minister received gratefully a copy of the wise message you have addressed to Colonel Garang, and he has expressed an utmost support for every effort and endeavor that will stop the blood shed in our beloved country. This form of violence is becoming as a cat paw for a foreign aggression against Sudan. The Government is in essence believe in peaceful dialogue rather than military approach to end this problem and continue its duty of security to deterr this foreign aggression.

With best regards,

IBRAHIM ALI IBRAHIM
G. D. OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S
OFFICE

True copy

96 Gunnersbury Avenue
London W5 4HB
5 March 1987

Rt. Hon. Sadig El Mahdi
Prime Minister of Republic of Sudan
Khartoum.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I have learnt from the news coming from the Sudan, of the decision you took in forming some form of authority through which Southern Sudan can be governed, at least provisionally. That is a positive step towards tackling the standing complex problems of that part of the country.

The new Council is in line with what I had proposed as a compromise solution, at a conference on the issue at the then SSU centre in Khartoum on 10/10/1984. I therefore support you in this in principle.

However, I feel to mention that the council will mean anything, if they do move to Juba and operate from there. This can be possible if they secure the whole support of the Governor of Equatoria and other strong and influential politicians from there.

I wish your government success in this endeavour.

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu'. The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial 'J' and 'L'.

Joseph Lagu.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue
London W5 4EB
15 March 1987

Rt. Hon. Sadiq Al Mahdi.
Prime Minister of Republic of Sudan,
Khartoum,
Sudan.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I received with profound relief a letter dated 25th February 1987, from your office. I am impressed by the fair remarks, conveyed in the letter, over the one I addressed to Colonel John Garang de Mabior, leader of SPLA/SPLM; about halting the bloodshed in our dear country.

I had written to him that letter to evoke the thoughts for peace, and to draw his attention towards peaceful solution of the complex political problems that still persist. I was happy when I learnt of the bold move you made in meeting him at Addis Ababa while on a visit there to attend the OAU Heads of Government conference. That was statemanship. Unfortunately, your initiative was hampered by the tragic, regrettable incident of the civilian plane, that got shot down after taking off from Malakal Airport; killing all those on board.

I seized the opportunity to write to Garang when he sent me a verbal message that was delivered by Major Arok Thon, during the latter's mission to U.K. in September - October 1986. Surely, I will be delighted to see peace talks start again, and more seriously.

Mr. Prime Minister, as a Sudanese, I would like to see my country the Sudan attain peace soon, so that things there return to normality. And, in that regard, I shall spare no effort to advance the cause of an honourable peace.

Long live united and peaceful Sudan.

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu'. The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial 'J' and a long, horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Joseph Lagu .

96 Gunnersbury Avenue
London W5 4HB
29 May 1987

His Excellency,
Rt. Hon. Al Saddiq Al Mahdi.
Prime Minister of Republic of Sudan,
Khartoum,
Sudan.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

By the time this letter reaches you, I shall have been probably at Addis Ababa. I have been invited to go there by the SPLA/SPLM leader, Col. Dr. John Garang de Mabior for talks. He probably wants to hear more about my views, in addition to what I wrote in my letter to him on 15 January 1987.

Should I receive similar invitation from you, I shall also come over for similar talks. I am interested in a peaceful solution of our national political problems. I want to see the armed conflicts come to an end soon.

I believe the main problems the SPLA/SPLM leadership will raise, will be:

- 1 the Military pacts;
- 2 the "Sharia Laws", now commonly call, "the September Laws".

No serious Southern Sudanese will compromise with those. I would ask Your Excellency to consider seriously the repeal of

those laws. I know by doing that, you will lose some support in the North, but will get substitute in the South. Most reasonable politicians in the North, are also for the independence of the country, and its unity.

Surely you will not doubt my support, when you will take a positive move in preserving the independence of the country, and the unity of all its peoples.

Yours very sincerely,



friend, Joseph Lagu.

Ghion Hotel
Addis Ababa
8 June 1987

Rt. Hon. Saddiq el Mahdi,
Prime Minister,
Republic of Sudan.
Khartoum.

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

By now, the letter which I wrote to you, dated 29th of May 1987, from London has reached you. I am here, as stated in that letter.

I feel deeply concerned for peace in the Sudan, as any serious Sudanese would; hence my reason of being here, this time.

I believe, there could be probabilities for peace in the Sudan, if the following steps could be undertaken by your government:

- a) Repeal of the September Laws, infavour of the 1974 Secular Laws, as a provisional step until the constitutional conference.
- b) Abrogate the Defence Pacts, with Libya and Egypt.

This then, will realise a break-through, and our country will move closer to peace.

I am writing now, taking into considerations, the " time factor" (the expected debate on the September Laws/the alternative laws in the Parliament).

I hope you will give this letter serious thoughts.

With due respect,

I remain yours sincerely,





GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUDAN PEOPLES' LIBERATION MOVEMENT
AND SUDAN PEOPLES' LIBERATION ARMY



The Chairman

Ref. No.

Date

11/6/1987

Brother Joseph Lagu.

1. Any society must have elders and you are one of our most prominent elders. Your advice will always be welcome and appreciated.
2. Enclosed is a token for the kids. please say hello to them.

Sincerely

John

96 Gunnersbury Avenue

London W5 4HB

13 June 1987

Rt. Hon. Al Saddiq Al Mahdi
Prime Minister of Republic of Sudan
Khartoum.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I have returned from Addis Ababa yesterday, after having met Colonel John Garang on Thursday (11 June 1987).

My assessment, after a lengthy discussion with him is that he is willing, and quite ready to enter into a serious peace talks with the Sudan Government now under your leadership. He appeared quite concerned also about the rapidly deteriorate situation in the country, and gave me the impression that the bloodshed must be halted and soon, if your side will feel the same.

But Mr. Prime Minister, Col. Garang thinks you may not be serious about peace, as you did not even seem to implement the Koka Dam declaration of which you were a part. Rather you made extensive preparations for offensive actions against his positions in the dry season that has now passed. He told me however, that he will not be proud to have survived the dry season, he will all the same respond to peace talks should you now show seriousness.

Mr. Prime Minister, the civil war now dragging on is not your creation. You inherited it from the previous government, and you and Col. Garang have no reasons for any personal animosity. You both, for similar reasons opposed that regime from different positions and brought about its fall. I feel you should continue in that common understanding and bring an end to the conflict so that the country returns to peace once more.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu



96 Gunnersbury Avenue
LONDON; W5 4HB

July 20, 1987

H.E. Leopold Senghor

Your Excellency,

I recall with gratitude your response to my letter when I communicated to you my letter to the then Chairman of the O.A.U. giving my reasons for temporarily moving to London.

The situation in my home country is much on my heart, and I search for ways which will bring a political solution based on realism and goodwill.

Also of very deepest concern to me is the situation in South Africa. I ponder it daily and my concern for my black brothers grows ever deeper. I think of the suffering that has now been added by the effect of economic boycotts. I am grateful to see the beginnings of change in that situation. I think of the decision of the Dutch Reformed Church reversing their 40 year theological endorsement of apartheid. As you know, the Synod last year decided that they had been wrong and apartheid is a sin against God. A struggle still goes on in the church, as we may expect, but this fundamental decision must continue to influence higher Afrikaner circles. I speak as a Christian.

The second development is the recognition that the Government has been compelled to make of the African black trades unions. I believe this gives power to blacks which will become an increasingly effective voice.

The third aspect is the decision of the A.N.C. leaders to meet with a South African group in Senegal. I appreciate that the early experiment in Zambia paved the way, but this second meeting emphasises the significance now to be attached to dialogue. As a younger brother of Africa, I deeply express my appreciation and regards to you for bringing about this recent meeting in Dakar. Your initiative and statesmanship moves me very deeply.

My mind is now turning to the way this issue might be treated in the important meeting of the Francophone countries in Quebec in September. As I think of the needs of our brothers in South Africa, the health and education of the children, the need to stave off famine, is it possible that your friends and colleagues in this forum could consider observing a pause in the application of additional sanctions? This may also help our Commonwealth brothers in the front line states. Above all, it may be important at this phase of our fight against apartheid to give the processes in South Africa a further opportunity to express themselves in favour of a peaceful dialogue which will move step by step to end a system which is an outrage to us all. I believe it is important at this moment in history for the Afrikaners to feel that any genuine step they make towards a new situation will engage in constructive response. At the

same time as we support the struggle of our A.N.C. brothers and other groups working for change, we need to present elements of hope to the white South Africans. It is important that they come to feel that genuine concessions will be effectively registered, and that in the final outcome, whatever the wrongs of the past, they will be appreciated and included as people of Africa.

I hope Your Excellency would give serious consideration to my thinking, as I believe we have reached a crucial moment in the history of our continent. I earnestly desire your elderly blessing on my thoughts.

Yours sincerely,

Lt-General Joseph Lagu
Former Vice-President of the
Republic of Sudan

YOU PROVOKED ME KHALIFA

Oni tiri tiri !
Khalifa ni a'du ya?
Anyi ndre para
Ani Arabi ya?
Ke endre Arabi ko.
Ice rovika
Korovi ingoni?

He is so black !
What is Khalifa?
Observe him well
Is he an Arab?
He doesn't look so.
Discrimination
Isn't it so?

Mani ko 'do
Ma'di dii a'do ya?
Anyi ndre adri
'Di le Falata go!
Ke endre ani ani.
Ice ru ifoka
Kerede ingoni?

Oh I don't understand
What this man is?
Just observe him
This is a Falata!
Indeed he looks so.
Naturalization
Isn't it so?

Le'jo kemu mani:
Elo ma andri ri,
Ma ru mvu cere,
Nye'be mani leti,
Ma aju kololo ree.
Ice ru'dika
Kere'de ingoni?

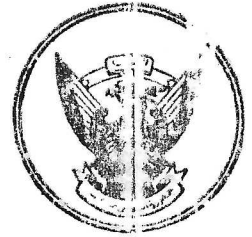
Problem comes on me:
I am aggressed,
I accept the challenge,
Leave me the way,
I am trigger happy.
Combat action
Isn't it so?

Ini ma ani'do
Mohome ni a'do ya?
Sa anyi ndre adri
Ani 'ba 'baru ya?
Ani 'ba lolu 'do!
Ice rovika
Korovi ingoni?

Oh so black as me
What may Mohamed be?
Have a look at him
Is he a citizen?
Oh a stranger!
Discrimination
Isn't it so?

LT. GENERAL DOCTOR MKUNGU JOSEPH LAGU ORI YANGA.
NEW YORK, 28 JANUARY, 1988

The Prime Minister



February 14th., 1988.

No:CM/SG/PMO/1/A/1/2 /Ken

Joseph Lagu

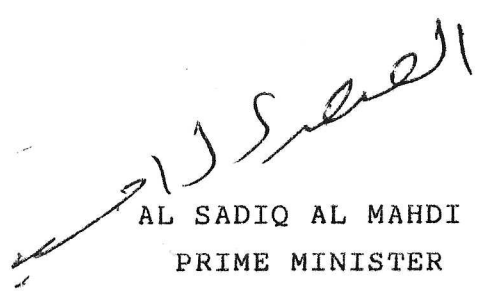
Dear brother,

Thank you for your letter of 1st.Feb.1988 .
I am glad to hear that you have recovered.

We have given the situation in Equatoria the
attention it deserves .

However, whenever your circumstances permit
you should visit us to have a comprehensive talk about the
situation and how best to establish peace and security.

Yours Faithfully


AL SADIQ AL MAHDI
PRIME MINISTER
REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

THE REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
SECRETARIAT GENERAL
PRIME MINISTER OFFICE



جمهورية السودان
مجلس الوزراء
الإمانة العامة
مكتب رئيس مجلس الوزراء

April 24, 1988.

CM/SG/PMO/1/A/1/2 / ٢٩٤

Hon. Joseph Lagu
96 Gunnersbury Avenue,
London W5 4HB .

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister thanks you most cordially for your kind letter of February 27, regarding situation in Equatoria. He looks forward to welcoming you in Khartoum on your expected journey back home, in the hope of airing views in all issues.

Yours sincerely

IBRAHIM ALI IBRAHIM

G.D.OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE.

FOR PRIME MINISTER

THE WAY TO PEACE IN SOUTHERN SUDAN

1. Practical demonstration of the desire for peace from The government, by showing willingness to win and work with Southerners of good reputation within the country. Especially those who have demonstrated their abilities and willingness to co-operate before.

Examples are:

Ezbon Mondiri
Abel Alier
Hilary Paul Logale
Lawrence Wol Wol

There are few others that could be added to the list.

2. Less emphasis in politics and politicians: More attention to the Military situation in the South.

Steps to be taken:-

- (a) Appointments of Military personnels to fill political and administrative posts in the South, retired officers as Local Government Inspectors in the Districts. The Militias to be converted as Home Guards to come under them.
 - (b) Transfere of serving Southern officers to the South and more recruitments of Southerners in the Army to remain in the South. Southern elements in the Armed Forces in The South to achieve preponderance. This will remove feeling of Northern Army occupying The South.
3. It may be necessary to reconsider the personnels of The Southern Council and The Governors infavour of paragraph two above. Retired officers of good reputation and administrative abilities are:

Brigadier Samuel Abujohn Kabasi
Maj. Gen. Gismallah Abdallah Rassas
Maj. Gen. Fredreck Maggot

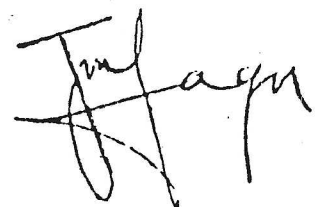
These can be Governors in Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile respectively. The return of younger officers into the service to take command of the principal garrisons should be seriously and urgently considered. Some of These are:

Brigadiers; Andrew Makur, Saturnino Ariha, Peter Mobil, Stephen Ogut etc.. etc..

4. The Government has to be clear about the role of religion in politics. In The South, the predominant opinion is that religion shouldn't be that much expressed in politics. I suggest therefore, the idea of geopgraphical application of "Sharia" be clearly expressed: that the South is to be excluded and Khartoum the capital city - a neutral zone.
5. I am taking this opportunity to tender these humble opinions to The Prime Minister as my contribution towards achieving peace in the country.

JOSEPH LAGU
LT. GENERAL (RTD.)

OCTOBER '88



96 GUNNERSBURY AVENUE

LONDON W5 4HB

23/12/1988.

His Excellency,

Fieldmarshal Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri.

Dear brother Gaafar,

I am writing to you following our telephone conversation on Sunday 18 Dec. 1988. I had stated that I would write to you giving reports on my recent visit to the Sudan. And, adding some new ideas that have come to my mind.

1 Political situation.

This is very confused. There are too many parties in the Country. They even lack cohesion within each. The population are disillusioned, democracy did not bring to them all their expectations. Corruption appears to be exaggerated than ever before, while cost of living still rocketing sky-high. Because of the worsening situation, voices can be heard here and there, commending the past leadership; Nimeiri was better, he could take decisions - present leadership is indecisive. True, the public remembers you and your regime.

2 Security situation.

In the South, the administration has broken down. Citizens are on their own. In parts of the West and the Eastern parts of the Central Region, security is non-existent. While even within the big towns in the North; sense of insecurity exists. Sudan is becoming another Lebanon in the real sense of the word.

3 What should be the concern?

I feel the concern of everyone should be to prevent the Country from collapsing, hence disintegration. That I feel should be the concern of every patriotic Sudanese. If the situation continues, the country will collapse and surely disintegrate. Out of what is Sudan now, only God will know how many independent states, hostile to each other, will emerge then. Definitely the country will not just be partitioned into two; South and North. Neither will the two parts remain as they are. What may result there-after, may not ever, differ from what followed Empires that ended as such: British, Ottaman, or any other.

3 What is to be done?

Sudanese of all political opinions must forgive one another and agree to start a new political chapter. That was the message I went with in my last visit to the Sudan. I appealed for all those in Prisons for political offences to be pardoned, and the former President, that is YOUR GOODSELF, to be also pardoned and invited to return HOME as a retired Leader to enjoy privileges as such. I published the note I

sent to the Prime Minister entitled, "AS YOU WERE", in both English and Arabic News Papers in Khartoum, conveying my feelings to the Nation in that regard. There was no hostile reaction to that, from any circles; meaning the acceptance of the idea: I suggest you re-enforce this by a similar move.

I am sure it will be taken well throughout the Country. That will never be taken as a weakness or as an act by someone giving up hope, it will be taken as a patriotic move by a matured statesman. I feel there is no other way for us to save our country and people. Our Armed Forces are even losing proficiency and cohesion. They cannot under the circumstances provide an alternative leadership for the country. Especially now that armed gangs are roaming the entire country. Those they will overthrow, will not give up, they will resist, and, adding to the "CURRENT" conflicts, such a coup will not succeed; but it will result in a tragedy and anarchy.

4 The situation in the South.

This, I believe, can best be tackled by the Southerners themselves. Many Southerners do not approve of that rebellion, at least for the reasons that led to its initial eruption. I presented to the Prime Minister three papers, giving ideas as how the issue could be tackled. I even offered to return to the Armed Forces and to take charge of the forces in the South, if that is acceptable to the Government. Or alternatively, return to the South and reorganise the Southern Regional Government, on the basis of the decentralised pattern I once proposed. I assess that either of the two proposals will be acceptable to most Southerners. I discussed that with some Southern leaders including our colleague, Abel Alier. They seem to accept the idea as an endeavour to achieve peace. This Ofcourse, will be a temporary measure just to achieve peace. When the situation calms down, then the future arrangements can be discussed in a peaceful atmosphere. I attach photocopies for your personal perusal. I may come to Cairo sometimes in the new year to discuss the issue further with Your Excellency. Please do help as before.

5 Other observations.

I observe that the generation following us fall short than us in many respects: perhaps they didn't have or pass through the type of schooling we went through. Or maybe I am unable to understand them for similar reasons. However, there are gaps or differences in outlook. I also notice lack of respect and appreciation of the efforts of those before them in the people following us. John Garang makes unfavourable remarks about us in the South those who preceded him for example, as people motivated by the desire for jobs when we decided to work for peace. We respected those who preceded us. We don't get the same from those following us. Surely there are differences between us and those following us. Mindful of this and events preceding our time such as:- the Egyptian, the Iraqi, and the Ethiopian Revolutions, definitely one will prefer to distant one'sself from any would be coup, where initially, one has not participated, now that one is not any more an officer in the Service. Even if that were so, I would avoid passing through what Generals: Neguib; Gashim and Aman Andum passed through. In short- no one can plot a coup d'etat for another. It is for this that, I do rule out any military coup d'etat to correct any situation in our country. Knowing that we would not be anyway, in the position to influence the situation for the better. If we would be

invited to participate in such a move, our participation would be only a very temporary one. Our fate would then be as of those Generals mentioned above. It is said, "people learn from history". These are the thoughts that have been occupying my mind as I survey the situation through which our country and people and ourselves are passing. I am writing them and passing them over to you in order to share them with you. We did share things together at our good days. It is in order to continue to hold on together, even at bad days. That is why I express my concern about our colleagues who are in the Prisons boldly and openly.

6 What we can do together.

We can, from the positions we are now in, still press for the release of our colleagues who are in the Prisons, appealing through organisations as "Amnesty International" or through any others, even through the governments that are friendly and sympathetic. In the pursuance of this, we will earn respects and will not be regarded as "power-hungry politicians," only thinking to return to political power. We will by such acts, raise the morale of those colleagues and of their families. We have moral obligations towards them. With the release of those secured, we can then work together with them for complete political "RIGHTS," for all citizens. There-after, we can plan and reorganise our friends to form a political party. We may return to power that way, or some day, our followers will. The situation in the country being what it is, the present parties in those shapes, we or our followers can have a chance. We can still organise better, be more disciplined to win in an election some day or participate in a coalition with some other parties. There, and onwards, work to regain our positions and advance our policies. I prefer to plan and work this way than any other ways that may become abortive, and therefore disastrous. Like any other politicians I will continue to exercise my civil rights. I will observe caution and avoid making enemies unnecessarily. I will not initiate aggression against others so that I lessen the chances of aggression against me.

7 The incumbents.

where they may be and who they may be, they have enough enemies without me. To those I offer my friendship, advices and co-operation in the interest of our common S U D A N . Only in self defence and in the pursuance of my legitimate rights, and in the right way, will I raise my voice. The LORD ALMIGHTY will help me in this.

8 Conclusion.

So then brother, as I may be travelling to Pakistan and India, and for the first time, do remember me in your prayers. Amna and the children pass their regards to you and to Mama Buseina.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Lt. General (retired).

AUG 89

THE REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

Telegrams Inland:
"SUDANI, LONDON"

Telegrams Overseas:
"SUDANI, LONDON"

Telephone:
01-839 8080

SUDAN EMBASSY
CLEVELAND ROW
ST. JAMES'S
LONDON SW1A 1DD

الرقم/سجل ٢/١١/

التاريخ/ أول أغسطس ١٩٨٩م

السيد الفريق (م) جوزيف لاقو

بعد التحية ،،

يسرني أن أرفق الى سيادتكم برقية وزارة الخارجية
رقم م/١٠٢٦ بتاريخ ٢١/٧/١٩٨٩م التي تفيد بأن
الامانة العامة لمجلس الوزراء قد أفادت بأن السيد / جوزيف
لاقو لا زال في الخدمة سفيرا متجولا بوزارة الخارجية
وأن السيد رئيس الوزراء يطلب حضوره للخطوم للتشاور .
للتفضل بالعلم والافادة بموعد سفركم الى الخرطوم
لنتمكن من اخطار الجهات المعنية مع أطيب الامنيات لكم
بالتوفيق ..

وتفضلوا بقبول وافر الشكر والتقدير ،، ،،



جبارة عبدالرحمن

ع السفير

صورة الى السيد وكيل أول وزارة الخارجية

1 Aug '89

Confirming Lagn's continuing post as British Ambassador

Early 1990

EARLY 1990

Before the fall of Sadiq El Mahdi's civilian government in 1989 General Lagu was appointed Roving Ambassador, with reference to the search for a peaceful solution to Sudan's civil war. After some hesitation the new military government confirmed him in this post. Lagu returned to Sudan in August and encouraged the setting up of an internal 'Dialogue on the Basis for Peace', of which he was made Deputy Chairman. 140 Sudanese drawn from all regions spent seven weeks in free debate and came up with a number of recommendations, which were endorsed by the Government. The most important of these was the principle of federalism, which for the first time would give all the regions of Sudan an equal say in the running of the country. Joseph Lagu was spokesman of a delegation which went to Cairo to explain these resolutions to President Mubarak.

In early December representatives of the Sudan Government and the SPLA (Sudan People's Liberation Army) met for six days in Nairobi under the chairmanship of USA former President Carter. These talks broke up without agreement. Both sides hope that the next round of talks will be chaired by President Mubarak, who is current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

While the apparent reason for the failure of the talks was the issue of the Shariah (Islamic) law, the real reason was more likely the determination of each side to gain military advantage in the war. In recent months the SPLA has had significant victories in the southern province of Equatoria and is now besieging the city of Juba. These advances have been at terrible cost to the armies of both sides, and even more to the civilian population. A further danger is the increasing polarisation as Black and Arab African nations come under pressure to take sides.

