

Ghion Hotel
Addis Ababa
9 June 1987

Dear Fellow Compatriots,

Honourable Members of The Constituent Assembly, I am writing this open letter as one who rebelled, made peace, and took part in the administration of the country.

Therefore I am aware of ravages of war, benefits of peace, and problems of administration. Hence, I understand what it will mean, if the current war in our country continues; in terms of our national economy and the image of our country abroad.

I now believe in peaceful ways of solving national problems. I committed myself into looking at issues that way, since I signed the Peace Agreement in this same city in 1972.

I am now here, exploring the possibilities of the same, with the SPLA/SPLM leadership. I feel a break-through could be achieved if the following could be done:

- a) the repeal of the September Laws, and their replacements by the 1974 secular laws as temporary measures until holding of the constitutional conference;
- b) the cancellation of the Military Pacts with The Foreign Powers.

I believe, these can be possible, assessing it from the consensus reached on the declaration at KoKa Dam. This will not be new. In July 1984, Abel Alier and myself wrote a memo jointly, for a constitutional concern, to the then President of the Republic, and we were backed by the people and the National Assembly then.

I am now appealing to you for a similar support so that our

country gets out of this constitutional crisis that is threatening the unity of our people.

Fellow citizens, and Honourable Members, the outcome of the debates on the September Laws, or the proposed alternative laws, about to be in the Assembly, will be vital, as for peace and unity in our country.

May God give you wisdom and foresight to deliberate in favour of what I proposed above.

God saves the Sudan
and gives peace and unity
to the Sudanese.

Yours fellow Compatriot,

Joseph Lagu.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. Lagu', with a stylized, overlapping flourish at the end.

YOUTH CONFERENCE

General LAGU Sudan 20th July 1987 Mountain House, Caux

I thank the Lord very much to have given me the opportunity to have come here at this place Caux, the centre of Moral Re-Armament where I feeling I am returning from here, refreshed and is strengthen and to have learn a little bit more and before I leave I would like to have few words with you brotheren whom I have met here and particularly the younger people. I have learnt from here that knowledge, experiences and wisdom can flow either way double way traffic from the old to the young and from the young to the older. During my time here I've had conversation with people who were older than me and I have learnt a lot from them and I have also had conversation with people who are younger than me, and I have equally learnt a lot from them. So knowledge, experiences and all this good things they flow double way not one way traffic. I had originally thought it was one way. I had originally thought ~~that~~ that it is the older to give nor vice-versa. I had suffered from that complex ^{myself} ~~vice-versa~~. I have suffered from it in that I looked down on the young and I have suffered from it in that those who are older than me looked down on me that it was nothing to get from me.

But I have felt that it is double way and what I would want to leave to the younger people and I have noticed in them very talented people here, those who have participated in the organization, and in organizing the services, there are people, young men and young women, who are very very much talented. And what I have noticed also in life is that people who are talented, a good many of them, particularly when they are overtaken ~~xx~~ by spiritual values, they tend to shy ~~xxx~~ away from public life, and regard it materialistic and soforth, with less value. ~~That~~ That is where they are most needed, that is where they can be listened to, where they can be in touch with greater, larger audience. I had in my early days wanted to be a schoolmaster, that was my ambition. And at times I thought I wanted to be a preacher, but when I ^{looked} ~~looked~~ into myself, I said: "huf", I cannot control myself, I cannot match it, I don't have the ability to endure and to overcome some of my weaknesses. I am not good for that. I would be a normal man, and I will do my best if glooms of Christ can be seen in me, whichever way, anywhere. That may be what I can afford. I cannot be a preacher, I am not too good for that and sometimes my temper is not that good, I may not be able

to bring up young people well and bad examples will be seen in me, and it will not help them":

Eventually I became a soldier, because I had the love of my country. When the civil war broke out, our part of the army was disbanded, I felt ~~x~~ we were humiliated. I wanted to work to ~~xxxxxxx~~ restore the equatorial corps, the southern part of the army. I went into the army and I rebelled. I joined our people. I organized the military wing of the movement and later I became the leader of it, and also the political leader. And I had benefited from practical leadership through hardships, founding an army from nothing, initially entering with my bare hands, as landmines were dugged the whole on the road, so that the truck comes and falls on it. Those were the rudimentary weapons we had. And I had tried to show ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{mercy}, a blessing christianity which was in me, was when the enemy plane, it was a civilian plane carrying passengers ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ crash landed in our territory. And some of my men said : we kill them, they are our ~~xxxxx~~ enemies; others said : we demand ransom. I battled within myself and I said : I will not benefit from misfortune of others. These are innocent travellers. If they are savages, they ~~xxx~~ ^{have} being our people, we will show that we are different. We will let them go. And we left them to go without demanding anything.

This one went ~~x~~ and caused revolution in the Sudan, deep down. And people began to say : the real government is in the bush, led by Lagu, not this one ~~x~~ here. And it forced the government in Khartoum then to seek peaceful solutions with us. And I felt that way I gave the light of Christ much more effective than if I had become a preacher where I would have been a failure after all. And, gentlemen and ladies, particularly you the young people, that is how I look at things and I think in public life wherever the Lord will take you, it ~~xy~~ may be very high up in the government of ^a estate, it may be around, ~~x~~ or you may even have a friend in a high position who listens to you. You can pass the word of God that way, if you are a Christian like me, the light of Christ can be seen in your face, and if you belong to some other religion, well all the religions on earth preach love of God, And ~~x~~ where there is love, there is God. Sometimes, as a Christian, I say : no salvation but through Christ. When I look around and see all the earth and all the people, Christ would never be ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{that} ~~xx~~ those who ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ have not heard of him, and those who are believing another religion cannot also go through God. So I look at myself that I do not understand that Christ must have meant something more than what I personally have understood. God is father to all and He is love as we know Him, and therefore all those who practise the love of God, in whom ~~xx~~ the light of God is seen, they are equally liable for salvation, just as I am. And thank you very much, thank you very much. And I wish you a safe journey and to your family.

The Association of Maritime Chief Engineers of Pakistan arranged a seminar at the Holiday Inn, Karachi, on Thursday February 16th 1989.

The Theme was MORAL RE-ARMAMENT - A FORCE OF HEALING

One of the speakers was General Joseph Lagu, former Vice-President of Sudan. He spoke as follows:

I came in contact with Moral Re-Armament only a little over three years ago, though earlier I saw the film 'Freedom', which gave me an idea about the organisation. I appreciate the effort men and women of Moral Re-Armament make in bringing about changes for the better. I like seeing people of different religions and races assemble in MRA conferences harmoniously, and sometimes praying together, each in his or her way. Since then I have, wherever possible, tried to give my contribution to promote the cause of Moral Re-Armament.

In pursuance of the above, I am here to give whatever I can. I will tell you accounts of my practical experiences which led to changes.

My background has been a military one, at the start, and then political. I defected from the Sudanese Army in June 1963 when I was a lieutenant, in sympathy with my people when I felt they were rightly resisting cultural and linguistic pressures from the Northern Sudan. As the years passed during the ten years of my involvement in the civil strife, eventually I became the leader of the entire resistance movement.

God uses certain situations to solve problems. In December 1971 when I was fully in command of all the guerrilla forces in Southern Sudan fighting the Khartoum Government, a Sudan Airways civil plane en route to Juba from Khartoum lost its way and crashed in our territory. The news was relayed to me by the guerrilla area commander. I sent a reply telling him to protect the survivors and their property, and that I would send further instructions the next day. The survivors were 29 in number.

I called a meeting of the staff of my Headquarters. Opinions were divided. Some were for killing the survivors, most of whom were Northern Sudanese, because the Northern Army had massacred civilians and burnt some in a grass thatched church a few weeks earlier. Others were for a high ransom price for the lives of those survivors. I adjourned the meeting to the following morning. You may imagine the situation. I had a restless and sleepless night.

In the cool hours of the night I thought of God and His punishment, should I take a wrong decision. It was me to stand before God, and not the others. I prayed and asked for guidance.

By dawn a thought came to my mind: "Free those people. They are innocent travellers." It continued ringing in my mind. I thereafter decided to free them without any conditions. I remembered what my chaplain said at Rumbek Secondary School as far back as 1953, "When a thought comes to you in the early hours of the morning, it may be guidance from God."

At breakfast time I broke the news of the decision to the staff and asked them to support it. I told them that any other decision would disturb me, and I would be unable to give them the leadership they required in the future. They consented. That was a great relief for me. Orders for the release were then sent to the area commander, who escorted those people close to the nearest Army post.

When they arrived in Khartoum, the Government ceased calling us thieves, robbers and savages. Instead they established contacts through the World Council of Churches which led to peace talks and finally the Peace Accord at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in March 1972. The results were:

1. Self-rule for Southern Sudan within the one Sudan.
2. Integration of my Guerrilla Force of over 18,000 into the Armed Forces and the auxiliary forces of the Sudan.
3. I became the Inspector General of the Sudanese Armed Forces under the Chief of the General Staff and, a few years later, Vice-President of the Republic under Nimeiri until the fall of his regime in April 1985.

The peace we made lasted for over ten years. Trouble erupted again, however, in 1983 when some of the clauses of the Accord were abrogated, and when some of the Southern compatriots felt that the North had not been serious about development projects in the South. A new rebellion is now being led by Col. John Garang, one of the officers from my previous Guerrilla Force. In spite of disappointments, I remained in the Government until its demise in April 1985.

After the fall of the regime I was imprisoned with my colleagues (members of the deposed government) but quickly released as the result of a public clamour that I was innocent. My actions at the time of the plane crash in 1971 were remembered. I was declared a free man. Some of my colleagues are in prison to this day.

Three months later I went to Britain and decided to remain there while the dust settled. From there I established contact with the rebel leader with the hope of inducing him to work towards peace. I visited him in Addis Ababa in 1987, at his invitation, while keeping the Prime Minister of Sudan informed of my activity and aim. In 1988 I spent three months in Khartoum on the invitation of the Prime Minister, Sadiq El Mahdi, and conferred with him and other party leaders, including my Southern Sudanese compatriots, and gave them my views about national reconciliation, peace and stability in our country, the Sudan.

I believe lasting peace will come to us in the Sudan when we attain understanding between sections of our various communities within our country, and understanding with all our neighbours. Such a lasting peace will come to the area concurrently, God willing. Thanks to the Almighty, there seems to be progress towards understanding in our country, and in the area as a whole, though rather slow. And I appreciate the respect the Government has for me, to the extent of giving me back my diplomatic passport.

In conclusion I register my thanks to the Almighty for His guidance which made me take the right decisions at appropriate times; and for bringing me to Pakistan to meet some experienced God-fearing and God-loving men who have enriched my mind about "Love and Respect for God". In the past my actions were determined only by the fear of God. Pakistani friends have shown me how to add "Love and Respect".

I thank you, the Maritime Chief Engineers, very much for your invitation to speak at this seminar.

I would also like to express my appreciation and thanks to Admiral Choudri for his generous hospitality here in Karachi and in Lahore.

ADDRESS

BY

HIS EXCELLENCY, LIEUTENANT GENERAL (RTD) JOSEPH LAGU
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE
SUDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS AT SAN SALVADOR AT
AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ENTITLED

" A MORAL ENCOUNTER FOR PEACE"

SEPTEMBER 13, 1990

AN ADDRESS AT SAN SALVADOR AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ENTITLED " A MORAL ENCOUNTER FOR PEACE" ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1990

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I feel greatly honoured to be amongst you this day, and my government in Khartoum, Sudan, shares the same feeling with me. The government and people of the Sudan thank the friendly government and people of this country, El Salvador, for giving them the honour by inviting me to address this conference:

I am happy to convey through you, Mr. Chairman, greetings from our Head of State, H.E. Lieutenant General, Omer Hassan Ahmed El Beshir, Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation, to your Head of State, H.E. Mr. Alfredo F. Cristiani, President of the Republic of El Salvador. Also, I am happy to convey to you the Conferees, greetings from the Sudanese assembled at a conference (the National Dialogue Conference on the Political System) in Khartoum to discuss the political system suitable for our country after so many trials and failures. Mr. Chairman, dear friends,

We need to turn to God and ask for His guidance in order to have this conference achieve some positive results. Let me read to you my hymn for the season which I feel fits the occasion:

Spirit of God, unseen as the wind,
Gentle as is the dove:
Teach us the truth
And help us believe,
Show us the Saviour's love!

You spoke to us - long, long ago -
Gave us the written word
We read it still, needing its truth
Through it God's voice is heard.

Spirit of God

Without your help we fail our Lord,
We cannot live his way;
We need your strength,
Following Christ each day.

Spirit of God

We need to be taught to see the truth, in order to believe and accept our own faults, and ask for forgiveness. We need the power to prevent us from falling into the same errors again, and power to take courage to pardon, but not hate those who injure us. We need the strength to seek God's guidance each day of our lives, and each moment at this conference.

Fellow Conferees,

We need God's guidance to develop in us moral standards necessary for good leadership; many of us now assembled here in this hall, are people in positions of leadership. We need strength to aim at the standards of Moral Re-Armament: Absolute love, absolute honesty, absolute unselfishness, absolute purity; they are not easy, they need faith in the individual in order to observe them. By faith difficult problems can be solved miraculously. Let us surrender ourselves to God.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me therefore relate to you a story in which I was personally involved when I became the leader of the South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) in a 17 years civil war with

predominantly Muslim Central Government: an incident which suprisingly led to peace. I defected from the Sudanese army in June 1963 in sympathy with my people in Southern Sudan, whom I felt were rightly resisting cultural and linguistic pressures from the North. I was Lieutenant then, when the southern politicians in exile called me to join them and assigned me the responsibility to raise and organize the armed wing of the Liberation Movement they had started.

I started with 45 men and 3 arms of the following types: 1 muzzle loader, a .404" game rifle with a bad extractor, and a "Martini Henry Rifle". After 6 years I found myself the leader of the entire movement, commanding a guerrilla army of over 18,000 men with various types of weapons found in the world, modern and ancient, and myself a Major General.

God uses certain situations to solve problems. On 6th December, 1971, when I was fully in command of all the guerrilla forces in Southern Sudan fighting the Khartoum government, dominated by the Northern Sudanese, a Sudan Airways plane enroute to Juba in Southern Sudan from Khartoum crashed in our territory. The news was relayed to me by the guerrilla area commander. I sent a reply telling him to protect the survivors and their property. That I would send further instructions the next day. There were 29 survivors. Mr. Chairman,

I called for a meeting of the staff of my headquarters. Opinions were divided. Some were for the killing

of the survivors, most of whom were Northern Sudanese, because the northern army has massacred civilians and burnt some in a grass thatched church only a few weeks earlier. Others were for a high ransom price for the lives of those survivors. I adjourned the sitting to the following morning. You may imagine: I had a restless and sleepless night.

In the cool hours of the night, I thought of God and his punishment, should I take a wrong decision. It was I, Joseph Lagu, who had to stand before Him and not the others. I prayed and asked for guidance. By dawn some thoughts came to my mind: Free those people, they are innocent travellers. It continued ringing in my mind, free those people, they are innocent travellers. I therefore decided to free them unconditionally. I remembered what my school Chaplain said at Rumbek, as far back as 1953. "When a thought comes to you in the cool hours of the night it may be guidance from God, don't go about diluting it by consulting other people. Act on it." Dear friends,

At breakfast time I broke the news of my decision to the staff and asked them to support it. I told them that any other decision would disturb me and that I would be unable to give them the leadership required in the future. When they consented it was a great relief for me. Orders for the release were sent to the area commander, who escorted the survivors to the nearest army post and let them go.

When the survivors arrived in Khartoum, the

the government ceased calling us thieves, robbers, savages etc. Instead they established contacts through the World Council of Churches (WCC) which led to peace talks and finally, the Peace Accord at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in March, 1972. The results were: Self rule for Southern Sudan within the one Sudan, integration of 18,000 of my guerrilla forces in the national armed forces and the other auxiliary forces of the country, and myself re-admitted into the armed forces with the rank of Major General and assigned the role of Inspector General of the integrated force. Three years later I was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General and commanded the first division of the Sudanese army.

In 1978 I was elected President of the Southern Regional government when I dropped the uniform and entered the political life. In 1982 I was appointed Vice-President of the Republic of the Sudan, the post I held until the demise of the regime in April, 1985.

Dear friends,

The peace we made lasted for 10 years. Trouble however, erupted again in 1983, when some of the clauses of the agreement involving the most sensitive, "the security arrangement", were abrogated by the then Khartoum government and when some of my fellow Southern Sudanese compatriots felt that the north had not been serious about the development projects in Southern Sudan. A new rebellion is now being led by Colonel John Garang, one of the officers from my former guerrilla army. In spite of disappointments, I myself remained in the government until its collapse.

After the fall of the regime, I was imprisoned with my colleagues (members of the deposed government), but quickly released as the result of a public clamour that I was innocent. The public had followed my stand as the situation worsened. My disagreement with some of the policies of the then President were well known. The public also remembered my actions at the time of the plane crash in December, 1971. I was released from prison in less than 24 hours and declared a free man while some of my colleagues remained in prison until another military coup d'etat that took place on 30th of June, 1989, when the government that followed freed them. In between I remained involved with the efforts to bring about understanding between the rebel leader, Col. Garang, and the Prime Minister of the government toppled by the group now in power, Mr. Sadiq El Mahdi. Mr. El Mahdi appointed me a Roving Ambassador so that I had an official capacity to enable my movements. The present government re-appointed me and assigned me to the same responsibility, and very recently assigned me the duty of the Permanent Representative of our country to the United Nations. I have come to you from New York where I took up my new responsibilities.

Dear Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the Sudan, the country named after the colour of the skin of its people, we still have problems, and very complex ones. We are in search of ways to resolve them as we have done before. Hopefully, this time, the peace we long for will come to stay.

In your beautiful country El Salvador, named after the Saviour, so I understand, you have problems as well, perhaps not as complex as ours. I appreciate the efforts you are making to resolve the issues. Let us pray that the Saviour helps you to attain peace in the land named after Him.

"Lord Jesus bring PEACE to the people of this land named after you"

Amen

I thank their Honours, Justices, Dr. Mauricio Gutierrez Castro, President of the Supreme Court and Dr. Oscar Rodriguez Diaz, Judge of Penal Court of Justice, for inviting me to this conference. I thank you all for listening to me so patiently.

I shall gladly answer any questions from those who may desire to hear more about our problems. How we tackled them in the past and what we are now doing to bring peace once more to our country.

Joseph Lagu
Lieutenant General (RET)
Sudan Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

from Peter Birmingham

London

Tel:

Oct 1996

SUDAN NOTES

Joseph Lagu is now Sudan's Permanent Representative at the UN in New York, an exacting job in the present Gulf crisis. His family remain in Ealing, but his wife Amna went to NY for three weeks in September to help host Sudan's President and his delegation.

At a political conference in Khartoum in August Joseph made a televised apology for his part in Sudan's previous divisions. "I do not come here to blame others. As a Moral Re-Armament member for the past five years, I have learned that if I point my finger at my neighbour there are three more pointing back at me." He then quoted 1 John 1 vv 8,9. A few days later he got the President's full backing to attend the MRA conference in El Salvador in September.

Peter E goes to stay with Joseph in his NY residence Nov 12-22.

Dr Abdel Aal Abdullah, Professor of Surgery at Khartoum University visited our home last week. In 1986, while Vice-Chancellor of Juba University, he was our guest for ten days at 26 Catherine Place and Tirley Garth. A fervent Muslim, he has been publicly contrite about North Sudanese crude attempts to Arabise and Islamise the South. At a meeting with Oxford friends on Oct 31, he told how God had guided him, with specific themes, to save a national conference in Khartoum in 1989, which was collapsing in Muslim-Christian uproar.

1992

JOSEPH LAGU

Gen. Yusuf LAGU

17

Conclusion

Our country, the Sudan, and the two other countries in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia, were not ruled as units during the colonial era. Because of inherited colonial divisions we found it difficult to adjust to the newer political forms and settlements after independence. The application of federalism could improve the situation in our countries. This has to be achieved through dialogue, perhaps with the involvement of the OAU, donor countries and distinguished people of goodwill who have shown an interest to mediate. It is apparent that the causes of conflict are not only those commonly regarded as such, that is ethnic, cultural and ideological differences. They are also rivalry for prominence and competition for jobs by the intellectuals. Perhaps these even contribute most to the unrest, and must be taken into consideration in the pursuance of lasting peace and stability.

So the finger seems to point now at us the intellectuals for the continuing plight of our nation, rather than at the imperialists who left 36 years ago. If we pause a while, listen more and talk less, we may discover our faults, blame others less and begin to change our nation. I wish therefore to share these understandings which I have learnt from the school of life at different stages, and which I continue to strive better to achieve in my encounter with others. "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Conversely, where there is vision, the people prosper and flourish. If we can learn the art of forgiveness, and the peace of working behind the scenes and letting others stand out instead of grabbing the limelight for ourselves; when we can accept the guiding of our conscience, and learn to appreciate the richness of another culture, religion and language; then we may find answers to the quarrels that have for so long divided us in the Sudan, and also our neighbours in the Horn of Africa. All these unnecessary internal wars may then come finally to their end. The people will prosper and flourish. May God reconcile us in the Sudan, and change us from creating problems to resolving them.

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I come to El Salvador this time filled with happiness and joy to congratulate you, the people of the land named after the Saviour, for the peace you have achieved. My heart-felt congratulations.

I am most grateful to be a guest in your country once again. This is my third visit. On my last visit I was a guest of the President of the Supreme Court, Dr. Mauricio Gutierrez-Castro, and I was at the time Permanent Representative of my country, the Sudan, to the United Nations. I feel grateful and most honoured to be invited again as the guest of both the Supreme Court and Moral Re-Armament.

Given peace, my country, Sudan, is potentially one of the richest countries in Africa. It has mineral, agricultural and pastoral wealth. It is however, in reality, one of the poorest countries. We have not learned to reconcile at the highest level of the nation. Two cultures divide the country. The South, where I come from, is a fertile land and the people are indigenous Africans. Their leadership is predominantly Christian. Most of the people practice their traditional religion and follow closely the way of life they have known for centuries. In the North, the people are of Arabic Islamic culture, and it is a tribute to them that they have mastered a difficult environment and created a civilization and economic prosperity in natural conditions which are far from easy. It is understandable that people with this achievement should be deeply attached to their view of the world.

My early life is typical of the many who live in Southern Sudan today. Up to the age of 13 I looked after my father's livestock (sheep and goats), and went fishing. I could hardly read or write. I lived close to the River Nile where it enters the Sudan from Uganda. My father was a customs official in the river port. One Saturday in March 1945, an Anglican priest arrived on the steamer from Uganda, on his way back to the primary school he was responsible for in the Sudan. I was called from the fields and put on a lorry, off to start formal education. It was a three-day journey, and I didn't see my family again for nine months.

At secondary school and later at military college, I became aware of the cultural pressure on the people of the South to adopt the ways of the North. I resented what I came to call "this cultural aggression". When I graduated from military college, I felt obliged to respond to the call of a liberation struggle which had as its aim the need to reach an understanding with the North that, whilst we in the South wished to remain Sudanese, we did not wish to be forced to abandon our chosen cultural paths. I participated in the military struggle for ten years, the last five years as its leader.

Peace came when the government in Khartoum accepted the need to find a political solution which satisfied our political aspirations. As the military leader of the South, I concluded a peace accord with the government - The Addis Ababa Agreement - which was designed to regulate political relations between North and South. The agreement lasted for eleven years from 1972 to 1983. However, trouble erupted again in May 1983 under different circumstances, and with different Southern leadership - I personally remained faithful to the peace agreement I had signed in March 1972. My advice to the parties involved in your peace accord is to similarly remain faithful to the accord so that it holds.

We had not succeeded in resolving the underlying tensions, and looking back on it, I feel we lacked a supportive international environment. We felt left alone to struggle with our problems. The other nations of Africa around us were not having an easy time. They were occupied with their own internal problems. More recently, what Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola have shown for Africa is that it is very important to involve the international community, especially the United Nations, in a peace process.

I feel that El Salvador is better placed to avail itself of an international system which is working more constructively now than it was for us in 1972. Further, the issues here are simpler. There exist no cultural differences, racism or religious factionalism as are found in some other conflict areas of the world. Here you salute the same flag and sing the same national anthem. I notice with delight that this has been realized. The government of El Salvador deserves praise for the openness shown.

I wish to pay tribute to the government of El Salvador, the military, the FMLN, and the people of El Salvador for their decision to give peace the chance it deserves. The whole world is watching El Salvador, and you have acted wisely to involve the international community creatively and constructively in your peace programme.

