

Sept 88

The Conciliator

Portland, Oregon.

A TRIM, disciplined African general flew back from Europe this week on a peace mission to his country. He is Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu from the Sudan, where recent flooding has rendered more than 1 million people homeless while a civil war exhausts the country's resources. General Lagu, 56, is guest of Prime Minister Sadiq El Mahdi, and is one of the few national leaders who has authority with both Christians and Moslems in the continent's largest nation.

As we talked over tea at a Moral Re-Armament conference in Switzerland last week it was hard to

By Michael Henderson

think that this soft-spoken man was the General Lagu who had for 9½ years led a bitter guerrilla struggle in the Christian south against the Sudanese government. An incident from that time illustrates his approach, why he, a Christian, is listened to with respect in the Moslem north, and why his hopes for an end to the present war may have substance.

1971 at the heart of the last civil war a Sudanese Airlines plane crashed in the south in territory controlled by General Lagu's men. As political and military leader he was asked by radio what should be done with the prisoners. His soldiers and the other people on the spot were for killing them all. He replied that he would answer the next morning.

The general had a restless night. "It was one of the most difficult moments in my life," he said. "I felt uncomfortable to hear of killing and of hostages." As a Christian he wanted his beliefs to prevail. He asked himself what Christ would say if he were with him. "Surely," he thought, "he would tell me not to kill or make hostages of innocent travelers."

By 7:30 A.M. he had drafted a reply. At 8 he assembled his staff, most of whom shared the conviction that all should be killed or held for a big ransom. "I have already taken a decision which some of you will not like," he told them. "But you'll appreciate it is I, not you, who will stand before God to answer for a bad decision. I have decided to let them go unconditionally."

He reminded his staff of an incident in 1955 on the eve of independence when Christian southerners in the Equatorial Corps had mutinied and killed their officers and any other northerners they could catch. "It gave a bad picture of us South Sudanese," he said. "I want to show the north and the rest of the world that we are different. When

these people get to the north they will be our ambassadors."

That is what happened. And soon afterwards negotiations were entered into which ended the 17-year civil war. "That has been and still is the basis of my strength," said General Lagu. "In the north they respect me for that."

After the settlement General Lagu was appointed Inspector General of the Sudanese Army, helping merge the guerrillas with the regular army. He was later elected president of the south and then appointed vice president of the whole country. But for refusing to be a "yes man" he fell out of favor with President Gaafar el Numairy.

Mr. Numairy was himself overthrown in a coup in 1985 after angering people by, among other things, violating the agreement and arbitrarily imposing Islamic law on Christian and Moslem regions alike. After a brief imprisonment and an eviction from his home, General Lagu went to England where he has spent the last three years with his family.

After "three years of rest" General Lagu is enthusiastic about the prospects for achieving the cease-fire. Peace is for him a priority that dwarfs any personal ambitions. Indeed, he looks forward after peace to perhaps going into business in his home town of Juba. "I'm not interested in fighting for power," he says. "We need to forget the past and forgive — even if it means pardoning President Numairy."

General Lagu is offering his services as a neutral mediator, though he indicates he will be tempted to take sides with whoever proves the more flexible. One issue is non-negotiable, however, and it is the continuing application of Islamic law to non-Moslems in the country. He feels that this reduces Christians and other non-Moslems to second-class citizens and is contrary to the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. His wife, Amna, is a Moslem and he regards the moral code of Islamic law, apart from its punishments, as an admirable code for Moslems which he as a Christian can respect.

In a letter to the Prime Minister the general has also called for the release of political prisoners. "The concern for all Sudanese," he wrote, "should be how to restore order and normality in the land rather than thinking of who is to be punished or who to exclude from public life."

General Lagu believes that the Sudan may need to adopt a federal system linking the two distinct parts of the country. "We can exist as one nation if we have reconciliation in the entire Sudan," he said.

Mr. Henderson is an English journalist and broadcaster. His book, "On History's Coattails" (Grosvenor), will be published this fall.

by Peter Everington

In 1945 a boy called Lagu was herding his father's sheep and goats at Nimule, near where the Nile flows into Sudan from Uganda. A man came running to tell him that the weekly steamer had arrived, with a message that 13-year-old Lagu had been given a place in a primary school hundreds of miles away. He must leave by lorry that morning.

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Sudan is the world's ninth largest country and Africa's largest, bordered by eight countries and the Red Sea. It took shape under the Ottoman Empire, was liberated in 1885 by El Mahdi, the Muslim reformer, in 1898 was conquered by an Anglo-Egyptian army. When Lagu was 24, it gained independence.

Today the country has been brought to the edge of disintegration by its second civil war since 1956, a product of the deep divisions between the Arab Muslim North and the African (and partly Christian) South. Central to the divide is the bitter memory of the Arab slave trade.

The first civil war ended in 1972, after 17 years. Now, once again, insurrection, siege, massacre, starvation and an exodus of dying survivors have turned South Sudan into what one British Minister calls a graveyard. For every one of the 250,000 Southern refugees in Ethiopian border camps, it is reckoned, one other has died of starvation at home or on the way. It is a holocaust in progress — but one which Lagu believes can still be halted.

Lagu knows enough about war — and something about peace. In 1963 he defected from the mainly Arab officer corps of Sudan's national army and joined the rebels in the South. For four years he welded them into an effective guerrilla force. For the next five years he was their political leader too. His tactics deserve study as much as those of Giap, Guevara and other successful guerrilla leaders of this century. Unlike them, Lagu says his motive was not Marxist or Maoist. 'I was a South Sudanese nationalist with some Christian reference points.'

Asked why he took up arms against his government, Lagu says he wanted to counter linguistic and religious aggression from the North. He also wanted to avenge a relative in the police who had been executed for mutiny. Why then did he decide to make peace? 'Because the cost of hatred and vengefulness was becoming too great for my people, and I saw in the enemy a willingness to compromise.'

Hostages released

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As he lay awake at night Lagu turned afresh to his Christian reference point. What would Christ have done with those civilian captives? And how could Lagu face Christ if they were killed? The next day the prisoners were escorted to the outpost of the nearest government-held town. 'They became our ambassadors in the North,' says Lagu. 'The government would not be believed if it ever again described us as savages.'