Joseph Lagu, now back in London with his family, is ready to initiate or support any move that could lead to a valid peace settlement. Meanwhile he is taking time to study and record the deeper personal attitudes to be found in his own tribe the Madi, in the Dinka (who are the majority of the SPLA), as well as the Arab Northern Sudanese. For instance he says, "Madi means The People. This means we consider ourselves the standard human beings, against whom others are to be judged!"

He speaks Dinka and Arabic and has long experience of the qualities which make the Sudanese quarrel, as well as their instincts for forgiveness. He is in the process of mending fences with a Sudanese politician, also now in Britain, with whom he has clashed fiercely in the past. He and his wife welcome to their home Sudanese of all backgrounds. In January he spoke in different parts of Scotland to groups interested in Sudan. Concern for his country has made him feel keenly about situations like Azerbaijan and Armenia. He thinks that Gorbachev and de Klerk deserve deep appreciation for courage in taking humane decisions against the wishes of many of their own supporters. "For those who believe in God, may God bless them!"

P. EVERINGTON

PE

96 Gunnersbury Avenue,
London W5 4EB.
25 April 1990.

Patrick L Doherty.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

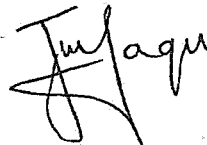
Dear Patrick,

Thankyou very much for your letter of 13 April 1990, which I received this morning. It is good to hear from you again, and that you have been with another friend who met me in the Sudan and saw what I was trying to do over there. Please convey my regards to Mr. Douglas Archard the American Consulate General in Northern Ireland. Should I visit Northern Ireland again while he is there, I shall be glad to meet him and talk about Sudan affairs. Unfortunately, it is very bad there at this very time I am writing to you. An attempted coup to remove the present junta was foiled the day before yesterday, and yesterday 28 of those involved in the attempt were summarily tried and very quickly executed. That is unprecedented since the Independence of the country.

I am now puzzled, I don't feel to continue with a regime that is very murderous, whatever respect they may have for me as a person. It will not mean anything for me after those executions. They cannot even honour their Holy Ramadan but went ahead with the execution of those 28, most probably all their fellow Muslims. On Easter Day, they hanged a Christian, Arkanjelo Ayiga Daru, a relative of mine through my previous marriage. Before that I wrote to a Christian friend (Dominic Cassiano), a Brigadier and a Member in the Junta, expressing my concern as I observe things from outside regarding their Human Rights records, and asked him to convey that to his colleagues which he did. He confirmed that by phoning me back. Today the EID FESTIVALS for the Holy Ramadan which last for 4 days started in the Sudan. This Eid is never a good one for most Sudanese. Please remember the Sudan in your prayers these days.

I wish I could be of some help again to my fellow Sudanese. As things are now, I am really puzzled. I don't know what to do and what to say. Pray also for me. My warm regards.

Yours sincerely,



Joseph Lagu, LT. GEN. RTD.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue,

London W5 4HB.

26 June 1990.

H.E. The Secretary General,
Arab League Secretariat.
Tunis, Tunisia.

Your Excellency,

Brotherly greetings to you and to your colleagues in the Secretariat. I am writing to you to introduce myself and to seek an assignment in the Arab League Organisation.

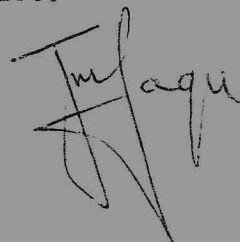
Certainly, you may have heard of me and of my background: I organised and commanded a guerrilla army in Southern Sudan against the Sudanese Government in the 17 years civil strife; negotiated and signed a Peace Accord with the Government in March 1972 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia when I felt it was appropriate to do so; I persuaded the force behind me to accept the Accord; served as Inspector General of the Sudanese Armed Forces, into which the guerrilla force and myself had been integrated; commanded the First Division of the Sudanese Army in the Southern Region of the Sudan; and was elected President of the High Executive Council for the Southern Region, and finally appointed Vice-President of the Republic of the Sudan.

Since the fall of our Government in April 1985, succeeding Governments in the Sudan have had nothing against me. Former Prime Minister Sadiq El Mahdi appointed me Roving Ambassador in the search for a solution to the current civil war in the Sudan, and the present Government confirmed me in this post. However I feel I could play a more positive role, if I am neutral. As a roving ambassador, the rebel side will have reasons to doubt my neutrality. I thought then, if I were an official of an organisation of which my country is a member I may be more eligible for both sides to accept as neutral.

Apart from my experience in my country, I have travelled widely in the Arab world, parts of Africa, Europe and America. Since I am only 58, I feel I have a positive role to play in the peace making process, in which I have some experience. I shall be delighted to serve in the Arab League if you accept me. Meanwhile please accept my high esteem for Your Excellency's office.

Yours sincerely,

Lieutenant General Joseph Lagu,
Former Vice-President of the Sudan.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', written in a cursive style.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB. Tel: 081 992 9460.

H.E. Brigadier PSC Osman Ahmed El Hassan,
Chairman of the Political Affairs for RCC/NS,
People's Assembly Hall.
Omdurman, Sudan.

Your Excellency,

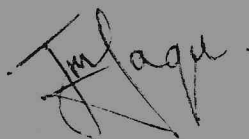
I am writing to you this letter to acknowledge the receipt of the messages and assistance I received from your office. Thankyou very much for your concern and sympathy.

I am travelling tomorrow to Costa Rica to attend Conference of Moral Re-Armament on peace making processes. I am informed that most of the delegates will be military people, retired or still in the services. The theme of the Conference will be: "The role of the Armed Forces in peace making."

I have been recommended for the Conference by my British friends in the Moral Re-Armament, for what they know of the role I played to bring about peace in the Sudan in 1972. They are paying for my ticket and stay during the Conference. The other delegates are recommended and paid for by their Ministries of Defence. I shall make available any useful literature that I shall collect from there for your office, to help in any future peace moves by our Government.

I suggest you meet some of the members of the British Moral Re-Armament during your forth coming visit to the United Kingdom. They are people wholly devoted to the cause of peace, and can be helpful in our circumstances - in advices or in further contacts.

Please accept my warm regards, and convey the same to the Chairman and members of the RCC/NS.



Your very sincerely, Joseph Lagu, Lieutenant General (retd).

Date: 26 June 1990.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

96 Gunnersbury Avenue
London W5 4HB
5 March 1992

H.E. Lt.Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed Al Beshir
President of RCC/NS & Prime Minister
Peoples' Palace
Khartoum

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing this letter further to my letter to Col. Martin Malwal Arop the Member of RCC/NS, dated 2 February 1992, who informed me that he would show the letter to Your Excellency. My advice is for continuous political and diplomatic initiatives, to be taken concurrently by the Government. Most conveniently at this time when the Government has the advantage, in contrast to the rebel military option when they had the upper hand during "The Conference for National Dialogue for Peace", in Oct-Sept 1989. Such a move will demonstrate Government seriousness and commitment to peace.

I am advising so, because the contrary will have an absurd lasting damaging effect as witnessed in Yugoslavia and Somalia. Events occurring on one side of the globe seem to vibrate fast and get imitated elsewhere in the world, noticing that military options wear thin chances of future reconciliations.

The split in the rebel movement may be a set back for peace on one hand and an advancement on the other. A set back to have caused the delay of peace talks as planned in Abuja, Nigeria Oct 1991; and an advancement, in that the two rebel factions are now competing to win friends and support. They may also demonstrate flexibility, which will result in advancement of the peace process.

To facilitate the peace process, I suggest Your Excellency assign someone, a full time incharge of the peace movement, and to lead the Government delegation to the peace talks when the time comes. Such a person must enjoy your full support and confidence, and to be a Northern Sudanese as the conflict is basically between the North and the South and as Southern nationalists still regard the Government in Khartoum, a Northern Government. A senior Southerner in the Government, preferably a member of the RCC who enjoys the respect of Southern Sudanese more widely as Col. Martin for instance will then co-ordinate efforts with the one (Northerner) assigned the over all responsibility of the peace process. The role of the Southern leader is to organise among

Contd/2...

Southerners a group (peace feelers) to contact Southerners from within the Sudan and abroad to prepare them to accept and support the peace move. This way I believe, we will promote the peace process and finally attain peace in our country. The 1972 peace was attained through similar process. Only Southerners did not seem to like the idea of a fellow Southerner leading the Government delegation for reasons mentioned above.

Your Excellency, we must safeguard against the negative aspects of the developments in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: influence of ethnicity in politics which tends to take the world backwards, carving nation states on ethnic boundaries. We in the Sudan are very vulnerable to that. There is a need therefore to move fast and attain peace in our country, as you know besides SPLA/SPLM your Government has other opposition groups. I observe that those, are very active these days. Better forestall them.

Your Excellency, I am advising with the best of intentions, and please accept the assurances of my highest esteem and respect for your office.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', written in a cursive style with a large loop at the end.

Joseph Lagu
Lt. Gen. (Rtd)
and
Roving Ambassador

copy to Peter Everington.

96 Gunnersbury Ave
London W5 4HB
19 March 1992

Dear brother Bona Mahmal,

I remember you offered to assist on my second letter to Fellow Sudanese. I am now thinking seriously about it and gathering the materials.

This morning after my quiet time, I thought of you and my fellow labourer in The Movement of Moral Re-Armament, Peter Everington to assist me in this work. I am thinking of the letter to be soft and reconciliatory, instead of the hard one I had originally thought of. You will help in checking the historical data while Peter will help to maintain the tone of the letter reconciliatory, check and contain my emotions. I am banking on the support of two of you to make this letter a success.

The materials so far I have collected are:

- (a) Historical survey of the Republic of the Sudan which I compiled while in New York.
- (b) My memo to the then President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri undated addressed as; "Dear Brother, President and Leader." My memory is the memo could have been written in April or May 1983.
- (c) An observers remarks also undated & strictly confidential, entitled: "Some observations on Proposal for sub-regions in the South under the H.E.C.", and unsigned. I assumed the author to have been Oliver Batali Albino.
- (d) Memo signed jointly by Abdel Alier and myself addressed to General Abdel Rahman Mohamed Hassan Suwar El Dahab President of the Transitional Military Council following the demise of Nimeiri's May Regime.
- (e) other items to be still processed are: (i) Southern experience of

23rd April 1992

The First Under Secretary
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Khartoum
Sudan

Sir,

Following my visit to San Salvador, El Salvador, I enclose:-

1. Report on the visit to my host President of the Supreme Court of Justice (Chief Justice) of El Salvador.
2. Letter to Mr. Marrack Goulding, Under-Secretary General for Peace-keeping in UN Head-quarters.
3. Under-Secretary-General's reply.

It is to be recalled that I have been involved in the peace process there since July 1990, then as a member of the World Moral Re-Armament Movement which works for understanding between peoples and nations of the world and promotes reconciliations between them. Having been known there then, and having heard of the role I played in the peace process in our own country following the Addis Ababa peace accord of 1972, the Supreme Court took interest in me and invited me the second time in September 1990 when I was the newly appointed Sudan's Permanent Representative to the U.N.


The third time in March 1992 I was invited to share with them my experiences as to what happens after concluding a peace accord. The Government of El Salvador and the rebel movement FMLN signed a Peace Accord in January 1991 in Mexico-City.

I thought it incumbent on me, to inform my Head-quarters (although invited in a personal capacity) being a government official myself, and to impart this information to my government as it may be of some help as the government itself has a peace process before it.

I suggest the report and letters accompanying it be forwarded to those concerned with the peace process.

My warmest regards,

Note: It was a voluntary contribution. The Supreme Court only paid for the tickets and looked after my accommodation.


Joseph Lagu
Lt.Gen. (Ret)
Roving Ambassador

PERSONAL

96 Gunnersbury Avenue
London W5 4HB
Tel: (081) 992-9460

4th June 1992

Rt.Hon.Mohamed El Amin Khalifa
Speaker National Assembly
Omdurman
Sudan

Dear Brother Mohamed El Amin Khalifa,

It was nice talking to you yesterday over the telephone, after considerably, a long time. The peace process you were involved with during the week, caught the attention of most people world wide; especially the friends and well wishers of our country, the Sudan.

Short though, of reaching an accord, it is regarded as a serious start of a meaningful peace-talks. One is left to hope that the next session goes further, even to the extent of concluding an accord that will bring finally to an end, the long suffering of our people; the Sudanese.

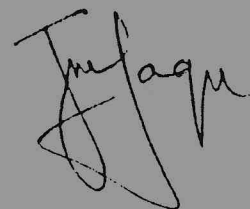
Brother, I have asked my colleagues and friends in "Moral Re-Armament" an organization of volunteers that strive for human understanding, peace, reconciliation and forgiveness; transcending religious, cultural and racial boundaries, to invite you to the Organization's international centre at Caux, Switzerland this summer for the annual conference. The part of the session you will attend is: "Regions in crisis, regions in recovery, learning from one another." People discuss issues during the meals and in small groupings. Occasionally chances are given to few to make addresses at larger gatherings (plenary).

I plan to attend the above session myself, to learn more from the others. I enclose the programme: few copies, for possible companions. They also act as invitation cards. Please let me know, should you accept to come or send observers, so that arrangements are made, and your name or of the observers are sent to the reception committee to include in the list of guests. Other high level guests are expected to come from: Cambodia, Thailand, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Eritrea and some other countries with internal problems similar to ours. I hope it will be possible for you to come or send observers.

Appropriate time to spend would be a week or less. Expenses are about two hundred pounds sterling per week per person.

My very warm regards.

Sincerely yours,



Joseph Lagu

Encls:

EMBASSY
OF
THE REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN
3, CLEVELAND ROW, ST. JAMES'S
LONDON SW1A 1DD
TEL: 071-839 8080 FAX: 071-839 7560



سفارة
جمهورية السودان
لندن

26th June 1992

Rt Hon Mohamed El Amin Khalifa
Speaker of the Interim National Assembly
People's Hall
Omdurman
Republic of the Sudan

Dear Mr. Speaker.

No doubt you are also following news of events in South Africa these days. News coming from that country in recent weeks is disturbing, pathetic and sad.

The massacre in cold blood of innocent people, simply for being supporters of the African National Congress (ANC), by the adherents of the mainly Zulu tribal freedom movement (INKATHA), prodded by the police and the security agents of the racist regime in that part of our continent has reached the limit that any people in the world can bear. Further the opening of automatic rifle fire by the police on unarmed people, while expressing solemnly and without violence their fury against the national president, shocked the whole world and cast doubts in the minds of those who thought the regime in South Africa, is seriously committed to reforms and progress towards majority rule.

In consequence, I suggest that a strong enough voice be raised from our country, the Sudan, by the National Assembly, the representative body sounding the voice of the people. This would be in response to the appeal made by the Secretary-General of ANC, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, following the initial massacre.

In his appeal, the ANC Secretary-General proposed the need for a neutral international body, to monitor the preservation of law and order in South Africa during the current political developments in the country, to reduce the probabilities of the recurrence of such tragic incidents as the two mentioned above, and to identify the perpetrators of troubles.

The proposal is in order, and should have been enforced earlier. It could have saved many lives. I request Your Excellency to give it thoughtful consideration, and have it discussed in the National Assembly.

Like me, you are no doubt afraid that this situation can degenerate into wholesale civil war in South Africa. We have to recognise that there are significant elements in the white power structure who are genuinely intent on radical reform. Let us also encourage our ANC brothers to maintain the capacity to continue dialogue with these elements.

My warmest regards, and please accept the assurance of my highest consideration and esteem.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador

96 Gunnersbury Avenue,
London W5 4HB
1st October, 1992

Dear Dr. Ali El Hag,

Below are points about my situation as you requested me to make:

1. When I was evicted from the Government house by the order of the then Attorney General in September 1985 while on leave with the family in U.K., I decided to remain in U.K. with the family because there was no home to return to in the Sudan. I thought it was unsafe to return to the Sudan and proceed to Juba or to Nimule. Situation there was beginning to worsen.

2. I asked for leave to remain in U.K., until the situation in our country improves. Till now I have not sought asylum for myself or for any member of my family. Those who ask for asylum are first given UN travel documents to use for travels. After a length of time they are issued British Passports when they are accepted as citizens. We use our National Passports.

3. We were granted leave to remain in the United Kingdom on 28th November 1987 as shown in my passport [photocopy attached]. It became renewable yearly until 28th November 1990, when I requested it to be renewed for my family for a longer period. That was granted for them for a period of three years until 28th November 1993. This is the situation in which the family are today. As by then I was already appointed Sudan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations. I only requested visa to visit U.K. within the same period that my family were granted leave to remain in U.K. That was graciously given to me and stamped on my Diplomatic as well as ordinary passports: "Multiple Visits", as shown in the enclosed photocopies.

4. Before I returned to the Sudan on recall by former Prime Minister, Sadiq El Mahdi, our accommodation and subsistence were looked after by the British Department of Health and Social Security [DHSS]. After the recall, I withdrew from that and leaving only the family with DHSS. When I was appointed Permanent Representative and paid in hard currency, I withdrew the family as well from the service of DHSS. Since then we have been on our own, only the family having the leave to remain in U.K. and myself Multiple visits.

5. I have not been on any other payroll other than the ones mentioned in point 4. My involvement with Moral Re-Armament is entirely social and charity work, and it is not a paid job. My family and I depend entirely on the salary I continue to get from Sudan Government through the London Embassy.

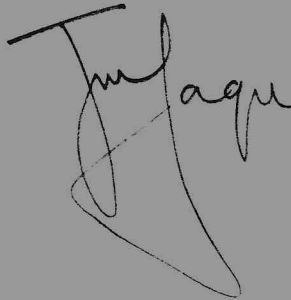
6. I am still hoping that the UN will give me some assignment, while I am grateful to my Government for continuing to pay me as a Roving Ambassador.

7. I request my government to continue to make enquiries with the UN Under-Secretary-General for Peace-Making and Conflict Resolution, Mr. Marrack Gauding, about my application, and also to present my name to the League of Arab States and the Organisation of African Unity for similar assignments, in peace-making and conflict resolution. That is the field where my interest is at the moment. I enclose photocopies of two of the letters of the Under-Secretary-General to me. Since then, he continued to give me hope.

8. If I don't get any other paid employment, and my Government terminates the salary I still receive, all I can do is to return to the situation in the first part of point 4.

9. I also feel to make it clear here that I thought of applying for a UN job when I felt I was not wanted to continue as an Ambassador, due to the sudden instruction to relinquish my post at the UN and to return to the Sudan for an unspecified assignment.

I hope I have now made myself sufficiently clear.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu'. The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial 'J' and a long, horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Joseph Lagu

Nairobi.
9th October, 1992.

Dear brother John Garang,

I am in Nairobi to talk to our compatriots, the Southern Sudanese who are in Kenya, concerning the current situation in our country the Sudan, and especially the South to which we belong. I have made similar moves with the Southern Sudanese community in the United Kingdom.

I have been yesterday afternoon to see an old friend Bethuel Kiplagat, whom you also know. He made references to favourable remarks he heard you make about me in your conversations with him some days back. I was moved and my eyes filled with tears of understanding for your kind remarks, which I feel I do not really deserve. This has caused a change of direction in my whole outlook on the situation facing us in our country, the Sudan. Previously I had become reluctant even to return to Khartoum after relinquishing my post as Sudan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations. I lost faith in our national affairs. But the encounter yesterday with Bethuel Kiplagat renewed my spirit to continue to contribute selflessly my utmost efforts in our national affairs. I repeat selflessly and without the desire to seek high offices anymore in the administration of our country. I do not wish to enter again into competition or rivalry with anyone anymore in our country. What I want to see is peace for our beloved country and peace with honour for you and your fellow strugglers in the entire movement.

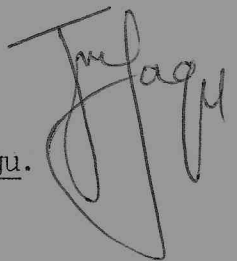
In pursuit of the above, I now offer my services to come to meet you wherever you are; and subsequently to go to meet Riak Machar, William Nyuon and Omar Bashir wherever they too, may be.

In the name of our suffering people I now ask you all to stop all hostilities against each other. This will bring relief to so many people, enable me to move freely to meet you all, and it will produce the right atmosphere for the forthcoming Abuja Peace Talks.

I now wait with great anticipation to hear from you.

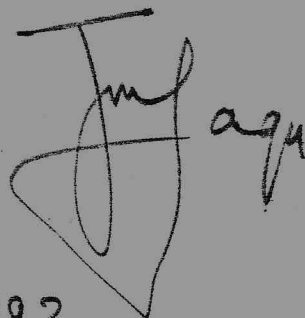
Your brother,

Joseph Lagu.



TO CDR WILLIAM NYUON BANY
FROM JOSEPH LAGU

I ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT OF
YOUR MESSAGE ○ YOU ARE ON THE
RIGHT PATH ○ I AM ENCOURAGING
PEOPLE TO BE WITH YOU ○ YOU
WILL ALSO HEAR THAT I HAVE WRITTEN
A LETTER TO JOHN GARANG WITH
COPY TO YOU, RIAK MACHAR AND
OMAR BESHIR ○ I APPEAL TO YOU
ALL TO STOP HOSTILITIES TO ENABLE
ME TO MOVE AS INDICATED IN THE
LETTER ○ I SHALL LEAVE TO NIGHT
FOR LONDON AND WILL WAIT TO
HEAR FROM ANY OF YOU.



DATE 12 OCT. 1992
PLACE NAIROBI, KENYA.

~~745:~~

1993

1

96 Gunnersbury Avenue,
London W5 4HB
Tel: [081] 992-9640
Fax: [081] 993-2769

His Excellency,
Rt. Hon. Daniel T. arap Moi, C.G.H., M.P.,
President of Republic of Kenya,
State House,
Nairobi,
Kenya.

Your Excellency,

Fraternal greetings to you and to the entire people of Kenya. I write as an admirer of Kenya and its people.

Under your wise leadership, Kenya remained, in our troubled region peaceful, stable and progressive. Indeed an island of peace and development in a region where peace and decent living for citizens are becoming a mirage. May the Almighty God guide you to sustain Kenya and even strengthen it to remain peaceful and stable, and continue as a safe haven to all around in the region and beyond.

Your Excellency, as you know, I am at present a roving ambassador for my country, the Sudan. I come to Kenya now in a private capacity to help mediate among my countrymen of all sides, to promote reconciliation amongst them, with the hope of seeing peace for my country. We Sudanese are grateful for the hospitality you have offered many of our people in your country, and for your own efforts to resolve our conflict.