We all realize that many issues of a practical nature have to be solved. I know from my own experience that it is not easy to give up one way of life with a predictable pattern, however difficult, for one which has new uncertainties to be faced. The men and women of the FMLN will be expecting to participate in rebuilding El Salvador. That expectation needs to be rewarded.

Our thoughts and prayers will continue for the government, under the wise leadership of President Alfredo Christiani, the Supreme Court, the MRA of El Salvador, and all those involved in the peace process as they strive towards that realization. There is thus a need to build up the faith of the ordinary person in the future so that he can invest his confidence in playing a part to make peace a working reality. Clearly, the peace process must work for the ordinary man and woman. It is important to have clear in our minds the ways that are available to reach out to one another, by creating work opportunities through programmes which can rebuild the economic life of people shattered by uncertainty and war.

This is the challenge.

This conference can play an important part in softening the hearts of people on all sides so that they are prepared for the task of thinking through together the best approaches to the practical problems of national and community rehabilitation.

As a leader I know that the job becomes possible only if the leadership come together in reconciliation, and are seen to be working to a common objective. The spirit of cooperation at the top, once established, will reach down to the grass-roots, and very quickly. That is why in my visit here I wish to meet as many of your leaders from all sides as I can. I feel that this is a precious opportunity to restore the unity of your country and make an example which will inspire us in conflict areas in Africa, to renew our hopes and rebuild our respective countries torn by civil wars.

Be aware that the world news media is praising the peace that you have made. You are becoming famous for it. The world is watching you for an example of lasting peace. You have a unique opportunity to lead the world in that direction. The process of unity starts with the individuals as they forgive one another, reach understanding, and work together towards the common goal.

May God guide and lead you in El Salvador to a lasting peace and become an example to us in Africa and to others elsewhere in the world.

Once again, thank you very much for inviting me, and thank you very much for listening to me so patiently.

Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Joseph Lagu
Roving Ambassador of the Republic of The Sudan
El Salvador, March, 1992

SALVADOR

~~1992~~

April 1992

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman,

I am most grateful to be a guest in your country once again. This is my third visit. In my last visit I was a guest of the President of the Supreme Court and I was at the time Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations. I feel grateful and most honoured to be invited again as the guest of both the Supreme Court and Moral Re-Armament.

Given peace, my country Sudan is potentially one of the richest countries in Africa. It has mineral, agricultural and pastoral wealth. It is however, in reality, one of the poorest countries. We have not learned to reconcile at the highest level of the nation. Two cultures divide the country. The South, where I come from is a fertile land and the people are indigenous Africans. Their leadership is predominantly Christian. Most of the people practise their traditional religion and follow closely the way of life they have known for centuries. In the North, the people are of Arabic Islamic culture and it is a tribute to them that they have mastered a difficult environment to create a civilisation and economic prosperity in natural conditions which are far from easy. It is understandable that people with this achievement should be deeply attached to their view of the world.

My early life is typical of the many who live in Southern Sudan today. Up to the age of 13 I looked after my father's live-stock (sheep and goats) and could hardly read and write. I lived close to the River Nile where it enters the Sudan from Uganda. My father was a customs official in the river port. One Saturday in March 1945, an Anglican priest arrived on the steamer from Uganda, on his way back to the primary school he was responsible for in the Sudan. I was called from the fields and put on a lorry, off to start formal education. It was a 3-day journey and I didn't see my family again for 9 months.

At secondary school and later at military college, I became aware of the cultural pressure on the people of the South to adopt the ways of the North. I resented what I came to call "this cultural aggression". When I graduated from military college, I felt obliged to respond to the call of a liberation struggle which had as its aim the need to reach an understanding with the North that, whilst we in the south wished to remain Sudanese, we did not wish to be forced to abandon our own chosen cultural paths. I participated in the military struggle for ten years, the last five years of which I spent as leader.

Peace came when the government in Khartoum accepted the need to find a political solution which satisfied our political aspirations. As the military leader of the South I concluded a peace accord - The Addis Ababa Agreement - which was designed to regulate political relations between North and South. The agreement lasted for eleven years from 1972 to 1983. We did not succeed in resolving the underlying tensions. Looking back on it, I feel we needed a more supportive international environment. We felt left alone to struggle through our own problems. The other nations of Africa around us were not having an easy time. What Zimbabwe and Namibia have shown for Africa is that it is very important to involve the international community, especially the United Nations, in a peace process. I feel that El Salvador is better placed to avail itself of an international system which is working more constructively now, than it was for us in 1972.

I wish to pay tribute to the government of El Salvador, the FMLN and the people of El Salvador for their decision to give peace the chance it deserves. The whole world is watching El Salvador and you have acted wisely to involve the international community, creatively and constructively in your peace programme.

We all realise that many issues of a practical nature have to be solved. I know, from my own experience, that it is not easy to give up one way of life with a predictable pattern, however difficult, for one which has

new uncertainties to be faced. The men and women of the FMLN will be expecting to participate in rebuilding El Salvador. That expectation needs to be rewarded. There is thus a need to build up the faith of the ordinary person in the future so that he can invest his confidence in playing a part to make peace a working reality. Clearly, the peace process must work for the ordinary man and woman. It is important to have clear in our minds, the ways that are available to reach out to one another, by creating work opportunities through programmes which can rebuild the economic lives of people shattered by uncertainty and war.

This is the challenge.

This conference can play an important part in softening the hearts of people on all sides so that they are prepared for the task of thinking through together, the best approaches into the practical problems of national and community rehabilitation.

As a leader, I know that the job becomes possible only if the leadership comes together in reconciliation, and are seen to be working to a common objective. The spirit of cooperation at the top, once established, will reach down to the grass-roots, and very quickly. That is why in my visit here I wish to meet as many of your leaders from all sides that I can. I feel that this is a precious opportunity to restore the unity of your country and make an example which will inspire us in Africa, to renew our hopes and rebuild Africa.

May God guide and lead you in El Salvador to a lasting peace and become example to us in Africa and to others elsewhere in the world.

One again, thank you very much for inviting me and thank you all very much for listening to me so patiently.

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

STATEMENT AT MORAL RE-ARMAMENT CONFERENCE
30 APRIL KINGS HOUSE, KINGSTON JAMAICA

YOUR EXCELLENCIES; SIR HOWARD COOKE and LADY COOKE,
UMPIRE OF THE CONFERENCE THE REVD. EVANS BAILEY
RIGHT HONOURABLE MINISTERS,
LADIES & GENTLEMEN.

It is a pleasure for me to come to Jamaica, the fulfilment of a long time expectation. This is also my first time to be in the Caribbean. I am most grateful to H.E. SIR HOWARD COOKE, the Governor-General, for inviting me to attend this august conference. I salute the people of Jamaica.

It is a privilege for me to visit a people who have done so much for Africa, a people who have sustained their link with Africa -- inspired us Africans to struggle for our freedom. And, in over a decade had conducted an active diplomacy supporting change in Southern Africa -- assisting Zimbabwe and Namibia to attain their independence. Africa is grateful to you - Jamaicans.

I am delighted to be here to attend this Conference convened by H.E. THE G. G. It is wonderful and a blessing for MRA that he is the G.G., especially at this particular time of great changes in the world. May other leaders of his stature elsewhere be more and more attracted to take this sort of initiative.

MRA gives us as individuals, and as nations, guidance through its main pillars: HONESTY, PURITY, UNSELFISHNESS and LOVE;

MRA CONFERENCE
KINGSTON, JAMAICA
30 APRIL 1992
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in addition to what our scriptures stress upon -- compassion and forgiveness. These, when adhered to, provide sound bases for the required change; at national and international levels. Of course such changes start with the individuals like you and me.

Beloved brothers (and sisters), Jamaicans and visitors, I am here to learn from you. I wish to take from you what will help us in The Sudan to resolve our problems -- complex as they are, once more. Our country is sharply divided -- North and South by racial and cultural boundaries.

The North (2/3) in both territory and population is ^{arabised}~~abraised~~ and islamised and pushes The South to adopt its way of life. The South which has Christian leadership with the bulk of its people still living in their traditional ways, rejects that approach. These are the sources of our complex nature of problems.

Some new opportunities are opening up to create a bases for peace in the Sudan. The chairman of OAU, President Ibrahim Babaginda of Nigeria is lending his good offices to bring peace. To this end, he is holding a conference in about two month's time at his nation's capital. I ask for your prayers for this important step.

Naturally, as I became aware of the situation, I took sides with my people and joined a liberation movement in The South aspiring for a political arrangement acceptable to us in the South if we are to remain Sudanese. That was in June 1963. I was then an officer in the Sudanese regular Armed Forces. I became the trainer and organizer of the Anya-nya (the armed wing of the liberation movement) in jungles of Southern Sudan.

I participated in The Movement for 10 years. The last 5 years as its leader. Peace came when The Government in Khartoum accepted The Southern view-point and a peace accord was concluded in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in March 1972. Trouble, however, erupted again in May 1983, after 11 years of peace - and still continues.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen. It is comforting to be amongst you. A people who have preserved their national unity and remain strong supporters of their own regional organizations, The Commonwealth and The United Nations. My country, Sudan may not have got into its present difficulties if we behaved as you did right from the early days of our independence, if we had lived up to our national and international commitments. It is factual, that the more we behave

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as a part of the world around us, the more we are accepted ~~as-~~
by the world that can be part of us as well.

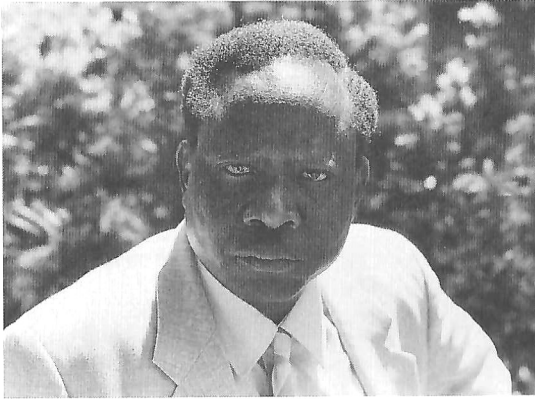
I have been attracted to MRA because its principles and
values transcend racial, ethnic, and cultural boundaries; and
hope through it to overcome my own ^{self} ~~nation~~. Because my nation
is composed of individuals like me.

I am here in appreciation to Jamaica's concerns for Africa.
Africa looks at Jamaica as a brother with sweet attractive voice
that must be heard. JAMAICA -- talk to us in The Sudan, as well.
We may listen to you and resolve our issues peacefully.

JOSEPH LAGU

LT. GEN. (RET)

FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT



Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu, Retd., Hon. D.Litt., was a cosignatory of the Addis Ababa Agreement of March 1972, in his capacity as Leader of the South Sudan Liberation Movement and Commander-in-Chief of Anya-nya (Guerrilla Forces). He was elected President of the High Executive Council for the Southern Region of the Sudan (1978 - 1980) and appointed Vice-President of the Republic of the Sudan (1982 - 1985). He was appointed Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Sudan to the United Nations, New York, from September 1990 to January 1992. He is currently Roving Ambassador of the Republic of the Sudan.

DIALOGUE IN SEARCH OF PEACE IN SOUTHERN SUDAN

By

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

CHALK FARM, LONDON
26 SEPTEMBER 1992
METHODIST CENTRE, NAIROBI
11 OCTOBER 1992

**Dialogue in Search
of Peace with
my Southern Sudanese
Community in the United
Kingdom
and Kenya**

By

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

THE READING FROM THE **HOLY BIBLE** IS TAKEN FROM
THE BOOK OF PROPHET NEHEMIAH.

CHAPTER 1, VERSES 1—11.

Nehemiah's mission

The narrative of Nehemiah son of Hacaliah.
In the month of Kislev in the twentieth year, when I was in Susa the capital city, it happened that one of my brothers, Hanani, arrived with some other Judaeans. I asked them about Jerusalem and about the Jews, the families still remaining of those who survived the captivity. They told me that those who had survived the captivity and still lived in the province were facing dire trouble and derision; the wall of Jerusalem was broken down and its gates had been destroyed by fire.

When I heard this news, I sat and wept, mourning for several days, fasting and praying before the God of heaven. This was my prayer: 'LORD God of heaven, great and terrible God faithfully keeping covenant with those who love him and observe his commandments, let your ear be attentive and your eyes open to my humble prayer, which now day and night I make in your presence on behalf of your servants, the people of Israel. I confess the sins which we Israelites have committed against you, and of which my father's house and I are also guilty. We have acted very wrongly towards you and have not observed the commandments, statutes, and rules which you enjoined on your servant Moses.

'Remember what you impressed on him when you said: "If you are unfaithful, I shall scatter you among the nations; but if you return to me and observe my commandments and fulfil them, I shall gather those of you who have been scattered to the far corners of the world and bring you to the place I have chosen as a dwelling for my name."

'They are your servants and people, whom you have redeemed with your great might and your strong hand. Lord, let your ear be attentive to my humble prayer, and to the prayer of your servants who delight to revere your name. Grant me success this day, and put it into this man's heart to show me kindness.' I was then cup-bearer to the king.

HERE ENDS THE READING.

Comment:

This situation is relevant to us Southern Sudanese, if you substitute Juba for Jerusalem, Eutoria for Judea and Southern Sudan for Israel. And imagine yourself in the place of Nehemiah serving some notables somewhere in the lands where we are now scattered around the world.

MY FAVOURITE PRAYER FOR PEACE

O GOD, Who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies; that we, surely trusting in thy defence, may not fear the power of any adversaries; through the might of Jesus Christ our Lord.

Amen.

MY DEAR compatriots, fellow Southern Sudanese, my heartfelt greetings to everyone of you.

I feel to discuss with you the same problems our people are facing as I did so with our compatriots in the United Kingdom. The situation in our country is laughable ('dii lagu) as my name. The word lagu given to me by my parents, means laughter in Madi language. We'll come to the laughable part later as we advance in the discussion.

It is comforting, however, seeing you. It reminds me of home, and gives me that state of joy of being amongst my people, the Southern Sudanese. Please convey my feelings and regards to every member of your families not present here.

Fellow Southerners, you are aware that since March this year, there has been intensification of military operations at home in Southern Sudan. The consequences are now clear: further destruction, devastation, and more people forced out of their homes and homelands; more deaths, more sufferings, more people fleeing into foreign lands, and very appalling situation in Juba our capital city.

The extension of the fighting in and around Juba, and the fall of towns like Pachala, Bor, Pibor, Kapoeta and Torit have indeed caused heavy losses in human lives, most of them civilians. Information already leaking out confirms that as a reality. It is heart-breaking to all of us Southern Sudanese wherever we may be.

We all understand that our people did not expect this predicament of war to come so soon after the end of the last conflict. They expected the peace accord signed in the Ethiopian capital city, Addis Ababa, in February 1972 to hold. But alas, it didn't!

Nine years have elapsed since our people in the Southern Sudan were pushed into another conflict against their will, by the systematic phasing out of what they regard as "the gains of the Addis Ababa Peace Accord," which ended the 17-year war with the North. This conflict happened on one side through the actions of the very government (May regime) that made peace with

the South, and on the other by the reaction of those who felt they were defending Southern interests.

The actions of those protagonists caused the ongoing conflict, thereafter called "the struggle for a new Sudan," with its base in Southern Sudan. It imposed on our people what does not sound wholly their problem. It is significant, however, that these days some elements in the movement are thinking about reversing this trend of thought back to the Southern political aspirations preceding the current movement.

There is need to maintain consistency. The change of policy by the May regime towards the South following the announcement of its reconciliation with the Northern opposition groups in 1976 and 1977 did not result in the stability the leader of the regime expected. Rather, it caused general suspicions amongst the supporters of the regime, and alienated Southern political support. It produced serious cracks in a system that had given hope for nation building at an earlier stage of its rule.

Fellow Southerners, the situation was further aggravated when the Ministry of Defence decided to re-introduce the rotation of troops, which had been dropped since the peace accord became effective in 1972. Southern elements in the Southern Command viewed rotation as a way to scatter them and make them politically ineffective, and later to phase them out of the armed forces altogether. The Southern population shared these views and fears with their troops. When the order to transfer the troops to the North was issued, naturally it met resistance throughout Southern Sudan. The conflict was ignited when force was applied on 16 May 1983 against Battalion 105, to move it from its base in Bor town to Shendi in Northern Sudan, even without considering the social aspects of the situation on the soldiers and their families.

It was through political miscalculations and mismanagement of the armed forces for a second time, that the Sudanese people and particularly the Southerners were plunged into a conflict. This has to be noted and passed to the generations to come.

It is our moral obligation, those of us who were aware of the situation to give the facts. Those of you who wish to contribute to resolving the current conflicts may do so effectively, if you understand the situation.

The new revolutionaries, Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA) swept the Southern Sudan countryside and attracted or coerced the young

men to join them to fight in the new war. At the same time their brothers and cousins that are in the armed or auxiliary forces are fighting on the Government side.

In this situation, brothers and cousins find themselves facing each other in the battlefields, and falling on either side. What a deplorable tragedy! Such is the situation since the conflict broke out. Quite unprecedented.

The conflict contributed to the demise of the regime that provoked it. It was not expected that the system could end that way.

Yet the SPLM/SPLA has continued to oppose successive governments in Khartoum till this date, and has been unable to find common ground for a solution, as governments came and went in Khartoum. One wonders whether the Movement has an objective. Or, one asks, is it there to destabilize the system in Khartoum?

Guerrilla wars are usually waged for definite objectives. This war seems to lack one. Though the leader of the Movement, now a factional leader, persists that their objective is a "Secular New Sudan". Is that attainable or feasible after all? How long will the Southern, the Western and Ingasana people continue to sacrifice their lives for such dreams?

Further, the laughable part I referred to: What is extraordinary is that those who fall from power in Khartoum come running to the SPLM/SPLA, without expressing the slightest regret for waging wars on the people of Southern Sudan, and the SPLM/SPLA accept them. The standing enemy appears to be then the group in power in the capital city at all times. It seems the struggle is for power, just like a children's game of musical chairs, and for that we waste our human and material resources. We Sudanese seem to lack patriotism and to have no fixed loyalties. We over use the saying, "the enemy of my enemy is my friend". For how else can those involved in such alliances explain their flirting to their constituencies? Lives have been wasted, and the land devastated for no effective result.

Through such actions the Sudan, and particularly the South, is now in a crisis of greater magnitude than ever before. We here cannot easily return to our homes, even if some of our family members and relatives are still there.

Surely, under the circumstances we cannot remain unconcerned just because we are far away. As we think of our siblings, relatives and friends who are scattered all over the country, or in exile abroad, living under difficult and miserable conditions, we

cannot escape getting involved one way or the other, as we ourselves are stricken and uprooted. We have to face the situation, however uncomfortable it may be, and find ways out.

When one follows events, one finds that the situation has been worsened by the split in the Movement and serious recriminations between the factional leaders. This has been followed by bloody battles between them, and subsequent weakening of their position, and gains on the ground by their enemy. And as I hear, the probability of the split proliferating. What may the future hold under the circumstance? And what a waste of human and material resources for no clearly defined political end!

We have a situation to worry about in Southern Sudan, especially in that these divisions within SPLM/SPLA tend to follow ethnic boundaries. We may have to face up to the root causes of some of these problems. Our people one time stood united, and selected their leaders without any reference to ethnic groups. My own election to the Presidency of the Southern Regional Government in 1978 by acclamation is a testimony to that reality.

The current abandoning of this principle will lead to the disintegration of our country, regions and communities.

What went wrong with us, when and where? Is what we may have to find out. In the endeavour to do so, let us think soberly and start examining our positions, starting from the one we see in the mirror, as Mr Patterson, the present Prime Minister of Jamaica, put it in his inaugural speech. But not by throwing blames at each other. This way we may reach a consensus and find the way to regroup our people. The way forward points in that direction.

As for me, I accept as a human being that I have frailties. As Southern Sudanese leaders of the then Regional Government, we must have made mistakes, which, as human beings, we were bound to make. Nevertheless, it is said that the best player is the spectator. I wish my colleagues: Abel Alier, Hilary Logale, Joseph Oduho, Gismallah Abdallah Rasas and others, were here with me to review the past with you. We surely have contributed to some of the mistakes that caused divisions in our Southern Sudanese society. I have admitted this time and again on my part, and publicly, and continue saying so. That I accept I have been learning on the job, since no colleges are apparently available for preparing people for public office. If there were, I would have first enrolled in them. The right way then to improve the situation, I believe, is to acknowledge our own mistakes and correct them, rather than pointing fingers at the others.

To indulge in personal recriminations will not help us make headway in resolving our problems.

Recriminations only worsen the situation and pull us further apart. Let us desist from that.

If we are going to get beyond recrimination, we may have to draw more deeply on our beliefs and reflect on our spiritual values. We have to ask ourselves: Are we forever destined to hate, to despise, to seek for revenge? No, my dear compatriots. We have to grow into a new wisdom. We need the capacity to forgive and to seek forgiveness. These are issues which I have to face constantly in my life. We must change for the sake of our children and their children so we put an end to the waste of the riches of our land and people.

No one is blameless among us the so called former leaders, and no one will be blameless among those aspiring for positions of leadership now or later. Perhaps part of our human problem is that people want issues to be tackled their way, and to suit their individual interests. Issues must be tackled impartially and objectively to suit the community and not the individual.

Selfish leadership gears issues to narrow ambitions, whereas the unselfish leadership plans for the community. We leaders need to look at ourselves with new eyes and show a new statesmanship. Our people must come to look for that in us.

I request you compatriots to think aloud individually and in groups and share thoughts as how to resolve our national problems, and especially issues that concern us in Southern Sudan.

To those involved in the crisis on either side, who seem to go on and on with the conflict, I quote an old adage, "The genius is one who knows when to stop."

Furthermore, sensible guerrilla leaders understand that the guerrilla warfare they wage will end through negotiations. Their primary aim is usually to draw the other side to the negotiating table, which amounts to a recognition of the guerrillas and what they fight for.

I have noticed that good leaders restrain themselves even when on the verge of victory.

In this respect, I think of President Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, when they assumed national leadership. They demonstrated statesmanship and forgiveness to their opponents.

Good leaders suppress arrogance at all levels within their own forces. Believe you me, this is one secret of success.

Military victory by any side is only postponement of the problem in favour of the victor, and by a guerrilla force may only prepare the defeated side, say the government of the day, to become the next guerrilla movement. Such examples are to be seen in some of our neighbouring countries. The result is that destruction, devastation and the suffering of the people continue.

Dear compatriots, we cannot stand idly by and allow that to go on in our country. Let us aim at a negotiated settlement which will be a victory for all.

I feel bound to hold on to the proposal for the possible accommodation of the desire within the South, for a "devolution of power". There needs to be provision for a central government for the South which is responsible for three regional administrations. This idea was formulated by my political associates and I presented it on their behalf to the then president, Gaafar Mohammed Nimeiri, in a memo around March-April 1983, when I was serving as one of his vice-presidents. I repeated this in an open letter to my fellow Sudanese, under the title "Federalism as a way to peace". I shall willingly make copies of these papers available for those who are interested. I still feel the elements of an arrangement contained in the proposal can be applicable, even as an interim measure.

Ladies and gentlemen, one of the weaknesses of the 1972 peace agreement was the failure to involve the international system in its development. We must learn from our past experiences. The Abuja talks (26 May to 4 June 1992) resulted from an OAU initiative. Thanks to President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria the then chairman of OAU. This is a key factor, which can be amplified by appropriate support of the wider international community in the United Nations whose Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali comes from this region. It is a unique moment with the opportunity to sustain an authentic peace process. This is the right path which we must continue to follow.

It is our duty as citizens, and as the people concerned and affected, to contribute towards the forthcoming peace talks, and to be specific as to what political arrangement is suitable for us in Southern Sudan, with or without the rest of the Sudan. Therefore we must convey our own viewpoints to the negotiators of either side, in good time. Alternatively, we should think of holding a separate conference before meeting Northern delegations, since the issue is actually one between the South and the North.

This way we can work out a suitable arrangement after attaining a consensus amongst us Southern Sudanese, while the Government is requested to seek the same on the Northern side.

Fellow Southern Sudanese, my assessment is that the Abuja peace talks have been more meaningful and serious than any previous ones since the present government in Khartoum came to power in June 1989. As the talks adjourned, it was understood that the delegations agreed to meet again as early as possible, after consultations with their principals. So get prepared to present your viewpoints to the participants in the forthcoming talks, whether in Abuja or elsewhere. State clearly what political order you stand for in the Sudan: federalism, confederalism, a separate identity for the South, or referring of the issues to the people through a referendum or plebiscite. Also bear in mind that when you accept the principle of negotiation, you may not get what you first stood for, neither will your opponents come out with their expectations. The solution to the problem lies somewhere in between. But first my compatriots, make peace within yourselves, change your angry gloomy faces to friendly ones and get reconciled to one another as individuals and in groups. There is too much animosity in our society, and overemphasis of ethnic politics. You cannot expect to achieve anything substantial while you remain in that situation. Ethnic politics as expressed in parts of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe only lead to anarchy. We should avoid that in the Sudan.