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Thus Lagu has grounds to believe that his country's wounds can be healed. But he warns that it will be more difficult this time, because the struggle is now 'ideological'. One strong faction in the North wants to make the Islamic law, whose penal code includes amputation, the dominant law of the state. The rebel leadership, under the influence of Marxist Ethiopia, seems equally rigid.

Lagu respects Islam for a good reason. He is married to a Muslim. Amna was born in the South to an Arab father and a Southern mother. In 1955, when she was one, her father was killed with hundreds of other Arabs in a racial uprising by Southerners. The women and children were rescued by an Italian priest and then, as they fled towards Uganda, protected by the chief of Lagu's own tribe.

Lagu's first marriage broke down during the nine years he was fighting in the bush. When he returned to Juba, the capital of the South, he fell in love with Amna, a young teacher, and they married on Christmas Day 1972. Their four children are baptized Christians who also answer to Muslim names from their mother. As Vice-President's wife Amna was entertained by kings and presidents. Now she works as a 'dinner lady' in her youngest sons' primary school in London.

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Such guidance is needed amid the great sums of money which have flowed into Sudan for development and political parties over recent years. At one point Lagu was offered a million-dollar bribe from abroad and turned it down.

He found it less easy, however, to make the transition from autocratic general to democratic politician. He would sometimes rage against subordinates who failed to do his bidding. And he can show particular fury towards intellectual politicians who treat him as an unsophisticated soldier. 'I am still too slow to forgive. I don't reckon to start aggression, but I like to return it double.' The shake of the head indicates a man in conscious struggle against his own nature. With a rueful smile, he quotes one of his children: 'Daddy thinks he is still general of an army and we are his soldiers.'

At a Moral Re-Armament conference in 1987 he said, 'I have suffered from the complex of looking down on the young, just as I was looked down on by older politicians. Before, I thought it was only the older who could give wisdom and experience. Here I have realized that the old can also learn from the young.' He is no less combative for what he believes to be right. But there is an increased humanity.

The last four years in Europe have given him the chance to reflect on his turbulent past. When President Numeiri was ousted in 1985 there was no charge against Lagu, but he was immediately evicted from his government house. With civil war in his home area, and fearing victimization in the North, he sought residence for his family in Britain.

During his first year of self-exile he had to fight poverty, loneliness and despair. But old friends, Sudanese and British, sought him out for his counsel and helped as they could. Representatives of different factions pressed him for his allegiance. Though impatient, he came to feel he must be a peacemaker, available to all sides.

A case in point was that of John Garang, leader of the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), who invited Lagu to Addis Ababa soon after his arrival in London in 1985. Lagu recruited Garang into the guerrilla forces during the first civil war and later watched over his career in the national army, before Garang defected in 1983. Lagu thought long before accepting Garang's invitation, but eventually took it up in 1987. Once in Addis, he spoke with Garang like an older brother, agreeing there had been a valid cause for war but suggesting now was the time to settle. In full openness with both sides, he kept Prime Minister Sadiq El Mahdi informed of his journey.

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For two months of 1987-8 this process was conducted from a hospital bed in London, where Lagu lay with a fractured neck vertebra after a road accident, receiving — at different times — the Sudanese Minister of State for Defence and the Deputy Commander of the SPLA. Later in the year he was invited to Khartoum. It was indicated that he could be given a ministerial post, but he turned this down, saying he wanted to be free to mediate. This enabled him to speak straight to Northern politicians about their failure to inspire trust in the South, and to Southern parliamentarians about the constructive role open to a democratic opposition.

A peace settlement, Lagu knows, would only be the first step towards the massive reconstruction needed in the country. The South is just one area of suffering. The ruined national economy is scarcely able to address the basic needs of the rest of the country. Development projects funded by other countries have been destroyed by the war.

It seems that the rest of the world is willing to help rehabilitate Sudan after hostilities have ceased. But Lagu feels some Sudanese politicians want power more than peace. This could lead to the permanent break-up of Sudan, not just into North and South, but a host of linguistic nationalities. There are indeed major grievances to be redressed. But, he says, 'Sudanese of all political opinions must forgive one another and agree to start a new political chapter.' He knows this is possible because of the warmth that has come into his own relationships with political opponents in recent years.

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Lagu has been a hard-living man, and it shows. He also has a strain of piety. He likes to quote the Irish chaplain of his school who told him, 34 years ago, 'When you are on your bed in the late night or early morning, that is the time when God may show you what you are to do. Don't tell too many people who might argue you out of it. Just go and do it.'

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GUERRILLERO ET HOMME DE PAIX

Portrait d'un général soudanais

Nous sommes en 1945. Lagu, un garçon de treize ans, garde les moutons et les chèvres de son père à Nimulé, là où le Nil blanc, venant d'Ouganda, entre au Soudan. Un message arrive en courant et lui annonce que le bateau vient d'accoster avec la nouvelle que lui, Lagu, est admis à l'école primaire, à des centaines de kilomètres plus au nord. Un camion doit l'emmener le même jour...

On entraîne aussitôt Lagu dans la boutique du village, on lui achète une chemise et un short, mais il n'y a pas de quoi lui payer des chaussures et le voilà parti pour un voyage de quatre jours.

Une terrible guerre civile

Durant les quarante années qui suivent, Lagu, devenu Joseph par le baptême, revient à Nimulé à plusieurs reprises: d'abord comme jeune officier de l'armée soudanaise; puis comme négociateur des accords de paix après neuf ans passés dans la guérilla; plus tard comme président du nouveau gouvernement provincial du Sud-Soudan; enfin, en 1982, comme vice-président de la République. Il habite aujourd'hui l'Angleterre et espère bien retourner un jour à Nimulé pour y cultiver la terre...

Par sa superficie le plus grand pays du continent africain (et le neuvième au monde), le Soudan est entouré de huit pays et bordé à l'est par la mer Rouge. Il a été libéré de l'empire ottoman en 1885 par le grand réformiste musulman El Mahdi, puis conquis en 1898 par une

armée anglo-égyptienne. L'indépendance fut acquise en 1956. Lagu avait 24 ans.