At the same time I also come to seek your support for an assignment in the UN in Peace-Keeping or Conflict-Resolution areas. I applied to that effect at the conclusion of my term of office as Sudan's Permanent

Representative to the United Nations, and I am supported by my President. I enclose a copy of his letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and subsequent correspondence between me and the Under-Secretary-General for peace-keeping and conflict-resolution, Mr. Marrack Gauding. I had also applied to the Secretary-General of OAU for similar assignment in the Organisation of African Unity. I enclose also a copy of my letter to him.


Your Excellency, I feel I have some experience that can enable me to contribute in areas of: peace-keeping, conflict-resolutions, or peace missions, especially in Africa.

I am looking forward for Your Excellency's support and encouragement.

Excellency, please accept the assurance of my highest esteem and respect for your able leadership that resulted to a peaceful and stable Kenya.

Yours Sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Lt. Gen. Retd.
Former Vice-President of Sudan.
Roving Ambassador of Sudan.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', written in a cursive style.

Thoughts of the day

Talk to Peter Everington he can play a role in peace process in the Sudan.

Present to him The Umma Party papers + also The News Letter of Light + Hope for Sudan to acquaint himself with current situation.

Talk to him about ~~talk~~ conversation in the Embassy with Charge d'Affairs and Abdel Wahab.

Review with him own situation + steps to take.

What new initiative?

29 January 1993

Rt. Hon. Dr. Ali el Hag
Minister of Planning
The Ministry of Planning
Khartoum, Sudan.

Dear brother Ali,

My heartfelt congratulations for your appointment to head the newly restored Ministry of Planning. It is a ministry through which a great deal could be done in the field of reconstruction should peace be attained once more in our country by the grace of God. You have the competence to lead the Ministry.

I hope your appointment to this ministry will not diminish your role in the peace process, but rather that it strengthens and makes your voice better heard.

In addition to the above, I am also writing to you to convey on my behalf to H.E. the President, as you are the one in the government who understands my situation best; that I have been recommended with few others by friends in Moral Re-Armament, to visit two countries : Cambodia and South Africa. To help promote reconciliation among the peoples of those countries in order to push forward peace processes there. I felt delighted and honoured by being numbered among those selected. I believe my government will welcome the idea. I am willing to participate in the mission, but as I am a serving diplomat of a country, I need the moral support of my government by coming to support me by meeting the cost of my ticket expenses. As my colleagues will travel in economy class, I will need tickets of the same class so that I don't appear privileged than the others. Accommodation and local travel expenses I understand will be met by those arranging the visits. I enclose photocopies of the fax messages I have received.

On my way to or from those two countries, I wish to pass through Egypt and Uganda. I feel I am in a position to help promote understanding and improve relations between our country and those other two nations. Hoping that the acquaintance I had with Mr. Amre Musa while we were both heads of Missions of our respective countries at the UN, New York (1990 - 1992), and personal knowledge of one another between me and Mr. Paul Ssemogerere will be of some help; both being currently Foreign Ministers of their respective countries. This may need nevertheless, further consultations and co-ordination with Khartoum. Here is a situation in which I feel I can positively contribute, and I am willing to do so. I hope my government will welcome the idea and encourage my initiative.

Please pass my regards to His Excellency the President.

My warm regards and best wishes.

Yours,

Joseph Lagu.



CANON MICHAEL SAWARD, BA
6, Amen Court, London. EC4M 7BU



Canon Treasurer of St Paul's Cathedral Tel: 071.248-8572 Fax: 248-3104

10th March, 1993

J. Lagu, Esq.,
96 Gunnersbury Avenue,
London W5 4HB

Dear Joseph,

First, my apologies for the long delay in this reply to your enquiry last month. The matter has been under consideration at Lambeth because (as you will well know) of the political sensitivity of the present situation.

Yesterday I had a conversation with Canon Roger Symon, the Secretary for Anglican Communion Affairs, who works on the Archbishop's personal staff and he warmly encouraged me to suggest to you that you write to him, asking to meet him. That, he believes, would be the most appropriate next step in this matter. By all means mention my name but there is no particular need to do so as I shall be sending him a copy of this letter.

His address is: Canon Roger Symon,
Lambeth Palace,
LONDON SE1 7JU

Again, I apologise for the delay but I hope this approach may prove fruitful.

My warmest good wishes to you, your wife, and the children.

*Yours sincerely,
Michael*

cc: Canon R. Symon

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd., Hon. D.Litt.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. • Tel. 081 992 9460 • Fax 081 993 2769

Mr. Nelson Mandela,
President of African
National Congress (ANC),
Johannesburg,
South Africa.

20 May 1993

Dear Sir,

For you to know who is writing, I enclose my curriculum vitae.

I have been in your country, invited by my colleagues in Moral Re-Armament (MRA) in South Africa, to attend a conference at Graaff-Reneit over Easter Holidays. The purpose for the invitation was to share my experiences of peace-making and reconciliation, as I had been involved in the peace process that resulted in peace accord between the South and the North of Sudan negotiated and signed at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in March 1972. While in South Africa, my friends intended to arrange for me meetings with political leaders possibly including yourself. I was there from 7 to 30 April 1993.

Because of the series of sad events, in particular the assassination of Chris Hani, the death of Oliver Tambo and problems that followed for you from those, both being your close senior colleagues in struggle, it was felt not to bother you any further under the circumstances by seeking an appointment for me with you. I then thought and suggested to my friends in South Africa that I would write to you instead on my return to U.K. where I am based at the moment. I thought that perhaps some observations by an outsider expressed in a letter might interest you.

During my three weeks stay, I travelled widely in the country, by air and on the road. I talked to many people across the racial divide and political persuasions. I lived in the different locations; with white friends in 'white suburbs', and with black friends in 'black townships'. I met people of various standards, social status, and walks of life.

Some people asked me why I came there? My answer to those: "I come from a trouble-torn country myself. My experience in life is that the one in need feels the needs of others better than the one not in need. And the one in trouble understands the problems of others better. I sympathise with the people of South Africa in that context, at this delicate situation in the history of their country. I would wish that the crisis that followed Independence in my country Sudan, and still continues, does not repeat itself in South Africa. I come to say, 'Friends learn from our mistakes, don't allow trouble to come to your country. Your country is the most developed in both natural and human resources

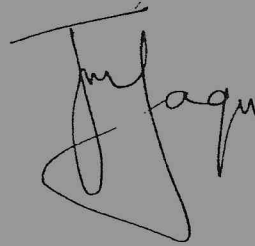
They would be glad to see you put your efforts together rather than competing.

Finally I wish to mention that as an official of my country, though on a private visit, my Government encouraged me to go on with the visit to South Africa and contributed towards my travel expenses, as a token of their good intentions and concern for your country.

May I wish you all success in building the new South Africa, non-racial and fully democratic.

Please accept my high esteem and regards for your leadership of ANC and soon maybe the entire nation of South Africa.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu'. The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial 'J' and a long, horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Joseph Lagu, Lt. Gen., Retd., Hon. D.Litt.
Roving Ambassador, Republic of Sudan.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd., Hon. D.Litt.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. . Tel. 081 992 9460 . Fax 081 993 2769

8th October 1993

H.E. Sayed Ali Osman Mohamed Taha,
Minister of Social Planning,
Khartoum, Sudan.

Dear Brother Ali Osman,

It was a pleasure to meet you at the Embassy here in London, on your way back to the Sudan during your recent visit abroad. I am deeply encouraged by your genuine concern about the situation in our country, and by your zeal to resolve our internal problems.

You will remember that I stressed the need to end the current civil strife through negotiations, and to do everything possible to stop the killing going on in our country through this unwanted prolonged war. That will remain my commitment until peace is attained.

You and I agree that we the Sudanese have the responsibility to make that peace among ourselves. Yet we also need backing from any impartial friends we can find in other countries.

Through the assistance of your friend Peter Everington and others, I have located some British people who seriously wish to help us in the Sudan attain peace. Some of them are prominent in public life, others are long-term friends of the Sudan who in times past have given valuable service to our country. They do not take sides with any of our political groups, and they are against unfair pressure on the Sudanese. They seek no recognition for themselves but, as friends of Sudan, they feel that Britain has a continuing moral responsibility for our situation.

Earlier this week I talked with three of these people over lunch. One of them is a former Government Minister, with extensive political connections. I spoke to him about you as someone he should meet. I described you as a politician with great responsibilities who listens carefully to other people and has an instinct for peace.

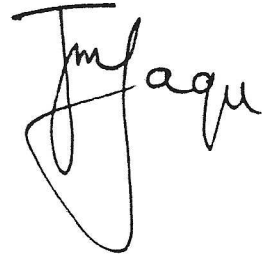
This man has now offered to host a private occasion outside London, where you could talk in total confidence with a significant group of concerned British people. They would listen to you with respect, and together we could think what they might most helpfully do. It would be useful to you to meet such people and, by God's grace, it would be of great benefit to the Sudan.

In this instance you could come to Britain as if on a private visit. I am of the opinion that this move should be kept confidential. It would also be necessary to give these British friends enough notice to keep their diaries free for such a meeting.

I shall wait to hear from you before I proceed any further. In the meantime may I conclude with very warm regards.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu'. The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial 'J' and a cursive 'Lagu'.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB. Fax: 081 248 9217

1st March 1994

Senator Claiborne Pell.

Dear Senator,

I am writing at the suggestion of Ambassador Francis Kellogg to pass on some insights which I discussed with him during my January visit to New York.

South Africa is rushing towards anarchy. It may be too late for remedial measures. During my visit there in April 1993 I pleaded against holding elections before a national consensus was reached.

One of the basic problems is that Chief Buthelezi feels marginalised. He reckons he has worked for the black African cause over many years, but has now been upstaged by Mandela. He ran an integrated state system for his people long before the ANC came near government, but is now expected to dismantle it. Mandela, while in prison, received Buthelezi's support. Now the ANC are trying to woo Inkatha members away from him to divide the Zulus. Why should he take part in an election he is destined to lose? And how much value is put on the human rights or the life of a loser in an African election?

Is it too late?

One option is to postpone the elections, even for a short time, until a truly African consensus is reached. In my letter to Mandela (copy enclosed) I described the process of our traditional consensus. I believe that option is still open, even at this late hour. I have seen the damage caused by rushing into elections in my own country in 1955, when we could have waited longer to settle fears on both sides, South and North of Sudan.

The longer term need is for the ANC, the National Party, and the wider world to give Chief Buthelezi his due honour. Should he not be officially invited by President Clinton and other world leaders? His dignity, and the dignity of his people, are more important than their short term political gain.

May I say how much I appreciate your brotherly concern for the wellbeing of my continent.

Your sincerely,

Joseph Lagu, Lt. Gen. (retd.).

1995

~~1995~~

Dear Mr President,

The recent ministerial changes in Sudan have raised the hopes of many potential friends of Sudan to believe that you are preparing the ground for a political dispensation which will open the door to national reconciliation.

This theme of reconciliation is becoming a powerful expectation as it establishes a reputation for itself as a resource for realistic and forward-looking politics. Ever since the reconciliation between France and Germany, Western Europe has become a dynamic power for the world dialogue of peace. It was Western Europe which maintained the dynamism of hope which finally broke down the Marxist strongholds of Eastern Europe. There are still many problems and many social excesses in Europe, but there is also a dynamic quest for an enlightened world where religious and cultural values of Asia and Africa will find respect and appreciation.

It is impossible to live long in Europe without feeling in one's heart the value of a dynamic bridge between the peoples of Sudan and the peoples of Europe. It is with this perspective that I come to comment on the expectations generated by the recent ministerial changes. I believe there will be a decisive improvement in Sudanese relations with the wider world community when further steps are taken towards national reconciliation in our country.

If you were to ask me the practical down-to-earth question what

would you, Joseph Lagu do? I would make two points in reply. Firstly, I would urge renewed overtures for peace with the South on a basis which offers autonomy within a structure of a national government, *for the Southern States collectively similar to the Addis Ababa Agreement* Secondly, I would allow my political opponents the right to exercise their views in peaceful advocacy without the over-burden of detainment. In this respect I would make an immediate gesture by allowing Sadiq Al-Mahdi? to have the comfort of his own home and the freedom of his conscience. Such gestures could have a dynamic impact and would be seen as the practical fruit of your initiative in reconstructing the government.

I commend these thoughts to you in deepest respect for the heavy duties you bear as the leader of Sudan.

I am

Yours respectfully,

Joseph Lagu

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd., Hon. D.Litt.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K.. Tel. 0181 248 9216 Fax 0181 248 9217

Mohamed El Murtada Mustaffa
P.O. Box 6097
Harare, ZIMBABWE.

21 June 1995

Dear Brother Mohamed,

I hope you have arrived well and received my hurriedly hand written letter dated 17 June 1995. Now that my computer is back, I wish to elaborate on the letter further.

In this endeavour, I refer to a phrase commonly used in the military - "As you were," in Arabic *kama kunta*. In a drill exercise, when the commander wants to move his unit to the left, and instead, orders "right turn," he corrects the situation by saying: "as you were." The troops return to the previous position. He then orders, "left turn" to move them to the direction he intended. It is healthy when an error is realised and corrected.

In our political situations, I believe in a return to previous situation in two instances. One is the issue of the Head of State and the other is the South-North relations. I am convinced that we shall have the necessary peace for an interim period during which we shall continue to discuss the future.

Head of state

This issue will be resolved by a return to the Supreme Council of State rotating chairmanship, as was the case at Independence in 1956. A 3-man Council will be cheaper and simpler, whereas 5-man Council would provide wider representation.

Since it is now clear that neither South nor North is homogeneous, the South would be represented in the 5-man Council by two men; one representing the Nilotic peoples and the other the Sudanic ethnic groups. In the North, the three men might be drawn from the East, the Centre and the West to ensure equitable representation. That way no area of the Sudan would feel marginalised.

South-North relations

A return to the Addis Ababa Agreement in its initial form will hit two birds with one stone. It will ease South-North relations as well as restore the distinct identities of the three Southern Provinces that will share common services in a Southern Regional Government. It is to be recalled that the Addis Ababa Agreement brought the three Southern Provinces under one regional government without dissolving the administrative format of the three provinces. It simply replaced the co-ordinating authority of Khartoum by the High Executive Council in Juba.

If the idea of a return to the Addis Ababa Agreement is accepted, the future of SPLA, SSILA or any other factions of the liberation (rebel) movements will have to be treated the same way as was the Anya-nya. The commanders will choose to remain in the armed forces as I did, or opt for

political positions. In no way can they be in both at the same time. A precedent for this was set in 1972 and has to be followed.

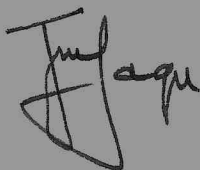
As regards to the other six provinces of the North, I suggest a return to the Regional Government Act of 1980 as an interim arrangement. 5 years will suffice for this period.

The option for a referendum in the South to determine its future, whether to remain in union with the North or go its own way, is to remain open.

I shall appreciate your comment and any additional points that will enable me to work further on the idea. I plan to make it my next contribution for the peace initiative. I hope to hear from you.

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu'. The signature is stylized with a large, looped 'J' and 'L'.

Joseph Lagu



وزارة الخارجية الخطوط

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

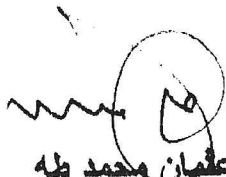
الوزير

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السيد السفير المتجول جوزيف لاقو
بواسطة السيد السفير - لندن
السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ،

تسلمنا بمزيد من الشكر الرسالة التي بعثتم بها للسيد رئيس الجمهورية وقمنا باجراء
اللازم نحوها . واذ نفضل اليكم تقدير السيد الرئيس لما احتوته رسالتكم من أفكار هامة فاننا
نشكركم على هذه المساهمة وما تضمنته من اراء صريحة وجيدة نؤكد لكم أنها ستكون
موضع اهتمامنا وبالله التوفيق .

لكم تحياتنا وتقديرنا ،


على عثمان محمد طه
وزير الخارجية

11 Sept 1995
Reply to T. Lagan from Foreign Minister Ali Osama Muhammad Tarab
with thanks for President for FH letter

Lambeth Palace London SE1 7JU

From the Archbishop of Canterbury's Secretary for Anglican Communion Affairs
The Revd Canon Andrew Deuchar

1 November 1995

AD/FM

Lieutenant-General Joseph Lagu Rtd Hon.D.Litt
96 Gunnersbury Avenue
London
W5 4HB

Dear General Lagu,

The Archbishop was most grateful to receive your letter of 28 September, which arrived just in time for me to be able to show it to him as he left for his visit to Sudan.

I know that you have followed his visit with great interest, and he was grateful for the way in which you made your points. I hope that you feel that he was able to represent the concerns of ordinary Sudanese people, regardless of their religious background.

For your interest, I enclose a copy of the report which we produced on the visit and if you have anything further you would like to discuss, having read that report, do please make contact with me. I hope that it will be possible at some point in the not too distant future to be able to fix up a meeting between yourself and the Archbishop.

Thank you again for writing. The Archbishop was most grateful for your support and advice.

It was so good to meet you at the Sudanese Embassy.

Yours ever,

Andrew Deuchar

Enc

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd., Hon. D.Litt.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K.. Tel. 0181 248 9216 Fax 0181 248 9217

29 February 1996

His Excellency,
Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan al-Bashir
President of the Republic of Sudan.
The Palace, Khartoum.
Through the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr President,

I remember with genuine warmth the response our Foreign Minister made to my letter of 31 August 1995. I have given much thought since to my suggestion that the time has come for an initiative for peace in our country. I was glad to have the chance for further discussions with Sayed Ali Osman Mohamed Taha, when he passed through London in January.

I indicated to the Foreign Minister that I intended to pay a visit to New York in connection with Moral Re-Armament and its work at the United Nations. The MRA Office in New York provides liaison between Moral Re-Armament, the diplomatic missions as well as the United Nations Secretariat. The significance of Moral Re-Armament's international work has attracted the attention of intellectuals, as a result of a book entitled Religion the Missing Dimension of Statecraft. This book which impressed the Archbishop of Canterbury, who made specific reference to it in his address in Khartoum and at Al Azhar University, is published by the Oxford University Press. It is the product of a study sponsored by the Center for Strategic and International Studies. It takes the United States' State Department to task for its failure to understand sensitively the importance of religious cultures which guide nations in the making of national policy. The secularization of international diplomacy leads to a failure, the book argues, to appreciate the value and contribution made to the human condition by the great religious traditions.

My visit to New York coincided with the Security Council decision to support the Ethiopian request for the extradition of those allegedly involved in

the attempted assassination of President Mubarak. At the same time the Secretary-General's office announced that the amount of the humanitarian assistance needed to compensate for the effects of the war in Sudan was over \$100 million for 1996. These developments throw into sharp focus the need for urgent action to establish the reputation of Sudan as a land dedicated to peace in a world torn by misunderstanding and conflict. I found that when I mentioned the need for action to be taken to establish a peace process, there was a lively and sympathetic interest in any initiative that the Sudanese might take in this direction. Amongst those I talked to was Ambassador Legwaila of Botswana, a member of the Security Council, who assumes the Presidency of the Security Council next month. He said it would be a good thing for the UN to have news of such an initiative. I was led to read into this that a serious proposal from the government of Sudan for a peace process, whilst it did not involve the Security Council, would nevertheless have a beneficial impact on the way the Council would look at the extradition resolution.

With this in mind, I formally put forward to you the proposition that you invite me to open up a dialogue between the government and the leadership of the Southern movement conducting the war. I hold the view that Sudan should be a federation of equals, North and South. The powers that are shared between South and North should be in balance and give considerable authority to each, so that the regional institutions responsible for cultural and educational development have ample opportunity to flourish in order to sustain basic religious and cultural identities. It is clear that the time has come when each culture needs to live within institutional arrangements which respect the other's concerns. This I believe is the heart of the matter which has brought the two communities into conflict and which needs to be addressed in the new constitution.

As I said in my letter to you, the decision to impose Sharia law throughout the Sudan was not a decision of your government, but of President Nimeiri. Unfortunately, the international community do not understand this. Whenever I make the point it is greeted with surprise. I do not think you should feel required to insist on something you did not initiate. It follows that, if you too share this opinion, action needs to be taken to clarify the situation in a meaningful way. If you were to endorse an initiative for a peace process, such action, I suggest, will answer criticism in the international community. If I knew of any person, other than myself, who could discharge with authority this responsibility of developing a dialogue of peace, I would

propose him. The truth is, I believe my position as a former leader of the Southern Sudanese cause and its reconciliation with the North in the Addis Ababa Agreement in March 1972, gives me a unique perspective in efforts to return the country to peace.

It was a sad day, and one for which you were not responsible, when that agreement was breached. Since then the country has known little but war and poverty. Is it not time that we revisit the principles on which this agreement was based? Of course, special arrangements would need to be put in place to enlist the confidence in the South to resume a solution modeled on Addis Ababa. But I believe it is the only alternative and commend it to you.

I believe there is still room to find a solution to the South-North conflict within the one Sudan. A point I have consistently talked about since the early 1980s is that a decentralized South should be linked to the North through a single authority. I would wish such an idea to become part of any emerging peace formula.

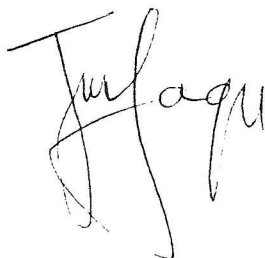
Therefore I propose that you agree to appoint me as an emissary to explore the constitutional development of Sudan on the basis of principles embodied in the Addis Ababa Agreement. I would appreciate it if you would consider most carefully my proposition and let me know how you feel about it.

With my many co-patriots in North and South, I share this vision of a Sudan at peace and direct my prayers to that end.

Your Excellency, please accept the assurance of my highest esteem and respect for your office as President of our beloved country, the Sudan.

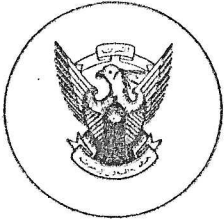
I remain,

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu'. The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial 'J' and 'L'.

Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador





الرئيس

الأثنين: ٢٨ شوال ١٤١٦ هـ

18 March '96

الموافق: ١٨ مارس ١٩٩٦ م

سعادة السفير الفريق (م) جوزيف لاقو

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته..

يطيب لي - إبتداءً - أن أتقدم لك بالشكر الجزيل على خطابكم بتاريخ ٢٩ فبراير ١٩٩٦ والذي يعبر عن إهتمامك الكبير بشأن الوطن وحرصك على بسط السلام في ربوعه كافة. وإنني إذ أشيد بروحكم الوطنية الطيبة وسعيكم الإيجابي لدفع عملية السلام التي تنتظم البلاد حاليا أرجو مخلصا أن تستمر هذه الجهود وأن يتصل إسهامكم في الدعوة للسلام وتوسيع دوائره داخل وخارج البلاد وإنني على ثقة كبيرة بأن إسهامكم في عملية السلام سيدفع مسيرتنا القاصدة خطوات إلى الأمام أقول ذلك وأنا أذكر لكم دوركم الريادي والتاريخي في عملية السلام بالسودان والذي يشهد له العالم بأجمعه. أما فيما يتصل برغبتكم في القيام بمبادرة سلام تستند على المبادئ والمضامين التي إشتملت عليها إتفاقية أديس أبابا للعام ١٩٧٢، فسيتم النظر في هذا الأمر ودراسته بجدية وإفادتكم حالما إكتملت هذه العملية. وفقنا الله جميعا لما فيه خير الوطن.