In conclusion, I wish to remind you that moderation is a virtue. When it is being considered by either side in a conflict, then a solution can be in sight. You should also be aware that there are Northern Sudanese who feel concerned about your plight in Southern Sudan. They too labour to moderate issues. Let us not therefore generalize things. Let us consider issues objectively, each in its own right.

My compatriots, as we strive for peace once more in our country, let us remember that we have had some past experience of peace-making. Let us also think of other people in similar situations to ours in former Yugoslavia, South Africa, Somalia, Cambodia, etc. Even before we arrive at our hoped-for solution, we may have something of our skill to share with them.

Thank you for listening.

MAY THIS CHORUS GIVE YOU COURAGE

Be valiant be strong,
Resist the powers of sin;
The fight is long,
The foe is strong,
But you shall win:
For stronger than the strong,
The stronger than the strong,
You shall be more than conquerors;
Be valiant be strong.

Be valiant be strong,
Resist the powers of hate;
Stand up upright,
Look at the light,
Pass through though late:
For to hate is so wrong,
To hate is very wrong,
Leave that behind and free yourself;
Be valiant be strong.

Annex 1

COPY OF THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE PROPOSAL
FOR
THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN REGION
PRESENTED
TO PRESIDENT GAAFAR MOHAMMED NIMEIRI
BY VICE—PRESIDENT JOSEPH LAGU
BEFORE
THE BREAK UP OF THE REGION
INTO THREE SEPARATE PARTS.

Dear Brother, President the Leader,

Blessings and good greetings from God.

In accordance with the May Revolution principle of participation of citizens effectively in the government of their country and supervision thereof in accordance with the decentralized government system.

After parusal of Article 6 of the Constitution which provide for the administration of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan on the decentralization system in accordance with what is specified by the law, and Article 7 thereof which provides for the division of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, with a view to achieve popular participation in government and apply decentralization which shall be specified by law.

After perusal of sections 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 of the High Executive Council and Regional Ministers in the Southern Region.

I beg to submit to Your Excellency the following proposals concerning a new framework 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 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 government 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 would facilitate the efficient management of local affairs and promote immediate initiatives and means in the face of the specific needs of the area. This sub-regional authority would also represent 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 government administration in the secondary capitals 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.

Furthermore, the proposed system would be a limited experiment, in the light of which it may be possible to develop regional self-government in the future.

Characteristics 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" to be constituted, in each of Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile, of three members under the Presidency of a Vice-President of the High Executive Council, two remaining members being sub-regional ministers appointed by the President of the Republic. For this purpose there shall be two Vice-Presidents of the President of the High Executive Council 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, it shall be presided over by the President of the High Executive Council himself with the membership of two Sub-Regional ministers to be appointed by the President of the Republic in the first stage.

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, including finance, taxation, economic production and development. All this within the province of the area concerned.

3. The President of the sub-regional council shall be concerned with good administration of the sub-region, security and public service therein and assume the Presidency of the sub-council; and shall be subject to the directions of the High Executive Council of the Southern Region.

4. The approval of the proposed executive set-up hardly results in any additional financial commitment. For the total of ministerial posts would still be approximately equal to the present number this can be achieved through the following amendments:-

i) Cancellation of the following posts and ministries and transfer of their functions to the sub-regional executive council:

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 may deputize for him consecutively in his absence;

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 vest in the President of the High Executive Council;

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) Decentralized Government Affairs: These are affairs obviously operating to the nearest sub-administration;

e) Housing and Public Utilities: These are services of a local nature closer to local interests.

ii) Reamalgamation 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 known as the Ministry of Education, Health and Social Welfare similar to what is in practice in Regional Government in the North.

Ministry of Protection of Wildlife and Tourism, on the one side,

b) and Culture and Information, on the other, to be one Ministry 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) The posts of the present advisors of Ministerial status shall be occupied by Ministers with portfolios in the new constituted High Executive Council;

1V Reconstruction of the present High Executive Council with a lesser number in the light of the foregoing proposals, such as would suite 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 of the whole South; in another aspect, as President of the Executive Organ of Equatoria).

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 and groupings representing each sub-region, be drawn up a Consultative Council for each sub-region 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 of control over the whole executive organ including its branches working in the sub-capitals.

Conclusion

The accompanying chart will present visually the proposed framework.

The High Executive Council of the Southern Region The President, plus eleven Ministers (as indicated in the note)		
Vice-President of the High Executive Council President of the Sub-Regional Executive Council in Bahr el Ghazal and responsible for Administration, Security and Public Service Two Ministers: 1. A Minister for Services 2. A Minister for Economic Planning & Finance	Vice-President of the High Executive Council President of the Sub-Regional Executive Council in Equatoria and responsible for Administration, Security and Public Service Two Ministers: 1. A Minister for Services 2. A Minister for Economic Planning & Finance	Vice President of the High Executive Council President of the Sub-Regional Executive Council in Upper Nile and responsible for Administration, Security and Public Service Two Ministers: 1. A Minister for Services 2. A Minister for Economic Planning & Finance

Consultative Council:

To be constituted of the respective members of the regional People's Assembly representing the Sub-Region as a Consultative Council 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

Annex 2

Federalism as a way to Peace

Das Irvin Hicks, US Deputy Assistant Secretary for Africa, in November 18th 1990 address to the African-American Institute, entitled "*The Horn of Africa*," observed that in contrast to the rest of Africa, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia all seem to require the loosest kinds of political organizations at the top and a devolution of power below. In short they are in need of federalism. He also stated: "Federalism by its very nature requires dialogue. It is a form of government which cannot be imposed from the top, and which depends on consent and compromise among its various components and between central and regional authorities. Federalism also permits an infinite range of variations in power sharing between central and regional authorities."

D, Elazar in his article entitled, "*Exploring Federalism*," published in The New York University Journal of International Law and Politics, 1989, said, "First, as a means of separating power vertically, federalism works as a safeguard against the concentration of power in both local and national arenas. Second, the decentralization of politics recognizes the value of local participation in the process of governing, and in doing so it encourages the development of community autonomy and civic virtue. Third, federalism accounts for and promotes local diversity and is therefore well-suited to a pluralistic society." In this context, federalism may pave the way to peace in the Horn of Africa.

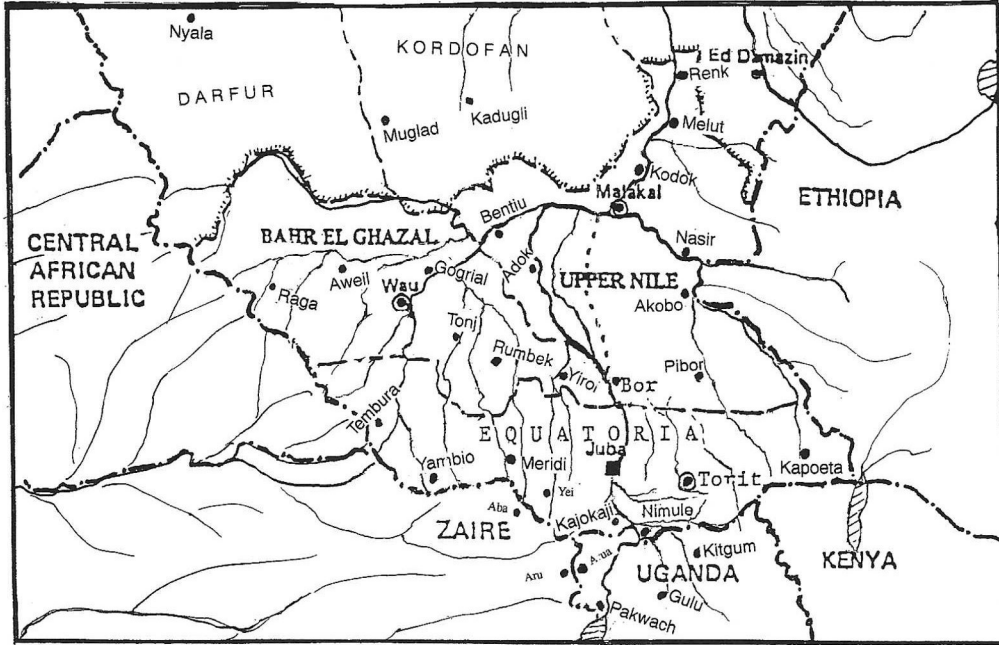
Slowly, ideas that work in the direction of federalism are being considered in these countries. The Ethiopian government was talking tentatively about a wide autonomy for Eritrea. It's not clear what the situation will be following the flight of President Mengistu Haile Mariam. In Somalia both government and opposition groups before the fall of Siad Barre stressed the importance of letting local people govern themselves. In Sudan, a conference for peace held in Khartoum from 9 September to 21 October 1989 recommended a federal form of government. In response to a US peace proposal both sides, government and movement, told the US they agree that federalism should be one of the principles for a future constitution. The government in the Sudan went

ahead and declared the application of federalism at Independence Day celebrations on 1 January 1991. The move is progress in the right direction, but it has to be approved by the other parties involved in the conflict for the system to function. Dialogue must be continued to reach that goal.

These three countries in the Horn of Africa have not been able to adjust successfully to the political forms and settlements decided on the rest of Africa. This is because the regimes imposed during the colonial era differed considerably from those of the rest of Africa. Sudan was ruled as two entities with different policies and laws. Ethiopia was an empire with feudal characteristics, while Eritrea for a considerable period of time, was ruled as a separate colony, though there is a claim that it was originally part of Ethiopia and only detached by the Italians. Somalia is an amalgamation of two former colonies, Italian Somaliland (South) and British Somaliland (North). Though Somalis are ethnically homogeneous, in the course of the separate imperial rule the two parts acquired characteristics of their own. They therefore found the new unified administration, after independence, strange and uncomfortable.

It is becoming clearer to the countries of the Horn of Africa, and outside the region as well, that the political crises there can be resolved by the application of federalism. The sort of federalism needed, however, might vary according to the racial, ethnic and cultural nature of the population in each country. Somalia with its homogeneous population, may only need a decentralized administration. But Ethiopia, with considerable ethnic and cultural differences, might require an arrangement looser than that suitable for Somalia, even with its other provinces besides Eritrea. Eritrea would need to return to its statutes as arranged under the UN mandate, with perhaps more powers (similar status as Dubai in the United Arab Emirates) and with guarantees that these will not be abrogated again by the central government. In Sudan, a return to the Self-Government Act by the South, through an internal dialogue, should remain a possibility. A decentralized Southern Region could be re-established with more powers delegated by a new central government. This would be separate from Northern regional (state) governments. The international community, including the other African states of the OAU, could come in to help in the dialogue.

SOUTHERN SUDAN



- Legend:**
- International Boundaries
 - Provincial Boundaries
 - South-North border
 - Lakes
 - Rivers
 - Canal (Jonglei Canal)
 - Capital of the South
 - Other towns
 - Provincial capitals



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THE QUEST FOR PEACE
IN
THE SUDAN

Presented

By

LT. GEN. JOSEPH LAGU, RETD., HON. D.LITT.

**ON THE OCCASSION OF THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SUDAN**

AT

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**THE QUEST FOR PEACE
IN
THE SUDAN
WITH THE SUDANESE
COMMUNITY
IN
THE UNITED KINGDOM**

BY

LT. GEN. JOSEPH LAGU, RETD., HON. D.LITT.

THE READING FROM THE HOLY BIBLE IS TAKEN FROM
THE FIRST LETTER OF PETER THE APOSTLE.

CHAPTER 1, VERSES 1 — 9.

FROM Peter, apostle of Jesus Christ, to the scattered people of God now living as aliens in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Kenya, Uganda and Zaire, chosen in the foreknowledge of God the Father, by the consecrating work of the Holy Spirit, for obedience to Jesus Christ and sprinkling with his blood.

Grace and peace to you in fullest measure.

Peter gives thanks

PRAISED be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! In his great mercy by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, he gave us new birth into a living hope, the hope of an inheritance, reserved in heaven for you, which nothing can destroy or spoil or wither. Because you put your faith in God, you are under the protection of his power until the salvation now in readiness is revealed at the end of time.

This is cause for great joy, even though for a little while you may have had to suffer trials of many kinds. Even gold passes through the assayer's fire, and much more precious than perishable gold is faith which stands the test. These trials come so that your faith may prove itself worthy of all praise, glory, and honour when Jesus Christ is revealed.

You have not seen him, yet you love him; and trusting in him now without seeing him, you are filled with a glorious joy too great for words, while you are reaping the harvest of your faith, that is, salvation for your souls.

HERE ENDS THE READING.

Let me start with this

"P r a y e r."

Lord Jesus, You once said; "if two or three are gathered together in my name, there shall I be in their midst."

Here we are Lord, more than that number, we Sudanese and our friends and sympathizers from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and from the Republic of Ireland. Intercede Lord, on our behalf with the Father on high; to give us PEACE in the Sudan. "Peace now," is our cry.

Hear us Lord, we pray.

Amen.

MR. Chairman,
Rt. Hon. Ministers,
Compatriots, distinguished guests;
Ladies and gentlemen.

It is a pleasure meeting you here and talking to you. It reminds me of our colourful country, the Sudan; its peoples of various races, ethnic groups, cultures and religions; reflecting the peculiarity of our nation, part of its wealth and strength of which we must all be proud.

I am also reminded during this gathering of the good and useful years, throughout the decade following the conclusion of the peace accord between the South and the North of our country, on 27 February 1972. This understanding, which became popularly known as "Addis Ababa Agreement", halted the 17 years of war between the two parts of our country.

Naturally, some of us who were involved in bringing it about felt that the accord would end all conflicts between our two peoples. But alas! It hasn't. It later became clear that the accord only achieved what is described as a prolonged cease-fire punctuated by occasional outbreaks of trouble here and there in Southern garrison towns, and a series of attempted military coups d'etat in the capital city, Khartoum.

Yet within the 10-year life of the agreement we saw the best time in our nation's history since Independence in 1956. Within

the period, the Sudanese moved and mixed freely throughout the country. Fears, suspicions and mistrusts, which had been the hallmarks of the previous years, were unnoticeable and were replaced by confidence building and mutual trust between the Sudanese people.

Thus it looked as though we were beginning to mould into a cohesive nation state. But long before this process could be completed, new sets of problems began to emerge. Among these were the policy of troop rotation and the unexpected declaration of the Islamic Sharia or the September Laws, as others prefer to call it.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is now a general consensus that these destabilising policies were deliberate formulations of the then President Gaafar Mohammed Nimeiri who chose to maintain instability in the South as a means of controlling the region. It was Nimeiri himself, acting as the Minister of Defence, who proclaimed the programme of troop rotation, although the policy had been dropped since 1972 following the conclusion of the peace agreement.

The Southern elements in the armed forces resented and later resisted this policy. They suspiciously and, with the benefit of hindsight, rightly viewed the rotation as a way of scattering and rendering them politically ineffective. This was not surprising since the armed forces have always been a significant factor in Sudan politics. Logically, the Southern populace shared the views and fears of their troops; they regarded and continue to regard the Northern soldiers in the South not as the guardians of the national borders, but as an occupying army stationed there to suppress Southern political aspirations. In other words, the presence and activity of the Northern soldiers in the South are the main reasons, amongst others, for the continuing conflict between the North and South.

Therefore, when an attempt to implement the policy of troop rotation was made, by the order to transfer the Southern troops to the North, it was met with resistance throughout Southern Sudan. At Bor garrison such resistance led directly to the generalised armed rebellion that later gave birth to the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). That was the initial cause for the eruption of the current conflict. Other reasons are secondary or simply added fuel to the already burning fire. I shall not bother you with the details of events that led to this incident because much has been said and written about it elsewhere. However, I must emphasize that the mutiny at Bor, in addition to the general resistance mentioned, was also aided by an acrimonious relationship between the General Officer Commanding (GOC) Southern Command (Major General Siddiq El Banna) and the Commanding Officer (CO) Battalion 105 of Bor garrison (Lieutenant Colonel Kerebino Kwanyin Bol).

Because of this personal animosity, tension developed between the Southern Command Headquarters in Juba and the battalion at Bor prior to the issuing of the order to move the latter to Shendi in Northern Sudan. When Lt. Colonel Kwanyin disobeyed the orders, Maj. General El Banna took the advantage of his seniority to accuse him not only of insubordination but also of corruption.

Consequently, Maj. General El Banna made a request to the General Headquarters for application of force to move the battalion from its Bor base. The request was, unfortunately, granted without much thought to its repercussions, despite my advice against it as a senior Southerner in the administration. When the orders were executed on 16th May 1983, that directly led to the eruption of the current conflict.

Fellow Sudanese and distinguished guests, this story is told for historical record and in order for one to appreciate the influence

of personal relationships on major policies of state. The story also indicates that, for the second time in our history, in 1983 just as in 1955 political miscalculations and mismanagement of the armed forces plunged the country into a conflict; a conflict during which the South has become the most affected region in the country.

The destabilising military conditions were further aggravated when in September 1983 Gaafar Mohammed Nimeiri, who was no Islamic fundamentalist nor a devout Muslim to most Sudanese, decided to be a religious zealot by declaring his own version of the Islamic Sharia over the whole country. It was known for some time, especially after the Port Sudan meeting between Nimeiri and Sadiq el Mahdi, that Nimeiri was bent on destroying the Addis Ababa Agreement, to soften and attract the Northern opposition groups. But for the Southerners the declaration of Islamic Sharia was the last straw. They felt disappointed and betrayed since they had put much of their trust in Nimeiri because he was regarded as the architect of the accord; they did not expect that from him, a nominal Muslim who had won popularity by mixing freely among them.

Dear compatriots, you know as well as I do that one person that has not been consulted on the Islamic Sharia is the ordinary Sudanese. Not surprisingly therefore, there are many Sudanese who oppose and detest the imposition of this religious structure on the peace-loving people of Sudan. The least any leader or political party could have done was to call for a referendum to test the views of the Sudanese, particularly those in the North of the country, in whose name this profound change in the Sudanese constitution was being proclaimed. But no such action was taken.

Since the declaration of the Islamic Sharia or the September Laws (as it is commonly known among the more scholarly Sudanese Muslims), so many things have taken place. Prominent

among these are the escalation of the civil war in the South and the ouster of Nimeiri himself from power.

Challenging the authority of the Government in the South then was the Sudan People's Liberation Army, led by Dr John Garang with the initiator of the rebellion, Kerebino Kwanyin, who was relegated to second position (he is now said to be a fugitive from Garang's jail). Nimeiri's May regime (named after the month in which he first seized power) was succeeded by a military civilian coalition interim government led by General Abdelrahman Swar el Dahab and Dr Juzuli el Dafalla. The replacement of Nimeiri by the new government had very little effect, if any, on the effort of bringing the war to an end. Later, the coalition was succeeded by the democratically elected government of Prime Minister Sadiq el Mahdi (although elections could not be held in most constituencies of the South). We all know that this administration lacked the political will to confront the intractable course of the Sudan civil strife, partly because of its lack of focus vis-a-vis the civil war. The Sadiq government was toppled in a military coup led by the present leader of Sudan, General Omer el Beshir. Recent events tend to indicate that even this latest military administration is failing to tackle the root causes of the war which continues to claim the lives of Sudanese.

Ladies and gentlemen, following el Beshir's assumption of power, interesting developments have occurred among the former main players of Sudanese politics. Hitherto these forces were bitter enemies of the SPLA, which, until their ouster from power, they fought vigorously. Likewise, Dr Garang and the SPLA fought these forces which they commonly referred to as the Northern clique. According to the manifesto of the movement, the SPLA "has been founded to spearhead armed resistance against Nimeiri's one-man dictatorship and to organize the whole Sudanese

people under the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (the political wing of the rebellion), through a protracted armed struggle waged by the SPLA and political mass support" (see Garang Speaks, edited by Mansour Khalid).

Yet, in an unexpected press conference (13 May 1992) Nimeiri surprised the world by announcing that he was forming an alliance with the SPLA against the incumbent administration in Khartoum; an alliance which has been embraced unreservedly by the SPLA leader. Prior to that, members of the deposed government of Sadiq el Mahdi, and other political parties who were vehemently opposed to the SPLA when in power, have organized themselves in a National Democratic Alliance (NDA) which is also allied to the SPLA.

Furthermore, there have been accusations and counter accusations by the SPLA factions for receiving aid from the government they are fighting. This is very confusing to the Sudanese because the coming together of these motley and feuding groups was not preceded by any public renunciation of their previous policies which led to their fall from power. What may these manoeuvres mean to the ordinary Sudanese, dear compatriots and distinguished guests?

It is, therefore, not surprising that Sudanese begin to ask questions such as: what are the people in Sudan fighting for? Who is the enemy? What has changed so that supposedly sworn enemies can become allies? It thus appears to most Sudanese that the many-sided fightings now taking place in the country are nothing but a naked struggle for power that is reminiscent of the children's game of musical chairs. It needs no mention that this is a tragic situation in which hundreds of thousands of Sudanese lives and material resources are wasted and destroyed solely so that individuals or groups of people can realize their ambition of

gaining power again. Perhaps it is now time for all of us, individually and collectively, to pause and re-examine our conscience and face up to the reality of the tragic events that are unfolding in our country.

Distinguished guests, the country known as Sudan took a discernible shape at the time of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in the late 1890s. Even then, its borders along the South-East and extreme South were ill-defined. These were later clearly defined by the treaties of 1902 with Ethiopia and 1909 with Belgium respectively, whilst Sudan's borders with Uganda and Kenya remained unclear until about 1914. It is to be noted that borders in the North and North-West were also not clearly defined. Of particular interest is the case of Darfur. Darfur remained independent and, therefore, outside the Condominium control until 1916 when it was forcibly annexed to Sudan. In the battle which preceded this annexation Ali Dinar, the successor to the throne of Fur Sultanate, was killed. Similarly, the three Southern provinces of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile were treated as a separate region. This distinctiveness was conferred on the South by the "Closed District Ordinance" of the 1920's. Indeed, a directive based on this ordinance clearly stated that the blacks in the Southern provinces were to be considered a people distinct from the Northern Muslims. Originally, the Southerners were being prepared for eventual integration with the former British East Africa (Uganda and Kenya). These facts attest the claim that Sudan was created from a collection of nations and was not a monolithic domain as some of the advocates of one Sudan would want the world to believe. This situation is still relevant today. We were brought together within a given territory by foreign powers. We have never agreed to be a single nation. And in thirty seven years since Independence we have failed to adopt a permanent constitution.

My fellow Sudanese, for the Sudan to remain a united country, there needs to be provision for a central government in the South that is responsible for the three sub-regional administrations; and a similar arrangement in the North, whereby decentralized administrations, formed on the pattern of the provinces as the colonial powers left them, come under a Northern Central government. The two supra-provincial regions shall then come under a federal or confederal government, joined by common interests and shared services. To avoid repetition of interference from the supra-regional administration as was the case in the past, each region shall be left to work on its own with its own laws.

Such an arrangement should go a long way to allay the fears of the Southerners and thereby replace the proposition that the Southern Region must look towards East Africa for its political future. Rather, the South will be a link between East Africa and the rest of the Sudan, as it will continue to use East African ports and other services.

I have touched on this historical situation for two reasons.

1. Those who have been ruling Sudan since the time of Independence have always appealed to the legality of sovereignty in their denial of the demands of the South for self-determination.
2. Most of the Southerners now cite this original separateness as a historical justification for their secession from the rest of the Sudan. (The extent of the support for this claim can be tested by referendum).

Ladies and gentlemen, current international opinion does not readily accept the premise that in order to maintain the sovereignty of a state millions of its citizens must be killed.

Therefore, the justification for continuing the war in the South purely on this premise may soon find little support amongst the international community. In the South the effect of the war is painfully felt, but less so in the North for obvious reasons. If Northerners consider Southerners compatriots, they too must aim to end the conflict without demanding that the South surrenders. The change in the attitude of the world community towards the sanctity of sovereignty came about as a consequence of the ending of the cold war. Before the end of the war the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a country were considered sacrosanct. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the subsequent Independence of its component republics and the ongoing break-up of Yugoslavia, the appeal to sovereignty as a justification for denying self-determination to a minority or an ethnic group has become less forceful.