Aujourd'hui, le pays est sur le point d'éclater sous les coups d'une terrible guerre civile, la deuxième en trente ans, causée par les profondes divisions qui opposent musulmans arabes du nord et populations africaines du sud, pour la plupart chrétiennes. À l'origine de cette division: les souffrances douloureuses du trafic d'esclaves

tion armée, les massacres, les sièges de villes ou de villages, la famine, l'exode, faisant du Soudan du sud, selon le mot d'un journaliste anglais, un véritable cimetière.

En plus des 250.000 réfugiés parqués dans les camps proches de la frontière éthiopienne, on estime que le même nombre de personnes sont mortes de faim chez elles ou sur la route de l'exode. Un nouvel holocauste est en cours, mais Lagu estime qu'il est encore temps de le stopper.

Nationaliste et chrétien

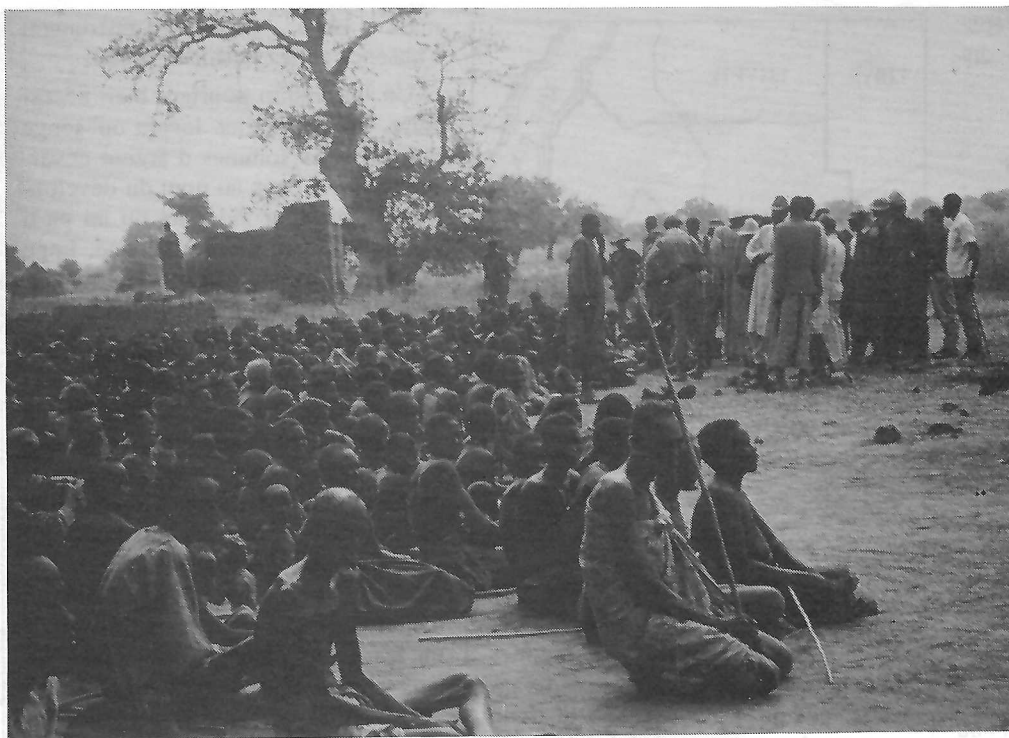
Car il sait ce qu'est la guerre... et le combat pour la paix. En 1963, il avait déserté l'armée nationale soudanaise - la grande majorité des officiers étaient arabes - pour rallier la rébellion du sud. En quatre ans, il transforma cette bande de guérilleros en une armée bien structurée dont il devint vite le chef militaire et politique tout à la fois. Bien que ses méthodes aient ressemblé parfois à celles de Giap, de Guevara ou d'autres guérilleros célèbres, sa motivation n'était ni marxiste ni maoïste. "J'étais un nationaliste soudanais du sud avec des références chrétiennes", dit-il.

Quand on lui demande pourquoi il a pris les armes contre le gouvernement de son pays, il explique qu'il voulait combattre l'oppression

linguistique et religieuse du nord et venger un cousin policier qui avait été exécuté pour avoir participé à une mutinerie. Pourquoi a-t-il ensuite décidé de négocier un accord de paix? "Le coût de la haine et de la revanche



pratiqué par les Arabes ainsi que de profondes différences ethniques, religieuses et culturelles. La première guerre civile, qui avait duré dix-sept ans, avait pris fin en 1972. Et voilà qu'ont repris depuis 1984 l'insurrec-



La Croix-Rouge internationale ravitaille les populations dans une région contrôlée par l'armée de Libération du Sud-Soudan.

proposer de le rejoindre à Addis-Abeba. C'est Lagu qui avait recruté Garang pour la guérilla durant la première guerre civile et qui avait parrainé sa carrière dans l'armée nationale après l'accord de paix.

En 1983, Garang avait fait défection et déclenché la deuxième guerre civile. Lagu attendit deux ans pour répondre à l'invitation et, à Addis Abeba, s'efforça de donner à Garang ses conseils d'ainé: oui, le déclenchement de la guérilla avait été fondé mais l'heure était venue de trouver une solution. Dans un esprit d'ouverture complet, il avait tenu le premier ministre, Sadeq El Mahdi, au courant de ses démarches...

Les mains libres

De son lit d'hôpital, où il était soigné après un accident de la route à Londres, il poursuivit le processus, recevant tour à tour, et à plusieurs reprises, le ministre de la Défense et le numéro deux de la rébellion. Plus tard la même année, il fut appelé à Khartoum. Il semblerait qu'il y a refusé l'offre d'un poste ministériel, de façon à garder les mains libres pour son rôle de médiateur, grâce à quoi il a pu parler très franchement aux

hommes politiques du nord de leur incapacité à créer la confiance avec ceux du sud, et aux parlementaires du sud du rôle constructif que peut jouer une opposition démocratique.