وتقبل خالص التحايا والتقدير...

الفريق الركن

عمر حسن أحمد البشير

رئيس الجمهورية

Beshir reply to Lagu letter of 29 Feb

10 June 96

Fax to ALMONDS GRIFFITHS LANCASTERS 00 1 212 750 9114
from EVERINGTON, c/o LAGU: 00 44 181 248 9217

Dear Friends,

Joseph returned to London June 7. He and Amna ask me to thank you very much for your prayers, which have been answered, and for the messages of encouragement.

Joseph wants you and other MRA friends to see the enclosed Plan of Work which he agreed with his Government in Khartoum, and the Report on Arrival in UK which he has since sent to them.

He says that when he was in Khartoum in 1993 the tune of the Government was Jihad, echoed by radio and TV. Now it is Salaam. Joseph had straight talks with the President and Foreign Minister among others, and found them fully supportive of his approach. With their knowledge he visited opposition leaders Sadiq El Mahdi and Abel Alier. He emphasised throughout that he seeks no position for himself, but that the "elder statesmen" must at all costs work for peace.

Each day in Khartoum started for him with quiet time and discussion with one of the Anglican bishops.

Ahmed El Mahdi also has been taking us into confidence at meetings in London and Oxford. He looks forward to another long talk with Joseph before he (Ahmed) goes for his daughter's graduation in Jordan, where he will be guest of the King.

Joseph asks for his friends' continuing prayers.

Best to you all,

Plan of work, May-August 1996.

Leave Khartoum for London Friday 7 June 1996

In London will seek appointment for audience with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Catholic Primate of England, Cardinal Hume. Purpose is to enlist the Churches' support for the peace initiative.

Visit Dr Chol Dau Ding in Norwich to arrange possible meeting with Dr John Garang, and from there proceed to Arbedeen, Scotland to meet William Chriton, former Secondary School Headmaster at Rumbek, Southern Sudan and Mbarara, Uganda.

Seek visa to travel to Kampala, Uganda to attend enthronement of Bishop Wilson Arop, ECS Bishop for the diocese of Torit.

Explore the possibility of going to Dar es Salaam to seek audience with the veteran politician, Mualimu Julius Nyerere. The purpose is to enthuse him to take interest in the peace process in our country and to use his influence to normalise relations between Sudan and Uganda.

Return to London via Khartoum and submit report of work to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

9-16 August at Caux, Switzerland to attend 50th anniversary of founding of Morale Re-Armament Centre at Caux.

September 1996 proposed visit to Sudan with Peter Everington, possibly to be joined by David and Allan Channer.



Lt. Gen. (Retired) Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd., Hon. D.Litt.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K.. Tel. 0181 248 9216 Fax 0181 248 9217

18th June 1996

H.E. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere,
through H.E. Mr. A.A. Shareef,
Tanzanian High Commission,
43 Hertford Street,
London W1Y 8DB.

Your Excellency,

This letter brings fraternal greetings to you in your retirement, and the hope that you and your family are enjoying good health. Sadly not many African leaders have retired from office voluntarily, with the blessing of being able to live quietly and peacefully in their own country. In my addresses to African and other audiences, I often quote your good example in this respect, together with the harmony you brought between Zanzibaris and Tanganyikans, and between Muslims and Christians.

There is a risk of disturbing your well deserved quiet and peace, for I write to request a favour. It is that you lend your wisdom to the task of bringing peace to my country Sudan, at this moment of urgent need and particular opportunity.

You might remember that I met you in Juba during your visit to the Sudan around mid-1970s following the inception of a regional government in South Sudan. From 1967 I was the military and political commander of the Anya-Nya army fighting the Sudan Government. In 1972 the moment came to sign the Addis Ababa Agreement, which restored peace to our country for a decade. In 1972-1976 I was integrating my former guerrillas into the national army. Later 1978 I became President of the High Executive Council (Chairman of South Sudan Regional Government), and then Vice-President of the Republic in 1982. At present I am based in London as Roving Ambassador, with a mandate from my Government to lay lines for a resolution to Sudan's present civil war.

There are indications that the Sudan Government, beset by so many disasters, wishes to find the way to bring about a comprehensive peace. Leaders of the SPLA, conscious of their people's dreadful sufferings, are perhaps ready to make their own new contribution to reconciliation in our part of Africa. My personal conviction, as a former fighter and peacemaker, and even more as a convinced Christian, is that this is the moment to go all out for a just peace, whatever it is going to cost.

May I draw your attention to the enclosed document "Plan of Work June-August 1996". This has been endorsed by the President of Sudan and by the Foreign Minister, with whom I had talks on my recent visit to Khartoum. They are particularly glad that I wish to consult someone of your proven statesmanship. This view has also been supported by representatives of the SPLA during discussions in London since my return from Sudan.

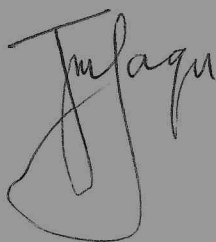
Strengthened by such encouragement from both sides in Sudan's conflict, I make bold to ask Your Excellency if I may come to visit you soon in Tanzania. I wish to lay before you the newest facts of our Sudan situation, and to seek your thinking. Between 1963 and 1972, as a South Sudanese guerrilla organiser, I moved through the countries of East Africa constantly seeking military and political aid against my then enemy, the Khartoum Government. I am not blind to the grievances of my South Sudanese people that have to be addressed today. But now we need a new statesmanship which will show the world that our whole region is capable of working together on a larger canvas of peaceful development. This is going to take a God-guided leadership of the bravest hearts and humblest spirits. You are widely known for these instincts, and I feel the need to consult with you on what needs to be done practically in our Sudanese situation. I feel certain that you will have valuable advice to give me. Perhaps also you may think of some initiative you could yourself take which would prove to be of decisive value.

If you agree to receive me, as I strongly hope, I could arrange to come to you for two days in the last week of June or the first week of July. For further information, I enclose my curriculum vitae and two speeches I delivered on different occasions during a recent visit to South Africa in which I quoted your achievement in public life.

Your Excellency I can be reached through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Khartoum or through the Sudan Embassy London or even direct through my residence address above.

I conclude with the warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', written in a cursive style.

Joseph Lagu,
Lieutenant General (Retired).
Roving Ambassador for Republic of Sudan.

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Lt. Gen. (Retired) Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador.

A Brief Report following my return from the Sudan

1. On arrival at the family residence in London on Friday 7 June 1996, I followed my plan of work. Consequently I telephoned Dr Chol Dau Ding to arrange a meeting with him for my plans to meet with Dr John Garang, Chairman of SPLM/A. I proposed to visit Dr Ding in Norwich but instead he offered to come to me in view of my jet lag.

So at 18.00 Saturday, 8 June Dr Ding arrived at my place and reported that Colonel Garang could easily meet me anywhere at a personal level. In view of our long acquaintance. However, on the official side, Dr Ding reported that Colonel John Garang proposed that:

i/ any message from the Government relating to comprehensive peace moves has to go through the Chairman of IGADD. There is no reason, he said, why the Chairman of IGADD, H.E. Daniel arap Moi cannot meet me, Ambassador Joseph Lagu, if I come to Nairobi as an envoy of the Government, since there is genuine desire from the Government to re-activate serious peace process.

ii/ copies of the letter to the Chairman of IGADD will have to go to the other members of IGADD and the current Chairman of OAU.

iii/ the Chairman of IGADD will take the necessary steps as he deems appropriate in consultation with me, Joseph Lagu, the Sudan Government envoy.

iv/ Dr Ding said, Colonel Garang's repeated question is: "Why does the Sudan Government obstruct peace?" Dr Ding said that Colonel Garang does not elaborate on this point and hopes to clarify that point with me when I meet him.

I reported the above discussions to Ambassador Omer Bireedo to be communicated to Khartoum.

2. Following the discussions with Dr Ding, I requested appointments through the Sudan Embassy to meet the East African High Commissioners accredited to the Court of St. James and started the process to obtain visas from those High Commissions in accordance to my work plan. I also asked the Sudan Embassy to contact the offices of the two leading churchmen in UK: the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Hume, because I want to meet the Church leaders and entuse them to take interest and support the new peace moves in the Sudan.
3. The meeting with the Ugandan High Commissioner, Professor George Kirya, took place at 11 am, Thursday, 13 June. The High Commissioner received me warmly in his office. I told him that I wanted to go to Uganda to attend the enthronement of the ECS Bishop of the Diocese of Torit, Bishop Wilson Arop whose Diocese I belong to

and who is currently living and working amongst his flock who are themselves refugees in Uganda.

The High Commissioner acknowledged that I have a strong reason to want to go to Uganda. He told me however, that will not be easy to obtain a visa for me with my diplomatic passport at the moment, the two countries having no diplomatic relations. He said, "If you asked for a visa quietly without involving your diplomatic mission and came with a normal passport, we would have quietly given you the visa, because the movement of the people have not been affected by severing the diplomatic relations. But having asked for a visa through the Sudan Embassy with a diplomatic passport, I have to refer the matter to Kampala. I cannot tell what will be the response under the circumstance, and with the new situation brought about by the security Council resolution imposing sanctions on the Sudan. I fear the response from Kampala may be negative."

In deed that became so, my passport was returned from Uganda High Commission without a visa, and with no explanation.

4. The meeting with the Tanzanian High Commissioner was at 2 pm Friday, 14 June. The High Commissioner, A.A. Shareef, a Zanzibari, received me with warmth. He enquired about the nature of the conflict in the Sudan, if it has any religious bearings. I could not give him a clear answer but acknowledged that there are cultural issues involved. He said that religion should be avoided in politics as much as possible. He then asked: "What is your reason for seeking an appointment with me?" My answer, "I am an admirer of your retired President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. I have made references in my presentations at Moral Re-Armament Conferences drawing attention of my audience to the good examples set up by him. Much recently I mentioned his name in two speeches I delivered in South Africa. I expressed my admiration of him for the manner he led his nation to independence and ruled it without crises until his voluntary retirement, quite unusual practice in Africa and commended the way he united Zanzibar with mainland Tanganyika and the way he achieved harmony between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania." I told the High Commissioner that I am seeking a way for an audience with the veteran politician and wish to enthuse him to take interest in our situation so that we in the Sudan could benefit from his experiences and wisdom."

I then presented to the High Commissioner copies of my two speeches which I delivered lately in South Africa in which I commended the work of H.E. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. The High Commissioner advised me to write a letter to Mwalimu which he will send with those other papers. I agreed to write the letter and send it to him through the Sudan Embassy. That I did. Below is the text of the letter:

5. The meeting with the Kenya High Commissioner, H.E. Mwanengela Ngali, took place at 11 am Thursday, 20 June 1996. After a cordial exchange of greetings I briefed him on the recent peace moves in the Sudan. I then told him the role I believe Kenya can play, with the Kenyan President as Chairman of the IGADD group of countries mandated to help the Sudanese resolve their conflicts, especially the conflict between the South and the North. He looked sceptical.

Appreciating the situation, I told the High Commissioner that I know the issue has become difficult, especially after two of the IGADD states severed diplomatic relations with the Sudan. I then suggested that his President can perhaps act under a new initiative, a Kenyan initiative. He expressed doubt and asked, "Is the Sudan Government serious? My President will not wish to get involved in a situation where the principal partner in the conflict is not serious."

He went on and said, I learned that your government has asked Mozambique to negotiate, in other word seeking the replacement of IGADD with a Mozambican initiative. Why not hold on to the new initiative then?" "I have not heard of the Mozambican initiative. I only heard of a Malawi mediation between Sudan and Uganda following severing of diplomatic relations between the two countries, I replied." He smiled, looked down and asked, "Will those opposed to the government accept your mediation, you being an ambassador of the government?" "I have been in contact with Colonel John Garang and he seems to be willing to meet me. I feel my calling is to narrow the gap between government and the movement factions and pave the way for a meaningful peace process. I am not really mediating," I replied.

He then went on expressing his feelings and said, "The Southern Sudanese have been suffering under the Khartoum Government for a long time. Since my school days we have seen Southern Sudanese refugees. I attended classes with some of the student refugees and now I see among those men as refugees again. This has to come to an end."

He indicated that the meeting was over. I thanked him for receiving me in his office and for his sympathy for the plight of the Southern Sudanese of whom I am one. He accompanied me to the door and bade me farewell.

6. I informed Sayed Omer Bireedo of my meeting with the Kenyan High Commissioner and my impressions. I told Omer that the High Commissioner's sentiments may not be entirely his own. Omer suggested that I write a report on the meeting. I agreed and felt I should make a brief report covering my work since my return from the Sudan on 7 June 1996.

7. Besides the above engagements, I met Southern Sudanese on different occasions:

i/ on Saturday 15 June, I attended the annual meeting of the Sudan Church group at Oak Hill Theological College in North London, where I was asked to brief

the attendants on my recent visit to the Sudan and on the new peace moves there. I did so as required. The attendants listened with great attention. They asked questions to know more of the developments.

ii/ on Sunday 16 June, I attended a Baptism Service at a Church in East London. I was asked at the reception to brief the attendants on my recent visit to the Sudan. I also briefed those about the new peace moves and asked them to back it.

iii/ on Saturday 22 June, I went to Leeds in northern England on invitation by Southern Sudanese in the north who gathered in the city to meet me. They wanted me to brief them as they have heard I briefed those in London. I did so as they required.

iv/ following that I proceeded to Birmingham from Leeds on invitation by Dr Zachariah Bol Deng, son of the paramount chief of the Ngok Dinka of Abyei. He had gathered Southern Sudanese mainly Dinkas at a St. Andrews Church there for a thanksgiving service for life of the last of his father's brothers who had passed away in the Sudan. Dr Deng asked me along other speakers at the occasion to brief the attendants on my recent mission to the Sudan. The other principal speakers were Gordon Muortat and Bona Malual. Gordon spoke first.

He referred to the past Anya-Nya era. He said that he had the impression that I Joseph Lagu in whom they had confidence was going to fight on until the total independence of South Sudan but was dismayed to see me halt the resistance and opted for peace, the peace that did not last after all.

Bona Malual who has been to the Sudan in the SPLA held areas referred to as New Kush (New Sudan), spoke after Gordon. He related the story of his observations during his trip and deplored the tragic state of affairs that he saw during his visit. Earlier at the start of the sitting, he exhibited photographs taken there of himself and some of the visitors, including Baroness Cox and Mubarak El Mahdi. Bona did not make any reference to past events.

When my turn came, at the start I ignored Gordon's reference to the past era. I spoke on the current situation, relating the story of my recent visits to South Africa, Kenya and the Sudan; the new peace moves in the Sudan and why I supported it.

However, in conclusion, I felt to answer Gordon. I said, The peace agreement I signed was supported by the people, it was the peoples' will that I acceded to". If anyone wants to blame me for opting for peace in 1972, let him blame the whole nation.

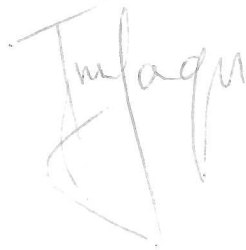
Aldo Ajo Deng stood up after my brief statement and suggested that I answer questions from the audience. He said that the people need to know more about the peace moves. The idea was welcomed by most of the attendants. So I moved to the front to answer questions. I told the gathering that I was capable to answer any questions.

Gordon Muortat left the hall as I answered questions from the inquisitive audience. I presumed he was hurt by the attention the people gave to me, I understood the point. It was too much for him, one who still suffers from the hang over of a previous political defeat.

His march out didn't deviate the attention of the audience. He was followed by his wife and two other women companions of hers. The meeting went on until I asked to leave to catch the train due for London at 20.55, I was glad that people took interest in what I had to talk about - peace.

8. My impression is that the public seem to be prepared for peace. While in Khartoum I observed that people long for peace. I heard and watched young people sing over the TV songs of peace: *Salaam salaam*. In the UK, the Sudanese communities everywhere are keen to hear about the progress of the peace moves. From my observations I feel obliged to recommend that the leadership, not excluding myself, must aim to give the people what they most heartily desire - peace.

Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', written in a cursive style.

Tuesday 27 June 1996.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd., Hon. D.Litt.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K.. Tel. 0181 248 9216 Fax 0181 248 9217

Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali,
Secretary General,
The United Nations,
New York.

5th July 1996,

Dear Mr Secretary General,

I am writing to put on the record the reason for my recent visit to Khartoum, which has been given considerable local publicity.

During my visit to New York last January I was impressed by the need to create the fabric of a new relationship between Sudan and the international community. Sudan needs peace. The United Nations spends over \$100 million in humanitarian assistance to compensate the ravages of war. In this spirit of concern I wrote to President Omer Hassan al-Bashir. Enclosed is a copy of that letter. The President replied in friendly terms, and I enclose also a copy of his letter. I felt encouraged by the President's response, and by other news I had been receiving from Khartoum. It was this that motivated me to visit Khartoum after a gap of three years.

My assessment is that the leadership of Sudan is looking sincerely towards a negotiated settlement. As a friend and former commander of Col John Garang, a principal party to the conflict, I feel a sense of calling to act as a mediator in this situation. There is an urgent need for me to visit the leadership in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. This is necessary to establish their confidence in the initiative that is unfolding.

I realise that the UN Security Council has placed a high priority on the Government of Sudan establishing its bona fides on the matter of international law enforcement. I would hope that the pursuit of this goal is not taken in such a way as to preclude support for action to exploit the window of opportunity which now exists to get the parties to the war into negotiation. I would like your considered support and advice. I am glad to note that President Bashir was invited by President Hosni Mubarak to the Arab Summit in Cairo. I am sure that this will do much to encourage the leadership in Sudan to establish constructive links with the international community.

I therefore hope that you will take steps to ensure that your staff monitor developments in a way which will help you determine how best you can assist my fledgling peace efforts. I feel the need for such encouragement and support.

At the moment my peace effort has on it a personal stamp which, if it meets initial success, may well call for some recognition by your office. I would want you to know that I retain the highest respects for you and your colleague Mr Marrack Goulding.

The letters I wrote to you on leaving my former post in New York in 1992 when I made my services available to the UN in areas where I may contribute, remain sincere in their intention, and I look forward to the day when a close association with the work of the United Nations can be resumed.

Your Excellency I wish you success in your endeavour to seek a second term as Secretary General of the United Nations so that you complete the programme of reforms you started at the organisation's headquarters and institutions.

I conclude with the best of regards.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', with a large, stylized flourish underneath.

Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador for
Republic of the Sudan.



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

23 July 1996

Dear General Lagu,

I should like to thank you for your letter of 5 July 1996 on the conflict in the Sudan and for the kind words you have addressed to me.

As you are aware, the United Nations is not directly involved in the efforts to help resolve the conflict in the Sudan. It has, however, continued to support the peace initiative of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to facilitate a resumption of the peace talks among the Sudanese parties. I have noted with interest your assessment that the leadership in the Sudan is sincere about a negotiated settlement to the conflict in the country. I hope that this will lead to an early resumption of substantive negotiations between the concerned parties.

Last April, the Security Council adopted resolution 1054 (1996) by which it demanded that the Government of Sudan take immediate action to ensure extradition to Ethiopia of the three suspects wanted in connection with the assassination attempt on President Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa, and to desist from engaging in activities of assisting, supporting and facilitating terrorist activities and from giving shelter and sanctuary to terrorist elements. It is of the utmost importance that the Government of Sudan take the measures necessary to implement this resolution. The measures that the Council has imposed against the Sudan may be strengthened if the Government fails to comply.

Lieutenant General Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador for the
Republic of Sudan
London
United Kingdom

The United Nations will continue to provide humanitarian assistance, particularly through Operation Lifeline Sudan, to those in need in the country. On this matter too, the cooperation of the Government of Sudan has not been entirely forthcoming and every effort is being made to secure its full cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Boutros Boutros-Ghali". The signature is written in a cursive, somewhat stylized script.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd., Hon. D.Litt.

96 Ginnery Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K., Tel. 0181 248 9216 Fax 0181 248 9217

Notes for the Foreign Minister

30 October 1996

Your Excellency,

I have enjoyed my visit to our country and to Kenya though the visit to the latter was very brief.

I have noticed great changes in outlook for the better in everybody I have spoken to. God Almighty no doubt is having compassion on our suffering people and may soon listen to our cry that I put in these words:

ربنا أرسل البركة في بلدنا
جدد الخير في أرضنا
ربنا أسرع الى نجدتنا
اجعلهم اليك يعبدون
اجعلهم اياك يعبدون
وَبِسْلاَمٍ فِي الْبِلَادِ يَقِيْمُونَ
ربنا بارك شعوبنا

I have these words of advice to give:

1. The momentum of peace process is to be maintained and speeded up to a peace accord though only with the movement factions that signed the peace charter, while hand of brotherhood remains extended to those still reluctant to get on board the wagon of peace.
2. Relation with neighbouring Republic of Kenya is to be maintained and further strengthened by frequent contacts between the leaders. I recommend that our brother Dr Hassan Abdallah Al-Turabi seeks audience with H.E.

Daniel arap Moi the President of Kenya. It seems to me the latter needs acquaintance a little deeper with the former.

Further I feel it is incumbent upon me to state these observations:

It seems to me that the NDA of which the SPLM/A is now a part are preparing for an offensive in the dry season possibly from three main fronts:

From the South, East and North East; with a special force to be directed towards the oil fields. The operations may be launched concurrently. The task of the force in North East is to disrupt communications with the Port and draw the armed forces towards the North to defend the capital, while that from the East to race to the Nile and disrupt the River Transport. That will give chance to the main force to move from the South and gain ground and possibly take Torit or Juba. The NDA may then declare a rival government to that in Khartoum.

I feel to alert the government of these observations. They may not be the aim of the NDA, but I feel they are planning something to that effect.

Joseph Lagu
Lt. Gen. Retd.
Roving Ambassador.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216, Fax: 0181 248 9217

H.E. Ali Osman Mohamed Taha
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Republic of Sudan
Khartoum, S U D A N.

23 December 1996

Dear Brother Ali,

I am glad that Mr Peter Everington's visit to the Sudan on your kind invitation went through with a measure of excitement. Peter who didn't know that he was going to be honoured returned home thrilled. I was delighted myself on hearing the good news from him. I deeply appreciate the honour conferred on Peter by our government. He deserves it. He devoted his youthful years in the service of our country. It is recognition of that service.