Now, the big powers seem more reluctant to interfere in the domestic conflict of a country even if the sovereignty of that country is threatened by an armed insurgence. We need not look further afield than our neighbour, Ethiopia. It was known that the Tigrean forces, which fought the Marxist government of Ethiopia, were sympathetic to the cause of Independence for Eritrea. When these forces toppled the Ethiopian government recently, they were welcome, rather than discouraged, by the United States to enter Addis Ababa; the thought that these forces are going to preside over the dismemberment of Ethiopia does not seem to bother the international community. There is no reason, therefore, to believe that such a fate may not befall the Sudan. We can only avoid the disintegration of our country by taking pre-emptive measures.

My compatriots, you and I, and all our fellow Sudanese have a choice to make. We can callously continue with the war which has claimed millions of lives of our people and reduced our country

almost to the point of utter destruction, knowing well (as military reverses have shown in Torit, Kapoeta and Malakal, to mention a few cases), that no one side in the war is going to win.

Or, alternatively, we can turn to peaceful means of solving our differences. In this regard, the Abuja peace talks, which were started under the auspices of General Babangida, the President of Nigeria, should continue and be sincerely supported by all sides. Should these talks result in a settlement, such a settlement should contain measures which eliminate the need for the Southerners to demand a separate nation state.

This settlement could contain a variant of arrangement that has been briefly outlined earlier. Likewise, the Southerners should acknowledge the unity of Sudan, if guarantees are provided in the settlement against future unilateral abrogation of the treaty by one side (as happened to the Addis Ababa peace accord). My fellow Sudanese, we should also examine the Czecho-Slovak example of negotiated falling apart, should separation be the only option left, rather than harbouring enmity, animosity and recrimination.

Ladies and gentlemen, one of the weaknesses of the Addis Ababa Agreement was the absence of involvement of international bodies during the negotiations which led to its signing. Another weakness was the lack of formal and democratic endorsement by the entire Sudanese people (although there was widespread acceptance amongst the Southerners). Perhaps, if these two components had been there the agreement would not have been abrogated by the act of one man; the world community and the Sudanese people would have acted as its guarantors. That is why I applaud the involvement of the OAU in the deliberations at Abuja. I would also recommend that the United Nations involve itself more vigorously in the negotiations than it has hitherto done.

Lastly, this communication would not be complete without a comment on my role in the recent political history of our country.

I have served my country in many capacities, including that of Vice-President and Representative at the United Nations. Prior to that I was a freedom fighter, or a rebel as those opposed to the cause would term it. I do not regret having rebelled for a cause I considered a justified one. Freedom fighter or rebel, I was invited by the then representatives of Southern people forced to take up arms by the repressive regime of Lt. Gen. Ibrahim Abboud who seized power by force on 17th November 1958. That too was rebellion on his part, as were the subsequent coups. Abboud drove those Southerners to armed opposition as the only option left to them.

Like any former leaders I cannot be held blameless regarding the present predicament in which Sudan finds itself. On many occasions I have unreservedly admitted that, as a human, I must have made mistakes. Some of these mistakes were perhaps due to inexperience, others might have been prompted by the rough and tumble of a political life. Whatever the causes of these mistakes, to me what matters today is not apportioning blame but the summoning of courage by us all to rectify such mistakes and preventing their recurrence. At the same time we must also prepare our people and country for entry into the 21st century.

Many things have changed since the time of our Independence in 1956. Unlike the situation then, now there are many Southerners who have attained high levels of education and are thus capable to take responsibility of government; there are many Southern Sudanese doctors, engineers and other professionals both within and outside the country. These are the material of which modern civilized states are built. What is needed now is for the North to accept the fact that the South is no longer a backward part of the country and to treat it as an equal partner, and never again to limit Southerners to ministries without influence or to second and third Vice-Presidents.

The country thus needs peace so that we can benefit from these talents. Peace will come with the realization of parity. With courage and vision, we can obtain this peace and make our country a better and a safer place to live in once again. Let our motto be: 'Unity in Diversity, tolerance, fair apportioning of power and resources.'

Ladies and gentlemen.

In conclusion, I present these proposals:

1. The immediate cessation of hostilities by all sides in the conflict.
2. The incumbent administration in Khartoum and the SPLM factions together, in line with the theme of this conference, "Working together towards a brighter future," request from the UN a peace-keeping force; to be deployed in the South and the adjacent districts of the North equally affected by the civil war, rather than leave the situation to worsen.
3. The setting up of an interim central government for the South in Juba, responsible for the three semi-autonomous Southern provinces of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile, amounting to the restoration of the arrangement arrived at, at the Addis Abba peace accord.
4. The thinning out from the Southern provinces, Northern elements of the Armed Forces reducing their size to the proportion agreed upon at the aforementioned peace accord.
5. The withdrawal and limiting the movements of all combatants in the countryside while carrying on with the peace process.
6. Finally, the holding of referenda at the dates to be agreed upon to determine:

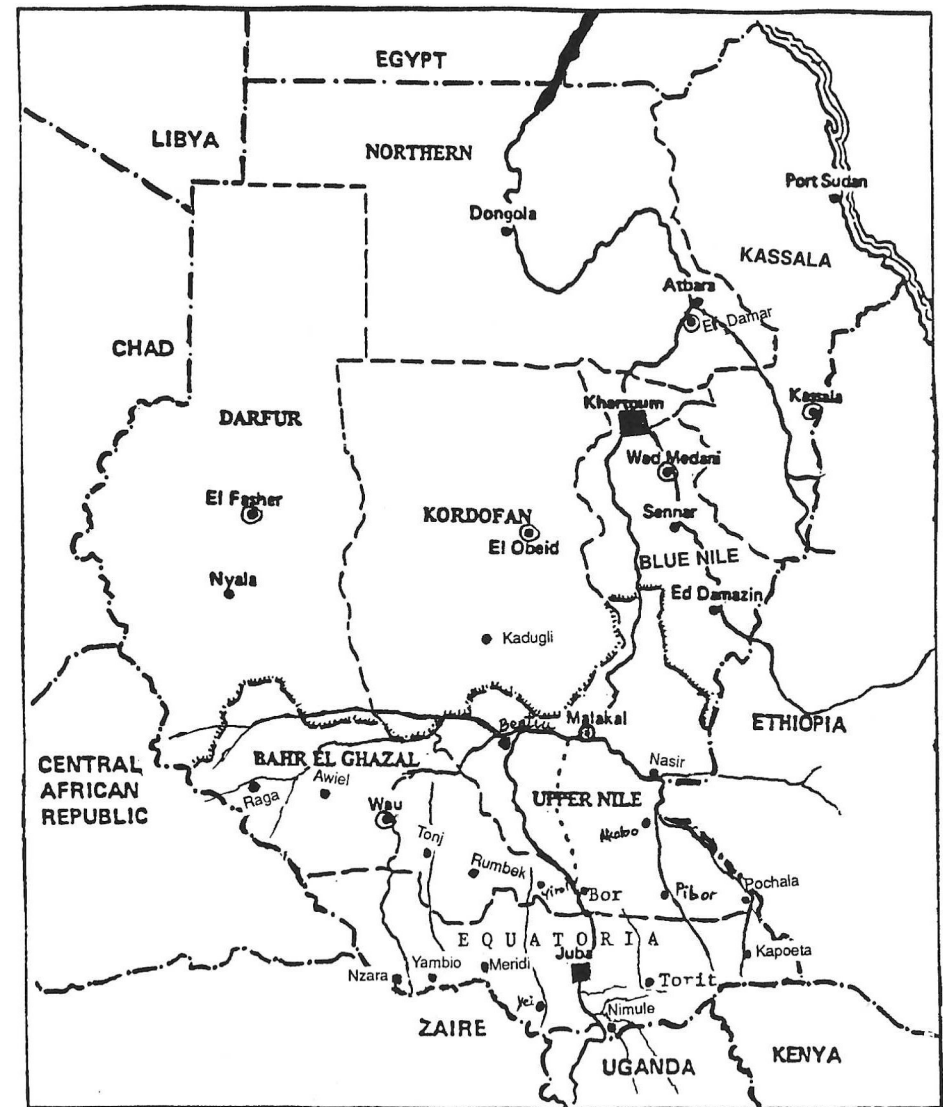
(a) Future relations between South and North.

(b) Which way the peoples of Abiei in Kordofan and the Ingessena in Blue Nile would wish to go as also agreed at the Addis Ababa Peace Settlement of 1972.

May the Lord Almighty guide us in this endeavour.

Thank you for listening.

THE SUDAN



Legend:

International Boundaries	Rivers
Provincial Boundaries	Canals (Jonglei Canal)
South-North border	Regional capitals
	Other towns
	Provincial capitals



Lt. Gen. Mkungu Joseph Lagu (Retd.), Hon. D.Litt., was a co-signatory of the Addis Ababa Agreement of March 1972, in his capacity as Leader of the South Sudan Liberation Movement and Commander-in-Chief of Anya-nya (Guerrilla Forces). He was elected President of the High Executive Council for the Southern Region of the Sudan (1978 - 1980) and appointed Vice-President of the Republic of the Sudan (1982 - 1985). He was appointed Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Sudan to the United Nations, New York, from September 1990 to January 1992. He is currently Roving Ambassador of the Republic of the Sudan.

MRA Forum

The struggle
for justice
without hatred

General JOSEPH LAGU

As leader of the Southern rebels, Joseph Lagu negotiated an end to Sudan's first civil war. He was the country's Vice-President from 1982-85 and later its Ambassador to the United Nations. He is currently a Roving Ambassador.

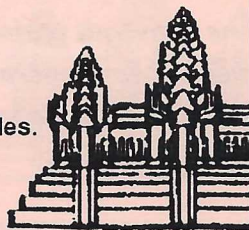
Place: Oriel College, MacGregor Room (Third Quad)

Time: Tuesday 2nd Week (January 26)

1 - 2 pm (bread & cheese available from 12.30)

Moral Re-Armament (MRA) is a standing campaign for moral and spiritual values to be acknowledged in every aspect of public and private life. It calls for a change in the individual, under the guidance of God, which issues in change in society. The MRA Forums are occasions for students to meet and discuss...

Le Cambodge traverse une phase historique.
Le cercle vicieux de la souffrance et de la violence peut-il être brisé? Des solutions politiques, militaires et économiques efficaces sont indispensables. Mais aussi la bonne volonté et les choix moraux de chaque protagoniste, qu'il soit cambodgien ou membre de la communauté internationale.



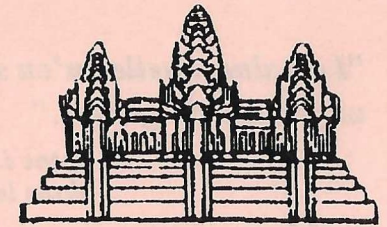
*Vous êtes chaleureusement invité
à participer à un séminaire
sur le thème:*

***"Cambodge: construire la
confiance
pour établir la paix"***

*Les 26 et 27 mars 1993
au Cambodian Development Institute,
Toul Kork, Phnom Penh.*

"On ne construit vraiment la paix qu'en s'enracinant dans le désintéressement de soi. Pour faire la paix, le travail d'équipe et un esprit de coopération sont essentiels. On ne peut pas faire grand chose en faveur de la paix tant qu'on s'imagine être les seuls capables de la construire. Nous devons décider que faire la paix est plus important que faire la guerre."

Le Vénérable Maha Ghosananda



PROGRAMME

Vendredi 7 mars, de 8h30 à 17h30

- Invocation par le **Vénérable Maha Ghosananda** et ouverture du séminaire par un **représentant spécial de Son Excellence M. Yasushi Akashi**, chef de la mission des Nations Unies au Cambodge.
- Allocution: **La réconciliation dans l'édification d'une nation**, par **Shri Rajmohan Gandhi**, professeur au Center for Policy Research de la Nouvelle-Delhi, ancien membre du sénat indien et petit-fils du Mahatma Gandhi.
- Etude d'un cas: **Pistes vers la réconciliation en Afrique** par le **général Mkungu Joseph Lagu**, ancien commandant des forces rebelles de guérilla durant la guerre civile au Soudan de 1955 à 1972; plus tard nommé vice-président et aujourd'hui ambassadeur itinérant de la République du Soudan.
- Présentation en langue khmère du film-video documentaire **Pour l'amour de demain**, relatant le rôle significatif joué par une parlementaire socialiste française dans la réconciliation franco-allemande après la seconde guerre mondiale.
- Forum **"La paix, c'est avant tout des hommes et des femmes qui changent"** à partir d'expériences concrètes réalisées par des personnes qui s'efforcent d'apporter un changement positif dans leurs propres vies et situations.

Samedi 27 mars, de 8h30 à 17h30

- Etude d'un cas: **Comment le Zimbabwe est sorti de la guerre civile**, avec la participation du **professeur Reginald Austin**, directeur du secteur électoral de l'APRONUC, et de **M. Alec Smith**, ancien officier de l'armée du Zimbabwe impliqué dans la réconciliation entre noirs et blancs, dans l'intégration de deux armées de guérilla ennemies et dans l'entraînement d'anciens combattants au respect des valeurs démocratiques.
- Présentation: **La coopération internationale dans l'établissement de la paix** par **M. Allan Griffith**, pendant 31 ans conseiller en affaires étrangères dans les services du premier ministre australien.
- Débat: **Droits de l'homme et responsabilités morales**. Examen des valeurs fondamentales indispensables au maintien des droits politiques et de la liberté.
- Forum spécial: **Pour l'amour du Cambodge**, animé par une équipe de Cambodgiens de divers horizons, faisant état de leur vision pour l'avenir et de leur engagement pour lui permettre de se réaliser.
- Clôture: **Conditions d'une renaissance du Cambodge**, conclusions apportées par les orateurs et les organisateurs du séminaire.

Le programme pourra être modifié en cas de nécessité. Des intermèdes musicaux sont prévus, ainsi que des interruptions afin de permettre des échanges.



"La paix n'est pas une idée. C'est avant tout des hommes et des femmes qui changent."

Frank Buchman, initiateur du Réarmement moral

"La haine, quelle qu'en soit la raison, est toujours un facteur de guerre."

*Irène Laure, parlementaire socialiste française
dans le film-video Pour l'amour de demain*



Le séminaire sur le thème "**Cambodge: construire la confiance pour atteindre la paix**" a été rendu possible grâce au soutien de nombreuses personnes et organisations, entre autres grâce à la générosité de World Vision International. Tous les orateurs et organisateurs venus de l'étranger, et dont la liste suit, apportent bénévolement leur concours:

- Shri Rajmohan Gandhi**, Inde
- Général Joseph Lagu**, Soudan
- M. Alec Smith**, Zimbabwe
- MM. Allan Griffith et Robert Wood**, Australie
- M. Alain Tate**, France
- M. Yukihiisa Fujita**, Japon
- M. David Channer**, Grande Bretagne
- MM. Haridas Nair, Charles Ooi, Patrick Santa-Maria**, Malaisie

Pour toute information concernant le séminaire:

Madame Renée Pan, House 57, Rue 352 Tou Samuth, Phnom Penh Tél./Fax: 26563

Pour toute information concernant le Réarmement moral:

4-13-4 Sendagi Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113, JAPON Tél:81.3.3821.3737 / Fax: 81.3.3821

20 Jalan 5/10, Petaling Jaya, Selangor, 46000, W.MALAYSIA - Tél/Fax:60.3.757.3337

Réarmement moral, 22, Avenue Robert Schuman, 92100 Boulogne-Billancourt, FRANCE
Tél:33.1.41.10.40.50 / Fax:33.1.41.1

226 Kooyong Rd, TOORAK, Vic.3142, AUSTRALIA Tél:61.3.822.1218 Fax:61.3.822.687



THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE WITHOUT HATRED

By Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu

Roving Ambassador, Republic of Sudan

Richmond, June 1993

Mr Chairman,
Hon. Dignitaries,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

My heartfelt greetings to you all. I feel greatly honoured to have been invited to come to Richmond, Virginia, to participate in "National Cities Conference," involving an honest conversation on race, reconciliation and responsibility.

I have within the last two months attended similar conferences in Phnom Penh, Cambodia; Graaff-Reneit, South Africa; and Nairobi, Kenya.

As I prepared and thought of what to talk about here, I, one coming from a trouble-torn country the Sudan, and one among those now referred to as former leaders of that country who failed their people, I thought of a spiritual song that I learnt during my school days.

Wide, wide as the ocean,
High as the heavens above,
Deep, deep as the deepest sea
Is my Saviour's Love:
I though so unworthy,
Still am a child of his care;
For his word teaches me,
That his love reaches me
Everywhere.

In the context of the song, my nation, though confused and in disorder as I am, is still in God's care. I then thought that this would be my message to my American friends too. That God cares for America. That God, the Most Merciful and the Most Compassionate as the Muslims say, is "HEALING THE HEART OF AMERICA" as the theme of this Conference says. May that be so for countries in conflicts throughout the world, including my own Sudan.

I then felt to share with you here my own experiences of listening to the silent voice, which answers problems. Let me tell you one of my stories:

At the secondary school and later at the military college, I became aware of the cultural pressure on the people of Southern Sudan, to which I belong, from the people of Northern Sudan whom we consider aliens or intruders, to adopt their ways of life. I resented that bitterly and came to call it "this cultural aggression." When I graduated from the Military College I felt obliged to respond to the call of a liberation struggle which had as its aim the need to separate the South from the North, or reach an understanding with the North that, whilst we in the South may remain Sudanese, we do not wish to be forced to abandon our chosen cultural paths. I participated in the military struggle for nine years (1963-1972), with the last four as its leader.

The test came to me when on 6th December 1971 a civilian aircraft of the Sudan Airways crash-landed in a territory controlled by my guerrilla forces, with the pilot (a Canadian national) dead, and one other passenger, leaving 29 survivors. Some of my men recommended that the Northern elements (the majority) among the survivors be killed, others suggested a ransom request for those. It was a very difficult time for me indeed. I had a sleepless night. Many thoughts came to my mind. The positive ones were influenced by two reminiscences from the Christian scripture:

(a) Christ had compassion on the hungry multitude. What about me, should I not have the same for the innocent travellers? I asked myself.

(b) The conversation between Christ and the disciple Peter, when the latter asked, "How many times do I forgive my brother, should I forgive him seven times?" Christ answered, "Seventy times seven." Meaning on and on.....

I maintained hatred then for the Northern Sudanese for injury they inflicted on the Southerners as the result of the mutiny of the Southern Equatoria

Corps in August 1955. Those soldiers who mutinied killed Northerners in the South indiscriminately, men, women and children. This was the result of accumulated racial hatred which I approved at the time. But later I came to realise that it was wrong and that we in Southern Sudan were also guilty of racism. Racism doesn't wear any particular colour. And the Northerners took savage revenge thereafter when the Northern forces were flown to the South by the British Royal Air Force. That vengeful action touched my family. That touch on my family, the Northern cultural pressure, and political domination contributed to what influenced me to join or respond to the call of those who started the struggle in Southern Sudan before me; a motivation that derived from hatred.

Nevertheless, the fear of heavenly punishment prevented me from taking any of the suggestions of my staff. I was the one responsible and therefore the one to receive the punishment. My compassion for the survivors became stronger than my hatred for the Northern Sudanese, and my Christian upbringing stressed on the need to forgive. The teaching of my traditional belief warned against taking innocent lives of others. So I decided to release the survivors unconditionally. And I remembered the words of the school chaplain, the Rev. Noel White, as far back as 1953 at Rumbek Secondary School, when he said, "The good thoughts that come to you in the coolness of the night or morning hours may be guidance from God, act on it and do not go about consulting other people. The guidance is for you." I therefore refused to let my thoughts which led to the decision be influenced by any other ideas. I simply conveyed the decision to my staff the next day. The reaction of the staff was not agreeable. I had to battle further with them. In the end they consented.

Those survivors were released, but we did not stop fighting for our justifiable cause. The struggle for our freedom and rights shouldn't carry with it the hatred for the North and its people. While we aspire for our rights, it is not correct to practise racism in reverse, destroy the others, or drive them away. My message here is, struggle for your rights without hatred. Do the right thing,

even if it will result in you losing popularity.

In conclusion, I repeat my country is again in turmoil, a turmoil greater than ever before. In addition to our continuing South-North conflict, there are now widespread ethnic conflicts taking place within the South as well as the North. Our people have become so divided. We need the prayers of others. You Americans, as you look honestly at your own problems, please think of us and help us to bring the harmony we need.

Yes, we need a struggle for justice, but we need it with mercy, with forgiveness, without hatred, and with a vision from God of the destiny of all His peoples, not just our own.

That is my commitment today, a world commitment with you that the love of God shall reach politicians and people everywhere.

Thank you.

Fax to: 010 27 12 43 20 69
Fax from: (UK) 81 993 2769.

28th July 1993

TO MY MRA COLLEAGUES IN SOUTH AFRICA

I am writing to express my love and friendship to you, and my deep respect for your people in your beloved country that I came to know during my visit in April this year. Through your generosity I was able to come to your country and acquaint myself with its problems, which are very similar to those of my own country.

Through the world news media I continue to follow events in your country. I rejoice and praise God when I hear good news. It was wonderful to hear of Dr Nelson Mandela and Chief Gatcha Buthelezi meeting in Johannesburg on the initiative of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. On this and so many other issues, your prayers and my prayers have been answered.

I felt scared when I learned that the Government and the ANC decided to march ahead towards multi-party elections, despite threats of other groups such as Inkatha to stay away and not take part in elections. I recall the African tradition which keeps everyone in the group talking until a consensus is reached, and does not allow anyone to leave in disappointment, because such a fellow will be a danger to the others.

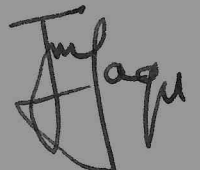
I am deeply distressed by the recent events of political violence. Most heartbreaking was the shooting in the Church at Cape Town on Sunday 25th July. I returned from South Africa with the feeling that the people are God-fearing and religious, though they may differ among themselves politically. I never expected shooting at worshippers to occur there. I know you too were shocked. You did not expect that.

It is only by turning to the Almighty in the coolness of the night or morning hours that we shall hear His guidance. Let us replace despair by hope and prayer, and commit South Africa into the hands of the ALMIGHTY.

Friends, my heart is with you, my spirit is with you. Let us pray that the stronger political groups reduce their speed and carry the others along with them, and that the weaker groups express their viewpoints through dialogue and drop violence. Through dialogue understanding will be reached, though the time to attain that may be long. Let that be our hope and prayer.

With deep sympathy for all those recently bereaved in your country, yet trusting in the Lord's overriding mercy and love for our continent, I remain your friend as ever,

Joseph Lagu, 96 Gunnersbury Avenue, London W5 4HB



A Guerrilla Fighter for Peace

GENERAL JOSEPH LAGU

(Former Vice President of the Sudan and now its Roving Ambassador)

will speak on:

The Struggle for Justice without Hatred

Friday 29th October 1993
at 7.30pm

Sheffield University
Senior Common Room Lounge
(Top floor, University House, next to the Octagon Centre)

Tea and Coffee

Collection

General Joseph Lagu was a guerrilla fighter for the southern forces in Sudan's first civil war (1955 - 72). He became a peacemaker, then chairman of the new South Sudan Regional Government, and in 1982 was appointed Vice-President of the Republic of Sudan - Africa's largest country. More recently he was Sudan's Ambassador to the United Nations in New York, and is now living in London as his country's Roving Ambassador. General Lagu has recently visited Cambodia, South Africa and Kenya, and has just returned from Sudan where he appeared on national television appealing for peace in his country.

in association with
MORAL RE - ARMAMENT

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE WITHOUT HATRED

By Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu

Roving Ambassador, Republic of Sudan

Sheffield University

Friday 29th October 1993

Mr Chairman,
Hon. Dignitaries,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

My heartfelt greetings to all of you present here. I feel greatly honoured to have been invited to come to participate in this Conference. I wish to get involved in an honest conversation on race, reconciliation and responsibility, that will guide peoples in conflicts to understand each other and finally aspire to peace.

I have attended conferences in Phnom Penh, Cambodia; Graaff-Reneit, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya and Richmond, Virginia in the United States; all in attempts to learn more from others and share experiences with others in the interest of peace.

As I prepared and thought of what to talk about here, I, one coming from a trouble-torn country the Sudan, and one among those now referred to as former leaders of that country who failed their people, I thought of a spiritual song that I learnt during my school days to comfort myself.

Wide, wide as the ocean
High as the heavens above,
Deep, deep as the deepest sea
Is my Saviour's Love;
I though so unworthy,
Still am a child of his care;
For his word teaches me,
That his love reaches me
Everywhere.

In the context of the song, my nation though confused and in disorder as I am, is still in God's care. I then thought that this would be my message to you my friends here too. That God cares for you. That God, the Most Merciful and the Most Compassionate as the Muslims meekly say, is "HEALING THE HEARTS OF US ALL". May that be so for all peoples in countries in conflicts throughout the world.