Lagu sait que la paix ne sera que le premier pas sur la longue route de la reconstruction massive nécessaire dans le pays. Ce n'est pas que dans le sud que les gens souffrent. L'économie nationale est en ruines et ne peut pas assurer le minimum vital aux populations des zones non touchées par la guerre. De nombreux projets de développement mis sur pied par des nations étrangères ont été annihilés par le conflit.

Le pouvoir ou la paix?

Le monde entier semble disposé à aider le Soudan... une fois la paix rétablie. Mais Lagu sait bien que certains hommes politiques veulent le pouvoir plus que la paix, ce qui risque de faire éclater le Soudan, et pas seulement de provoquer la sécession du sud, tant les injustices sont nombreuses et flagrantes. "Il faut que les Soudanais, toutes tendances confondues, se pardonnent les uns aux autres et décident d'écrire une page nouvelle de leur histoire". Fort du rétablissement de ses

propres rapports avec d'anciens ennemis, il sait que cela est possible.

En fait, il aspire à la solution de tous les conflits qui font rage en Afrique: l'Erythrée, le Tchad, l'Ouganda, la Somalie entre autres. Car tout accord isolé risque d'être compromis par le conflit voisin. C'est la raison pour laquelle il entretient des liens d'amitié avec les dirigeants africains, notamment ceux des pays riverains du Nil.

"Va de l'avant"

Joseph Lagu a derrière lui une vie éprouvante et cela se voit. Se remarque aussi son fond religieux: il aime citer l'aumônier irlandais de son école, qui lui disait il y a près de quarante ans: "Le soir ou le matin, sur ta couche, c'est le moment que Dieu choisit pour te montrer la voie à suivre. Ne te laisse pas dissuader de suivre cette voie par qui que ce soit. Va tout simplement de l'avant."

C'est guidé de la sorte qu'il put sauver vingt-neuf vies après un accident d'avion en 1971. Aujourd'hui, en 1989, la paix et la reconstruction dépendent, il le sait, de cette façon de prendre les décisions.

PETER EVERINGTON

CENTRAL AMERICA - INGREDIENTS OF PEACE

The fighting in Central America has dragged on for decades. Guatemalan activist Eliezer Cifuentes, who only just escaped assassination in a hail of bullets in 1980, was forced into exile in Costa Rica. There he struggled with 'the tigers of hatred'. He decided to meet the officer he thought had given the order, believing that God had 'laid on my heart the reconciliation of the military and civilian population'.

Cifuentes convened a dialogue in Costa Rica in June on 'the role of the military in the peace process'. To it came General Joseph Lagu, a Sudanese guerilla leader who is now his country's Ambassador to the UN; and Alec Smith, who was closely involved in the run-up to

Zimbabwean independence.

In September, both men returned for a conference in El Salvador organized by the Supreme Court of Justice in conjunction with Moral Re-Armament. This took place in the Palace of Justice, and its opening was carried on national television. Supreme Court President Dr Mauricio Gutierrez Castro described 'the moral and spiritual element as perhaps the most fundamental ingredient of a just and solid peace. It is not a matter of power or politics but of the need for a change in each one of us.'

A group of US lawyers took part and on their behalf, Michael Olson from Minnesota said that they had come humbly, aware of Americans' past mistakes and paternalism.



S Dickinson

General Joseph Lagu and Alec Smith (left) are interviewed in El Salvador.

ENCOUNTERS WITH TRUTH

Rajmohan Gandhi - Encounters with Truth' is the title of a new 40-minute documentary. In it British film-maker David Channer probes what one of the Mahatma's grandsons has made of his heritage.

'It has become normal,' Rajmohan Gandhi says in the film, 'to believe that politics has become the vocation of crooks, criminals, gangsters and the corrupt - a situation which one just can't tolerate'. Gandhi is now a member of the Upper

House of the Indian Parliament, the Rajya Sabha.

The film's premiere took place in London in January, 1991. One British MP wrote afterwards that Rajmohan Gandhi came over as a highly sensitive, articulate and genuinely caring politician. One of India's leading classical musicians, the fluteplayer Pandit Hariprasad Chaurasia, composed and performed the music - and travelled from India to give concerts as part of the premiere showings.



D Channer

Rajmohan Gandhi on the campaign trail



C Wood

An Australian study course.

AUSTRALIAN COURSE

Every year since 1977, a training course has brought young people to 'Armagh', the Moral Re-Armament centre in Melbourne, Australia. Many can echo the view of a British student who wrote, 'I have learned how to let God take control of my life, and to listen for His direction. This is becoming an exciting experiment.' It took him back to studies, then to development work in Africa.

A Lebanese teacher, working to heal the wounds of her country, discovered people whose experience in other

war-torn countries helped her 'to think more clearly about my situation, without fear and without losing hope'. A young German, stirred by an Aboriginal woman's resolute work to educate her people, began to feel an inner calling to dedicate himself to the needs of his own people. A businessman went back to end corrupt practices which previously he had tolerated.

The next course starts in February 1992 (the 1991 course is taking place in India).

«Mach dich einfach dran und tue es!»

Nahe der Stadt Nimule, wo der Weisse Nil von Uganda her über die sudanesischen Grenze fliesst, hütete 1945 ein dreizehnjähriger Junge namens Lagu die Schafe und Ziegen seines Vaters. Ein Mann kam angerannt und rief ihm zu, mit dem wöchentlichen Dampfer sei die Nachricht gekommen, es sei für Lagu an der Primarschule, Hunderte von Meilen entfernt, ein Platz frei geworden. Noch am selben Vormittag müsse er mit dem Lastwagen abreisen. In Eile ging es zum Dorfladen, wo er ein Hemd und kurze Hosen erhielt, aber keine Schuhe. Dann begann die viertägige Reise zum ersten regulären Unterricht. Erst neun Monate später kam er für die Feiertage wieder nach Hause.

Im Laufe der nächsten vierzig Jahre kehrte er wiederholt nach Nimule zurück: als Christ auf den Namen Joseph getauft, mit einem Offizierspatent der sudanesischen Armee, als Friedensstifter nach neun Jahren Guerillatätigkeit, als Vorsitzender der neuen Regionalregierung von Südsudan und 1982 als Vizepräsident der Republik Sudan. Augenblicklich wohnt er in England und hofft, eines Tages wieder als Landwirt in Nimule leben zu können.