During the annual Moral Re-Armament conference at Caux, Switzerland in August this year, at a special workshop on Africa, some delegates expressed the desire to contribute towards the peace efforts in the Sudan. These friends have been heartened by the way you have encouraged me to be part of a fresh initiative for peace. They hope that one day it might be acceptable for a small international MRA group to visit Sudan and to meet personalities like yourself.

Meanwhile on learning about my visits to the Sudan, our MRA colleagues at the UN office asked if I could come to New York to brief them on the progress of the peace moves in the Sudan. Besides, I had planned to go to New York in January to revise the work on my book being edited by a friend there. The friend informed me that he has completed editing the work and needs me to go over it before it is finally made ready for publication.

Peter is accompanying me, and we plan to go to New York on 15 January 1997 for about two weeks, during which my address shall be the Sudan Mission there. I have talked to Sayed Mohamed El Amin Khalifa about the trip as well, as it touches on the peace issue. Naturally, I am keen for you to know of this visit. I would like to hear from you of further ways in which I can be helpful.

Your Excellency, may I conclude with best wishes for you and our country in the **NEW YEAR.**

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue. London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216. Fax: 0181 248 9217

16 January 1997

H.E. Kofi Annan
United Nations Secretary-General
United Nations Headquarters
New York, N.Y. 10017
U S A

Your Excellency,

I am one of those Africans thrilled by the good news of your election to the top UN executive position. It was Ghana, your country, that effectively led the way on the march to freedom by black Africans by attaining her independence. Through you yet again Ghana gives hope to Africans of rising to positions of significance at international levels. How wonderful! Please accept my heartfelt congratulations.

Africa is passing through serious situations that arouse insecurity and seem to threaten the very existence of some ethnic groups. It is timely to have an African at the top of an international organisation as the UN who understands African problems better than others do at this stage. With that in mind, I wish to draw your attention to the deteriorating situation in the Sudan.

As one who has lived with the problems of my country, I am deeply concerned at seeing the Sudan drift into ruin. It is sliding into an anarchy, similar to what has occurred in former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Liberia; and to some extent, Rwanda and Burundi.

I feel the UN can make a fresh move to prevent the Sudan from sliding into total chaos. I observe that all parties to the conflict are experiencing war fatigue. In these circumstances I assess that, to save their face, the respective leaders may heed the voice of a new Secretary-General of the United Nations, one whose prestige is not tarnished by any fault or prejudice. Each side first needs safeguards to release them from the fear of humiliating defeat. If they are then pressed to see the need for a compromise solution, positive responses may be signalled from the various camps and from Khartoum. As one who once fought in a war commanding the south, and then made peace with the north, I believe I can be instrumental now in contributing towards a compromise solution, the only option open. Yet as a roving ambassador with the incumbent administration, I am not regarded as neutral by some elements in the opposition.

Nevertheless, I do enjoy the respect of leading personalities in government, some of northern opposition leaders, as well as some leaders of factions of the southern liberation movement. I was appointed roving ambassador by the government that preceded the

present one, by Prime Minister Sadiq El Mahdi who is now in opposition. The present administration retained me on the job and subsequently sent me to New York as head of Sudan Mission to the UN for 17 months. Thereafter I resumed the position of roving ambassador again which I hold till now. The leading characters in the conflict know that I hold my own views as how to resolve the conflict. They are aware of the experience I gained from the 1972 peace settlement between south and north in the Sudan, which I signed with former President, Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri.

Following the election of your predecessor, H.E. Boutros Boutros Ghali, I applied for a UN post in the area of peace-keeping, peace-making or conflict resolution. This was in an attempt to attain the necessary neutral position required of me as I wished then and still do wish to make my services available as a mediator. At that time I sent Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali a letter from my President in Arabic with an English translation, backing my application. I enclose photo-copies of both. Your Excellency, that backing still holds. In the light of this, I wish to renew my application to serve under you. I offer to contribute as a UN official, consultant or adviser; towards the resolution of the conflict in my country, in other parts of Africa, or in the world at large, where similar problems are found.

Your Excellency, I assure you of my whole hearted support and loyalty should you consider me for an appropriate appointment. My CV is already with your staff following my previous application.

May I wish you every success as Secretary-General of the highly esteemed world organisation, the United Nations.

Yours sincerely,

Lt Gen Joseph Lagu (Retd.)
Roving Ambassador
Republic of Sudan.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216, Fax: 0181 248 9217

H.E. Mohamed Al-Amin Khalifa,
Secretary-General
Supreme Council of peace.
Khartoum, SUDAN.

6 February 1997

Dear Brother Khalifa,

I am in receipt of your fax message of 3 February, whereby you kindly conveyed to me the sad news of the death of my dear brother, Jabulon Jada Yanga. My family and I appreciate your sympathy together with those of colleagues in the Supreme Council of Peace. We thank you all. Please kindly tell my brother William to inform the rest of our family in the Sudan that we are holding a memorial service for late Jabulon, here in London on 8 March 1997.

Brother, I am following the events along our eastern borders very closely. Soon it may extend to our borders in the south with Uganda and Zaire, perhaps in a greater scale than in the north-east. This is what I predicted as I assessed the situation following our return from Kenya with you in October last year. I had then given a written note on the situation to Sayed Ali Osman Mohamed Taha, my Minister.

Now a new situation has arisen. North-East Zaire is in the hands of the Bamulenge (Zairean Tutsis), who are actually an extension of the combined Ugandan-Rwandan Tutsi dominated army. That means north-east Zaire is now in the hands of President Museveni of Uganda. One cause for his declaration that the conflict in the Sudan is to be settled in the battlefield. Unfortunately, the Zairean army is not a fighting force to be an ally for our forces, and is continuously in retreat. They have been driven out of Watcha, the principal garrison town close to our borders. The rebellion is seemingly spreading to other parts of Zaire. As I write, news of town after town falling to the rebels there are being broadcast over the BBC world programme. The worsening of the situation in that country is obvious: the big powers will step

in as was the case in the 1960s. America and the Anglo-phone countries on one side, and France with the Franco-phone countries, who will, as in the 60s be the losers on the other side. Zaire will soon be in a chaotic situation and no man's country. With the army in Central African Republic in rebellion against the President there, who is apparently under the protection of the French garrison in Bangui, the whole of our south-west borders will be a free zone for the SPLA to roam about and operate. I advise the government through you, and by this letter to pay attention in that direction. I wrote similar letters to Sayed Mustafa Osman Ismail and Sayed Ali Mohamed Osman Yassin.

I expect the main SPLA thrust from the south to be directed from our borders with Zaire to Western Equatoria, which is already in their control. The opposition will strive to open many fronts to confuse and exhaust the government. Their aim is to make the country ungovernable and arouse the public to rise in rebellion and cause a situation for some units of the armed forces to defect to join their forces. They have repeatedly called them to do so.

I advise continuous contacts with African and other leaders who are observing some measure of neutrality, such as the move our President made with the Kenyan leader. I would encourage sustained political and diplomatic offensives. Besides, I consider voices of moderation, such as the one sounded by Sheikh Zaid, the President of the United Arab Emirates to be worthy of consideration. One wins friends by being flexible. I advise that you, Mohamed Al-Amin Khalifa, who is assigned the task of working for peace to stand firm to see that doors for dialogue are left open by our government. In addition, I advise that the views of moderate politicians, who advocate non-violent methods to resolve the country's standing problems, compatriots like Sayeds Samuel Aru Bol and Al-Sheriff Zein Al-Abdin Al-Hindi be sought. They may contribute in ideas to strengthened the government's move towards a peaceful solution from within without foreign intervention. The nature of conflict we have is the one that will finally be resolved on the negotiating table, not in the battlefield, as President Museveni of Uganda said. Ours is a civil strife where one brother is taking arms against the other.

Let us work to bring an end to the conflict in our country, whereby no faction of our community will be thrown out of the country. Let us strive to create a

situation where all the opposing groups will see sense and join hands in a new revolution that will bring peace for all our peoples. I conclude by wishing you and your family **A HAPPY RAMADAN KARIM.**

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu,
Roving Ambassador.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216. Fax: 0181 248 9217

H.E. Mustafa Osman Ismail
State Minister
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Khartoum, Sudan.

27 March 1997

Dear brother Mustafa,

I am writing to inform you that your instructions for my arrears to be paid are honoured by all concerned. I was informed by my colleague Omar Bireedo and thereafter, issued a cheque last week for the amount as specified in my letter to you.

Thank you very much for expediting this. My family too, are grateful. My wife and children asked me to convey to you their gratitude.

Regarding our national problems, I am following the development of events since the start of the current military actions along our eastern and southern borders very closely. You see, it seems to be following the trend I predicted as I tipped our minister of that in October last year during my last visit to Khartoum and as I stated in my letter to you. Foreign powers and some experienced military minds are certainly involved in the master plan.

I guess the next step is to take the war to Bahr el Ghazal and to western Sudan. This is possible as the whole of western Equatoria is in the hands of SPLA, and the adjacent provinces of the neighbouring Zaire is in the hands of the Banyi-Mulenge, Zairean rebels, allies to SPLA. Leave alone the fact that the army in Central African Republic is rebellious. I perceive the master plan is to encircle the country and draw its armed forces into battles in many fronts to confuse and exhaust the forces and force them to rebel. In this case, I would advise that the peace process with Riak Machar and Kerubino Kwanyin be speeded up and the charter becomes a peace accord. This will draw attention that something positive is in process and therefore no need for the continuous bloodshed. I would heed also to voices of moderation and continue effort to draw the other opposition groups to the negotiating table rather than to the battlefields. This will win sympathy from the international community that the government is for peaceful solution of the conflict.

I feel encouraged by the recent visit by the President to the United Arab Emirates where he met Sheikh Zaid who one time offered to mediate in the conflict.

I would also advise that our leadership watches closely what are happening in Albania and Zaire and try to benefit from the experiences and avoid the mistakes of the leaders of those countries. Events in one country are influenced by what are happening next door or in

other corners of the globe. No people can live in isolation these days. The world has become one large village, so it is said.

Once again, I thank you very much for your kind consideration and service to me and my family.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu,
Roving Ambassador.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

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H.E. Mohamed El-Amin Khalifa
Secretary-General
Supreme Council for Peace
Khartoum, SUDAN.

8 April 1997

Dear brother Mohamed El-Amin Khalifa,

I have received your fax message that you sent through my colleague Ambassador Omar Bireedo yesterday. Thank you very much for that. I shall convey your message to the Emir of Kano. Certainly he will understand why you could not come to Kano at this time. It is known that your time is fully occupied by the ongoing peace process in the country.

My thoughts and prayers are for the success of the peace process. I shall honour the outcome of the process and wait to hear it materialise into a peace accord by the grace of God.

I enclose a copy of the work so far on my second letter to *MY FELLOW SUDANESE*. I have worked on it carefully and did my best to have it balanced. I feel obliged to air my voice at this critical time. I observe that we are dangerously heading towards a major disaster -- a Somalia and Liberia type of situation if the current military operations continue. I am appealing to all combatants to avoid that type of situation because no side will win.

I appeal to the incumbent leadership of the country and opposition groups to consider my views about an interim arrangement and the concluding recommendation in page 15 of the memo. Even if a peace accord was to be reached with one group, which will be a progress, the recommendation still needs to be considered to get the others who are not involved in the peace process and to halt the bloodshed.

As I have learnt that some of our colleagues, the retired officers have expressed their views on the current situation, so I feel to do the same. The enclosed is my contribution to the discussion. I want to pass it through your office as the centre for such discussion.

May God Almighty give us wisdom to reach peace.

Yours brother,

Joseph Lagu.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gendensbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216. Fax: 0181 248 9217

H.E. Mohamed Al-Amin Khalifa
Secretary-General
Supreme Council for Peace
The Bureau of Peace
Khartoum, Sudan.

12 May 1997

Dear Brother Khalifa,

I am writing to inform you that I have returned from Nigeria. I have passed your regards to HRH Al-Haji Dr Ado Bayero, the Emir of Kano. I told him that you could not come to attend the Moral Re-Armament Conference he convened at Kano, because you were then occupied with peace talks in Khartoum, a point he understood. He appreciated the situation and took it well. He wished success for the talks which fortunately materialised into a peace accord.

On learning about the conclusion of the agreement he showed delight. Subsequently, he responded to my request to do his best to influence the Nigerian Government to support the peace agreement, and if necessary to invite the Sudan Government and the factions of the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement that stayed out of the talks for another round of peace talks at Abuja.

I feel to pursue that line to eradicate reasons that prevented the other factions from taking part in the peace deliberations, and to persuade them to join in the process. This will make the peace accord real and effective. It will then restore calm and normalcy in our country in a meaningful way.

The peace agreement reached on 21 April 1997 between the Government and factions of the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement is certainly a great stride towards attaining peace in the country as a whole. It demonstrates practically the Government's commitment and sincerity for the cause of peace. Congratulations.

The opposition are stunned, confused, and have practically no comments against it.

I sense that Colonel Garang is disturbed and jealous. Consequently, he wants to show the world that the agreement cannot work without him: hence his increased military actions following the signing of the peace accord. His aim now is to shatter anything leading towards the dawn of peace in the country and to render the peace agreement, as it is, unworkable. This is a way to compel the Government to turn to him, since he has very little to say against the substance of the agreement itself. In other words, he is telling the

Government and the public that the agreement has been concluded with a wrong and a weak group that he can beat and shatter. As a consequence, he is now directing his forces mainly to the areas controlled by the forces of those rivals of his, rather than directing operations to the north-east of the country to threaten Khartoum, or even Port Sudan.

I see the move as a show of strength from Garang directed towards Riak Machar and his associates. In another context Garang is telling the Government that he is the one to talk to if the Government genuinely seeks peace. I presume, in other words, he is sending signals to the Government that he may not be adamant about overthrowing them after all; that he may talk to them if they recognise him as the strong man in the South. It could be interpreted as a signal to the two Sayeds: Sadiq El Mahdi and Mohamed Osman El Mirghani alerting the two men that he is not tied to them in any way, and may move as he thinks appropriate. This certainly shows the fragility of their type of alliance. Their objectives do not really seem to concur nevertheless.

Garang may also want to affirm that he is his own man.

I thought to draw your attention and that of the Government to that situation which I am watching carefully. I have written a similar letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I feel to inform both of you, those directly involved with the peace issue, of my observations. It is interesting following movements of the members of the NDA alliance.

I propose that signals should be sent to Colonel Garang to indicate that his message has been received and understood. This can be passed through personalities such as the former American President, Hon. Jimmy Carter. Alternatively, it can go through some friendly Governments such as the Government of the sisterly Federal Republic of Nigeria, which is appropriate because that Government has maintained a neutral position in our conflict. It is time to indicate to the Nigerian Government willingness by our Government to accept their mediation in another round of peace talks with Garang's faction, possibly in Abuja again. NGOs, such as the World Council of Churches, All Africa Conference of Churches and even the Sudan Council of Churches should be approached to act as referees as they did at the time of the Addis Ababa peace talks. They will consider such a move a friendly act.

Nigeria is the leading country in West Africa. She seems to have been successful in her peace mission in Liberia. If approached as I advise, she may be encouraged to develop interest in our situation again and heed our call. We need the support of a country such as Nigeria to balance unhelpful attitudes in parts of Eastern and Southern Africa. I believe Garang is just waiting for a voice inviting the Government and his SPLM for peace talks. I hope you and your colleagues in the Government will consider my suggestion a humble contribution towards the cause of peace in our country.

As I am now back at my base, I shall willingly come over to the Sudan if you still think my presence is required. I shall even be ready for any mission abroad where the Government

may feel the need for my contribution in persuading those still hesitant to accept the peace accord. The conclusion of the peace accord is timely and a good beginning, I believe.

I close with warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216, Fax: 0181 248 9217

H.E. Ali Osman Mohamed Taha
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Republic of the Sudan
Khartoum, SUDAN.

23 June 1997

Dear Brother Ali,

I hope that you are keeping in good health in spite of your heavy responsibilities and that your family are all well.

I greatly appreciate the interest you have taken in my daughter, Magdalene Lagu, and her academic progress. As you know, she has a deep sense of God's calling to equip herself in Europe so as to serve her own continent of Africa. I am happy to tell you that last week she was awarded a very good Degree (Second Class, First Division) in International Relations at Keele University. The graduation ceremony is on 30 June instant. May I thank you again for your spontaneous gift of a computer which greatly aided her studies. This excellent Degree qualifies her to take her place on the Master's Course at the London School of Economics in September 1997. I have already written to you about this prospect in my letter of 12 May this year. May I again draw your attention to the financial costs, which are beyond my personal resources.

During my years as a Roving Ambassador, I have never put in any official claim for the education or travel expenses of my children or wife. In recognition of this fact, I respectfully ask you to authorise a substantial grant for my daughter's Master's Degree.

Turning to our national affairs, I have to express disquiet, which doubtless you also feel, about the efforts being made to encircle Sudan militarily and isolate us diplomatically. You will recall my notes to you on 30 October 1996 forecasting these dangers. I followed up my notes with letters to Sayeds Mohamed Al-Amin Khalifa, and Mustafa Osman Ismail, dated 6 February 1997 and 27 March 1997 respectively. And quite recently another letter to Sayed Mohamed Al-Amin Khalifa dated 12 May 1997.

I know it is in your mind to mend diplomatic fences with our neighbours one by one, and indeed there are signs of hope. It seems to me to be extremely urgent to reestablish Sudan's credentials world-wide as a friendly and trustworthy partner to all governments of goodwill. We have to find a more effective way of turning our enemies into friends. Among genuinely patriotic Sudanese of all persuasions there needs to be a commitment to

guard the moral integrity of the country and protect its infrastructure. We may have to look beyond our human contemplation for common interest: swallow our individual and group pride, and continue untiringly with efforts to reach comprehensive peace in our country with those compatriots who still differ from us.

In the present polarization of political forces, I have to tell you that it is becoming steadily more difficult for me to carry out my functions as an ambassador for peace. Even my permission to stay in Britain is under threat. The same goes for others who maintain that all patriotic Sudanese are capable of working together to bring peace and relieve the suffering of our people. It may be that I have to seek your advice on a different location. I feel I can serve as an ambassador in some Arab countries like Lebanon and Jordan, or in African countries like Kenya and Nigeria. Yet I still feel there are further acts of statesmanship by the Sudan Government which could lift the pressures from us.

Please count me as a continuing ally in this bid to satisfy all the Sudanese with the peace and basic prosperity which our people so deeply desire.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu'. The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial 'J' and 'L'.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216. Fax: 0181 248 9217

His Excellency,
President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir.
Through the Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Khartoum, SUDAN.

23 September 1997

Dear Mr President,

I wish to inform you that I am very appreciative of your personal involvement and contribution in the peace process. I highly commend your persistent efforts, especially your recent successive trips to eastern and southern Africa. There, I noted with delight, you unequivocally, demonstrated to the leaders of those regions your government's willingness to achieve peace in the Sudan through negotiations.

There are positive signs that have emerged within a short time to affirm the above, namely the 10 April 1996 Peace Charter between the Government and SSIM alliance, the 21 April 1997 Khartoum Peace Agreement with the same alliance, the 20 September Fashoda Peace Agreement between the Government and SPLA United, and the 22 September Nairobi understanding yesterday between the Government and the SPLA, Garang's group.

I observe that the international community is keen and following the progressive developments in our country with interest. I sense that some governments are beginning to reconsider their relations with the Sudan, seemingly for the better. Please accept my congratulations.

Your Excellency, you have earned the unreserved support of many in your pursuit of this noble goal. This will, undoubtedly, bring peace to our suffering people. Hopefully, our people will then return from their diaspora to the Motherland, for there is nowhere better for us than the Sudan.

I enclose for you a film, "IS HE MY BROTHER?" I feel this film on reconciliation is relevant to our situation at this time, as we prepare our people to put the past aside and forgive one another. I discern that it is through forgiveness, restitution and reconciliation, that we will be able to make a new start, which will hopefully lead to a meaningful peace in our dear country. I hereby conclude in submission to God Almighty with this prayer -- my anthem for peace:

ربنا أرسل البركة في بلدنا
جدد الخير في أرضنا
ربنا أسرع الى نجدتنا
اجعلهم اليك يعوّدون
اجعلهم اياك يعبدون
وَبِسْلاَمٍ فِي الْبِلَادِ يَقيْمُونَ
ربنا بارك شعوبنا

May God Almighty bless the Sudan with peace during your time as President. And may He also enrich our people with the requirements of a happy life, so that you and your colleagues in the administration are remembered as the architects of peace in our country.

Yours sincerely,
Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador.



Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216, Fax: 0181 248 9217

CONFIDENTIAL

31 October 1997

H.E. Dr. Riak Machar,
Chairman, Southern Co-ordination Council.
Khartoum, SUDAN.

Dear Brother Riak,

I wish to start this letter by reflection at a passage from our Christian Scripture. Simon Peter asked Jesus, "Lord how many times am I to forgive my brother, should I forgive him seven times?" The answer was, "Forgive him seventy times seven." In other words go on forgiving him until you win him over to do the right things and to think the right way, just as we too, all need to be continually forgiven. This passage has been a factor in the reconciliatory moves I had undertaken.

Thank you for your long distance telephone call a couple of weeks ago. It was nice of you to consult with me on the various issues we discussed. To me, this demonstrated your respect and consideration that my views will still be taken into account for some time to come. I am very appreciative. Thank you.

Your initiative towards peace, whereby you signed the peace charter on 10 April 1996 has been realistic and practical. You had my full support as I was convinced that it was the right move. When the charter became crystallized into a peace accord on 21 April 1997, I sent you and the President a cable from Kano, Nigeria, where I was at the time, attending a Moral Re-Armament (MRA) conference. The purpose of sending the message was to express my full support to you both and to encourage you to go ahead with the implementation of the agreement. Your patience, flexibility, willingness and unselfish attitude have left space for Colonel Doctor John Garang de Mabior and his followers to join in the peace process. This seems to be happening. The decision of course is theirs. We should continue to encourage them to come in with seriousness. Furthermore, you are understood to have indicated willingness to leave the top post a southerner may hold during an interim period for Colonel Garang, as he preceded you in the struggle if he were to agree to join hand with you in the peace process. This is observed as a great act of patriotism and statesmanship on your part. It adds to your credibility. For that you have earned the respect of many, as one who puts national interest before personal interest. I advise that you hold on to that ideal. It presents you as one who is politically mature.

Enclosed is a transcript of a talk I was invited to deliver at St. Andrews University, Scotland. The topic was GUERRILLA WARFARE, requested by the organizers as they

understood it to be my specialization. I was informed that the audience were impressed, which was evident from the long clapping, and gathering around me for further discussion following the talk.