I then felt to share with you here my own experiences of listening to the silent voice, which answers problems. Let me tell you one of my stories:

At the secondary school and later at the military college, I became aware of the cultural pressure on the people of Southern Sudan, to which I belong, from the people of Northern Sudan whom we consider aliens or intruders, to adopt their ways of life. I resented that bitterly and came to call it "this cultural aggression." When I graduated from the Military College I felt obliged to respond to the call of a liberation struggle which had as its aim the need to separate the South from the North, or reach an understanding with the North that, whilst we in the South may remain Sudanese, we do not wish to be forced to abandon our chosen cultural paths. I participated in the military struggle for nine years [1963-1972], with the last four as its leader. I maintained hatred then for the Northern Sudanese for injury they inflicted on the Southerners as the result of the mutiny of the Southern Equatoria Corps in August 1955. Those soldiers who mutinied killed Northerners in the South indiscriminately, men, women and children. This was the result of accumulated racial hatred which I approved of at the time. But later I came to realise that it was wrong and that we in Southern Sudan were also guilty of racism. Racism doesn't wear any particular colour of skin. To resent and discriminate someone because of colour of skin or appearance is evil. It is racism. And the Northerners took revenge thereafter when the Northern forces were flown to the South by the British Royal Air Force. That vengeful action touched my family. That touch on my family, the Northern cultural pressure, and the political domination contributed to what influenced me to join or respond to the call of those who started the struggle in Southern Sudan before me; a motivation that derived from hatred - which now I see as definitely wrong, though I still maintain that any people have the right to struggle for their cause. I add the point, "but without hatred".

The test came to me when on 6th December 1971 a civilian aircraft of the Sudan Airways crash-landed in a territory controlled by my guerrilla forces with the pilot [a Canadian national] dead, and one other passenger, leaving 29 survivors. Some of my men recommended that the Northern elements [the majority] among the survivors to be killed, others suggested a ransom request for those. It was a very difficult time for me indeed. I had a sleepless night. Many thoughts came to my mind. The positive ones were influenced by reminiscences from the Christian scripture:

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Those survivors were released. They became our Ambassadors on their arrival to their homes, and spoke well of us and of our Movement. That made the government to take peace initiative serious which resulted to the famous Addis Ababa Peace Agreement which halted a 17 years civil strife between the South and the North in the Sudan. We did not stop

fighting for our justifiable cause. The struggle for our freedom and rights shouldn't carry with it the hatred for the North and its people. While we aspire for our rights, it is not correct to practise racism against others or practise racism in reverse, destroy the others, or drive them away. My message here is, struggle for your rights without hatred. Do the right thing, even if it will result in you losing popularity.

In conclusion, I wish to mention that another civil strife broke out in the Sudan since May 1983 and my country is again in turmoil, a turmoil far greater than ever before. In addition to our continuing South-North conflict, there are now widespread ethnic conflicts taking place within the South as well as within the North. Our people have become so divided. We need the prayers of others. You people of this land, as you look honestly at your own problems, please think of us and help us to bring the harmony we need.

Yes, we need a struggle for justice, but we need it with mercy, with forgiveness, without hatred, and with a vision from God of the destiny of all His peoples, not just our own. That is my commitment today, a world commitment, that I also announce before you; that the love of God shall reach politicians and peoples everywhere, and guide them to work for peace.

And may the wind of peace which seems to blow over the Middle East, also turn to blow over my country, the Sudan and all the other lands still in crisis.

Thank you.

I shall remain ready to answer any questions.

**THE MOVE FOR PEACE
IN
THE SUDAN**

PRESENTED

by

LT. GEN. JOSEPH LAGU, RETD., HON. D. LITT

**On the invitation of Sudanese
Students Association of
Edinburgh**

60 Pleasance
Edinburgh
30th October, 1993

THE READING FROM THE HOLY BIBLE IS TAKEN FROM THE GOSPEL ACCORDING
TO ST. LUKE.
CHAPTER 2, VERSES 8-14.

Now in this same district there were shepherds out in the fields, keeping watch through the night over their flock. Suddenly an angel of the Lord appeared to them, and the glory of the Lord shone around them. They were terrified, but the angel said, 'Do not be afraid; I bring you good news, news of great joy for the whole nation. Today there has been born to you in the city of David a deliverer – the Messiah, the Lord. This will be the sign for you: you will find a baby wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in a manger.' All at once there was with the angel a great company of the heavenly host, singing praise to God:

'Glory to God in highest heaven,
and on earth peace to all in whom he delights.'

HERE ENDS THE READING.

Prayer: The second collect for peace

Mr Chairman,

Ladies and Gentlemen;

My paper is about *The Move To Reach Real Peace In The Sudan*, the peace that will come to stay.

My heartfelt greetings to all of you who are gathered here, and my good wishes to all our Sudanese students everywhere in this country, including those who have not been able to come to attend this Conference.

I feel honoured by the Edinburgh Sudanese Students Association, for inviting me to be one of the main speakers in this Conference. I understand that the Conference is only a part of a variety of activities involving all sections of the Sudanese community in Scotland, and perhaps in the United Kingdom as a whole.

I value any moves aimed towards bringing people together. It is well known that people often differ from one another due to lack of contact, and that they may begin to discover common values as they get to know one another. On this basis, respect can lead to friendship and the solving of problems.

Mr Chairman, the organisers of this "get-together" are doing the right thing. I give them my support and encouragement. I only hope that this will be repeated often and that the participation will be seen to come from all the Sudanese communities in the United Kingdom.

I like the title given to the symposium, "Peace and Development Prospects in the Sudan." It is compatible with my own trend of thought in matters relating to our country and other lands equally affected by conflicts. Peace is the first concern, then development project. I regard the title of this session as the theme for the Conference. Peace must be the first aspiration to guarantee the security of life itself, and then development projects, to give hope for the improvement of living conditions of the people. We experienced this before in the Sudan. You will recall that on the cessation of hostilities in the Sudan, following the signing of the well publicised peace accord between the South and the North in Addis Ababa in March 1972, the country was blessed with peace.

Our people witnessed some achievements in development in the various fields throughout our vast country, within a decade of peace. Such achievements had not been realised in the tumultuous period of civil strife preceding independence or up to the signing of the peace accord. We enjoyed life, we witnessed progress, and felt national prestige during that period of peace within the one decade. Our economy flourished and we were a more cohesive and a happier people. Everything seemed to go well.

But alas! That peace was a short term peace. We need a settlement to attain a lasting peace - a peace accord to reach real permanent peace. We witnessed setbacks to peace in 1983 when the clock started turning the other way, after a fresh crisis erupted in the South. The deteriorating political situation was further aggravated by the Ministry of Defence deciding to re-introduce the rotation of troops which had been dropped since the Peace Accord became effective in 1992.

Southern elements in the Southern Command viewed rotation as a way to scatter them and make them politically ineffective, and later to phase them out of the armed forces altogether.

This was not surprising since the armed forces have always been a significant factor in Sudan politics. Most Southerners held the same views and fears as their troops. When the order to transfer the troops to the North was issued, naturally it met resistance throughout Southern Sudan. The conflict was ignited when force was applied on 16 May 1983 against Battalion 105, to move it from its base in Bor town to Shendi in the Northern Sudan, without even considering the social aspects of the situation on the soldiers and their families. It was through political miscalculations and mismanagement of the armed forces, as had been the case on 18 August 1955, that the Sudanese people and particularly the Southerners were plunged into a conflict. Twice in our time the misuse of the armed forces (the movement of troops for political considerations) caused serious problems in the Sudan. In 1983 the Minister of Defence and the General Staff of the Armed Forces could not learn from the experiences of those before them. They repeated exactly an error committed 28 years before.

It is our moral obligation, those of us who were aware of the situation, to give the facts. Those of you who wish to contribute to resolving the current conflicts may do so effectively if you understand the situation and its historical perspectives.

As the conflict dragged on and spread, destruction and devastation followed, undoing all that had been achieved, not just since 1972 but in the decades before. In some parts of the country, even if there is peace, the citizens have been left destitute of the basic services the state should provide.

National resources have been diverted toward extinguishing the bush fire of spreading crisis. Most development projects have stopped. The South was the first and worst hit, but gradually the rest of the country became affected, though to a lesser degree, as attention to development projects and to services diminished countywide. This resulted in our national agricultural output decreasing steadily and with it our gross national income. And, of course, agricultural products have always been our main foreign exchange earner. Consequently, the purchasing power of the Sudanese Pound plummeted to the depths, while the smaller units of currency disappeared from circulation. And the economic impact of the war reached everybody in the Sudan. Consequently the standard of living dropped, touching every community, with the poor becoming poorer. Crimes such as burglary and armed robbery, previously uncommon in the country, became more and prevalent.

Dear compatriots, we are in an anti-clockwise notion which we have to reverse. We can do this by stopping the ongoing unwanted, wasteful, prolonged civil war. It is the main cause of our predicament. In the attempt to do that, I wish to recruit your support and co-operation in a different kind of battle, the campaign for peace through dialogue and compromise. I shall repeat to you the appeal I made to our compatriots over our national television while I was in Khartoum on 14th August 1993. I shall elaborate on this and retain it as my message to our fellow Sudanese everywhere, until this devastating illogical war is contained and ended, and retardation is replaced by progress. I stated then in August that the purpose of my visit to our capital city was to promote the cause of peace and to:

- (1) Explore with fellow citizens the avenues for peace and the possibilities to stop the current civil war ravaging our country in order to preserve our national resources for useful purposes and spare the lives of our compatriots. And to suggest to them to think aloud in groups and share

thoughts as how to resolve our national problem peacefully, bearing in mind that our society is multicultural.

(2) Call for the involvement of the citizens of the Southern states in particular, and the Sudanese community at large, to work towards ending the war. And to plan to rebuild the country and reconstruct our society in a manner that will ensure lasting peace. In all this, we should bear in mind that the Sudan is a vast country with varying climatic conditions, inhabited by peoples of various races and cultures, ranging from ebony black to blue-eyed white, and professing Islam, Christianity and other Heavenly faiths.

(3) Recommend the involvement of all recognised national leaders from the South especially, and from the other parts of the country in the peace process. The tackling of outstanding national problem (the ongoing war) cannot be left only to the warring factions or parties.

(4) Recommend the commencement of resettlement and rehabilitation processes in the parts of the country affected by the conflict that are now firmly under government control. And to plan its extension to the remaining areas when hostilities have ceased.

(5) Study ways and means to preserve the oneness of the country and to restore confidence between the citizens of the various parts of the country now shaken as a consequence of the conflict. And recommend the study of similar situations elsewhere where solutions have been found and national unity maintained.

(6) Appeal to the international community, particularly governments and representatives of news media, for calm, objectivity and impartiality in their judgements and presentation of reports covering the Sudan. And to recommend acceptance of the services of those governments, organisations and individuals who seriously wish to help us in the Sudan to attain peace without taking sides with any of our political groups.

Ladies and gentlemen, I take the above six points as the main issues for our concern in the Sudan. I hope you too will agree with me and that we can all join in the struggle for peace in our country, not by the use of force, but through dialogue, persuasion and conviction.

For those who do not know me, perhaps I should add a short personal note, to tell you what role I played in our nation's affairs in the past. I come from Nimule, Eastern Equatoria, from the Madi ethnic group. I travelled extensively in the Sudan in the course of my varied career. I was a regular army officer, a guerrilla commander, commander of a regular army division, and I am now a politician and a diplomat. I fought the Sudan Government for 9 years in our first civil war when it seemed necessary to fight. I made peace when it seemed right to make peace. I refused high office in 1972 when I knew I was needed in the reintegrated army to preserve peace. I have

6

The Move for Peace in the Sudan

been in a number of political battles in our country over a period of time. I won some and lost some of the battles, and consequently made allies as well as enemies.

In the course of all this, I have also engaged in a number of inner struggles with myself; with hatred, ambitions, revenge, recriminations, etc. These are the battles we must each win, by God's grace in our hearts, if we are to bring peace to our country and beyond. We cannot make peace and at the same time want power for ourselves at all costs. If we honestly intend to work

for peace in our country, then we have to put national interest before our own individual interests. We have to suppress in ourselves the vices of selfishness, greed and envy. On this count, I appeal to all in power and in positions of responsibility at various levels and circumstances.

Also I believe the Sudan has a task to help bring peace and healing in other parts of the world. In acknowledgement of my part in our past experiences of reconciliation, I have in the last two years been asked to contribute towards the processes of reconciliation in El Salvador, Cambodia and South Africa. I long to see more of my compatriots participate in similar situations in the future around the globe.

Fellow Sudanese, if we succeed in attaining peace once more in our country, definitely our help will continue to be required beyond our borders even more than before. Let us hope for that. But first let us strive to attain peace and reconciliation at home in our country, then show readiness, with the guidance of God, to extend helping hands elsewhere.

A PLEDGE TO MY NATION

1. I have decided to follow Jesus,
I have decided to follow Jesus,
I have decided to follow Jesus;
No turning back, no turning back.

2. I have decided to stand down for peace,
I have decided to stand down for peace,
I have decided to stand down for peace;
I sacrificed my gains for peace.

3. I have decided to work for peace now,
I have decided to work for peace now,
I have decided to work for peace now;
Whenever I can, to work for peace.

4. I have decided to stand up for peace,
I have decided to stand up for peace,
I have decided to stand up for peace;
Whenever I can, I'll stand for peace.

May God bless you all, and thank you for listening.

An evening with . . .

General Joseph Lagu

Sudanese Roving Ambassador

Theme:

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE WITHOUT HATRED

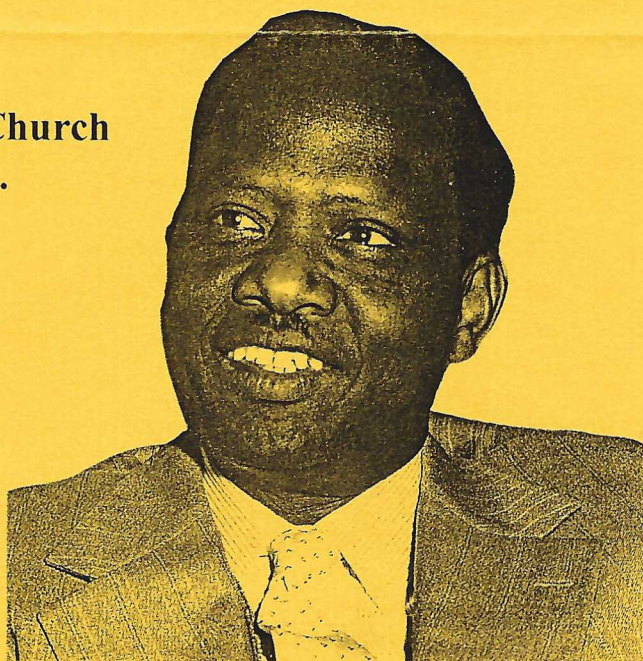
General Lagu was commander of the South Sudan guerrilla army in the first civil war. He is also a former Vice President of Sudan.

at

Newbury Baptist Church
Cheap Street.

Thursday
February 3rd
at
7.45 pm.

All welcome.



Enquiries: Tel. N. 47196

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE WITHOUT HATRED

By Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu

Roving Ambassador, Republic of Sudan

St. Bartholomew's School,
Newbury.

3rd February 1994.

My heartfelt greetings to all of you present here. I feel greatly honoured to have been invited to come to talk to the sixth form of this School. Here, as in my previous discussions in the cities listed below. I wish to get involved in an honest conversation on race, reconciliation and responsibility, that will guide peoples in conflicts to understand each other and finally aspire to peace.

I have attended conferences in Phnom Penh, Cambodia; Graaff-Reneit, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya and Richmond, Virginia in the United States; all in attempts to learn more from others and share experiences with others in the interest of peace.

As I prepared and thought of what to talk about here, I, one coming from a trouble-torn country the Sudan, and one among those now referred to as former leaders of that country who failed their people, I thought of a spiritual song that I learnt during my school days to comfort myself.

Wide, wide as the ocean
High as the heavens above,
Deep, deep as the deepest sea
Is my Saviour's Love;
I though so unworthy,
Still am a child of his care;
For his word teaches me,
That his love reaches me
Everywhere.

In the context of the song, my nation though confused and in disorder as I am, is still in God's care. I then thought that this would be my message to you at this school too. That God cares for you and for your future. That God, the Most Merciful and the Most Compassionate as the Muslims meekly say, is "HEALING THE HEARTS OF US ALL". May that be so for all peoples in countries in conflicts throughout the world.

I then felt to share with you here my own experiences of listening to the silent voice, which answers problems. Let me tell you one of my stories:

At the secondary school and later at the military college, I became aware of the cultural pressure on the people of Southern Sudan, to which I belong, from the people of Northern Sudan whom we consider aliens or intruders, to adopt their ways of life. I resented that bitterly and came to call it "this cultural aggression." When I graduated from the Military College I felt obliged to respond to the call of a liberation struggle which had as its aim the need to separate the South from the North, or reach an understanding with the North that, whilst we in the South may remain Sudanese, we do not wish to be forced to abandon our chosen cultural paths. I participated in the military struggle for nine years [1963-1972], with the last four as its leader. I maintained hatred then for the Northern Sudanese for injury they inflicted on the Southerners as the result of the mutiny of the Southern Equatoria Corps in August 1955. Those soldiers who mutinied killed Northerners in the South indiscriminately, men, women and children. This was the result of accumulated racial hatred which I approved of at the time. But later I came to realise that it was wrong and that we in Southern Sudan were also guilty of racism. Racism doesn't wear any particular colour of skin. To resent and discriminate someone because of colour of skin or appearance is evil. It is racism. And the Northerners took revenge thereafter when the Northern forces were flown to the South by the British Royal Air Force. That vengeful action touched my family. That touch on my family, the Northern cultural pressure, and the political domination contributed to what influenced me to join or respond to the call of those who started the struggle in Southern Sudan before me; a motivation that derived from hatred - which now I see as definitely wrong, though I still maintain that any people have the right to struggle for their cause. I add the phrase, "but without hatred".

The test came to me when on 6th December 1971 a civilian aircraft of the Sudan Airways crash-landed in a territory controlled by my guerrilla forces with the pilot [a Canadian national] dead, and one other passenger, leaving 29 survivors. Some of my men recommended that the Northern elements [the majority] among the survivors to be killed, others suggested a ransom request for those. It was a very difficult time for me indeed. I had a sleepless night. Many thoughts came to my mind. The positive ones were influenced by reminiscences from the Christian scripture:

[a] Christ had compassion on the hungry multitude. What about me, should I not have the same for the innocent travellers? I asked myself.

[b] The conversation between Christ and the disciple Peter, when the latter asked, "How many times do I forgive my brother, should I forgive him seven times?" Christ answered, "Seventy times seven." Meaning on and on.....

Nevertheless, the fear of heavenly punishment also influenced my thoughts, it prevented me from taking any of the suggestions of my staff. I was the one responsible and therefore the one to receive the punishment. My compassion for the survivors became stronger than my hatred for the Northern Sudanese, and my Christian upbringing stressed on the need to forgive. The teaching of my people's traditional belief warned against taking innocent lives of others. So I decided to release the survivors unconditionally. And I remembered the words of my school chaplain, the Rev. Noel White, as far back as 1953 at Rumbek Secondary School, when he said, "The good thoughts that come to you in the coolness of the night or morning hours may be guidance from God, act on it and do not go about consulting other people. The guidance is for you." I therefore refused to let my thoughts which led to the decision to be influenced by any other ideas. I simply conveyed the decision to my staff the next day. The reaction of the staff was not agreeable. I had to battle further with them. In the end they consented, and that ended the uneasiness in me, a most welcomed relief.

Those survivors were released. They became our Ambassadors on their arrival to their homes, and spoke well of us and of our Movement. That made the government to take peace initiative serious which resulted to

the famous Addis Ababa Peace Agreement which halted a 17 years civil strife between the South and the North in the Sudan. We did not stop fighting for our justifiable cause. The struggle for our freedom and rights shouldn't carry with it the hatred for the North and its people. While we aspire for our rights, it is not correct to practise racism against others or practise racism in reverse, destroy the others, or drive them away. My message here is, "struggle for your rights without hatred. Do the right thing, even if it will result in you losing popularity." Every African story has a lesson to be learnt. The above message is the lesson for this story.

In conclusion, I wish to mention that another civil strife broke out in the Sudan since May 1983 and my country is again in turmoil, a turmoil far greater than ever before. In addition to our continuing South-North conflict, there are now widespread ethnic conflicts taking place within the South as well as within the North. Our people have become so divided. We need the prayers of others. You people of this land, as you look honestly at your own problems, please think of us and help us to bring the harmony we need.

Yes, we need a struggle for justice, but we need it with mercy, with forgiveness, without hatred, and with a vision from God of the destiny of all His peoples, not just our own. That is my commitment today, a world commitment, that I also announce before you; that the love of God shall reach politicians and peoples everywhere, and guide them to work for peace.

And may the wind of peace which seems to blow over the Middle East, South Africa and Cambodia, also turn to blow over my country, the Sudan and all the other lands still in crisis.

Thank you.

I shall remain ready to answer any questions.

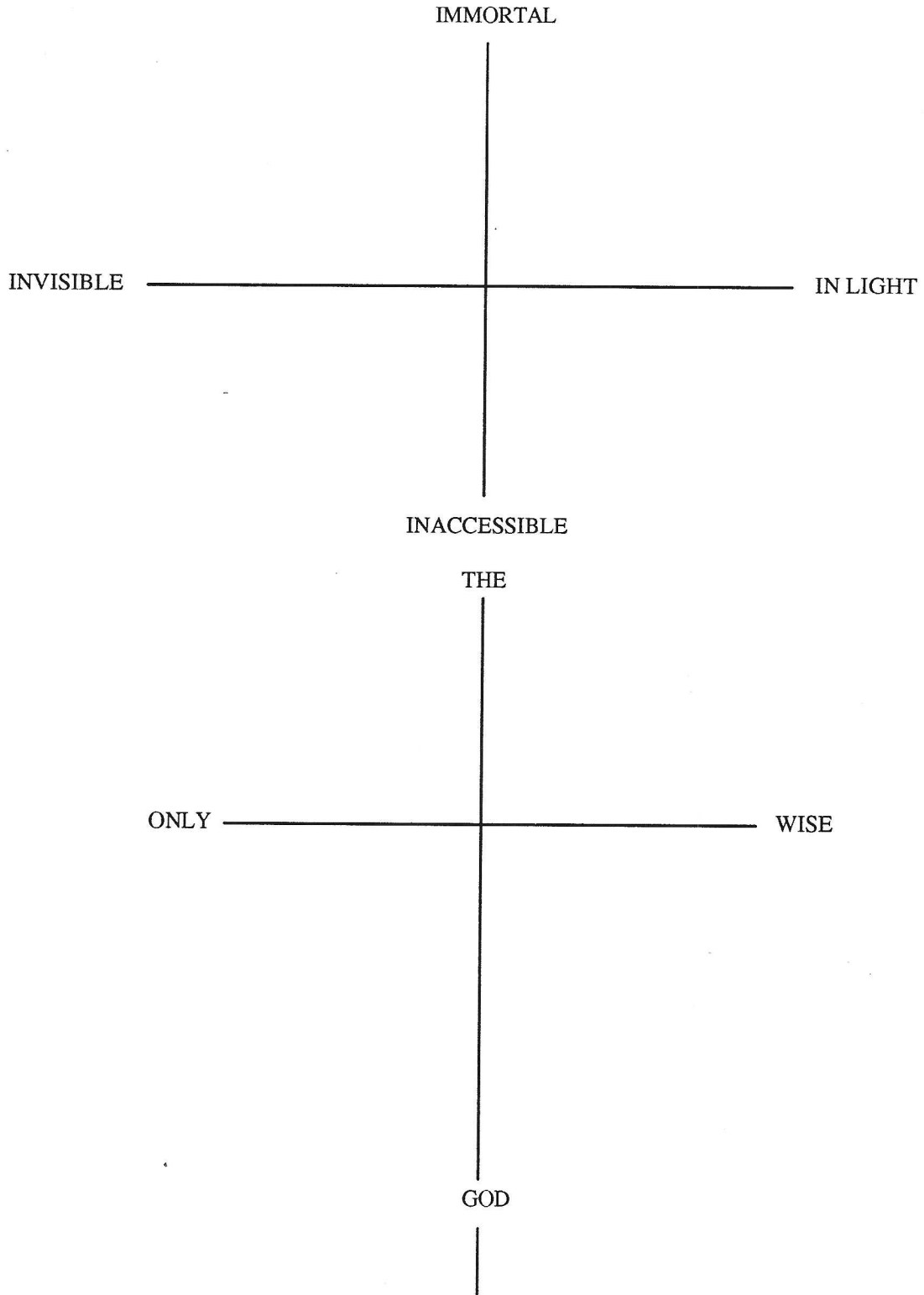
22/5/94

LAGU

YAOUNDE

CAMEROON

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE WITHOUT HATRED



Most blessed, most glorious, the Ancient of Days. Almighty, victorious, hid from our eyes. Thy great name we praise. [Oh Lord caring Father, bless this gathering and give us the guidance in all our deliberations to make it a success, we pray.]