Sudan ist das neuntgrößte Land der Erde und das grösste Afrikas. Es grenzt an acht Nachbarstaaten und ans Rote Meer. Zur Zeit des ottomanischen Reiches nahm Sudan Gestalt an; 1885 wurde es durch den muslimischen Reformler El Mahdi befreit und 1898 von einer anglo-ägyptischen Armee erobert. Als Lagu 24-jährig war, wurde sein Land unabhängig.

Heute droht Sudan der Zerfall als Folge zweier Bürgerkriege seit 1956, eine Frucht der tiefen Spaltung zwischen dem arabisch-muslimischen Norden und dem afrikanischen (teilweise christlichen) Süden. Die bittere Erinnerung an den Sklavenhandel der Araber spielt wesentlich mit.

1972 ging der erste, siebzehnjährige Bürgerkrieg zu Ende. Nun ist erneut der Südsudan durch Aufstände, Belagerungen, Massaker, Hungersnöte und Flucht der todgeweihten Überlebenden zu einem «Friedhof» geworden, wie ein britischer Minister sich ausdrückte. Jedem der 250 000 Südsudanesen, die entlang der äthiopischen Grenze in Flüchtlingslagern leben, entspricht vermutlich einer, der daheim oder auf der Flucht verhungert ist. Ein Holocaust spielt sich ab – Lagu glaubt allerdings, dass er noch aufgehalten werden kann.

DER GUERRILLAFÜHRER

Lagu versteht einiges vom Krieg – und etwas vom Frieden. 1963 desertierte er aus dem mehrheitlich arabischen Offi-

zierskorps der Nationalarmee und schloss sich den südlichen Rebellen an. Während vier Jahren schweifte er sie zu einer schlagkräftigen Guerillatruppe zusammen. In den folgenden fünf Jahren war er auch ihr politischer Führer. Seine Taktik ist ebenso interessant wie die anderer erfolgreicher Guerillaführer unseres Jahrhunderts. Von Leuten wie General Giap oder Che Guevara unterscheidet er sich jedoch dadurch, dass er sich weder an Marx noch an Mao inspirierte. «Ich war südsudanesischer Nationalist mit einigen christlichen Anhaltspunkten.»

Auf die Frage, warum er gegen seine eigene Regierung gekämpft habe, antwortet Lagu, er hätte sich der sprachlichen und religiösen Aggression aus dem Norden widersetzt. Er wollte auch einen Verwandten rächen, einen Polizeibeamten, der wegen Meuterei hingerichtet worden war. Warum er sich darauf für den Frieden entschieden habe? «Weil Hass und Rache mein Volk zu teuer zu stehen kamen und ich sah, dass der Gegner kompromissbereit war.»

Das berühmteste friedensfördernde Ereignis kam 1971, als ein Passagierflugzeug der Sudan Airways vom Norden kommend in einem Rebellengebiet abstürzte. In seinem Hauptquartier erreichte Lagu die Anfrage, ob die 29 Überlebenden getötet oder als Geiseln festgehalten werden sollten. Als Lagu nachts wachlag, zog er seine christlichen Anhaltspunkte zu Rate: Was hätte Christus mit diesen Zivilgefangenen ge-

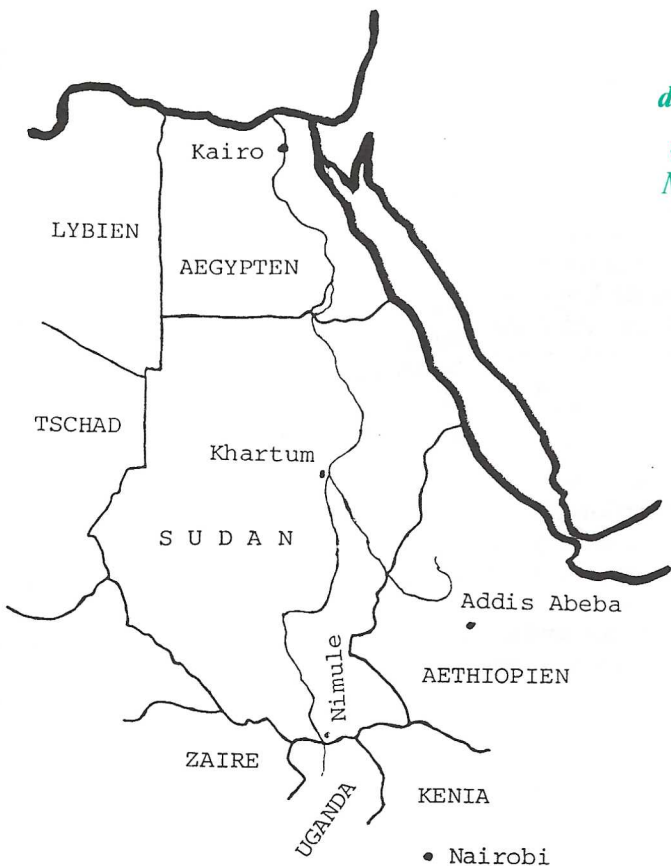
macht? Und wie würde Lagu vor Christus dastehen, wenn sie umgebracht würden? Anderntags liess er die Gefangenen zum Vorposten der nächsten von der Regierung gehaltenen Stadt geleiten. «Sie wurden unsere Botschafter im Norden», sagt Lagu. «Niemand mehr glaubte der Regierung, wenn sie uns je wieder als Unmenschen bezeichnete.»

Bei der Unterzeichnung des Friedensvertrages von 1971 in Addis Abeba bat Lagu den Sekretär des Afrikanischen Kirchenrates, sein Lieblingsgebet zu sprechen, das mit den Worten beginnt: «O Herr, der du der Urheber des Friedens bist». Tags darauf flog Lagu in die Hauptstadt Khartum und wurde als Held empfangen. Er widmete sechs Jahre der Integration von 6000 seiner Kämpfer in die sudanesischen Armee und wurde anschliessend zum Vorsitzenden der nun autonomen Südregion gewählt. 1982 wurde er Vizepräsident des gesamten Landes.