The purpose of sending you a copy of the transcript is to remind you as a movement, that you have collectively accomplished with excellence your immediate task as guerrilla freedom fighters. You have managed to force the established authority to the negotiating table. What is left now is contention at the negotiating table. There is no need to continue shedding the blood of our people if that option is open. I wish to tell you that our pioneers went into exile and to the bush and took up arms in the early sixties because they were forced to do so. General Ibrahim Abboud closed all avenues for any discussions for the peaceful resolution of the Southern Problem, after he was handed power on 17 November 1958 by Prime Minister Abdallah Bey Khelil. History repeated itself within a short space of time. Field-Marshal Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, who proclaimed himself an Imam, after diplomatic manoeuvres, precipitated a situation to push the south into rebellion which he hoped he would quickly crush. Read the paragraph *Laughable situations* in the open letter enclosed, *To My Fellow Sudanese: Which way Forward?* His calculations happened to be incorrect. He could not crush the rebellion he ignited hence the progress of your movement and his downfall. If General Abboud had allowed southerners to express their opinions without harassment and indicated willingness in resolving the political issue peacefully, I presume the turn of events would have been different as well as the history of our country. Also, if the President Leader, as the former President liked himself to be addressed, did not miscalculate and precipitate the ongoing conflict, the peace accord we reached at Addis Ababa in March 1972 would still be holding.

Southerners are not really trouble makers, they have always been pushed into trouble by those in authority in Khartoum or by their officers stationed in the south. Captain Salah Abdel Magid fired the first shot on 18 August 1955, after the situation cooled down, General Abboud drove our predecessors in the struggle into exile and into the bush. Lastly Field-Marshal Nimeiri deliberately precipitated the renewal of the conflict. It is not the fault of the present system in Khartoum. They inherited it. If they are serious about resolving the conflict peacefully with you, as I sense they are, go ahead with them. You have my full support.

I hope your efforts will bring a lasting peace. I will be happy if you and John Garang the principal characters now in the south reach some understanding and work together. There is no doubt that together you will end this war with honourable peace for the south. For me, whichever of you brings glory for South Sudan makes no difference, but I would wish you do it together. I am one person who can rightly be proud of your achievements, because you took up the struggle from where I left it. I consider you and others after me as the continuation of my youth. I am happy that John Garang agreed to open dialogue with the north by accepting to send his delegation to the IGAD sponsored peace talks in Nairobi, scheduled to commence on 28 October 1997. I watched over the Middle East

Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), the gathering of the delegations as scheduled in Nairobi. Therefore, the talks are on at the time of writing this letter.

Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt that both of you are aware of the main guerrilla strategies classified as follows:

1. To force the established authority to accept that there is a justifiable case the guerrilla is fighting for, a situation that needs a political solution.
2. To force such an authority to the negotiating table to discuss the political solution of the problem.

You have all collectively accomplished the task with excellence; Khartoum many a time sent delegates to meet your officials at the negotiating table: at Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and Abuja; now Nairobi again. Though those talks did not achieve fruitful results, I sense this time Khartoum is serious. There could be some progress if Garang's delegation comes to the peace talks with similar seriousness, which seems to be the case. There is therefore hope that a meaningful progress towards peace in our country will be made.

The outcome of any war is concluded at the negotiating table. In the case of the guerrillas they do not normally aim for outright military victory. Rather, as stated above, they induce the established authority to recognise a situation and to accept the required principle for dialogue, as it is the case now. Your aim must now be, a settlement in which the south will emerge stronger, than it did after Addis Ababa Peace Agreement, March 1972.

Too long a war may be tiring to the freedom fighters and demoralizing to the population, causing schisms and desertions among the fighters and confusion among the population, as witnessed in Afghanistan, Chad and Somalia. Your own movement experienced some degree of these afflictions following the split in 1991. If there is now a possibility of winning this war at the negotiating table, that chance must not be missed.

Some months back, I sent you a copy of the open letter mentioned earlier through your representative in London. I now enclose an updated copy.

As regards my coming to the Sudan as you suggested, Sayed Mohamed Al-Amin Khalifa suggested the same, and he promised to send me a return ticket as they usually do. Expedite this with him. I am waiting for the tickets. The moment I receive them, I shall be with you.

I hope to see you in Khartoum or Juba. In the meantime, my best wishes and regards.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu



Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U.K. Tel: 0181 248 9216; Fax: 0181 248 9217

His Excellency,
President Gaafar Mohammed Nimeiri.
Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt.

16 February 1998

Dear Mr President

Warm regards to Your Excellency and to Mama Buseina. I often recall our glorious days of service together, first as middle and junior officers, you as a Major and I as a 2nd Lieutenant, under Lewa Tahir Abdel-Rahman el Magbul at Juba, June 1960 - January 1961. After the signing of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement between South and North, when you were President of the Republic, I first became Inspector General of the Armed Forces, then GOC 1st Division, later Chairman of the Southern Regional Government, and finally 2nd Vice-President of the Republic. Those relatively peaceful and harmonious moments linger in my mind. May God Almighty restore understanding among our people and give them peace conducive to decent living.

Events in the Sudan have not improved, rather they have worsened since 6 April 1985. The successive governments since then, have not performed any better. They could not come to terms with the leadership of the new movement in the South and the civil war there escalated and reached not only the adjacent districts of the North, but spread deeper in the areas of the North where the people regard themselves neglected and marginalised.

The movement in the South did not remain united. It split on ethnic grounds with the opposing groups hostile to each other. The North too did not remain cohesive. The traditional parties in the North deposed by the ongoing government, as at your time, organised themselves into an opposition movement to fight the system that replaced them. They extended their hands of friendship to the larger Southern opposition group led by Col. John Garang. The latter urged the former to take up arms against the system to prove their seriousness. Subsequently they became allies. The leaders of the new regime too, explored the possibilities of alliance with the break-away elements of the Southern movement loosely clustered around the Nuer academic, Dr. Riak Machar. Those succeeded in establishing some form of alliance as well, which led to Dr. Machar and his cluster of allies to sign a type of peace accord with Khartoum. Consequently, the situation became complex and the people confused. Who is the enemy and who is the friend? No one can tell under the circumstances, as the alliances of convenience transcend all barriers of the South-North divide: Race, ethnicity, religion etc. Albeit, there is no sign of peace in the country.

I observe these manoeuvres as alliances of convenience, because what divided those who became allies has still not been resolved. Such alliances will definitely not hold for long.

There are already signs of them getting shattered. The recent events in Wau indicate possible collapse of the alliance between the government of the day and Dr. Machar's loose union of incongruous groups. On the other side the behaviour of Sadiq el Mahdi is not compatible with actions of an ally, when he reacted negatively to the SPLA/M presentation at the last IGAD sponsored Nairobi peace talks, October-November 1997. He was nervous especially on the point of the SPLM map of **New Sudan**, supposed future Republic of **Kush**, which carved into the South areas from Ansar lands, his family traditional stronghold. This is a sign of the fragility of the SPLA/M-NDA alliance. Sadiq el Mahdi is more mindful and concerned about the areas of his Ansar followers than the rest of the Sudan. He demonstrated typical behaviour of a feudal lord.

The enlightened people of Northern Sudan certainly cannot bear this type of behaviour indefinitely. Their patience is bound to run out and will subsequently not pay any allegiance to such feudal lords whose influence is on the wane. I sense that the people of Northern Sudan are in search of alternative political leadership free of sectarianism. As much as most of them resent the present Islamic based system of National Islamic Front (NIF), they would not want either, to see a change where those sectarian leaders and their parties, currently grouped under the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), return to control the country.

What could be the alternative thereafter? This is a question I presume most Northern Sudanese intellectuals are struggling to answer. Why not try Nimeiri again? I hear some say. Mr. President, the people may wish to hear your voice at this critical moment. No one has enjoyed and no one will ever have the overwhelming support the people of Sudan gave you. Will you not raise your voice at least to give them some moral encouragement?

Bearing in mind that military regimes and one-party political systems are unpopular in the world these days, especially in the western world, there can be no doubt that any prospective politician in the third world, Sudan inclusive, must advocate democratic freedom. That is multi-party democracy. I now stand for that.

I am aware that multi-party democracy is not easy to practise in a tribal community as ours in the Sudan, in fact in all Africa. Nevertheless, I feel it is better that we have weak governments and quarrel with words than have strong military or one-party governments and quarrel with guns.

I think those traditional parties and their leaders can be beaten in the field using the ballot boxes rather than with guns and bullets. All that is needed in the North is the emergence of a national political party, secular and bearing national characteristics. I say in the North because it is there that sectarianism in the Sudan is based. Such systems do not exist in the South. The problem there is ethnicity. I believe that can be easily overcome, and I have experiences of dealing with that. I feel it is timely for the people in the North to think of a political party along the lines of your pre-Sharia Sudan Socialist Union (SSU). The leadership of such a party must not seek to lock out other parties from participation, not even the sectarian parties for that matter, but rather, challenge them to enter into free contests.

In my open letter to the Sudanese, I called upon the Government of the day to:

1. announce amnesty to cover all those who took up arms for political purposes,
2. lift the ban on all political parties,
3. declare cease-fire to be reciprocated by all armed groups,
4. combatants to freeze where they are at the time of the cease-fire,
5. and the political wings of the Southern, or any other movements to be legalised and registered as political parties.

This is to be followed by adoption of a situation similar to the South African sequence of events that occurred after the lifting of Apartheid. I see this as a possible path to peace in our country.

I perceive, in free democratic elections any religious based party in the North will lose, if faced by a secular party of national character, as I see the people there are desirous to maintain some form of union with the South. I see holding of the two parts of the country together, still a possibility if only most Northern political leaders correct some of their conceptions as regards the South and Southerners. They seem to look at the territory and its people as Egyptians look at the Sudan as a whole and its people -- a dominion and a subject people. They behave as if they inherited the Southern part of the country from the former colonial Condominium Powers, Britain and Egypt. They do not look at the South as an intergal part of their country, and Southerners as their compatriots. That is the core of our problem in the Sudan. A bold statesman from the North is yet to emerge to resolve this problem. If your Excellency gives careful thought to my observations, and expresses apology on behalf of the North, you may be that statesman. A rejuvenated SSU under your leadership could be the national party that may defeat the sectarian parties in the North. It will then seek a new start with a dominant political group in the South, hopefully not a tribally based organisation.

I believe genuine unity of the Sudan can be accomplished through federal union between the South and the North as equal partners, and the two units decentralised on the basis of the borders of the provinces as they stood at the time of Independence, a point the successive Northern leadership have failed to understand. You have been the only Northern leader who came close to that, following the signing of the Addis Ababa peace accord.

We have to save the Sudan from collapse and disintegration, and unnecessary loss of lives, such as I have been informed while drafting this letter to you on 12th February instant. I am sure you share the grief with other Sudanese about the loss of life in the plane accident in Nasir. I am thinking aloud as how to end this expensive war honourably to prevent uncalled for missions as the one of 12th February 1998.

This war will be ended if we all join hands and think collectively, unselfishly, admitting our mistakes where we might have gone wrong and be prepared to forgive one another, and persuade others to behave the same way, so that we save what is left of our population.

Further, in seeking public office, Sudanese must be prepared to accept competitors in the future on equal terms no matter their political creed, background and history. No group should try to bar other groups but be ready to compete cheerfully with other groups as in sports.

I present you these thoughts for your perusal, as an old friend and colleague. Perhaps my letter is too long, but it is a substitute for the discussions that we missed over the years. It is part of my endeavour in search of peace in our country.

Yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu'. The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping 'J' and 'L'.

Joseph Lagu.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gurnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216, Fax: 0181 248 9217

H F. Omer Yousif Bireedo
Sudan Ambassador
Sudan Embassy
3 Cleveland Row, ST. JAMES'S.
London SW1A 1DD.

18 May 1998

Dear Ambassador,

I acknowledge with thanks your letter of 13 May 1998, which informs me that I am appointed Adviser to the President of the Republic as of 10 May 1998. I note that I am expected to arrive Khartoum at the end of May 1998 and that my current post of Roving Ambassador ceases at that time.

I appreciate the confidence placed in me by the President. At the same time I am surprised that I have been given such short notice of this major move. As you know, it is customary for an ambassador to be told at least three months ahead of a change of location. Nevertheless, I await with interest the Presidential decree announcing my new post and terminating the present one.

Meanwhile, I am preparing a letter to H.E. the President. I feel sure he will understand that 18 days is too short a time for me to conclude my affairs in London and then leave my family for an indefinite period.

As regards the family, my wife goes into the hospital on 20 May this month for an operation. Two of my children are at a critical stage of their education. I have other personal obligations in the short term. May I ask you to request the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to grant me the customary three months notice of the termination of my present post with the appropriate continuance of my salary in London for that period.

I repeat my appreciation of the confidence placed in me by the President. In whatever capacity, I shall continue to offer my counsel on the best way forward for our country at this important phase. In the next two weeks, I shall be working on the letter to the President that I mentioned above.

Yours sincerely,
Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, (Retd.).
Roving Ambassador.



Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, (Retd.) Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216, Fax: 0181 248 9217

29 June 1998

The Rt. Hon. Clare Short MP,
Secretary of State
for International Development.
House of Commons
London SW1A 0AA

Dear Ms Short,

As a Southern Sudanese who was present when you gave evidence to the International Development Committee on 24th June, I would like to say how very much I appreciate the active concern of the British Government and the generosity of the British people towards my suffering region.

As you rightly say, the short term need is for a cease-fire, to give access to the relief supplies by land routes, while the long term requirement is a political solution to the 43 years old conflict between south and north.

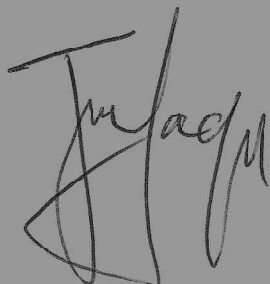
I speak as one who championed the cause of South Sudan one time, 1963-1972 as its military and political leader during the first civil war. I signed peace agreement with the Sudan Government under General Nimeiri in March 1972, and then experienced the task of merging two hitherto hostile forces: my guerrilla army and the Sudanese army into one national army, and resettling the war affected people after the war. After six years of this work, I was elected Chairman of the Southern Sudan Regional Government, 1978-1980.

This experience convinces me that the political solution which you emphasise can be achieved. I would encourage the British Government to use its influence to draw support from other European Governments and the United States to put equal pressure on the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army to seek political solution. I do not see the possibility of either side achieving a military victory. The international community should not stand idly by and watch the people of Southern Sudan perish, sandwiched between two groups, GOS and SPLM/A fighting for power.

Most Sudanese, southerners and northerners alike are tired of war and do want a political solution to this conflict.

Yours faithfully,

Joseph Lagu



3 August 1998

Mr Selim A. Selim
The Secretary General
Organisation for African Unity
P O Box 3243
ADDIS ABABA
Ethiopia

Our ref: JY/PAFSA/03.08.98

Your Excellency,

1. PAFSA (Peace Action for Sudan and Africa), is a newly formed UK based NGO which advocates the use of peaceful methods such as dialogue for resolution of political conflict in Sudan and other volatile regions in Africa. PAFSA sees the achievement of peace as a pre-requisite for economic progress and global stability - a positive step for the entire human race.
 2. Over the last three months, the world has been alerted by the media about the horrendous suffering and death in war afflicted Sudan. The formation of PAFSA is a reaction to this man made human tragedy. The founding members of PAFSA are persons of African decent domiciled in the United Kingdom, having diverse experience and expertise. Among these are personalities who had experience of political and military leadership in the Sudan during previous regimes. This vision for Peace in Sudan and Africa at large is given impetus by individuals in the legal profession practising in the UK. These unique qualities of professionals with African background, working in the West in our view, places PAFSA in a strategic position to mediate between warring parties in Africa, on the one hand, to sustain the campaign for peace in the West, on the other. These qualities will give African perspectives to solving problems which have African dimension.
 3. Objectives of PAFSA:
PAFSA has both immediate and long-term objectives. In the short-term, PAFSA urges the international community for the immediate provision of humanitarian needs for those affected in southern Sudan, to avert death and genocide beyond the scale of Rwanda. Our long term objectives include: participating in campaigns against land mines in general and clearance of anti-personnel mines in affected areas in south Sudan in particular. In this regard, PAFSA commends the British government for taking the lead against land mine campaigns and urges other weapon producing countries to do the same to honour the legacy of Diana, Princess of Wales who is affectionately remembered world-wide.
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Helping victims of war is central to our cause. We are considering plans to solicit funds to help victims of land mines initiate income-generating activities to enable them to rebuild their shattered lives. We will participate in resettlement, and in particular moral rehabilitation of refugees and returnees. We will participate in educational projects designed to meet needs of African refugees to the United Kingdom to empower them to participate meaningfully in the economic, social and cultural activities in their new environment, with a view to utilising these skills on return to their native homelands. PAFSA will engage in research activities and public debate to address the root causes of conflict in Africa as a way forward to promoting sustainable peace and development.

4. The Crisis in the Sudan:

Sir, you know as well as we do that the people of Sudan and in particular the people of south Sudan have experienced war for 42 years with a period of uneasy truce from 1972 to 1983. That the severity of the scale of this war has escalated in the past 15 years, with over 1.5 million people displaced from their homes and seeking refuge in towns and cities within Sudan or in neighbouring countries or further a field in Europe, USA, or Australia. Of those in the bushes of south Sudan, Aid Agencies are predicting that at least 2.5 millions are facing famine. This impact of this war has inevitably been the systematic destruction of human society and social infrastructure essential for regeneration of any society. Sir, we know that if the international community does not act swiftly and appropriately, we will all live to witness death and famine beyond the scale of Rwanda. This ugly sight of humanity cannot and should not be the gift of the new millennium for the people of south Sudan.

5. A Role for the OAU Secretary General:

It is needless to say that war in the Sudan is desolating communities on the African continent. We also know that most of the emerging nations on the continent have had their fair share of political, social or economic upheavals internally or externally generated like impact of the Structural Adjustment Programmes. But most Africans the world over are proud of the endurance of the OAU as a symbol of unity. We believe that now is the time for this important African institution to rise up to the challenge to avert famine and death - a tragedy, history will otherwise hold this generation responsible for.

We believe that given the will and persistence on the part of the international community, the warring parties should and could be brought to the negotiating table to resolve their differences amicably and peacefully. PAFSA is of the opinion that differences of opinion or interest should not be eternalised but viewed as challenges to be resolved. This may no doubt require adoption of mature approach and basic acknowledgement of the rights of others to life, property and state. Whereas, the people of Sudan need peace, the people of south Sudan in particular need peace with justice in order to embark upon the rudiments of modernity which has hitherto been denied to them. Now, even the right to life is being taken away from them!

PAFSA therefore calls upon the OAU to use its good offices: a) to pressurise both the Government of Sudan (GOS) and Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) to observe their respective responsibilities towards the civilian population they control - the majority of these people are victims and not perpetrators of the ongoing conflict; b) to pressurise the warring parties to call for immediate declaration of comprehensive cease-fire to facilitate immediate and unimpeded provision of humanitarian needs; c) failing a & b the creation of immediate Save Havens to facilitate provision of security, food, medicines and even education for the internally displaced; d) engaging the GOS and SPLM towards a lasting resolution of this protracted conflict.

6. Potential Partners for PAFSA:

In our efforts to promote the causes of peace, PAFSA realises the need to work in partnership with others who share similar concerns with us. Obviously peace building is a complicated process which requires patience and commitment in the long term. We will work with institutions, governmental and non-governmental in the West, past or present political/military leaders in Africa, professionals academics, the churches, women, youth groups and individuals of good will. In addition, we will conduct research to gauge the mood of civilian population at grass-root level in cases of protracted civil strife.

7. Activities of PAFSA:

In line with the above objectives, PAFSA has ambitious plans in place to hold a high profile conference entitled: The Military vs. Democracy in Africa, in January 1999 at the Commonwealth Conference Hall in London. We would be honoured by your participation. Invitations are also being sent to the following persons: the UN Secretary General, Secretary General of ECOWAS, Dr. Yacoub Gowan, Gen. Babangida and Bishop Desmond Tutu who is expected to honour the invitation to Host the conference. Some of these individuals will be requested to present papers. This conference will be preceded by a low level consultation in London between PAFSA, GOS and SPLA representatives. Other opposition groups will also be invited to participate in this initial consultation process. A formal request for your contribution towards the cost of the conference will be sent to you at a later date. Similar letters have been sent to the UN Sec Gen., UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, UK The Secretary of State for International Development and leading UK NGO's working in the Sudan.

Would you kindly acknowledge receipt of this letter. Any queries you may raise, will be responded to promptly. On the other hand, if you prefer, we will welcome an opportunity to meet with you.

Yours truly,

Bere-Pele Harry LLB

Joseph Lagu Ltd. Gen. Rtd.
Ambassadors
Peace Action for Sudan and Africa

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

SUDAN EMBASSY
LONDON



سفارة جمهورية السودان
لندن

الرقم/س/٥٠/١١/٢

التاريخ ١٩ ربيع الثاني ١٤١٩ هـ

الموافق ١١ أغسطس ١٩٩٨ م

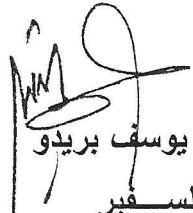
سرى للغاية

السيد اللواء (م) جوزيف لاقو

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله تعالى وبركاته،

بالإشارة الى رسالتكم الى السيد رئيس الجمهورية بتاريخ ٢ يونيو ١٩٩٨ م والخاصة برغبتكم في أن تكون صوتا مستقلا وداعيا للمصالحة ، أرجو أن أنقل لكم توجيه السيد رئيس الجمهورية الذي يشير الى أنك ما زلت موظفا بالدولة ، ولكن إذا رغبت في أن تبقى مواطناً مستقلا ، فإنه يتعين إعفاءك من مسؤولياتك الرسمية ، وسوف يصدر قرار رسمي بهذا .

هذا وتفضلوا بقبول وافر إحترامى ،،


عمر يوسف بريديو
السفير

Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu, (Retd.) Hon. D. Letts

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U.K. Tel: 0181 248 9216; Fax: 0181 248 9217

H.E. Omar Yousif Bireedo,
Ambassador,
Sudan Embassy.
3 Cleveland Row,
St. James's,
London SW1A 1DD.

24 August 1998

Dear Ambassador,

With reference to your letter dated 11 August 1998. It is indeed my wish to become an independent voice in the current conflict in the Sudan, as I made clear in my letter to the President dated 2 June 1998.

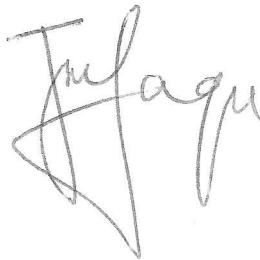
The President may accordingly relieve me from being an official of the state.

Allow me to make a correction. My last military rank at retirement from the armed forces was Lieutenant General (فريق) and not Major General (لواء) as you put it in your letter.

Your Excellency, please accept my warm regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu,
Lt. Gen. (Retd.)

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', written in a cursive style.