**Mr Chairman,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen.**

My heartfelt greetings to all of you present here. I feel honoured by the invitation to participate in this Moral Re-Armament Conference, under the theme: 'FOR A NEW AFRICA.' I am happy to speak at the session, "*AFRICA: What are you living for?*" My personal answer to the question is: "To forgive others, so that I may expect forgiveness for my own faults from those I have wronged; also so as to deserve to ask for forgiveness from the ALMIGHTY for the sins that I committed against Him and other people; then to qualify as a Christian to say truly the part of the Lord's prayer, 'forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us'."

I wish to become involved in an honest conversation on race, reconciliation and responsibility here, as I have done in MRA programmes in other cities around the world. I hope that this may help peoples in conflict lands, such as my own country the Sudan, to understand each other and finally aspire to peace.

Coming from a trouble-torn country myself, I found it difficult to select what to talk about here. Aware that I am one of those former leaders sometimes regarded as having failed their people, for which I accept my share of responsibility, I take courage from a spiritual song of my school days:

Wide, wide as the ocean
High as the heavens above,
Deep, deep as the deepest sea
Is my Saviour's love;
I though so unworthy
Still am a child of His care,
For His word teaches me
That His love reaches me,
Everywhere.

In the context of the song, my nation, though so confused and in disorder just as I am, is still in God's care. I then decided that this would be my message to you in Cameroon as

well, that God cares for you and for your country; that God the Most Merciful and the Most Compassionate, as the Muslims meekly say, is healing the hearts of us all. May that be so for all the peoples in all the countries of the world with similar problems as in my own. I wish to share with you my own experiences of listening to the silent voice which answers problems. Let me tell you my story:

At the Secondary School and later in the Military College in the 1950's, I became aware of the pressure by the Northern Sudanese on the people of Southern Sudan, to which I belong. We regarded them as aliens and intruders in Southern Sudan. I bitterly resented their pressure on us in the South to adopt their Arab and Muslim ways of life, which I came to call 'this cultural aggression.'

A few years after I graduated from the Military College, I felt obliged to respond to the call to join a liberation struggle that aimed to separate the South from the North. The struggle started when Northern politicians persistently turned down a democratic request that we in the South be free to follow our chosen cultural path in a federal structure. That was the popular wish of the South.

I participated in the military struggle for nine years (1963-1972), with the last four as its leader. I maintained hatred then against the Northern Sudanese, I regret to say. This sprang from the injury they had inflicted on my fellow Southerners after the mutiny of the Southern Equatoria Corps in August 1955.

Ladies and gentlemen, those Southern soldiers who mutinied killed Northerners indiscriminately. Starting with their Northern officers who failed to get away, they then broke out of the garrison into the rest of the town of Torit. From there, they went on the rampage throughout the province of Equatoria and beyond, in the South, killing men, women and children. This was the result of accumulated racial hatred that I shared at the time. Later, I realised that the massacre of Northern civilians, simply because of their difference in colour of skin and appearance, was wrong. For that we in South Sudan were also guilty of racism. Racism in reality is a common crime being committed by all the peoples on our earth. It is not a disease that infects only people of a particular colour of skin. It occurs when one resents and discriminates against someone because of difference in the colour of skin or appearance. That is a temptation that often affects us all. It is the evil from which we need to be delivered and protected, as we remember the concluding portion of our Lord's prayer: "And deliver us from evil."

The Northerners took bloody revenge when the British Royal Air Force flew their units of the then Sudan Defence Force (SDF) to the South. Many Southern soldiers and policemen who surrendered in response to the call of the Governor General were nevertheless put to death after trial. Among them was a close relative of mine. The Governor General himself did not stay to see that justice was done. He left the Sudan before handing over responsibility to the Sudanese. Independence was declared by the Prime Minister, a Northern Sudanese without him. The South in that state of affairs was left at the mercy of the Northern Sudanese. Then Northern soldiers, police and

civil servants flooded in like an occupying power. All this sowed the seed of hatred and bitterness within me against Northern Sudanese and led me to join the armed struggle in 1963. It was only later that I saw the element of hatred in public affairs as irrational and counter productive. Of course, I still maintain that any people deprived of their rights have a cause to struggle for justice. I stand for "The struggle for justice without hatred" because hatred does not make one think soberly. It derails one from the real track, poisons one's blood and harms oneself far more than the people hated.

On 6 December 1971, the test for me came when a civilian aircraft of the Sudan Airways crash-landed in a territory controlled by my guerrilla forces. In that incident, the pilot (a Canadian national) and one other passenger died, leaving 29 survivors. Some of my men recommended that the Northern elements (the majority) among the survivors be killed, others suggested holding them to ransom. That was the situation! It gave me a very difficult time indeed. I had a sleepless night. Various thoughts passed through my mind, positive as well as negative. Reminiscences from the Christian Scripture guided me to act on the positive thoughts:

(a) Christ had compassion on a hungry multitude. What about me, should I not have the same for innocent travellers?

(b) The conversation between our Lord and the disciple Peter, when the latter asked, "How many times do I forgive my brother, should I forgive him seven times?" The answer was, "Seventy times seven," meaning on and on.

My compassion for the survivors became stronger than my hatred for the Northern Sudanese, and my Christian upbringing stressed the need to forgive. The teaching of my people's traditional belief warned against taking innocent lives of others. During that sleepless night I clearly thought I should release the survivors unconditionally. I then remembered the words of the chaplain at my secondary school back in 1953: "The good thoughts that come to you in the coolness of the night or early morning hours may be guidance from God. Act on it and do not go about consulting other people. The guidance is for you." With that ringing in my mind I refused to let my thoughts be diluted by any other ideas. I simply conveyed my decision to my staff at breakfast time.

The initial reaction of the staff, as I expected, was hostile to the decision. I had to battle further with them. In the end they consented, a most welcome relief that gave me the peace of mind I needed. I had risked becoming unpopular when I felt my decision was right under the circumstance. And it paid off soon afterwards. The lesson I learned from that crisis is what I wish to share with you at this conference. It is rewarding to do what you believe to be right before God, as the silent voice tells you. Never give in to the wishes of other people contrary to that. Respond to the silent call within you, especially when you are the one accountable for a decision. Stand firm, even if at a price.

We released those survivors. As I envisaged, they became our ambassadors on arrival at their homes in Northern Sudan. They spoke well of the conduct of our men and the cause

for which we were fighting, and their stories were widely publicised. This caused embarrassment to the Government who came under public pressure to start serious negotiations with our Movement, which resulted in the Addis Ababa Agreement that ended 17 years of conflict between the South and the North. We signed the accord before the late Ethiopian Emperor in Addis Ababa, March 1972. I then led my guerrilla army of about 18,000 men back into South Sudan, where they were integrated into the national army, the police, and the other areas of civil life. For a decade the South enjoyed regional autonomy.

In conclusion, I have to remind you that another civil war broke out in the Sudan in May 1983. Sadly this has brought my country into a turmoil far greater than ever before. There are now widespread ethnic conflicts within the South, in addition to the main South-North conflict. The North too is in a very unsettled state. Our people have become so divided. What caused this set back? one may ask. My answer is that we the leaders on either side in the conflict lacked honesty at the peace settlement in March 1972. We were not really prepared for a complete metamorphosis like from a caterpillar to a butterfly. We pretended, and only shed old skins as snakes do, while our personalities remained the same. Each group hoped to cheat the other in the course of time. That type of change is temporary, just as the new skin of a snake is smooth and shines only briefly, and shortly becomes coarse again. That is what is true of our situation in the Sudan. In the next settlement there ^{HAS} got to be sincerity. We need the type of change discussed at MRA conferences and meetings. We need to look inside ourselves, not throw blames at others when some bad issue is at hand. In all this, we need the help of others to get us out of the situation. We need your prayers you people of this land, as you look honestly at your own problems. Please think of us and help us bring the harmony we need.

Yes, we need a struggle for justice, but we need it with mercy, with forgiveness, and without hatred. We need a vision from God of the destiny of all His peoples, not just our own. We need democracy for our people in the Sudan so that they choose their own Government. In the South, I wish for our people the right to self determination, presently their popular call, so that they may freely choose to remain in some form of union with the North; or freely decide to form a separate state of their own.

We need to join hands with the democratic forces currently sweeping the world. We cannot remain indifferent in the Sudan. That is my commitment today, a world commitment, that I proclaim before you. I pray that the love of God which passes all understandings, shall reach politicians and peoples everywhere, and guide them to work for peace and democracy. I stand for peace and democracy, and I long to see the end of the savage conflicts currently taking place in my country Sudan, Angola, Somalia Rwanda, and a few other countries on our continent. I long to see those replaced by harmony and fraternity among our peoples throughout Africa.

I praise God Almighty for the peace in your country, which made it possible for us to gather and meet here in Yaounde. May your leaders and people be blessed for preserving the peace. May the Almighty turn the wind of change that passed over Southern Africa,

and other parts of the world, to blow over my country, and bring to an end our conflicts, so that our people, with their multiple racial, ethnic, and cultural diversities may once more enjoy the benefits of peace. May the same be true for other peoples in similar circumstances elsewhere in our world.

I long to see the day when we Africans of different racial, ethnic and cultural groups reach understanding among ourselves and learn to live in peace, observing good neighbourliness, tolerance and respect. With that in our minds, and as our hope, Africa may change from a conflict-torn continent to a peaceful and a progressive one. We may then have a brighter future in our own countries. May God the author of peace, the giver and preserver of life, preserve you and give you peace.

Thank you for listening.

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

22 May 1994
Yaounde, Cameroon.

CAUX

GENERAL JOSEPH LAGU, SUDAN
09.45, 23RD AUGUST, 1994

Ladies and gentlemen, the theme of this morning is "The Total Giving of Ourselves for a New World". And this is attributed to the late Bremer Hofmeyr, whose guest I was at the time of his death. He died when I was a guest in his house, and I pay my tribute to him that he lived to that commitment of peace. And I wish I also lived to my own commitment. After finding peace at Addis Ababa, and before picking my pen to sign the peace, I asked the Reverend Burgis Carr, who was then the chief mediator among the mediators, to say my favourite prayer, and my favourite prayer is the second collect for peace in the Anglican prayer book. That was said, and then I signed the peace agreement, meaning that from thence on, I committed myself to work for peace. But I may not be strong as others, who have strong will; when they have made a commitment, then they see that they go according to that. Sometimes I look back because of the rudeness in me, sometimes I turn round and I get shaken by this peace. All that I stand for, and I try my very best, is to work for peace, to try to forget my past, which often I find difficult to forget. I have been a fighter, I have fought military battles, and won most of them; I later on also joined politics, and fought political battles, and won them, too. But what is it all about? I go on fighting, fighting. Is that all that life means for me? Or should I change? In my last visit to the Sudan, I heard my own southern Sudanese, in a depressed performance, they were, singing the song, "I have decided to follow Jesus, no turning back, no turning back." I'm a musical thief, I took the tune and put it in my own. "I have decided to work for peace, wherever I can, to work for peace." Ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters, you who are here, let that be your thought for me. Let that also be your prayer for me, so that I live to that, to work for peace, not to turn back again, to be tempted to take the gun, because sometimes I'm tempted when I try to test myself whether I'm still physically fit, I run round in London, around ?? ^{Park, Gunnersbury} to prove my fitness, and I find that I was still fit. I sometimes think, "I can have another ten years in the bush, fighting." Pray for me so that I now work for peace. And I have tried to say this to my fellow southern Sudanese. I have tried to bring them to talk with northern Sudanese who are in London, but not easy. If they were here to see me, sitting beside Zein Abdeen, they would be cursing me, "See, look, look, he is still with these people. He was our leader, now he has deserted us. He is now with the northern Sudanese." But I keep on telling them, "I have committed myself to peace. If someone else has abrogated the agreement, I want to live to mine. I'm not on their side, it is good that I'm there, also to talk to them. They are not all our enemies, there are others among them who feel concerned about our situation, just as we are. Why should we have to look at the whole lot to be our enemies? They are not, there are friends amongst them. Try to penetrate those and win them on your side, then you may achieve your aim. But you cannot brand them all as enemies."

I am happy to be here today with General Zein Abdeen. On personal grounds, we have been friends, we were college mates who went recently to the college at Onroman??. I was one year ahead

Onroman

of him, he's my junior. I was his platoon commander in the military college. After graduation, after service with the Sudanese army for three years, I defected from the Sudanese army, and I fought them for nine and a half years. Then I made peace and rejoined them and worked in the army for six years, after which I went into politics, till 1982, when our government was overthrown by public uprising. I feel privileged to introduce him to you. Mind you, I was introduced to Moral Re-Armament by a northern Sudanese, Ahmed al-Mahdi. He introduced me to Moral Re-Armament. I didn't know about Moral Re-Armament, I heard faintly about it from watching the film "Freedom". But when I was a dissident in London, Ahmed al-Mahdi met me, and he said, "There are good people here. I want to introduce you to them. You will find friendship, real friendship amongst them." He called Peter Everington and he introduced me to Peter Everington, and he said, "These are good people, you will find them in London here. You will find real friendship with them." I'm not the one introducing Zein Abdeen to you in that perspective, but introducing him to you at this very conference. He had already met MRA before that, so I'm not introducing him to you for the first time. He is not new, but I'm introducing him as a colleague, as a college mate, as a colleague in the military college, in the Sudanese army, as one whom I fought for nine and a half years, then we made friendship again and became colleagues and so forth, one whose feelings I also know that he is among the few northern Sudanese who also have some feelings to the south, to the southern Sudanese, and one that I feel to introduce to you, to hear from him also, from the northern perspective, from the northern viewpoint, a little bit of history in the Sudan. And that is all. General Zein Abdeen.

GENERAL ZEIN ABDEEN, SUDAN
09.45, 23RD AUGUST, 1994

Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, good morning. Assalaam o-aleikum. Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to address you this morning. In fact, I came last year here and I spoke also, and I came again this year because I was fascinated by the idea of so many people from different races, different cultures, different gifts, brilliance, language come together, and then they speak to each other from the heart. And I think this is what we like to see in the new world, that all the people can live together peacefully and friendly, and talk to each other from the heart, help each other, we can live peacefully in this world. I worked with General Lagu before, we were in the military college together, I knew him, he was my platoon sergeant, he was much concerned about discipline. Thus far what I know about him early. He used to take his whistle out every ten minutes, ask us to come and speak about discipline. And I remember the last time I have seen him before he defected was in Shendi?? railway station, I don't know that he will remember this or not, and I was a cadet, he was graduated as a lecturer in the army, and then I went to shake hands with him, he was looking, raising up my hands and looking at my buttons, and saying, "Your buttons are not clean." This is true. And when he defected, I was also fighting against him in southern

Sudan, I was looking for him, and, in fact, he was rebel commander, and I was fighting in the army, but, at that time, I thought I was doing my duty as I differed from him, because we were fighting for that idea, I was fighting for the army, I was doing a duty. I looked at him as a mutineer, making violation against the law, and we should get him to come back. This was why I was looking for him. Having the perspective of whether he has got something, whether he believes he has something, or just a group of people in Sudan have got something to present, and they were fighting for this. I was not giving that much attention, because I was doing duty at that time, at that rank.

What I discovered at last was that some mistakes were committed by us, our political parties committed so many mistakes, and not looking to the problem of south Sudan in the right way. And, in fact, I have got long experience in the military, I have been qualified in the Soviet Union, in western Germany, in Egypt, in India for a long time, served as a military attaché, commanded brigades, divisions, artillery corps, Sudan airborne division, I was the director of military operations, ~~??~~, and I was fully committed to the operations in south Sudan, but still, we, as people, were not looking with hatred at each other. This was what I felt, I never had any hatred to any people in the Sudan, because Sudan was, up to now, composed of different ethnic groups, so many diversities, linguistic, religious, we are neighbouring Egypt, Libya, Chad, Central Africa, Guinea, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and with Saudi Arabia also across the sea, and we are multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and we have to realise that we have to live together in peace. And what I say that from all this military experience, which I was lucky, in fact, to see many countries, to get in contact with different people, to learn a lot about this military science, but now I am not fighting. I share with my friend Joseph that we should put all our experience how to bring our people to stop this war and come to live together peacefully. This is our message in life, if we can deliver to others, how to help others to bring peace, because, after all this time, we are fighting, we are fighting each other. Now we generals are living in one room, very friendly and with no problems at all. He starts in the morning reading his Bible, I read Qur'an, and then we come together, and I always feel very happy when I see that he is reading the Bible, because I feel that this person has got something, I have got something which we can share together, because we believe in the same God, that is what I believe also. Also, what I want to admit now, I have never had any bad feelings towards any man with another religion, and I think that it is very stupid, that ~~if~~ religions will make us help others, I believe that is not real religion, because religion means love and peace. If it were other than this, it is not religion, it is maybe something else. And what I want, after all this experience, I believe that in a country like Sudan, we should recognise that Sudan is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious country, and that all people of the Sudan have got the right to be given a free hand to practise and protect their own culture and identity. We should realise that a just and lasting peace can only be achieved through a process of reconciliation, compromise and confidence-building, because confidence is lost in the Sudan between the southerners, due to

mistakes of the government in north Sudan. So many people also in southern Sudan have to admit and have to forget this and come together, and try to live together in peace, because we need each other. It is always, you cannot say that the people in the north are mistaken, or that people in the south are mistaken, but we have to give them the chance to come together and sit together and agree on doing something. Maybe the agreement may be considered by some as a mistake, what is wrong, whether there is a mistake, or whether it is right or wrong, the people have to agree on something, whether it is right or wrong, and then they can go together and see it because so many people can agree on something which another one will see that it is wrong. But the main thing here is that there should be an agreement. The correct solution should not be enforced by force. And that we should do our best to let others come together and sit and agree, because if you are trying to force somebody to agree to something under pressure, tomorrow you cannot agree that or cannot guarantee that he will obey this, or he will go on doing it. Our other duties not the Sudan, but everywhere, if you can try to live together, Muslims, Christians, people of different races live together peacefully and to love each other instead of fighting each other. And I hope me and my friend Joseph can do something to help our peoples to stop this war, because the main thing is to stop this situation, is to stop the war, and to stop all hostilities, and to start to talk to each other. Can we get along with each other or return to another scene? Thank you very much.

PLEASE DO NOT USE MATERIAL FROM GENERAL ABDEEN'S TALK WITHOUT REFERRING TO HIM.



CYPRUS

Minister of Interior of Cyprus, **HE Dinos Michaelides**, called for 'an all-out effort to reach a workable and lasting solution' to the problems of Cyprus. 'This hope can only materialize if all of us in Cyprus, both Greeks and Turks, and also Turkey, change attitude, learn from past mistakes, and give a chance to reconciliation and forgiveness, instead of trying for revenge and superiority, which have only brought disastrous consequences for the past 40 years.'

The Cypriot Minister was followed by **Archibald Mackenzie**, a retired British ambassador who had served in Cyprus. 'We British did nothing in 1974, nor did other countries help,' he said. 'We failed to carry out our moral and political obligations, as guarantors of Cyprus's integrity and independence.' He saw the same failures in ex-Yugoslavia, where he had also served, 'failures to act soon enough'. In his view, the conflict in Bosnia was the fifth act in a tragedy that had started long before in Kosovo. 'Either we act on the basis of what is right, or we follow narrow national interests, and pay the price later. Others too pay the price, as Cyprus is still doing now, twenty years later.'

There will be a further conference on the same theme, *Regions in crisis, regions in recovery - learning from one another*, 14 - 24 August, 1995.

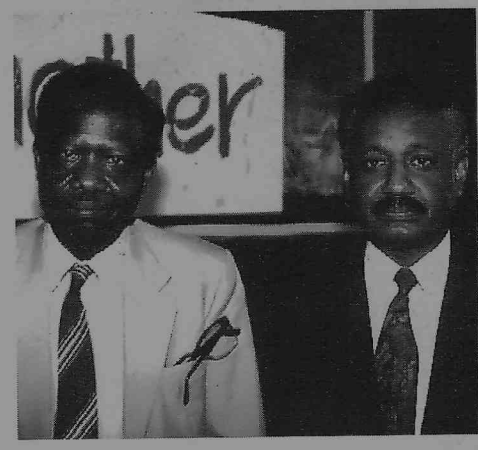
For information write to:
Conference Secretary
Mountain House
CH-1824 Caux
Switzerland

SUDAN

General Joseph Lagu, (left) former Vice-President of Sudan and now Roving Ambassador, said that when he had signed the 1972 peace agreement ending Sudan's first civil war, he had committed himself to work for peace.

He introduced **General Mohammed Zein El-Abdeen**, (right) Ambassador of Sudan to Scandinavia, as 'a colleague in the military college, in the Sudanese army, as one whom I fought for nine and a half years - then we made friendship again and became colleagues.'

'We generals are living in one room here in Caux,' said General Abdeen. 'He starts in the morning reading his Bible, I read the Qur'an. I feel very happy because we have got something which we can share together, because we believe in the same God. If religion makes us hurt others, it is not real religion. We should recognise that



Sudan is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious country, and that all people of the Sudan have got the right to practise and protect their own culture and identity. We should realise that a just and lasting peace can only be achieved through a process of reconciliation, compromise and confidence-building, because confidence has been lost with the Southerners.'



NAGALAND, INDIA

Niketü Iralu (right) from Nagaland, North-East India with the **Venerable Samdech Preah Maha Ghosananda**, Buddhist patriarch of Cambodia.

Mr Iralu said that the problems of the influx of over five million illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, the menace of drug addiction and AIDS among the youth, and the 38-year-old struggle for independence now joined by the neighbouring states have made his region one of the most unstable and violent in South Asia. Mr Iralu's brother-in-law and his brother before him, were both assassinated in election

contests, and there are ten drug addicts in his immediate family. 'At this conference we are going to learn to deal with ourselves and our nations at the level of conscience and to find the moral and spiritual commitment called for. It is at that level where the accumulated wrongs of our nations have their origin. To attempt to find lasting solutions at any other level seems to be endlessly frustrating. The themes of the conference will be implemented if we will voluntarily choose to listen trustingly to what Mahatma Gandhi called the "still small voice within" and learn to be guided by it.'

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA DEPENDS ON EACH ONE OF US

The land and people

When you you talk of a continent like Africa, you mean the land and the people that inhabit it. The future of a country, or a people, basically depends on the inhabitants or the people themselves. In that context it is correct to say that the future of Africa depends on us, the people who inhabit or live in Africa today. To safeguard our future, we have to reflect on the past and understand it. We have to study the past objectively, acknowledging the good and bad deeds of all the peoples that have inhabited, immigrated to, or colonised Africa.

The age of slave trade

You cannot talk about the future of Africa without reference to its past, and you cannot talk of its history without reference to the dark age of that Continent - the era of the slave trade. You will not be honest if you exclude the African himself from that crime. Slavery has been practised in all the world and among all peoples, time immemorial. References in the Scripture of the various faiths....

The era of colonialism

There have been movements of peoples since the beginning of time, or the human race. Consequently occupation and colonisation by the strong. **Africa** has experienced this and Africans took part in the movements. Historians have established that the human race originated from Africa. Therefore the first movements of peoples started in Africa to the other lands. The movements towards Africa was an about-turn of some kind in human history. These days there seems to be a reverse of direction in the movement of peoples. In the last two centuries, people were motivated by adventures. In this century by desire for better life. History repeat itself under different motives:

- 1 The Earth is the Lord's and all that there in is:
the compass of the world and they that dwell therein.
- 2 For He hath founded upon the seas:
and prepared it upon the floods.
- 3 Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord:
or who shall rise up in his holy place?
- 4 Even he that hath clean hands and a pure heart:
and that had not lift up his mind unto vanity,
nor sworn to deceive his neighbour.
- 5 He shall receive the blessings from the Lord:
and righteousness from the God of his salvation.
- 6 This is the generation of them that seek him:

even of them that seek thy face O Jacob.

7 Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift
up ye everlasting doors:

and the King of glory shall come in.