ISLAM UND CHRISTENTUM

Lagu hat also Grund zur Hoffnung, dass die Wunden seines Landes geheilt werden können. Aber er weiss auch, dass es diesmal schwieriger sein wird, weil der Kampf sich ideologisiert hat. Eine starke Splittergruppe im Norden will das islamische Gesetz, dessen Strafrecht auch Amputationen vorsieht, zum Staatsgesetz erheben. Die Führerschaft der südlichen Rebellen steht unter dem Einfluss des marxistisch regierten Äthiopien und scheint ebenso unbeugsam. ▶





Sudan, das grösste Land Afrikas

*«Man erwähnte, dass er
Minister werden könnte,
doch er lehnte ab
mit der
Begründung,
er wolle
frei bleiben,
um zu
vermitteln.»*

te auch von Jungen lernen können.» Nach wie vor kämpft er für das, woran er glaubt, aber mit vermehrter Menschenfreundlichkeit.

Während der letzten vier Jahre in Europa hatte er die Möglichkeit, seine turbulente Vergangenheit zu überdenken. Nach dem Sturz von Präsident Numeiri 1985 wurde gegen Lagu keine Anklage erhoben, doch musste er augenblicklich seinen Regierungswohnsitz räumen. Daheim im Süden wütete der Bürgerkrieg, und im Norden musste er für sein Leben fürchten. So floh er mit seiner Familie nach England.

Im ersten Jahr des selbstgewählten Exils musste er gegen Armut, Einsamkeit und Verzweiflung ankämpfen. Aber alte Freunde, Sudanesen und Briten, suchten ihn auf, liessen sich von ihm beraten und halfen ihm nach Möglichkeit. Vertreter verschiedener Splittergruppen wollten ihn für ihre Sache vereinnahmen, doch obwohl er darauf brannte, etwas zu tun, kam er zur Überzeugung, er

sollte ein Friedensstifter sein, für jeden zugänglich.

In seinem Londoner Spitalbett, wo er nach einem Autounfall mit gebrochenem Halswirbel lag, empfing er den sudanesischen Aussenminister und ein anderes Mal den stellvertretenden Kommandanten der SPLA. Später im selben Jahr wurde er nach Khartum eingeladen. Man erwähnte, dass er Minister werden könnte, doch er lehnte ab mit der Begründung, er wolle frei bleiben, um zu vermitteln. Jetzt konnte er Politikern aus dem Norden unumwunden erklären, warum sie das Vertrauen der Südländer nicht hatten gewinnen können, und Parlamentariern aus dem Süden, wie eine demokratische Opposition eine konstruktive Rolle spielen könne.

Lagu weiss, dass ein Friedensschluss nur ein erster Schritt zum benötigten gewaltigen Wiederaufbau des Landes wäre. Der Süden ist ein einziges Elendsgebiet, und die ruinierte Volkswirtschaft kann schon kaum für die Bedürfnisse der übr-

gen Landesteile aufkommen. Ausländische Entwicklungsprojekte sind durch den Krieg zerstört worden.

Die Welt ist anscheinend bereit zu helfen, sobald die Feindseligkeiten aufgehört haben. Lagu hat jedoch den Eindruck, dass einigen sudanesischen Politikern ihre Macht wichtiger ist als der Friede.

Dies könnte zur endgültigen Zerrüttung Sudans führen, der nicht bloss in zwei Teile, sondern in eine Unzahl von Ländern mit ihrer eigenen Sprache zerfallen würde. Es gilt, schwere Missstände zu bereinigen. Aber, so Lagu: «Sudanesen aller politischen Richtungen müssen einander vergeben und zusammen ein neues politisches Kapitel schreiben.» Er weiss, dass dies möglich ist, haben doch seine eigenen Beziehungen mit politischen Gegnern in diesen Jahren an Herzlichkeit gewonnen.

Lagu sieht die grösseren Zusammenhänge: Eine völlige Versöhnung in allen afrikanischen Konflikten ist notwendig – in Eritrea, Tschad, Uganda, Somalia, um nur einige zu nennen. Ein isoliertes Abkommen kann jederzeit durch einen Konflikt im Nachbarland wieder zunichte gemacht werden. Darum pflegt er seine Freundschaften mit den Verantwortlichen anderer afrikanischer Länder, vor allem der Nilländer.

SPÄT NACHTS ODER FRÜH MORGENS

Lagu hat ein rauhes Leben geführt, das ist unverkennbar. Aber er hat auch einen Schuss Frömmigkeit. Gerne zitiert er seinen irischen Schulkaplan, der ihm vor 34 Jahren sagte: «Wenn du spät nachts oder früh morgens wachliegst, will Gott dir vielleicht zeigen, was du tun sollst. Sprich nicht mit zu vielen Leuten darüber; sie könnten es dir ausreden. Mach dich einfach dran und tue es!» Dem Gehorsam Lagus dieser inneren Stimme gegenüber verdanken die 29 Überlebenden jenes Flugzeugabsturzes ihr Leben. Friede und Versöhnung heute, so glaubt er, hängen von dieser Art Entscheidungsfindung ab.

Peter Everington

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SEPT '91

Lt. Gen. (Ret'd.) Mkungu Joseph Lagu, D. (Hon.) Letts., 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 Sudan (1982-1985). He was appointed Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Sudan to the United Nations, New York, in September 1990.

A Letter
To
My Fellow Sudanese

Produced & Printed Exclusively by
U.S. WORLD JOURNAL COMMUNICATIONS
PUBLISHING ENTERPRISES

Alton Amsterdam Associates
12 East 86th Street
New York, NY 10028
(212) 472-0499

Second Edition
September 1991

Joseph Lagu

THIS BOOKLET IS DEDICATED
TO THE ORDINARY SUDANESE

Introduction

My fellow Sudanese, let us review our own and our neighbours' experiences as we deliberate and decide for the future.

In the past, foreign historians, travellers and journalists have undertaken to draw accounts of events in our country, Sudan, and they continue to do so while we and our neighbours in the Horn of Africa are plunged in crisis.