Fax: (251-1) 519274 P.O. Box 3243 Addis Ababa Ethiopia Telephone: (251-1) 51 38 22

Ref : POL/CM/CF/2.9/S18
Date : August 28th, 1998

Mr. Bere-Pele Harry
PAFSA
Christ-House 32-36 Rye Lane
LONDON SE 15 5bs
United Kingdom

Your Excellencies,

This is to acknowledge with thanks, receipt of your letter Ref. JY/PAFSA/03.08.98, dated 3rd August 1998, informing me of the establishment of an NGO under the name Peace Action for Sudan in Africa (PAFSA). I am encouraged that the main objective of your NGO is to promote peaceful methods for resolution of conflicts in Africa particularly, in the Sudan.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my profound appreciation and to commend you for your noble initiative. I am convinced that your NGO will positively contribute to sustainable peace in the Continent.

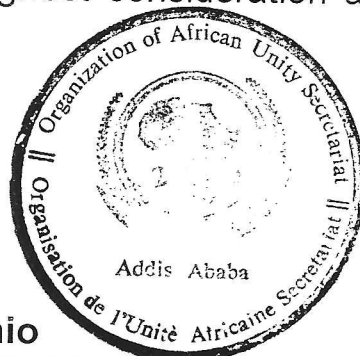
We, at the OAU, have decided to vigorously pursue conflict prevention, management and resolution as part of our primary concern. We are, therefore, encouraged by the fact that your NGO is involved in addressing the immediate provision of humanitarian needs for those affected in Southern Sudan, to avert death and genocide beyond the scale of Rwanda. This has also been our major concern, especially with the current prevalence of conflicts going on in Africa. Meanwhile, We have been working closely with the Countries of the IGAD Region to find a lasting and durable solution to the Sudan conflict which has resulted in a huge number of refugees and displaced persons.

In this regard, I would like to suggest that it might be of interest for you to introduce your NGO to the IGAD Secretariat which has been seized with this problem for sometime now.

We look forward to working closely with you, especially in exchanging information and coordinating our efforts to resolve the problems in the Sudan and other conflict areas in Africa.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration and best regards.

Sincerely



D. Antonio
Amb. Daniel Antonio
ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL (Political)

cc : **Amb. Joseph Lagu**
PAFSA
Christ-House 32-36 Rye Lane
LONDON SE 15 5bs
United Kingdom

cc : **Mr. Sam Ibok**
Ag. Director of Political Dept.
OAU, Addis Ababa

Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu, (Retd.) Hon. D. Letts

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U.K. Tel: 0181 248 9216; Fax: 0181 248 9217

H.H. Al Hagi Ado Bayero
Emir of Kano
Emir's Palace
Kano, Nigeria.

3 September 1998

Your Highness,

Re: MRA Goodwill visit to Sudan, Appeal for immediate cease-fire in the Congo

My expectation to meet you at Caux, Switzerland, could not materialise because you could not come there, certainly due to your heavy schedule elsewhere.

At Caux 98, there was a new workshop: "The Politician's Round Table (PRT)". At that workshop, composed of politicians from 34 countries, African delegates made references to the deliberations of Kano 97. I spoke about the current situation in the Sudan and reiterated my request that Moral Rearmament (MRA) offers services and send a goodwill mission to meet the leaders of the current Government of Sudan as well as those in opposition – to persuade the protagonists to seek a peaceful solution rather than a military one. Subsequently the PRT discussed the matter and resolved that a goodwill mission be sent by MRA to the Sudan. The list of the attendants and the text of the resolution are attached for Your Highness's perusal.

I feel this position conforms to Your Highness's own initiative, ^{when} you prompted convening of the Abuja Peace Talks in 1992/93, ^{you} and advised the then Nigerian Head of State, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, to call the warring Sudanese groups to meet at your country's new capital Abuja, to resolve what divided them through words rather than barrels of guns.

I had wanted to brief you about those issues, when on my return from Caux, 17 August 1998, I learnt you were in London. Consequently, I contacted your Aid ^{de} Camp, Al Hagi Aminu Yusifu, to make an appointment for me to meet you, but again because you have been in and out of London, the chance to secure an appointment failed too. Eventually I heard that you were in Lagos.

As it is my wish to maintain contact with you, and in view of the new developments in the Congo, I felt I must write to you.

First, I feel obliged to inform you that I am no longer a Roving Ambassador for the Republic of the Sudan. I have voluntarily left the service of Sudan Government so that I can contribute for the cause of peace in that country, as a ^{seventy} conciliator or as an ^{as an independent} interlocutor. I am now an Ambassador of a Peace Movement, PAFSA (Peace Action For Sudan & Africa), a non-governmental organisation. It was in my programme to brief you about PAFSA and what it stands for. With me as an Ambassador of the same movement is your countryman, D. J. Harry, Barrister at law. He and I think your support for the NGO will give it credibility.

As regards the situation in the Congo, we think you are in the position to influence the Nigerian government to contribute positively to stop the new conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo from further escalation.

I am confident, things will progress towards the right direction if you add your voice and talk to your new Head of State, suggesting to him that Nigeria too, calls for an immediate cease-fire in the Congo. Your former Head of State Gen. Ibrahim Babangida took your word seriously when you advised him to call the opposing Sudanese groups to come to Nigeria for peace talks.

Mr. Harry and I will be waiting to hear from you. On our part we are prepared to meet you when and where it is appropriate for you.

Please accept the assurance of my highest consideration and esteem.

Yours sincerely,

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu (Retd.)
PAFSA Ambassador.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, Retd. Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U. K. Tel: 0181 248 9216, Fax: 0181 248 9217

H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni,
President of Uganda
The State House,
Entebbe, Uganda.
Through H.E. The Uganda High Commissioner to the UK.

6 November 1998

Dear Mr. President,

We have heard and know very little about each other, but I presume we share views over issues touching stability in our region. I maintain that in our part of Africa no meaningful peace will be realized in any one country, while conflicts remain in its neighbourhood. Like a virus a conflict is passed on. We have to find a concurrent solution to all these conflicts. I have heard that you maintain similar views.

For your information I have ended my service with the Sudan Government. Lately, I have been serving as a Roving Ambassador. My letter to the President of the Sudan regarding the issue is enclosed. I feel at this time I should play a neutral role and act as an independent voice. As a former Vice-President, and a General in the National Army, I may have to suppress my feelings as a Southerner and think broadly. In this regard, I have to make my experiences available at national and regional levels to advance the cause of peace in the Sudan and stability in the region, "The Great Lakes Region," the Sudan included. Also enclosed are two other documents: Chronology of the North-South conflict in the Sudan and an open letter from me To My Fellow Sudanese. I have expressed my views publicly and candidly in the latter and concluded with recommendations for peaceful resolution of the conflict.

I feel concerned about the current situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I would wish to see the conflict determined peacefully. That all sides involved pull back peacefully and honourably. I would use my experiences and make my services available to advance that noble goal. Here, I wish to inform that I am one of the initiators of a peace movement, "Peace Action for Sudan & Africa." Draft Leaflet of the latter too, enclosed. At the moment the focus is the Sudan. Tomorrow it may be another country in Africa. Your Excellency will agree with me that Africa is infested with conflicts. No other people will end these conflicts. It is we Africans ourselves that will do so. I wish to put in my humble contribution. Will Your Excellency help in introducing me?

Respectfully yours,

Joseph Lagu.

Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu, (Retd.) Hon. D. Letts

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U.K. Tel: 0181 248 9216; Fax: 0181 248 9217

General Olusegun Obasanjo
President -Elect
Federal Republic of Nigeria
Abuja, Nigeria
Through Nigerian High Commission
9 Northumberland Avenue
London WC2N 5BX

8 March 1999

Your Excellency,

May I first register my delight at your release from prison and second express joy at your election as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Three years ago in April 1996, during a visit to South Africa to attend a Moral Re-Armament conference there, colleagues in MRA and I expressed concern and appealed to the South African authorities to use their good offices to press for your release. Later the same year in June, during a visit to Khartoum, Sudan, I urged Field Marshal Swarraddahab, as a former head of state, to seek the support of the incumbent administration in Khartoum in pressing for your release.

During a visit to Nigeria (April 1997), to attend a subsequent MRA conference in Kano, I informed His Highness Alhaji Ado Bayero, the Emir of Kano of the MRA approach to the South African authorities on your behalf and of my own attempt in Khartoum through Field Marshal Swarraddahab. Subsequently, I asked His Highness to use his own influence to add to the efforts already being exerted.

You have had friends around the globe who felt very concerned when you were in prison. This was not out of nothing. As head of state of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, you did your best for the liberation movements in Africa. You were the first military leader who handed power back to the civilians after organising an orderly transfer of power following an election. Thereafter, you used your personal influence as a former head of state to bring peace to the conflict torn parts of Africa, including my country the Sudan. Your arrest and ensuing imprisonment interrupted your noble endeavour. By the grace of God you are now out of the prison and popularly an elected President.

Your Excellency, the latter portion of the task still awaits you. May you launch a further peace movement for Sudan and Africa?

The recent elections in Nigeria that resulted in your victory carry messages of reconciliation and genuine desires for the unity of the country, most specifically from the North of the country. This was dramatised by the people there not putting up candidates for the Presidency. It is maturity, patriotism, statesmanship and genuine

wish to maintain national unity from their side. I have no doubt that their Southern compatriots noted this and will reciprocate, to cement unity of the country.

Surely, other countries of Africa with similar problems are watching these admirable moves in Nigeria with hope. Thus, my deep respects for Nigerians.

May God Almighty bless Nigeria and the Nigerians, and may peace and political stability come to stay in Nigeria.

Your Excellency, accept my warmest regards and good wishes.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', with a stylized, cursive script.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Former Vice-President of Sudan.

Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu, (Retd.) Hon. D. Letts

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U.K. Tel: 0181 248 9216; Fax: 0181 248 9217

His Highness Alhaji Ado Bayero
Emir of Kano
Emir's Palace
PMB 3002
Kano, Nigeria

9 March 1999

Your Highness,

Since the change of command in your country's armed forces, Nigeria has given new encouragement to all our countries.

Undoubtedly, the new commander understood and conformed to the will of the people, hence the change of direction.

Most interesting and admirable has been the selection of the candidates for the Presidency. The North demonstrated its will for reconciliation, patriotism and the desire to maintain national unity by not putting up a candidate. This was a conspicuous point, noted by the South and by foreign and African observers as a healthy and positive step. It will enhance understanding between the peoples of Nigeria and bring about the desired unity of the country.

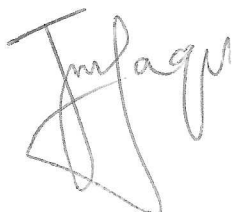
I am confident that Your Highness has been as before influential in promoting and directing this healthy trend of thoughts. God blesses you.

Praise is to God! The man (General Olusegun Obasanjo), languishing in prison, we were concerned about three years ago, is now the free and popularly elected President. God saves Nigeria and endows her leaders with wisdom.

I enclose to you a copy of my letter to the President-Elect, and I reaffirm my deep respect to the Nigerian people for their patriotic and statesmanlike moves. Africans with similar problems in their countries have been given hope by the Nigerian example.

Please accept my deep appreciation of these admirable memorable developments in your country.

Yours sincerely,



Joseph Lagu.



Agenda for Reconciliation - A global trust-building network

96 Gunnersbury Avenue
London W5 4HB
United Kingdom
Tel. 0181 248 9216,
Fax. 248 9217

23 April 1999

H.E. General Olusegun Obasanjo
President -Elect
Federal Republic of Nigeria
Abuja, Nigeria
Through Nigerian High Commission
9 Northumberland Avenue
London WC2N 5BX

Dear General,

It was kind of you to telephone me during your recent visit to London, and to give me a chance to meet you later in the day.

As you know, I very much hope that you will be in a position to renew your peacemaking role with my country the Sudan and with other countries in similar need. Together with their Excellencies distinguished elder statesmen Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, you represent a moral authority that can point Africa to the resolution of conflict. I would also include His Excellency Muammar Ghaddafi the Libyan leader and his current initiatives for reconciliation.

With His Highness the Emir of Kano, I am a member of the International Council of Agenda for Reconciliation (AFR), part of the work of Moral Re-Armament (MRA). It is on behalf of this Council that I send you the enclosed book "Conflict and Resolution". From my own reading it is a valuable reference book. The author is an Australian, Allan Griffith, who counted himself a friend of yours. (Sadly he died last year). You will find references to yourself on pages 57 and 61.

The book comes with our good wishes for Your Excellency's continued statesmanship.

With my warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu, Lt. Gen. (Retired).
Former Vice-President of Sudan.

Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu, (Retd.) Hon. D. Letts.

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, UK . Tel: 0181 248 9216; Fax: 0181 248 9217

As from: The Mountain House
1824 Caux
Switzerland

15 August 1999.

His Excellency General Olusegun Obasanjo
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
The State House
Abuja
NIGERIA

Your Excellency,

Warm greetings from Caux, Switzerland, the Moral Re-Armament (MRA) International Conference Centre. I am attending the session 'Agenda for Reconciliation', 8-15 August 1999.

I was delighted to find myself in the company of your compatriots, His Highness Alhaji Ado Bayero, the Emir of Kano, and Dr. Simi Johnson, the Chairperson of MRA in Nigeria. Together we participated in the Politician's Round Table. Our concern was peace and political stability in Africa. Present were politicians and diplomats from: the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Germany, South Africa, Canada, Japan, Taiwan, China, Russia, Bosnia, France, Italy, Cambodia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan, Nigeria, Norway, Australia, South Korea and Sweden. Each politician or diplomat represented him or herself. At the closing session, I spoke of the idea that I hinted to you in my last letter, when I enclosed the book 'Conflict and resolution' by Allan Griffith.

Brother, I have a vision for four of you African statesmen, two in retirement - their Excellencies Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and Dr. Nelson Mandela - and Your Excellency and His Excellency Muammar Ghaddafi. The four of you, coming from the four corners of Africa, form a cross. This for me is a cross of hope. You have all been involved individually in peace efforts. I believe that if these efforts were co-ordinated, they could promote this cause even more effectively. May the four of you be guided and re-inforced by the Almighty.

MRA is relatively better organised in the following countries than in the rest of Africa: Nigeria, South Africa, Cameroon, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. I believe that MRA can be an effective tool for internal conflict resolution in those countries and also in adjacent countries if called upon to do so. Your election to the Presidency of Nigeria is greatly welcomed by all the conferees. They believe that your past experience will enable you to perform well. They also know you as a man of Faith. I hope you will honour the organisation by visiting the Mountain House during one of its conferences.

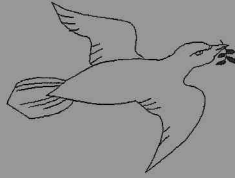
I have pleasure in enclosing the brochure of the 'Agenda for Reconciliation' and the appeal made at the Politician's Round Table.

Your Excellency, I conclude with the highest esteem for you personally and for your office.

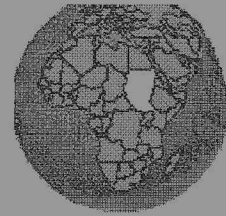
Yours sincerely,



Lt. General Joseph Lagu (Retd.)
Former Vice-President of Sudan



P A F S A
Peace Action For Sudan & Africa



96 Gunnersbury Avenue
London W5 4HB
22 Sept 1999

James Hore-Ruthven
9 Morpeth Mansions
Morpeth Terrace
London SW1P 1ER

Dear James,

It was a very fruitful AfR planning meeting we had yesterday, Tuesday 21 September instant at your place.

As I related in the short story, running the Mile race, I told the group at the meeting towards the end, planning by a competitor before the race is a necessity for such a competitor to win. Therefore the planning meeting was in place.

I am writing in accordance to the advice you gave me just before I left your residence, that I write to you in a letter my proposal that MRA sends two or three persons from outside Africa on a peace mission. The names I proposed are Sir Jim Lester, Archie Mackenzie and Joe Montville. I believe the message for peace to Africa will come from outside the continent, just as it has been with the messages of the major religions now dominant there. It is for this that I write under the Logo above.

The role of such persons would be to advise African leaders with moral authority who are already committed individually to the cause of peace in the continent to coordinate their efforts to attain better and faster results. A local MRA member or members known to be close or quite acquainted with the eminent person would join the MRA delegation to each eminent person. In the case of Nigeria for example, the Emir of Kano, and Mrs. Ana Abdallah in the case of Tanzania. In the case of South Africa Mrs. Verwoerd and Sam Pono.

As I stated in an earlier AfR meeting at Caux, Switzerland, the eminent statesmen could be:

- H.E. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere former President of Tanzania,
- H.E. Dr. Nelson Mandela recently retired President of South Africa,
- H.E. General Olusegun Obasanjo President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria,
- And according to my recommendation who would then take on board with them the Leader of the Libyan Jamahiriya, H.E. Muammar Ghaddafi in appreciation to his recent peace initiatives.

The above eminent statesmen come from the four corners of Africa. If connected by two lines from the North to the South and from the East to the West they make a cross. I see that as the cross of hope. I have at this point thought to add two others. One because of his current position as the Chairman of OAU, that is President Butaflika of Algeria, and the other, President Museveni of Uganda. The next All Africa MRA Conference is proposed to be held in the latter's country, Uganda, next year. His wife is known to be sympathetic to MRA. The move is to enthuse the President to the MRA cause, to make things easy for our MRA colleagues in Uganda as they endeavour to forge ahead with preparations for next year's conference.

I hope this letter will help you make further appeals to those who are concerned with the current situation in Africa and are also thinking to halt or bring an end to the unnecessary wars in that continent.

Warm regards to you and to Mrs. Hore-Ruthven.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', written over a large, stylized triangular shape that serves as a signature mark.

Joseph Lagu.

c.c. Peter Riddell
12A Norham Road
Oxford OX2 6SF

Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu, (Retd.) Hon. D. Letts

96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB, U.K. Tel: 0181 248 9216; Fax: 0181 248 9217

H.E. Colonel Muammar Ghaddafi
Leader of the Great Libyan Jamahiriya
Tripoli, Libya
26 October 1999

Your Excellency,

It gives me great pleasure writing to you. I recall vividly the glorious day, 3 March 1975. When you honoured us in the Sudan, particularly those of us from the South, by your presence at Wau for the celebration of the third anniversary of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement, which ended the 17 year civil war between the South and the North.

Your Excellency graciously in return invited two of us to visit Libya in September. H.E. Abel Alier was Vice-President of Sudan, and President of the Southern Regional Government. I was then General Officer Commanding (GOC) the First Division of the Sudanese Army in the South.

We had eight happy days and toured spectacular sites in Libya. The most important moment was the time when the two of us were taken to meet you. You talked to us in confidence. Each one of us also said a few words in return. You and I did not meet since then.

I have been moved by your recent peace initiatives. In August this year, at a Moral Re-Armament International Conference at Caux, Switzerland, at the session of the Politicians' Round Table (PRT), I described you as one of four distinguished African statesmen who have been individually working for peace in Africa. The other three were H.E. Dr. Nelson Mandela, the retired President of South Africa, H.E. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the retired President of Tanzania, and H.E. General (Retd) Olusegun Obasanjo, the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Sadly Africa lost Mwalimu Julius Nyerere who died this month. I said, that if the four of you could co-ordinate your efforts, you would bring peace and stability to African states currently in conflicts faster.

I enclose a book "Conflict and Resolution" for your encouragement. From my own reading it is a valuable reference book. The author was an Australian friend of mine, Allan Griffith.

The book comes with my deep appreciation of Your Excellency's peace initiatives and continued statesmanship, and with my warm regards.

Yours sincerely,
Joseph Lagu
Former Vice-President of Sudan



A MESSAGE OF APPEAL

**TO : H.E. PRESIDENT BESHIR (.)
DR. HASSAN ABDALLA TURABI,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.
THROUGH THE SUDAN EMBASSY, LONDON(.)**

I FOLLOW THE NEWS OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE TWO OF YOU WITH CONCERN(.) I WISHED YOU MAINTAINED THE HARMONY WITH WHICH YOU STARTED YOUR REVOLUTION AND TOGETHER RESOLVE THE COMPLEX NATIONAL PROBLEMS(.)

I AM VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THE LIBYAN - EGYPTIAN INITIATIVE FOR RECONCILIATION AMONG SUDANESE LEADERS(.) I HAVE HEARD OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE TWO SISTERLY STATES IN KHARTOUM JOINED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE EMIRATE OF QATAR, AND THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SISTERLY REPUBLIC OF UGANDA (.) THAT HIS HIGHNESS THE EMIR OF QATAR WILL FOLLOW TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE TWO OF YOU (.)

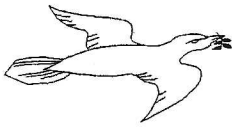
BROTHERS, I APPEAL TO BOTH OF YOU TO CONSIDER TO GIVE AND TO TAKE SO THAT A COMPROMISE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM BETWEEN THE TWO OF YOU IS POSSIBLE (.) THERE IS NEED FOR A CONSENSUS AMONG YOU IN THE GOVERNMENT, SO THAT THE MAIN PROBLEMS OF THE NATION, WITH PEACE AS THE PRINCIPAL ISSUE IS TACKLED(.)

FROM /

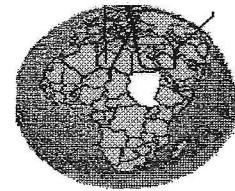


**JOSEPH LAGU,
LIEUTENANT GENERAL (RETIRED)
FORMER VICE PRESIDENT**

LONDON / 4 JANUARY 2000



P A F S A
Peace Action for Sudan & Africa



284 Evelyn Court
Amhurst Road
London E8 2BP
Tel/Fax: 0207 275 8501

H.E. Kofi Annan
Secretary General
United Nations Organisation
UN Headquarters New York
N.Y. 10017, U. S. A.

2 February 2000

Your Excellency,

I am writing to contribute some thoughts on the situation in my country, the Sudan and the Great Lakes Region of Africa. I wrote previously to your predecessor and to yourself offering my services to the UN in areas of peacemaking or conflict resolution in which I have some experience.

I wrote the previous letters when I was serving as a Roving Ambassador for the ongoing government in the Sudan. I had hoped in that position, I could influence the government to work for peace. That was not to be. Consequently I declined to accept a subsequent assignment, adviser to the President in Khartoum. Thereafter, I requested to be relieved and opted to be an independent voice. I am writing in that capacity.

The situation in the Sudan has become so complex. The two regions of the country, South and North, are torn by internal power struggles, besides the prevailing conflict between the two regions. The war is being mainly fought on southern soil. The population there have been constantly disturbed since August 1955 when trouble started. Following the new eruption of conflict in May 1983, many southerners got displaced from their homelands. Hundreds of thousands have perished, estimated as 2 millions out of a population of about 7 millions. The Sudan is dangerously sliding into chaos, with the emergence of a fresh power struggle between the chief ideologist, Dr. Hassan Abdallah Turabi and the military commander-in-chief of the system, Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan Al-Bashir.

A measure of foreign involvement is needed to stop the bloodshed, to prevent anarchy, and to seek a lasting solution for the country's multiple problems. If we Sudanese can be helped to face the causes of division within the two parts of the country and to find reconciliation in each, we shall then be in a position to tackle the larger South-North conflict. The international community can help in this. I appeal to them through Your Excellency not to stand idly by and watch the inhabitants of that unhappy land butcher one another.