8 Who is the King of glory:

It is the Lord strong and mighty,

even the Lord mighty in battle.

9 Lift up your heads O ye gates,

and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors:

and the King of glory shall come in.

10 Who is the King of glory:

even the Lord of hosts,

he is the King of glory.

There have been good and bad aspects of colonialism.

Positive aspects of conquest have been eradication of the internal conflicts, and introduction of new ideas, often superior to the local existing ones. My assessment is that Africa benefited more than suffered from colonialism. Africans can move and communicate with each other more widely than pre-colonial era. The languages of communication have been reduced from hundreds to basically two: English and French.

Present time Africa

African states carved by the colonial powers have emerged into independent Nation States, not without problems. We have moved from our previous heritage without fully accepting and adopting the ones we have inherited from our colonial masters. The previous ethnic divisions among us seem to be re-emerging and more violently in some parts of our continent, including my own country Sudan, or rather South Sudan. Our economy have been in decline since each one of our countries attained independence. We need to look inwardly and critically. Locate the sources of our draw back. Morale Re-Armament helps us in this. We need to change the world to be a good place to live. But the positive change must start from one's self. We need that change in Africa. The future of that continent depend on us. We who come from there. We who come from there. We the human race. History says we all had our origins from there.

The future

Depends on our objective analysis of the situation: accepting our own faults, and the positive contribution of the others. The fact that there had been movement of peoples on this planet, and will continue. Let us accept our present populations in Africa, those who express themselves as Africans, no matter their colour of skin or the creed they profess. Let us reflect

on the administrative competence of few of our pioneer leaders who tried to observe forgiveness and acceptance of multiple society as the standing population for our continent. That is what a bright future may hold for us in Africa.

Faith as a Factor in International Affairs

*Opi ma Nyi ai yo
adi rere,
madi le mori yo
Nyi ni ote,
Nyekwe mani ayo
adi dini;
vu di kodi ndea.*

Lord I beseech You
so hurriedly,
I have no strength
You know,
Provide me
even so;
for this world to see.

Thank you very much Peter for your kind words and for the services you gave my country, in your eight years of work as a teacher there. Allow me to register my gratitude to the organisers of this study week, for including me amongst their guest speakers.

I appreciate the talks of the distinguished teachers who spoke before you. I admire and respect teachers, as you know. I often take pleasure in visiting my former teachers - some of whom were British.

May I ask Miss Hilary Belden, to kindly convey my gratitude and respect to her colleagues, the staff of Twyford Church of England High School. I thank them all for their good work that enabled my daughter Magdalene to pass for the university. She is now at Keele. I appreciate their continued good work at the school, where I still have two sons.

True, I was accepted to study law in the University of Khartoum. I had then planned to switch to science to become a school teacher, had I gone there.

To me, people of Faith are not just those who believe in God. They are people whose actions and decisions are influenced by their beliefs. Usually people of faith shy away from involvement in public life, and let matters fall into the hands of rascals like us politicians. They are too decent for the rough and tumble of political life.

When ^{people of faith do} they get into positions of responsibility, they perform better, because they are conscious of, and guided by their belief. Sometimes, of course, as human beings, some of them quietly abandon their belief when they get into power. Power corrupts as people say.

When it is rightly observed, religion is like a ship carrying a person, or a community through the ocean of life; from one shore to another. It is a way of life. I agree with the Muslim scholars when they say, "Islam is a way of life." I have accepted Christianity as my way of life, even though I may often fail as a Christian. It is the ship I have boarded to carry me through the ocean of life. When I fall off the ship, I look at those on board to throw a raft to rescue me.

I accept secularism in a modern state as a system to accommodate and to promote harmony between all believers, but never secularism in its atheist sense.

I value the role of people of faith in easing tensions in national and international relations. Look at the role Archbishop Desmond Tutu played in his country, South Africa, and outside the borders of that country.

I remember the Camp David peace talks between Egypt and Israel that eased tension between the two nations, one of the world's difficult problems of the time. I recall the event when President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, a devout Muslim, met Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel, an orthodox Jew. With President Jimmy Carter of the USA, a practising Christian, acting as a referee to establish confidence and promote understanding between them, the leaders of nations that had been at war for decades.

Those leaders talked and talked for a week with the world news media following. At intervals; they worshipped, meditated and prayed for guidance. Lastly, they arrived at an acceptable solution for both parties. They came out from there, with the well-publicised "Camp David Peace Agreement," between Egypt and Israel that became an example of conflict resolution.

Many a time it is said that freedom is never free. It is acquired at a price. I totally agree with that. Christians believe that Christ died on the cross to set them free from sin. I meditate over that as I reflect on the Christian hymn:

- 1 When I survey the wondrous Cross
on which the prince of glory died,
my richest gain I count as loss,
and pour contempt on all my pride.
- 2 Forbid it, Lord, that I should boast
save in the cross of Christ my God;
the very things that charm me most -
I sacrifice them to his blood.
- 3 See from his head, his hands, his feet,
sorrow and love flow mingled down:
when did such love and sorrow meet,
or thorns compose so rich a crown?

and separated him from his family. That deprived him from the care for the child, which possibly contributed to the loss. I appreciate his reconciliatory moves after the independence of his country, and welcome his appeal to the whites to stay, accepting them as compatriots.

I look at the situation of Sam Nujoma. The freedom fighter who led his country, South West Africa, later renamed Namibia, into independence and who became its first President. I inspect the rough roads he too travelled through, like his Zimbabwean fore runner. I greatly appreciate his democratic trend, quite rare in African. By that he set a good example, which was timely to influence events in South Africa. I presumed his experience and example influenced events in South Africa positively, which led to peaceful progress towards: free, democratic, and multi-racial South Africa.

I scrutinise the situation in South Africa, at the time of arrest, trial and imprisonment of the young Lawyer, Nelson Mandela. I visualise him and his fellow inmates in their prison cells, and at work in Robben Island for 27 solid years. I recall the days when he was reported sick, and offered conditional release, but refused to renounce what he stood for, that sent him to prison. I admire his ability and faith to persevere. I admire his charm even under most uncomfortable situation.

Nelson Mandela emerged with a new world record. He was one prisoner whose exit from prison was a world event. It was so dramatic and spectacular, televised by the courtesy of the then South African Government, for millions all over the world to watch. How wonderful! I had the privilege to watch the peculiar release from prison, and rejoiced with the rest of the world. Like most political prison graduates, he emerged as the nation's leader. President Nelson Mandela now stands as a father to all South Africans, across the racial divide that formerly seemed an incurable cancer of that country.

I count him and the others mentioned above as people of faith, whose character and achievements have influenced national and international affairs to the right direction.

Let me tell you a bit of my own experience. My small faith was tested on 6 December 1971, when a Sudan Airways flight to Juba from Khartoum lost its way and crash-landed in a territory controlled by my guerrilla forces. In that incident, the pilot (a Canadian national) died on the impact of the crash, leaving 29 survivors. We had adequate radio communication facilities then. News of the crash was sent to me. My initial reaction was to reply the local commander, and ask him to protect the survivors, most of whom were Northern Sudanese, and to await for my instructions due to follow the next day. I called a staff meeting. There were various opinions as what to do with those: kill them, hold them as hostages and ask for ransom, etc. No satisfactory ideas came out from the staff meeting. I blamed God for allowing the crash to occur in my territory, and wished it had crashed elsewhere. I adjourned the sitting to the next day.

I had a sleepless night. Various thoughts passed through my mind, positive as well as negative:

I remembered the story in the New Testament, when Christ had compassion on the multitude that came to listen to him and felt he should feed them. "Should I not have the same for those survivors?" I asked myself. Again, I felt grabbed by the negative thoughts, which reminded me that those survivors were coming from the enemy camp, therefore enemies and to be dealt with as such. Another reminiscence from the Scripture prompted me to forgive them, the conversation between the disciple Peter, and the Lord (Christ). When the former asked, "Lord how many times do I forgive my brother, seven times?" The answer was seventy time seven, in other words go on forgiving him. I meditated over those messages from the Scripture steadfastly. Those, and the teaching of our traditional belief, which warns against taking innocent lives of others, developed in me fear. I was caught by the fear of Divine punishment. That fear made me to think of releasing them. In retrospect, recalling what a school chaplain told us at the secondary school, I decided to release those survivors unconditionally. The chaplain's message was that the good thoughts that come to one, in the coolness of the night, or in the early morning hours; may be guidance from God. He advised action on such thoughts rather than consulting others thereafter.

I conveyed my decision to the staff the next day at breakfast table. Their initial reaction was against the decision. They reminded me of an incident a couple of weeks before, when units of the Northern Army massacred a congregation of Sunday worshippers near the town of Yei. I persisted, and told the staff that it was time for us to tell the Northern Sudanese and the world, that there was a change in South Sudan. We were a different generation of Southern soldiers from those of August 1955, who massacred Northern civilians, women and children, and that we are different from our foes who went about killing innocent people. Our enemies were the government and their soldiers, not the general northern population. My staff at last consented. That was a great relief to me.

We released those survivors. As I had imagined, they became our ambassadors on arrival to their homes. They spoke well of us, and this caused embarrassment to the government. The government came under public pressure and consequently initiated the peace process that led to the Addis Ababa peace accord that gave the Sudan relative peace for a decade.

If it was not for belief and fear of God, my decision would have been different. Spiritual belief is necessary to control and guide human behaviour.

Tirley Garth, Cheshire, England.
13 April 1995



A joint Interfaith/UNA event

To celebrate the UN International Year of Tolerance

Gen Joseph Lagu, ex Vice President of Sudan
and

Peter J Everington, MA Hon Secretary
British-Arab University Association

will speak on the theme

**FAITH - A FACTOR IN
INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

Thursday 2nd November 1995

7.30 pm

All are welcome

Temple of Peace. Cathays Park. CARDIFF

CARDIFF INTERFAITH ASSOCIATION

Chairperson:
Vice Chair:
Secretary:

Lorraine Khan, [REDACTED]
Alan Schwarz, 23, Solva Avenue, Llanishen, Cardiff CF4 5NP
Paul Garnault, 2 Tai'r Fforest, Nelson, Treharris, CF46 6PP

9th November, 1995

Mr P Everington
28 Eastbourne Avenue
London W3 6JN

Dear Peter

Thank you for coming down to Cardiff with General Lagu. We all felt it was an excellent evening and deeply appreciated. The representatives from the UNA were delighted with the turn out. Apparently, they normally have a very poor response to their meetings, even when they have quite high profile people speaking, so they were quite pessimistic. This is the first year we have started to work with them. Your talks generated a great deal of interest amongst the audience. Kathleen Richards, who worked in the Sudan for a number of years found it very interesting and was delighted to meet General Lagu. I had not met Professor Robin Attfield before that evening - he sat on your right - but Idrees tells me he also knew your friends from Swansea. I was glad Sarah and Pep attended that evening. Pep was very helpful during the evening when we showed the video *The Serene Smile* as he has a lot of experience working on the local TV station in Spain.

We received a very nice letter from the Lord Lieutenant, Norman Lloyd Edwards, regretting that he was unable to come due to another engagement that evening. He remembered the visit of the Jordanians to Cardiff and sent you and General Lagu his regards. Viscount Tonypany also sent his regrets and wished us well.

I have not heard anything from David Wardrup regarding the book he is compiling for the UN International Year of Tolerance. I did send him a short piece before the deadline had gone but I have also sent him a copy of Gen Lagu's talk, hoping that he will be able to use it. I will be in touch with you again if I hear anything from him.

I do hope you will forgive any shortcomings in the arrangements.

Warmest wishes to you and Jean from Idrees & myself.

Yours sincerely

Lorraine

P.S. Enclosed cheque to cover your expenses!

FAITH AS A FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Theme: Tolerance, trust and perseverance.

Hear a verse from a man of faith who lived a century ago:

Cast care aside, lean on your guide,
His boundless mercy will provide;
Trust, and your trusting soul shall prove
Christ is its life, and Christ its love.

Indeed, faith is a factor in all decent human behaviour.

In this year following the UN year of tolerance I would like to express my appreciation to you of the Cambridge Union Society, for providing an occasion like this where someone like me from a conflict-torn country can meet others from different countries and faiths to express what we most deeply believe, and to discuss our beliefs in friendship. I am also very grateful for the opportunity to be in Cambridge. Though I visited the University several times, it is my first time to talk here in a meeting like this one.

I feel that people like me have a reason to respect this famous University. Some of the distinguished educators who founded sound education in my country, the Sudan, passed through this University, amongst whom was the last Anglican missionary bishop in the Sudan, the Right Reverend Oliver C. Allison and Peter Everington, my brother in Christ and a colleague in the movement of Moral Re-Armament. They and many others from this University contributed in laying the foundation of education in our country. Britain has yet a lot to give in that field to the Sudan and elsewhere in the developing countries. I thank you for what you have given.

People of Faith

To me, people of faith come from all walks of life, professing various religions, and from all races, transcending all man-made barriers. I came to see this more clearly after meeting Moral Re-Armament. Through that programme I met friends from all over the world. People of different races and creeds united in fellowship, respecting one another's faith and committed to change the world and make it a better place where a true sense of the brotherhood of mankind prevails as people measure their lives by the four pillars of MRA: absolute honesty, purity, love and unselfishness - values equally cherished by all religions.

Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Samson in their book, *RELIGION, the MISSING DIMENSION OF STATECRAFT*, published in 1994 by the Oxford University Press, give a collection of case studies in an attempt to restore this element of faith to its rightful place in the thinking of policy makers.

When rightly observed religion becomes a life-guide, controlling the actions of the individual and community. To me, faith is like a vessel carrying a person or community through the ocean of life. In this context I agree with Muslim scholars who say that Islam is a way of life. For me also Christianity is a way of life. Christ said, "I am the way, the truth and the life." At this point we can respect each other and find common ground.

I have played my role in my country as a soldier, as a politician and Vice-President and as a diplomat. I have not yet announced any wish to retire: I still struggle on in the political and diplomatic fields. In this way of faith I have boarded a ship, as it were, that I like to call "Freedom Fighter", to carry me through the ocean of life. I have often fallen overboard in the course of my voyage. Whenever that happened, and it has occurred several times, I looked to friends on board to throw out rafts to save me, and so I cannot attribute any past successes to myself alone. Whatever I may have achieved has been the result of team work all through. It is this team work and faith that made me what I am, and which enables me to continue the voyage.

I am an Ambassador-at-Large, which leaves me freer for bridge building, working and striving to establish once more the understanding between my

warring peoples which I believe is still possible, and for which I need your prayers.

So, you see, I consider religion an important factor, a vital component of statecraft. At the same time I accept the concept of secularism in a modern state, in the sense of accommodating all religions in a state in just proportion. I regard this as the ideal dispensation for our time.

Mahatma Gandhi, William Wilberforce, Martin Luther King, Jr., are examples of faith in history. Their deep religious beliefs led them to initiate movements in the struggle for human dignity, civil rights and resistance to oppression.

Faith in action in our time

Look at the role Archbishop Desmond Tutu played in his country, South Africa, and outside its borders as well. And look at the work of Mother Theresa in implanting fresh compassion the world over for the needy.

I remember the Camp David peace talks between Egypt and Israel that eased tension between those two nations, dealing with one of the world's difficult problems. The three men involved in the peace process were believers: President Anwar Sadat of Egypt a devout Muslim; Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel, an Orthodox Jew; and President Jimmy Carter of the USA, a practising Christian. The Christian as host and referee. He strove to establish confidence and understanding between the two leaders of those Muslim and Jewish states that had been at war for decades. They sat and talked while the world's news media covered this new development of the peace process. At intervals they worshipped, meditated and prayed for guidance. Finally they arrived at a solution acceptable to all parties, the well-publicized "Camp David Peace Agreement" between Egypt and Israel. It became an example of conflict resolution, a classic example of faith in international relations.

This beginning was followed by the Oslo agreement between Israel and the PLO, another example of faith at work. Britain, currently involved in peace-keeping operations in Bosnia, may have a further role to play in going from peace-keeping to peace-making.

Faith in statesmanship and diplomacy

I think of the African scholar, Leopold Senghor, a devout Catholic. He emerged as a leader in Senegal, a predominantly Muslim country. He led that country into independence and subsequently became its first President. He ruled without crises until his voluntary retirement. I followed the course of quiet diplomacy he and Madame Senghor practised whilst they were in retirement which brought the ANC and white South African business people to meet for the first time at the capital city of their country, Dakar, a move which opened the gate for the peace process in South Africa. It contributed to the miraculous changes we have seen in that country.

In the same context, I admire the leadership of Mualimu (Teacher) Julius Nyerere, also a practising Catholic. He ranged the rough gravel roads of his country in a Land Rover to meet his people and called for the achievement of independence by peaceful means. I admire his methods - the way he united mainland Tanganyika with the neighbouring islands of Zanzibar and Pemba to form the United Republic of Tanzania. I respect him for his progressive move toward retirement. I appreciate his smooth and orderly handing over of power to a Muslim from Zanzibar, who otherwise risked being regarded as coming from a marginal community. The noble vision of the distinguished Uztaz (Teacher), is what I long to see accomplished in my own country, the Sudan.

My own story

While on board the ship "Freedom Fighter", that is to say, when I was a guerilla commander fighting for the rights of my people, the southern Sudanese, my slender faith was tested on 6 December, 1971. A Sudan Airways flight from Khartoum to Juba lost its way and crashed in territory controlled by my guerilla forces. The pilot, a Canadian, died on impact. There were 29 survivors. We had at that time radio communication facilities and news of the accident was sent to me at once. My initial reaction was to ask myself, "Why did this have to happen here? Why not some other area? Now I have to decide whether to kill the survivors or to protect them." It was not easy, I gave orders to the local commander to protect the survivors and await further instructions.

I ordered a staff meeting. There were various opinions as to what to do with the survivors: kill them, hold them as hostages and ask for ransom money etc. But no satisfactory ideas came out from the meeting. Again I blamed God for allowing the crash to occur in my territory, and adjourned the meeting until the next day. I had a sleepless night. Various thoughts went through my mind, positive and negative.

I remembered the story in the New Testament where Christ had compassion on the multitude that came to listen to him, and how he felt he should feed them.

"Should I not do the same for those survivors?" I asked myself. Again I felt grabbed by negative thoughts reminding me that those survivors were coming from the enemy camp. They were therefore my enemies and were to be dealt with as such.

Another reminiscence from the Scriptures prompted me to spare them. I recalled the conversation between the disciple Peter and the Lord. When the former asked, "Lord, how many times do I forgive my brother; shall I forgive him seven times?" The answer was "seventy times seven": in other word "Go on forgiving him."

I continued to meditate over these messages from the Scripture. They and the teaching of our traditional belief warn against taking innocent lives. This developed in me a fear. I was caught by the fear of divine punishment, and that fear led me to think of releasing them. How true is the verse from the Book of Proverbs: "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom." I recalled things our school chaplain had told us, and I decided to release those survivors unconditionally. The chaplain's message was that the good thoughts that can come to one in the coolness of the night or in the early morning hours may be guidance from God. He advised us students to act on those thoughts rather than consulting others afterwards.

I conveyed my decision to my staff the next day at breakfast time. Their initial reaction was against the decision. They reminded me of an incident a couple of weeks before when units of the Northern Army had massacred a congregation of worshippers near the town of Yei. I persisted and told the staff that it was time for us to tell the Northern Sudanese, and the world, that

there was a change in South Sudan: that we were a different generation of Southern soldiers, very different from those of the Equatoria Corps who in August 1955 had massacred Northern civilians, women and children. And that we were different from our foes, also, who went about killing innocent people. I told my staff that our enemies were the government and their soldiers, not the general Northern population. They at last consented and we released the survivors. That was a great relief to me.

As I had imagined, they became our ambassadors upon returning to their homes. They spoke well of us, and this embarrassed the government. The government came under public pressure and eventually initiated the peace process which led to the Addis Ababa peace accord. That accord gave peace to the Sudan and restored its moral standing in the world for a decade.

Were it not for my faith and the fear of God, my decision would have been different. Spiritual belief is necessary to control and guide human behaviour. It is the key factor for the peaceful direction of international affairs.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I have to remind you that another civil war broke out in the Sudan in May 1983. Sadly this has brought my country into a turmoil far greater than ever before. There are now widespread ethnic conflicts within the South, in addition to the main South-North conflict. The North too is in a very unsettled state. Our people have become so divided. We need your prayers for harmony to be restored amongst us, you people of this great country, as you look honestly at your own problems.

Yes, there is need for a struggle for justice, but we need it with mercy, with forgiveness, and without hatred. We need a vision from God of the destiny of all His peoples, not just our own.

We need peace and political stability in our country in order to march forwards and join hands with the other progressive nations of the world. That is my wish and hope. I pray that God shall direct politicians and peoples everywhere, and guide them to work for peace. I now stand for peace. At the conclusion of the previous peace process, I requested the 2nd Collect for peace in the Anglican Prayer Book to be said before I signed the peace accord. The prayer is a covenant between God Almighty and me. From that

time, I chose to work for peace. I long to see the end of the savage conflict that re-erupted in my country and continuing endlessly. I also hope to see the end of the conflicts in Angola, Somalia, Rwanda and a few other countries on our continent. I look forward to see those replaced by harmony and fraternity.

I aspire to see the day when we will witness peace and political stability and remain in our own lands without becoming refugees again. May God the author of peace, the giver and preservor of life, bless us by providing the right leadership to lead us. May those be people of faith.

Thank you for listening. I now invite questions.

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

Cambridge, 4 March 1996

Prepared for a conference org'd by Refugee Council, early 79
Not delivered

RTP Event

MAKING MY CONTRIBUTION

Introduction

My name is Joseph Lagu. I am a Sudanese by nationality and come from the South of the country. After Secondary School there I went to the Sudan Military College in the North. Subsequently, I was commissioned a Subaltern in the Sudanese Army.

Standing National Problem

We had a standing political variance between South and North that needed a peaceful political solution through Parliament. That was not to be. The army was invited on 17 November 1958 to seize power and resolve the issue militarily. On 4th June 1963, I defected from the army as protest against that move. I raised and organised a guerrilla army to challenge that army and its established authority. I led the guerrilla army in action against that dictatorship and subsequent governments for nine and a half years.

In March 1972 I made peace with an ensuing government. Though a military led government as well, the regime had a measure of democratic practice and recognised the cause for which Southern Sudanese took arms. Hence, I rejoined the Army and was appointed Inspector General of the Armed Forces with the rank of a Major General and promoted to Lieutenant General four years afterwards.

In 1978 I went into politics and was elected President of the Southern Regional Government (Regional Prime Minister). In 1982 I was appointed Vice-President of the Republic. Trouble erupted again between South and North in May 1983, as a consequence of the Central Government's persistent interference in internal affairs of the South. Thereafter, the North abrogated the entire agreement. A series of other crises followed culminating in the demise of the government. The future looked uncertain and blurred.

I am a democrat

Though I have a military background, I deplore the assuming of political power by the barrel of the gun. *I am a democrat.* It was against General Ibrahim Abboud's despotic regime, the first military government in the Sudan that I rebelled. I saw continuous military intervention in the politics of the country in the years to come. Consequently, ceaseless

instability and breach of human rights. A hopeless situation in which I could not help. Having earlier been one of the principal Southern resistance leaders, I felt insecure in the Sudan. In the ensuing period, I came and sought domicile in the UK in 1985.

Experience in exile

My wife and I tried to find jobs in this country to fit in the new society. It has not been that easy, especially for me. I have observed that female immigrants find low paid jobs more easily in this country than males do. As a result, in most cases, the mothers become the breadwinners. Under the circumstance, men lose vital source of their command (economic power). This is in contrast to the situation back at home where Daddy is the breadwinner and is at work most of the time, rarely seen in the house. Normally he is back there in late afternoons or in the evenings. Here in exile he is in the house most of the time, seemingly an equal of everyone in the family. He is questioned when he tries to exert his authority as head of family. My son said one time: "Daddy thinks that he is still in the army and we are his soldiers." And my daughter when I asked her to make me tea, said this: "Dad we have not seen you in the kitchen!"

Alas! The men are not often aware of the loss of the source of their authority and continue to behave as before. Their wives then remind them by ignoring their orders. Quarrels follow, sometimes with violence. The laws of the land favour women. Under such state of affairs, the men get evicted from the houses. The outcome is broken homes.

Another observation is that immigrant professionals rarely get jobs for which they are qualified where they take refuge. This usually affects the men more. The type of jobs they find readily is *nightwatchman*, which is unthinkable for people of their qualifications in their countries of origin. It is one cause for depression and alcoholism among that category of immigrants.