As one who has been involved in the conflicts in my country at various stages, I feel I should contribute, together with other Sudanese writers by giving an account of contemporary events which will be more authentic than the ones given by foreign passers-by; pending the publication of my memoirs. In consequence, I have decided to write this narrative for my fellow Sudanese, and those foreigners interested in the Sudan.

I have presented similar accounts to distinguished people of goodwill who have shown concern and interest to help resolve the Sudan crisis, such as former US President Mr. Jimmy Carter and the former Nigerian Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo. I did so in appreciation of their efforts and to encourage them to persevere. The peace accord of 1972, which halted seventeen years of civil conflict in the Sudan, was helped by sympathetic governments (such as the Imperial Government of Ethiopia), by Christian Organizations (such as the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches) and by certain personalities. I believe similar moves backed by people of international stature may still help prepare our country and others in similar situations, for peace.

And I believe lasting peace will come, but only if it covers the whole region. Trouble persisting in the neighbourhood can easily filter into and affect other countries. We must therefore encourage peace moves for the region to develop concurrently.

As will be reviewed, the current and long-standing problems in Sudan are complex, and rooted in its unique historical realities. We need to analyze our past, accept that mistakes may have been made on all sides, and put forward constructive propositions so that our peoples may know peace again. The

resolution of our problems will also require a quiet, but forceful role on the part of countries which have a natural connection with us, and which are able to balance competing internal interests.

Our hopes for peace must be realized through a process of respectful dialogue, which may best be precipitated through mediation by neutral personalities of international stature who honour the rights of the Sudanese and our neighbours to settle our own disputes, but who also bring their wisdom, moral convictions and experiences to the process.

May we all make our utmost contribution to reconciling the warring factions in our country; and may we be rewarded by the Almighty God. "Blessed are the peace-makers for they shall be called the children of God."

Review of the Past

Undoubtedly we started badly at our independence. We need to review our history and plan a fresh start. As a nation we may have to imagine a return to the situation we were in during the colonial era, so that thoughtfully and carefully, we can plan anew. Our predecessors, and those of us who followed in managing the affairs of our country, made mistakes. It is natural to make mistakes. But once they are realized they can be, or must be, corrected.

So let us recall parts of our history following the reconquest of our lands in 1898, the emergence of The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as a Condominium of the victorious powers, and ultimately the emergence of the Republic of the Sudan.

It was not the choice of our ancestors that they found themselves within a common frontier, while being of different racial, ethnic and cultural entities, each occupying homelands of their own. Yet they came to realize that they had become inhabitants of one large homeland which they accepted, and which we their offspring appreciate. Sudan is not alone in that evolutionary process, especially in Africa. This is how nations emerge — and even families for that matter. A couple meet and produce a family. The children do not choose who are to be their siblings or parents. Children born of the

same parents become aware of the world around them as they grow, and they learn to accept and love one another and their parents.

The Condominium powers understood the demographic diversity of the Sudan, and established a system of administration which safeguarded against conflicts, and enabled those diverse elements to live peacefully side by side, each within its native homeland. It is to that system that we may have to return if we are to survive as a nation. First let us look into the Condominium administration, preceding the achievement of our independence in 1956, and then examine our own national experiences.

The Condominium Administration

In the Condominium's administrative structure only four men constituted what amounted to a central government, with the Governor-General (GG) responsible for defence and external relations on behalf of the Condominium Powers, and the Civil Secretary co-ordinating and supervising the other civil services (see Figure 1).

A Governor aided by those below him ruled each province with a measure of autonomy. He was responsible to the GG.

Below district level native administration was preserved in pursuance of the "indirect rule policy." The tribal chieftainships and their territorial integrity were kept. The DCs passed orders and received complaints through the tribal chiefs.

The administration partitioned the country into nine units, or provinces, and sub-units, or districts and then regrouped these into two regions governed under separate policies: North and South. It combined Confederation, Federalism and decentralization manned by colonial officials.

The North with six provinces was left to retain its Arabic and Islamic character, and to continue to look towards Egypt and the Middle East for its orientation. Activities of Christian missionaries were curtailed there. The South with three provinces was encouraged to look southward, and was sealed off from northern cultural expansion. Christian missionaries were allowed in to proselytize among the people observing traditional beliefs with the additional task of managing educational work.

English was introduced at a later stage along with the vernacular languages in the schools as the medium of instruction, and as the working language in offices. Consequently two cultures emerged in one country. Nevertheless, tolerance and relative calm existed throughout the country, and a measure of harmony prevailed between the citizens of the two regions.