The Sudan is composed of two nations: South and North brought together by colonial powers (Great Britain and Egypt). Right from the dawn of independence (1955) the two peoples have not been able to live together in harmony. The people of the South have expressed their desire since then to be themselves and run their own affairs. The

North, desirous to rule the South as a dominion it inherited from the above-mentioned colonial powers, persistently stood against that logical southern viewpoint. The Addis Ababa Peace Agreement of 1972 gave the South a measure of home rule and halted the conflict for 11 years. It is to be recalled that the Agreement was concluded after a long bloody war between the two regions.

Tragically the North abrogated the peace accord in 1983. This was one reason for the eruption of the conflict a second time. It made southern leaders lose confidence in northern leadership. Most southerners now advocate secession of the South from the rest of the Sudan. By referendum that should be allowed, as was the case with East Timor. So long as the northern army in the South behaves there as an army of occupation, it must be forced out in similar manner as the Serbian armed forces were evicted from Kosovo.

Regarding countries of the Great Lakes Region, I am impressed by the consensus reached by the leaders of the countries of the region when they elected the world-renowned South African elder statesman, H.E. Nelson Mandela to mediate in the Burundian conflict, a task left unfinished by his late colleague, the Tanzanian retired President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

I suggest that President Mandela's mandate be extended and endorsed by the UN to cover the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola. Among the leaders of the countries now involved on opposite sides in the Congolese crisis are those who elected Mr. Mandela. With the trust and respect they have for him, they may respect his judgement, if he asks them to pull out their forces to give way for a neutral peacekeeping force. I perceive that the solution of the current crisis in the Congo lies in that direction.

The Chair of the Worldwide Consultative Association of Retired Generals and Admirals (WCRAGA), based in London, UK, can be asked to recommend consultants or military advisers from the Association to assist Mr. Mandela. There are Africans among them. They will willingly contribute towards the promotion of peace in the Congo, Burundi and Angola, even as part time workers. Those are former combatants who saw the horrors of wars and chose to devote their retirement years as volunteers for the cause of peace.

Your Excellency, I have seen the damaging effects of civil wars, in my country and in some countries around it. I wish to contribute to peace building and conflict resolution in my country or elsewhere in Africa and the world, as long as my present good health and physical fitness permit. I enclose my CV for more personal information.

Yours sincerely,



Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Joseph Lagu
Vice-President,
Republic of Sudan (1982-1985).

Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu, (Retd.) Hon. D. Letts

21 Foxley Close Ferncliff Road London E8 2JN. Tel. 020 7254 1378

H.E. President Olusegun Obasanjo
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
Abuja, Nigeria

27 October 2000

Mr President,

Knowing your longstanding concern for my country, I am writing to inform you of a hopeful development, which I believe Nigeria can help forward.

I returned to London five days ago from a Preliminary Reconciliation Conference in Khartoum, aimed at laying the foundations of a permanent peace. It was chaired by Fieldmarshal Abdelrahman Swarraddahab and attended by a wide spectrum of political representatives.

During the Conference, at the peace and unity committee, a Southern representative said, quote: President Beshir has recently met two prominent Northern political leaders, Sayed Sadiq El Mahdi and Sayed Mohamed Osman El Mirghani in Djibouti and Asmara respectively. It is only just to Southern Sudan that he should offer to meet Dr John Garang, Chairman of SPLA/SPLM. Unquote. I appreciated the statement. The suggestion met the approval of many of the delegates. I feel that Abuja should be the place of meeting.

I would therefore call upon Your Excellency to invite them both (President Beshir and Dr Garang) to Nigeria. For my part I shall use my contacts with the Sudan Government and with Dr Garang to strongly urge acceptance of such an opportunity.

Please be sure of my continuing gratitude for your effective outreach to Africa, and my warmest wishes in all you undertake for the harmony and prosperity of your own country.

Yours sincerely,



Joseph Lagu
Former Vice-President of Sudan.

Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu, (Retd.) Hon. D. Letts

21 Foxley Close Mountford Estate Ferncliff Road London E8 2JN. Tel. 020 7254 1378

H.E. President Yoweri K. Museveni
President of the Republic of Uganda
Kampala, Uganda

30 October 2000

Mr President,

I am writing to you because I am aware of your longstanding concern for my country, and sympathy for my people the Southern Sudanese, in their struggle for justice and equality in their own country.

This is to inform you of a hopeful development, which I believe Uganda can help forward.

I returned to London a week ago from a Preliminary Reconciliation Conference in Khartoum, aimed at laying the foundations of a permanent peace. Fieldmarshal Abdelrahman Swarraddahab, the Head of State, at the interim period following the April 1985 uprising in the Sudan chaired it. The Conference was attended by a wide spectrum of political representatives.

During the Conference, one delegate stated that the Sudan is in a mess. "There are divisions and splits everywhere." He said. And proposed that there should be first, North-North and South-South dialogues. This is to get consensus within each group as for what they stand. I supported the suggestion. It met the approval of many of the delegates. I feel that Kampala should be the place for Southerners to meet.

I would therefore call upon Your Excellency to take an initiative similar to the Libyan-Egyptian one, which actually aims at reconciliation among the northern political groups. We need the same among us Southern Sudanese, your brothers and sisters.

Please be sure of my continuing gratitude for your effective outreach to Africa, and my warmest wishes in all you undertake for the harmony and prosperity of your own country.

Yours sincerely,



Joseph Lagu
Former Vice-President of Sudan

To His Excellency,
President Omar Hassan Al Beshir
President of the Republic of the Sudan
Republican Palace
Khartoum, Sudan.
Through Sudan Embassy London.

6 April 2001

Your Excellency,

Many Sudanese including myself are shocked and saddened by the news of the tragic incident that led to the loss of lives of the military leaders.

I grieve with you at the death of these men. The loss of any life untimely is painful to a family and reduces the manpower of the nation.

Like you I am equally grieved by the death of thousands of Sudanese as a result of this war, whether they are famous or unknown. Let us all work to end this war which you did not ignite but inherited it from the previous governments.

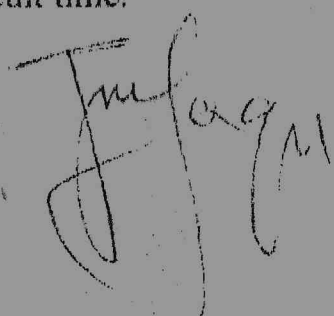
I believe God still has a loving plan for our country, and for our region of Africa. He wants to show us all how to respect each other and live in peace. Each of us is naturally loyal to our tradition. We must learn to be loyal to God first and to the morality He wants to govern all His people. May He bless and save our remaining people. And may He bless our country and renew goodness to our land.

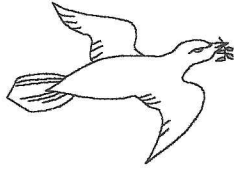
His is the Kingdom, the Power and Glory. May He have mercy on the dead and the living and lead us all in His righteousness.

God comforts you at this difficult time.

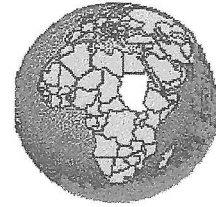
Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Lieutenant General (Retired).





P A F S A
Peace Action For Sudan & Africa
Mission: To Promote South Sudan Peace Forum



21 Foxley Close Mountford Estate Ferncliff Road London E8 2JN Tel: 020 7254 1378

His Excellency
General Olusegun Obasanjo
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
Abuja, Nigeria

12 August 2001

Your Excellency,

Allow me to thank you for your concern and interest to help us Sudanese resolve our standing political problems peacefully.

That was the main objective of our visit with D.K. Matthews to Khartoum and Juba in May-June this year. While in Khartoum we asked to meet your Ambassador, H.E. Osman Bello who responded promptly to our request. We asked him to convey our petition to Your Excellency, to sponsor South-South Dialogue, which he gracefully agreed to do.

I was thrilled to hear from my colleague, Mr. Bona Malwal who visited Nigeria recently and met you. He passed the good news to me that you have agreed to sponsor South-South Dialogue. We are really very thankful and grateful to you Mr. President for this generous offer.

Your Excellency, you are not new to the tragic question of South Sudan. South Sudan is the battleground for the political conflict and war in the Sudan. South Sudan has been in perpetual state of war for nearly half a century now. According to the UNHCR, South Sudan has the longest on-going civil war in the whole world. She has lost more than 3 millions of her people many of whom were children and able-bodied talented young men and women. South Sudan has the largest number of internally displaced persons in the world. Generations of our children have grown and lived without basic necessities of life including education, basic health services, food and shelter. Generations of South Sudanese have never lived in or experienced peace. This Mr. President, is happening at a time when the rest of humanity is enjoying the fruits of human civilisation - today translated into a technological era. The tragedy for South Sudan is that this is happening when the rest of the world is looking on. It is happening when the International community has intervened in resolving similar issues in other parts of the world such as Kosovo, East Timor and Sierra Leone. The question that is now being asked by our younger generation is how many more South Sudanese should die before the world can

intervene? When will the younger generation be given the chance to participate fully as adults in self-governance? This Mr. President is the message I have brought to you from our people living in diaspora, in the United Kingdom. The same message is echoed by those displaced resettled in the United States, Canada, Australia and Europe. Having been to the Sudan recently, I can only add that the quest for eventual and sustainable resolution for this conflict is total.

Background to the Sudanese conflict:

Since Sudan attained 'independence' from Britain and Egypt in 1956, successive governments in Khartoum have adopted a policy of structural discrimination against the people of South Sudan. They look at South Sudan as a dominion they inherited from the colonial powers and discriminate against its people. South Sudanese are mainly African Christians and animist (traditional religion observers) with Muslim communities in the towns who mix freely among themselves, whilst north Sudanese are mainly Arabised Muslims.

Historically, the seat of government in the Sudan has been in Khartoum which is in the North of the country. North Sudanese have not attempted to address the historical imbalance of development and power which was the legacy of the colonial period not only in Sudan but in the rest of Africa. Instead of a conscious effort to address these imbalances, successive governments in Khartoum have sought to legitimise these imbalances often by the use of military force. What South Sudanese are rejecting and resisting is the policy of a form of apartheid being imposed on them. The war in the Sudan has racial, religious, economic, and cultural dimensions. The world must now see it as such. The discovery of oil in South Sudan has led to a war of genocide being perpetuated against innocent civilian population. Khartoum is deliberately depopulating areas of South Sudan and has consistently created famine and starvation to depopulate the South in order to claim rights to our natural resources. At the present Khartoum government is using the oil revenue to intensify her war of genocide against the inhabitants of South Sudan.

Sponsoring a South-South dialogue

Although the main conflict in the Sudan was the North-South conflict, events of the last 10 years have introduced other dimensions into the struggle of the people of South Sudan. The achievement of our objectives and aspirations have been hampered by confusion of our national objectives by the current leadership of the SPLA/M; exacerbated by power struggle among the factional leaders following split in the movement in 1991. This has been worsened further by the policy of divide and rule by the Khartoum government. They exploited poverty and lack of adequate experience in self-governance among the ranks of the movement leaders. These factors have contributed to lack of progress in the military or political resolution of the conflict. Many South Sudanese are now waking up to this realisation. This visit is a follow up to the petition we passed through Ambassador Osman Bello – promotion and encouragement of dialogue among South Sudanese. Such South-South Dialogue could embrace the different political actors in South Sudan namely: the SPLA/M; other factional splinter

groups of the liberation movement; Southern political groups; Southern civil society; churches; women's groups; professional groups; and community elders.

However, due to the complexity of this situation, such a conference should not be a one off exercise. It should be sustained until the objectives of our struggle is achieved. These dialogues would engage Southern Sudanese to crystallise their thoughts on their future i.e., Self-determination. It would engage South Sudanese including the grassroots in an effective debate regarding self-determination through a referendum. Self-determination is a human right. The people of South Sudan reserve the right to exercise this right.

International Mobilisation:

It is apparent that South Sudanese cannot resolve their own conflict alone. The political war in the Sudan has international dimensions. The Khartoum government has been supported all along in this war by their brothers in the Middle East. Today there are foreign companies involved in the oil exploration in South Sudan. It is now opportune for a sister country like Nigeria in conjunction with other sister countries like South Africa to take the lead in finding a sustainable and just solution to the political conflict in the Sudan. We do appreciate the role that has been played by other regional organisations such as the IGAD and friends of the IGAD but we feel that there is scope and need to broaden the base of the political players. It is apparent that there are elements in the parties to this conflict: The Sudan government and the SPLA/M for reasons they know are not keen to stop the war. Well, when two beasts fight, it is the grass that suffers.

We observe suspiciously that the Libyan-Egyptian initiative which disregards the right to Self-determination is seemingly designed to distract the efforts of the IGAD peace process. The people of South Sudan would like to see Nigeria and South Africa taking a more active role in conjunction with the sister countries of Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Eriteria. Together these states could further lobby for the constructive engagement of the OAU, the EU and the UN. The agenda of South Sudan could become a priority matter for deliberations in these international bodies. We want the international community to put pressure on Sudan Government and the SPLA/M to find ways to bring this war to a just and peaceful end.

Preparation for Post-conflict era

Since the prematured independence of Sudan from the Condominium rule of Britain and Egypt, in 1956, South Sudan has been at war with the North. The brief period truce attained as a result of the Addis Ababa Agreement, was abrogated by former President Nimeiri in 1983. Since then the South has not only been at war with Khartoum but sadly with itself too. There are many wounds to heal. Secondly as a consequence of the war, the South has been denied any opportunity for economic, social and political development. The task for national reconciliation and reconstruction for the South is therefore massive. It is for this reason that we are requesting your government and other sister countries with good will towards the people of South Sudan, to assist us now in laying the foundation for future comprehensive reconstruction of our country, whether this will be within a united Sudan or in an independent South as will be decided by the

people in an internationally supervised referendum. Some of the suggestions put forward by our people in Diaspora include the followings:

- a) setting up 2 offices in the Sudan in Khartoum and Juba.
- b) setting up offices in London, USA, Nairobi, Kampala, Addis Ababa, Australia, and Canada.

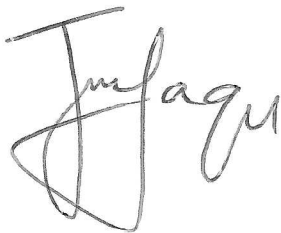
These offices will in conjunction with other governmental and non-governmental agencies, academic institutions, and churches start the process of setting up a programme for a post-conflict reconstruction. Other issues to be addressed will include the followings:

- ◆ South-South reconciliation.
- ◆ Physical rehabilitation of refugees and the internally displaced to their areas of origin.
- ◆ Creating appropriate systems: of governance, institutions and constitution.
- ◆ Establishing accelerated economic development projects in all regions of South Sudan.
- ◆ Provision of equitable services.
- ◆ The invitation of Regional and international agencies in participating in the development projects and in the provision of services.

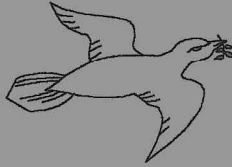
The active involvement, participation and financial contribution of your government and the people of Nigeria will be absolutely vital in achieving these expressed aspirations and objectives. There is therefore need to set up a Fund for South Sudan and we request Nigeria's generous contribution towards this fund. This will enable us to promote and consolidate and sustain some of the initiatives, which have recently sprung up in Nairobi, Kenya, London, UK (May 2001) and Nashville, Tennessee, USA (August 2001).

Your Excellency, I conclude with profound respect and appreciation of your role in peace processes throughout Africa.

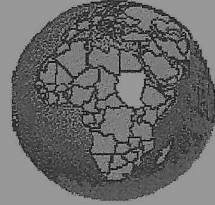
Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', with a stylized, cursive script.

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu (Retd.)
Former Vice-President of Republic of Sudan.



P A F S A
Peace Action For Sudan & Africa
Mission: To Promote South Sudan Peace Forum



21 Foxley Close Mountford Estate Ferncliff Road London E8 2JN Tel: 020 7254 1378

Revd. Harry Almond
~~2001~~
P.O. Box 5 North Egremont
MA, U S A

4 September 2001

Dear Harry,

I recall receiving a letter from you in July this year following my return from the Sudan and Kenya on a peace mission with a colleague and a former schoolmate of mine, Daniel Koat Matthews. In that letter you asked me to convey your greetings to Peter Everington and family, that I did and Peter expressed gratitude.

Shortly after, I received an invitation from the PanAfrican Summit at Nashville, Tennessee U S A, asking me and a group of my compatriots in the United Kingdom, Europe and Africa to come there to participate in a Conference on the situation in the Sudan. I then dropped the idea of replying you by a letter and thought to surprise you by ringing you from there.

Alas! I didn't know that according to the laws of the U S A, processing visa applications for former foreign constitutional post holders like me takes longer time than those of the other applicants. The approval to grant me visa came much later, so I missed that conference. Consequently, I could not fulfill my desire to ring you from Nashville, Tennessee. The days passed by.

Daniel and the others invited with me managed to catch up with that Conference. While the group were in Tennessee, I received a message from the office of the Nigerian President, to come to Abuja to meet the President. I responded and went.

During our brief stay in Khartoum, we sent a petition to the Nigerian President through his Ambassador to the Sudan asking him to get involved in the Sudanese peace process more deeply.

We said: "In the Sudan we are in a mess. Southerners are fighting against the North for their war of liberation and at the same time are involved in internal feuds based on ethnic divisions. Northerners too, lost cohesion as they are waging repressive war on the South at the same time they are involved in sectarian and regional struggles for power. There is

therefore need for progressive peace processes in the Sudan. We are two distinct peoples there, therefore two nations. The South and the North as their borders stood at Independence, 1st January 1956. We call for a South-South dialogue parallel to a North-North one to attain consensus within each group. Thereafter to see if the gap that divides the two peoples can be narrowed." We asked the Nigerian leader to sponsor South-South dialogue. I was called to Abuja to elaborate further on that petition, which I did before the President. Although our concern is the South, I also requested the President to advise the Libyan and Egyptian leaders to sponsor North-North dialogue.

When it was evident that I was going to Nigeria on a call from the President there a close group to me felt that it was necessary for me to present something written to the President. Enclosed is what they had prepared that I presented to the President. What is entirely mine are the three introductory paragraphs.

Our mission to Khartoum was to appeal to the government there and the opposition both internal and external, to stop military actions in favour of dialogues. We argued that the standing problem in the country between the North and the South was political. It therefore needs a political solution and not a military one. We said that the issue can be resolved through series of progressive dialogues. South-South dialogue on one side and North-North dialogue on the other. And, subsequently, North-South dialogue. We believe that is the way to a just and a lasting peace in the war torn Sudan.

I tried to get to you through the telephone yesterday and couldn't get through, so I decided to write this letter.

It is not good to tell a friend some sad news regarding oneself. It is equally not proper to hide vital information from friends. I am currently in a state of mourning. I lost a brother in Khartoum who died on 23 August 2001 after a brief illness in Khartoum civil hospital. He was a civil engineer and fell sick in the field rebuilding bridges between Wau and Raga in South Sudan. He was operating behind government defensive lines. He was among those who chose to remain in the country despite the conflict. The government used such people to their interest.

Our family is hit hard by the loss of such an engineer who could help in the reconstruction of our family homes should peace come some day. It will take us time to adjust ourselves that he is no longer with us. Our only hope is that the Lord has taken him to be with Him.

My warm regards to you and to your dear wife.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joseph Lagu', written in a cursive style.

Peter here is copy of the letter I wrote in reply to Harry's letter almost two months ago. I thought it was necessary to inform him of the recent moves.

4 JAN 2003

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Republic of the Sudan

The Presidency

Dept. of Political Affairs



جمهورية السودان
رئاسة الجمهورية
إدارة الشؤون السياسية

Excellency and Dear Brother ,

This is to acknowledge, with thanks and appreciation, your letter 12 December 2002 addressed to His Excellency Sayed Ali Osman Mahamed Taha the First Vice – President who wishes you and your family Merry Christmaas and Happy New Year.

The First Vice – President has asked me to convey to you that he is pleased to know that you are following Sudan Television in London and hopes you were able to watch the unprecedented celebration in Malakal of the 47th anniversary of our Independence. In his address to the nation from Malakal, His Excellency the President of the Republic reiterated his commitment for a negotiated peaceful settlement, sustaining the atmosphere of peace brought about by the agreements concluded so far with SPLA/M, and called upon all Southern Sudanese compatriots to be positively engaged in the peace process.

Within this context, your initiative (peace Action for Sudan) is most welcome. We are convinced that a rapprochement between perceptive men of your caliber and experience will result in a meaningful dialogue at this critical point in the peace process.

Looking forward to see you soon, we wish you and your family good health and success.

Yours Sincerely,

Omer Y. Briedo

Director Political Department

Address to:

H.E Lt Gen. (Retd) Joseph Lagu,

Former Vic- President

Peace Action For Sudan & Africa,

Diaspora Unit C2,

3 Bradhy Street, London N16 8JN

Khartoum on 04 .01.2003

Their Excellencies
President Beshir
& First Vice-President Taha
Through Sudan Embassy, London

23 December 2003

I am following the progress of the peace talks in Kenya and political development at home in the Sudan closely.

You have once again demonstrated flexibility and statesmanship by agreeing to share the oil revenue as indicated in the news. It is flexibility and statesmanship that holds peoples and nations together, not force. I advise that you show the same flexibility and statesmanship over events in Darfur and other conflict areas of our dear Sudan.

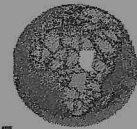
I was delighted as I watched Sudan news over the Sudan TV, Ghazi Suleiman declaring Kobar Prison clear of political prisoners. That is a step forwards to democracy, the system of rule preferred these days in our world. Let us aim towards that as our country moves towards peace.

I had time and again told you that you were not the initiators of the ongoing conflicts in the country, but that you inherited it from the previous regimes. You will be national heroes if you end the conflicts and bring peace, democracy and stability to the country.

You are on your way to do just that. So brothers onwards, march on. We will join you on the road to peace. Have Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lagu
Lt. Gen. Retd.
Former Vice-President.



H.E. Omar Hassan Al-Bashir
President of Sudan
The Palace
Khartoum, Sudan
Through Sudan Embassy London

26 July 2004

Mr. President,

I am delighted to hear your wise pronouncement broadcast over the BBC world radio repeatedly this morning. That you believe the conflict in Darfur can be resolved through DIALOGUE and that your government will co-operate with the international community. That is a wise move.

I totally agree with you in this patriotic approach. It is the way forward in ending the conflict in Darfur and restoring calm to the region and the entire country.

Your Excellency, at this juncture, I advise that you continue with this reconciliatory approach, seek and welcome assistance of others genuinely willing to help.

On my part, I am willing to come and even go to Darfur with others and promote the course of the DIALOGUE if Your Excellency feels that is appropriate.

May Almighty God guide your footsteps and restore calm to our country, the Sudan?

Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Joseph Lagu
Former Vice-president