As for me, I was lucky to meet Moral Re-Armament on arrival in this country. I found it welcoming and accommodating. An idea, which helps people of different backgrounds overcome prejudice and work for the common good. Its moral and spiritual dimensions transcend religious and racial divides. Though Christian based, it's generous to other faiths. I have done extensive voluntary work with MRA within UK and abroad. It brought me in contact with good people and gave me the chance to occupy my time usefully reducing effects of idleness.

Refugees Training Partnership

Though I came to know it belatedly, I found delight and comfort during the NVQ courses I attended organised by the RTP, in my case, in partnership with SPSA.

The courses provide refugees and asylum seekers with language and information technology skills appropriate for job opportunity and subsequently their contribution to local economies, politics, and policies of their new community. I am appreciative of the programme the RTP in partnership with the SPSA and other Associations have provided, giving refugees and asylum seekers skills for job opportunity.

Age


I have benefited from the programme myself. The irony is now I am too old and reached the retirement age, and am not qualified for European Social Fund Support. Nevertheless, you'll agree we're resourceful we'll find a way.

I feel to suggest special consideration for work for relatively healthy elderly refugees and asylum seekers, who have no pension arrangements in this country and are willing to work. Work is not only beneficial for the money earned, but getting round the effects of idleness and what comes with it. I have no doubt, that the observations I have cited will be noted and brought to the notice of the relevant authority.

I have travelled almost around the globe before and after coming to this country. My observations reveal that Britain is among the very few countries in the world where strangers feel relatively at home. This I assume may be due to the fact that British society came into contact and learned to live with other peoples more than most other countries.

In conclusion once again, I express my deep appreciation and thanks to RTP and the various Associations for the good work they are doing in providing refugees and asylum seekers with skills to fit into their new environment.

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



DIALOGUE ON WALES' ROLE - 5

Atlantic College
South Wales
20 November 1999

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

I thank all those involved in organising this event, and for inviting me and assisting me to come.

I am honoured and privileged to be amongst you in the homeland of Bishop Llewellyn Gwynne, the pioneer missionary who took the Anglican faith to my country, Sudan. Wales therefore has a historic link with my country. It is appropriate for me to participate in this dialogue with you.

Let me comment a little on the last topic: **Learning to be one community**. It requires sacrifices and a give-and-take attitude by all parties to form a community. You are ripe for that, though you say you are a divided people, and have listed areas of division amongst you.

Our situation in the Sudan is more complex. In the South, we are so many tribes, each with its own territory and tradition with all the characteristics of a nation state, in fact, nations in miniature. The languages differ as much as English and German, English and French, or Welsh and Chinese. Racial and religious prejudices widen the gap between South and North. The fear and resentment of northern cultural expansion is the principal uniting factor among us in the South. The other is the black colour of the African skin we wear.

Now let me dwell on the subject assigned to me: **Finding the bridge from division to unity**.

In my experience, there are two vital elements:

1. **Fairness and giving opportunity to others.**
2. **Gestures of goodwill towards opponents.**

Fairness and giving opportunity to others

I re-organised South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) and the Anya-nya, its military wing in 1970.

Coming from Equatoria myself, I appointed my second-in-command from Upper Nile, the third in line from Bahr el Ghazal, and the fourth from Equatoria. We agreed on a similar distribution of power all the way down to district level, thus ensuring a fair pattern of leadership. There was no fear of one tribe or province dominating the others.

In the course of these decisions I had to suppress my selfishness and other human frailties. I discovered that people follow those who observe some measure of moral standards. This cannot be achieved by human strength alone. I believe that the One who preserved me in the years of struggle also guided me.

If you are fair, and people understand that anyone from their community can also rise to your position, they will group around you willingly.

Gestures of goodwill towards opponents

The opportunity came when I was fully in command of the Movement. I received a message from one of our guerrilla units on 6 December 1971. The message reported that a civilian aircraft on a flight to Juba from Khartoum lost its way and crash-landed in an area under our control near Mundri, in Western Equatoria. There were 29 survivors. I was to decide what to do with those. To my dismay, I was faced with a situation involving the fate of 29 human beings.

My immediate action was to instruct the local commander to protect the survivors and their properties. I then told him to wait for further instructions from me the following day.

Thereafter, I called my staff for a meeting, to inform them of what had happened and discuss with them what to do. It was an excitement for some of them. "God has delivered our enemies into our hands. A few weeks ago they killed our civilians; men, women and children indiscriminately, and burnt those who took shelter in a grass-roofed church alive, in Yei River District. It is our turn to revenge," one of them said. However, opinions differed. Some said, we kill them. Others suggested we ask for a large sum of ransom money.

I was not satisfied with either. Consequently, I adjourned the meeting to the next day.

I had a sleepless night. "What would Christ tell me if he were here with me?" I asked myself. After a few moments, the story of the Lord having compassion on a hungry multitude came to my mind. He wanted to feed those who came to listen to him before they could return to their homes. "Christ had compassion on the hungry. Should I not have the same on innocent travellers?" I reasoned. Following that, a feeling of compassion grabbed me.

A negative thought also passed by - that the multitude were friends not to be compared with people coming from the enemy camp.

A space of time elapsed. I recalled the conversation between the Lord and the Disciple Peter. When the Disciple asked, "Lord how many times should I forgive my brother? Should I forgive him seven times?" The answer was seventy times seven, meaning go on forgiving him.

I took that as the answer to my question. After that, my mind was occupied by positive thoughts.

I reflected on our own dirty past, when our soldiers of the Equatoria Corps massacred northern officers and civilians in cold blood, in August 1955. Feeling ashamed, I deduced that we are also racists. The actions of those soldiers were determined by racism. They hunted for Northerners. The non-negroid features of those made it easy for them to be identified. I felt it was time for us to cleanse ourselves from that dirt and show the North and the world at large that we are a more cultured generation, different from our illiterate predecessors. I also reflected on our own traditional beliefs, which condemn killing without cause, and teach that innocent blood is hot and would burn not only the murderer, but the culprit's descendants as well. Such punishments would come in the form of dreadful diseases, like leprosy.

Compassion mingled with fear of divine wrath, lingered in my mind. Consequently, I decided to set the survivors free unconditionally.

I did not want to discuss that decision with the staff, but only inform them. I recalled the talk of my school chaplain at Rumbek Secondary School. He said, "The good thoughts that come to your mind in the quietness of the night or early morning hours, may be a vision from the Almighty. Do not dilute it by consulting other people when you wake up. The message is to you." That reminiscence encouraged me to stick to my decision.

I informed the staff of the decision at the breakfast table. The initial reaction from some of them was uproar! "If they caught you would they leave you? What did they do to our people in Yei River District a few weeks ago?" Those loaded me with questions. However, others were considerate. My answer was that I would not be normal if I ordered the massacre of those innocent travellers. "I would rather leave the leadership of the movement than do that. We are fighting the government and not the northern population. If we release those people they, their families and friends will become our ambassadors in the North," I said emphatically.

The hard-liners cooled down and the staff consented to my decision. I sighed with relief.

On their release, the survivors reciprocated, and reported that they were kindly treated and cared for by our soldiers, proclaiming openly that we were not bandits but people fighting for a cause. They became our spokesmen in Juba and Khartoum as they arrived there, speaking in favour of a peaceful solution of the conflict. The government was embarrassed and ceased calling us derogatory names. They took a peace initiative. The World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches came in between the Sudan Government and our Movement. The late Ethiopian Emperor offered his country's capital Addis Ababa as the venue for peace talks. The atmosphere became conducive to a peaceful solution of the conflict.

Looking in retrospect, our means of **finding the bridge from division to unity** within the South, was fairness in the administration of our movement. Having attained unity within the South, we went on to demonstrate to the North a human face. We did that by the unconditional release of the survivors of the plane crash, although we were at war with their government. That won over the northern populace to our side. They pressed their government to work for peace, and we responded to the government's

peace initiative. It led to the much-publicised Addis Ababa Peace Agreement, in March 1972.

Unfortunately, another conflict erupted, in May 1983 after a series of erroneous decisions by the then President. Progressively it escalated to engulf the whole country, in a more complex way than the previous one. Both South and North became infested with internal division and feuds in addition to the standing conflict between them. Our country the Sudan seems to be heading dangerously towards anarchy and disintegration.

A measure of foreign involvement is needed to stop the bloodshed and find a fair solution to this complex conflict. If we Sudanese can be helped to face the causes of division within the two parts of the Sudan and to find reconciliation in each, we shall be in a stronger position to tackle the larger South-North conflict.

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

Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu, (Retd.)
Leader of former South Sudan Liberation Movement
Vice-President of Sudan, 1982-85.

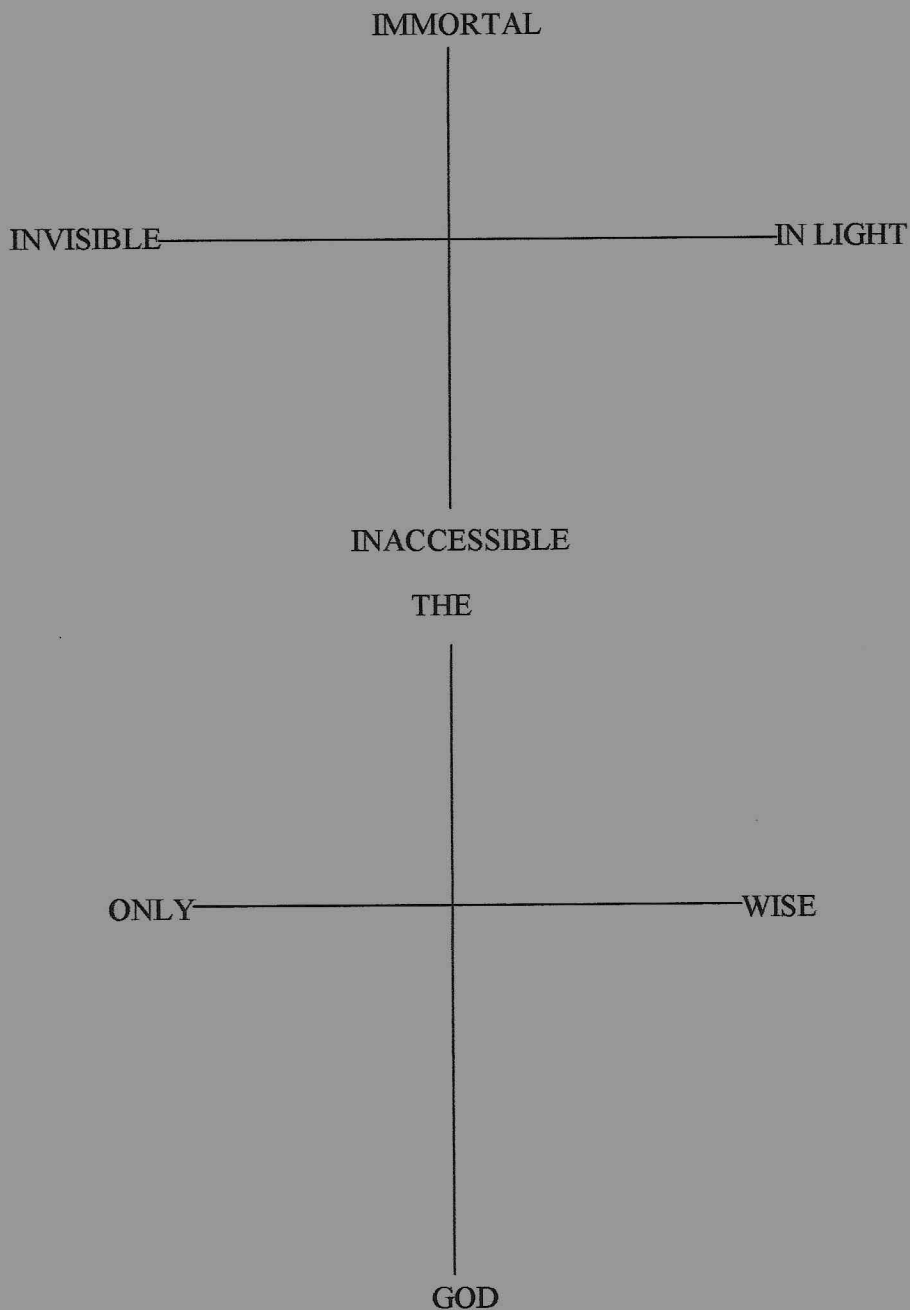
ACCRA

'Africa in Search of Good Governance'
A Pan-African Conference of Moral Re-Armament

May 21-27 2003

Department of Nursing, Univ of Ghana, Legon, Accra

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE WITHOUT HATRED



Most Blessed, Most Glorious, The Ancient of Days. Almighty, Victorious hid from our eyes. Thy Great Name we praise. [Oh Lord caring Father, bless this gathering and give us the guidance in all our deliberations to make it a success, we pray.]

**Mr. Chairman,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen.**

My heartfelt greetings to all of you present here. I feel honoured by the invitation to participate in this Initiative of change (Moral Re-Armament) Conference, under the theme: "AFRICA IN SEARCH OF GOOD GOVERNANCE". Indeed Africa needs good governance.

My assignment at this Conference is to talk on the role of the Military. This compelled me to make a little research on the military, right from the start. I looked into my little Collins Pocket Dictionary. From several explanations, I picked this: "*Force of citizens for home service*".

Since the human race began to live in organized communities, there has been need to serve, guard and protect such communities. In the Bible, the Book of Numbers is all about counting people (census) and their enrolment for military service. The aim was to select proportionately from each family, clan and tribe, able bodied men among the *Munyamiji* (active age group) for the service. At the time the Israelites were still roaming about in the desert. They did not then reach the promised land. It has been, and still is, a noble duty to serve in one's country's military during one's youth.

Our human society being what it is, the military have not always remained to perform their noble duties. Recurrently, especially in the so called third world, in which our continent, Africa lies, the military often went outside the boundaries of their noble task and used the force given to them to protect their communities to impose themselves as rulers. That departure from the noble task to assume power repeatedly caused miseries. Internal bloodshed follows: Those for the change and those against, people trained together to defend their country from external forces find themselves facing each other instead. The result is unrest, insecurity and instability in the country. Consequently, bad governance: this is one reason that made you select the above *theme* for this conference.

I wish to become involved in an honest discussion on this issue with you instead of me talking alone to you. I was involved in a rebellion and in the administration in my country. So I participated in the wrongs and rights there. I call upon my brothers at arms, the military in Africa, that we look inwardly and critically at ourselves with the aim to correct situations for a better future. We have to help those following us to benefit from our mistakes and perform better than we did. So that they keep to the noble task allotted to the military: defence and service to the people.

Coming from a country that has experienced military coups three times, I know what it is when such coups occur. Whenever they seize power, often by the middle ranking officers, the concerned officers prematurely retire their seniors and those whose loyalty they doubt. They don't stop there. They also do the same in the other institutions of the state. This of course affects the general proficiency in the armed forces and in the other state institutions.

I shall touch on causes that lead to military coups. In my investigation, I located two sources emanating from: greedy, selfish politicians, and adventurous, ambitious military officers.

I thought to unveil this at this conference so that we discuss the matter. It has become the main cause for instability among African states. I have made a review of the military coups in Africa and found that those with some justifications to be only five:

1. The 1952 military take over in Egypt,
2. 1969 military take over in Libya,
3. 1974-75 gradual military take over in Ethiopia,
4. the violent military intervention in Liberia,
5. and the military coup d'etat in Sierra Leone.

Most of the other military coups according to me have no such justifications, rather, some of those are usually invited by the actions of the political leaders themselves. Such political leaders on ascendance to power dismantle the processes through which they themselves went and establish themselves as despots over the people who elected them. They leave no other options for peaceful changes of governments.

In other situations, military commanders preempt and stage coups just to protect themselves. This type of coup happens when a military commander discovers a plot against himself by the political leadership. The others are just imitations. Adventurous military officers hear what happens elsewhere and want to do the same.

The coup plotters normally have no vision or plan for their countries. They simply claim justification of their moves to stop corruption. But soon after they seize power, they sink deeper into the pit of corruption than their predecessors.

Let us discuss candidly these issues, and together explore ways to stop military coups as means to change governments in our Continent. I witnessed colleagues trained together to defend their country against external forces fight each other ruthlessly instead. Recalling that I had to rebel against an oppressive military regime, and had to live outside my homeland the second time. I know what it is to live under military regimes. I am for democracy – government by the people or their elected representatives, weak and clumsy though the system may seem to be.

At the moment my country is passing through a period of turmoil. The civil war has become wide spread throughout the country. The prospect of peace is not certain. What

lies ahead is not known. My nation is confused and in disorder just as I am. But I believe, even so, just as I am, still am in God's care, so is my nation. This Hymn then came to my mind as I began to prepare to come to you:

*It is a thing most wonderful,
Almost too wonderful to be,
That God's own son should come from heaven,
And die to save a child like me.*

*And yet I know that it is true:
He came to this poor world below.
And wept and toiled and mourned and died,
Only because He loved us so.*

*I cannot tell how He could love
A child so weak and full of sin:
His love must be most wonderful,
If He could die my love to win.*

Over and over I thought to share this with you. Finally I decided to do so, to sing this hymn with you in Ghana. It is my prayer at this conference. God cares for you and for your country; Ghana. **The God the Most Merciful and The Most Compassionate**, as the Muslims meekly say, is a caring God.

Part II → Now let me tell you my story. At the Secondary school and later at the Military College in the 1950s, I became aware of the pressure by the Northern Sudanese on the people of the Southern Sudan, to which I belong. We regarded them as aliens and intruders in Southern Sudan. I bitterly resented their pressure on us in the South to adopt their Arab and Muslim ways of life, which I came to call 'this cultural aggression.'

A few years after I graduated from the Military College, I felt obliged to respond to the call to join a liberation struggle that aimed to separate the South from the North. The struggle started when northern politicians persistently turned down a democratic request that we in the South be free to follow our chosen cultural path in a federal structure. That was the popular wish of the South.

I participated in the military struggle for nine years (1963-1972), with the last four as its leader. I maintained hatred then against the Northern Sudanese, I regret to say. This sprang from the injury they inflicted on my fellow Southerners after the mutiny of the Southern Equatorial Corps in August 1955.

Ladies and gentlemen, those Southern soldiers who mutinied killed Northerners indiscriminately. Starting with their northern officers who failed to get away, they then broke out of the garrison into the rest of the town of Torit. From there they went on the rampage throughout the Province of Equatoria and beyond in the South, killing men, women and children. This was the result of accumulated racial hatred that I shared at the

time. Later, I realised that the massacre of northern civilians, simply because of their difference in colour of skin and appearance, was wrong. For that we in South Sudan were also guilty of racism. Racism in reality is a common crime being committed by all the peoples on our earth. It is not a disease that infects only people of a particular colour of skin. It occurs when one resents and discriminates against someone because of difference in colour of skin or appearance. That is a temptation that often affects us all. It is the evil from which we need to be delivered and protected, as we remember the concluding portion of our Lord's prayer: "And deliver us from evil."

The northerners took bloody revenge when the British Royal Air Force flew their units of the then Sudan Defence Force (SDF) to the South. Many Southern soldiers and policemen who surrendered in response to the call of the Governor General were nevertheless put to death after trial. Among those was a close relative of mine. The Governor General himself did not stay to see that justice was done. He left the Sudan before formally handing over responsibility to the Sudanese. Independence was declared by the Prime Minister, a northern Sudanese without him (the Governor General). The South in that state of affairs was left at the mercy of the northern Sudanese. Then Northern soldiers, police and civil servants, flooded in like an occupying power. All this sowed the seed of hatred and bitterness within me against the northern Sudanese and led me to join the armed struggle in 1963. It was only later that I saw the element of hatred in public affairs as irrational and counter productive. Of course, I still maintain that any people deprived of their rights have a cause to struggle for justice. I stand for "**The struggle for justice without hatred**" because hatred does not make one think soberly. It derails one from the real track, poisons ones blood and harms oneself far more than the people hated.

On 6 December 1971, the test for me came when a civilian aircraft of the Sudan Airways crash-landed in a territory controlled by my guerrilla forces. In that incident, the pilot (a Canadian national) and one other passenger died, leaving 29 survivors. Some of my men recommended that the northern elements (the majority) among the survivors be killed, others suggested holding them to ransom. That was the situation! It gave me a very difficult time indeed. I had a sleepless night. Various thoughts passed through my mind, positive and negative. Reminiscences from the Christian Scripture guided me to act on the positive thoughts:

- (a) Christ had compassion on a hungry multitude. What about me, should I not have the same for innocent travellers?
- (b) The conversation between our Lord and the disciple Peter, when the latter asked, "How many times do I forgive my brother, should I forgive him seven times?" The answer was, "Seventy times seven," meaning on and on.

My compassion for the survivors became stronger than my hatred for the northern Sudanese, and my Christian upbringing stressed the need to forgive. The teaching of people's traditional belief warned against taking innocent lives of others. During that sleepless night I clearly thought I should release the survivors unconditionally. I then

remembered the words of the Chaplain at my secondary school back in 1953: "The good thoughts that come to you in the coolness of the night or early morning hours may be guidance from God. Act on it and do not go about consulting other people. The guidance is for you." With that ringing in my mind I refused to let my thoughts be diluted by any other ideas. I simply conveyed my decision to my staff at breakfast time.

The initial reaction of the staff as I expected, was hostile to the decision. I had to battle further with them. In the end they consented, a most welcome relief that gave me the peace of mind I needed. I had risked becoming unpopular when I felt my decision was right under the circumstance. And it paid off soon afterwards. The lesson I learned from that crisis is what I wish to share with you at this conference. It is rewarding to do what you believe to be right before God, as the silent voice tells you. Never give in to the wishes of other people contrary to that. Respond to the silent call within you, especially when you are the one accountable for a decision. Stand firm, even if at a price.

We released those survivors. As I envisaged, they became our ambassadors on arrival at their homes in northern Sudan. They spoke well on the conduct of our men and the cause for which we were fighting, and their stories were widely publicised. This caused embarrassment to the Government who came under public pressure to start serious negotiations with our Movement, which resulted in the Addis Ababa Agreement that ended 17 years of conflict between the South and the North. We signed the accord before the late Ethiopian Emperor in Addis Ababa, March 1972. I then led my guerrilla army of about 18,000 men back into South Sudan, where they were integrated into the national army, the police, and the other areas of civil life. For a decade the South enjoyed regional autonomy.

As you may follow through the news media, another civil war is going on. It broke out in May 1983. Sadly this has brought my country into a turmoil far greater than ever before. There are now widespread ethnic conflicts within the South, in addition to the main South-North conflict. The North too is at war with itself. It is in a very unsettled state. Our people have become so divided. What caused this setback? One may ask. My answer is that we the leaders on either side in the conflict lacked honesty at the peace settlement in March 1972. We were not really prepared for a complete metamorphosis like from a caterpillar to a butterfly. We pretended. Only shed old skins as snakes do, while our personalities remained the same. Each group hoped to cheat the other in the course of time. That type of change is temporary, just as the new skin of a snake is smooth and shines only briefly, and shortly becomes coarse again. That is what is true of our situation in the Sudan. In the next settlement there has to be sincerity. We need the type of change discussed at MRA Conferences and meetings. We need to look inside ourselves, not throw blame at others when some bad issue is at hand. In all this, we need the help of others to get us out of the situation. We need your prayers you people of this land, as you look honestly at your own problems. Please think of us and help us bring the harmony we need.

Yes, we need a struggle for justice, but we need it with mercy, with forgiveness, and without hatred. We need a vision from God of the destiny of all His peoples, not just our

own. We need democracy for our people in the Sudan so that they choose their own Government. In the South, I wish for our people the right of self-determination, presently their popular call, so that they may freely choose to remain in some form of union with the North, or freely decide to form a separate state of their own.

We need to join hands with the democratic forces currently sweeping the world. We cannot remain indifferent in the Sudan. That is my commitment today, a world commitment, that I proclaim before you. I pray that the love of God, which passes all understanding, shall reach politicians and peoples everywhere, and guide them to work for peace and democracy. I stand for peace and democracy, and I long to see the end of the savage conflict currently taking place in my country Sudan, Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi and a few other countries on our continent. I long to see those replaced by harmony and fraternity among our peoples throughout Africa.

I praise God Almighty for the peace in your country, which made it possible for us to gather and meet here in Accra. I long to see the day when the ballot box will replace the muzzle of the gun as means to change governments in our continent. With that in our minds, and as our hope, Africa may change from a conflict-torn continent to a peaceful and a progressive one. We may then have a brighter future in our own countries. May God the author of peace, the preserver of life, preserve you and give you peace.

Thank you for listening.

Joseph Lagu,
Lt. Gen. (Retd.). Hon. D. Litt.
Former Vice-President of Sudan

May 2003
Accra, Ghana