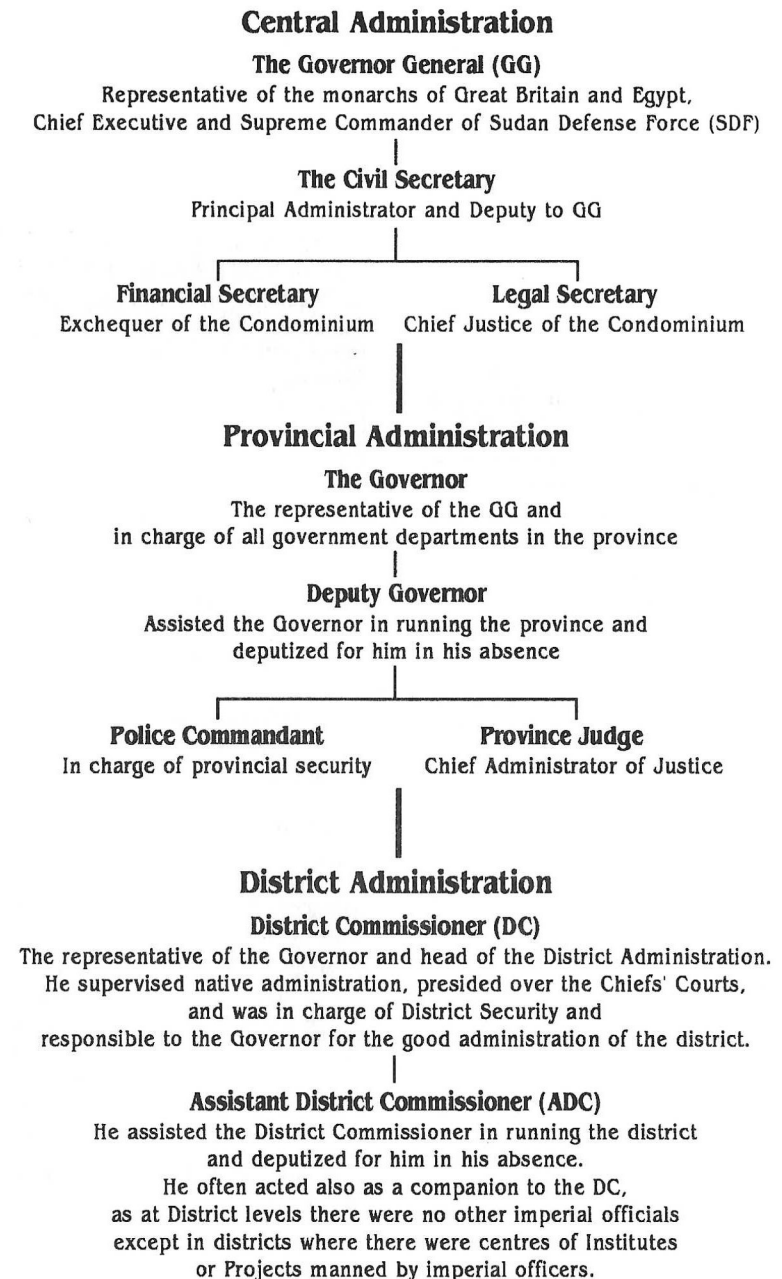
The Start of Unrest

Signs of unrest first showed up at the start of political awakening in the principal towns in the country as the ranks of educated Sudanese who served as supporting staff to the Imperial Officials steadily swelled. In the North it began with demands for political rights and for the opening of the South to free movement. Colonial officials were blamed for keeping the South backward deliberately. In the South the complaint was for justice. They wanted the adjustment of salary scales to match those of the North, which were higher. Native officials, as Sudanese civil servants were called, served only within their own North or South regions, except in the Sudan Railways and Steamers, and Post and Telegraph, which were the common services. Southerners were conspicuous by their absence in the former, even after independence.

The northern pressure led to the Juba Conference (1947) and subsequently the participation of Southerners in the Legislative Assembly opened in Khartoum a year later. Salary scales were systematically equalized in certain fields. However, that fraternal attitude on the part of the North did not persist. On the eve of independence the North behaved as if the South was a dominion it was inheriting from the departing Colonial Powers and sent northern officials to the South in massive numbers.

Unrest intensified in the South, following the unwelcome influx of Northern officials to the South as a result of the Sudanization scheme, while few Southerners could go North. This was fumed by the workers' riot in Nzara, March 1955, and four months later, by the army mutiny in Torit garrison which triggered the long civil strife, that lasted until the Addis Ababa Agreement of March, 1972, and which re-erupted in May, 1983.

Figure 1
The Structure of the Condominium Administration



As long as the citizens of the two regions were kept apart, linked only by a few officials of such common services as Sudan Railways and Steamers, and Post and Telegraph, harmony was maintained. That harmony testified to the truth of an old adage: brothers remain friends when they keep apart and only meet occasionally. There are lessons to learn here.

The National Governments and Their Problems

Independence, unfortunately, was preceded by civil strife such as the Khartoum riot (1-3 March 1955) which was a reaction to the visit of Egyptian President General Mohamed Neguib. This was exacerbated by the Nzara and Torit incidents. The commencement of Parliamentary experience with internal self-government and the move towards independence were not therefore smooth.

On 19 December 1955, South-North relations were further damaged when northern members of the new Sudan parliament exercised deceptive manoeuvres to induce their southern colleagues to vote with them for the independence of the country on 1 January, 1956, promising that their request for a federal system for the Sudan would be considered. When the time came for that consideration, the southern members were told that federation had already been fully considered and found to be impractical in the Sudan. The less educated Southerners did not notice at the start that they were being deceived. When they became aware of this deception it aggravated the existing mistrust between the citizens of the two parts of the country, and made the task of government more difficult. That initial parliamentary democracy did not last long enough to give the politicians a chance to correct their behaviour. The Armed Forces, under their Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant General Ibrahim Abboud, seized power on 17 November, 1958 and dissolved the parliament.

The military regime was more repressive than the civilian government it overthrew, and consequently, it forced Southerners into open rebellion. Southern politicians, ex-servicemen, students, etc., entered the bush or fled the country to continue the struggle. Thus emerged the South Sudan Liberation

Movement (SSLM) whose aim was to resist the northern move to dominate them, to drive the Northerners out of the South and to establish a separate state. The situation worsened and escalated into a civil war, which weakened the military regime in Khartoum, leading to its overthrow by a civilian uprising in October, 1964.

Following the demise of the military regime, a caretaker civilian government headed by an educator, Sayed Sirr el Katim el Khalifa and with a nominal Council of State as in 1956 was established under which a Round Table Conference was held in Khartoum to decide the country's future. However, there were no fruitful results. Politicians pressed for elections, and a second parliamentary democracy was established, but that too, was victim of the same civil strife. Unstable and beset by party rivalries, the new government could not give time to look seriously into national problems such as the southern issue. That paralysis gave occasion for the Armed Forces to seize power the second time, on 25 May, 1969 under another officer Colonel Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri. The administration they established became known as the May Regime. Their main reason for taking power, they claimed, was to solve the southern problem, and they stuck to that goal.

On 9 June, fourteen days after they had seized power, Col. Nimeiri made the famous declaration which lured the SSLM towards peace and a compromise solution. Quote, "Southern Sudan is geographically a distinct region in the country; the inhabitants are ethnically and culturally different from the rest of the Sudanese, they therefore have the right to home-rule within the one Sudan." Subsequently, the regime took a peace initiative in which the SSLM reciprocated, leading to the popular Addis Ababa Agreement of March, 1972. It gave the three southern provinces a measure of home-rule. For the first time the South had a unified administration.

Home-Rule for the South

This came about as a consequence of that peace accord, and its text became an organic part of the national constitution drawn up in 1974, as the "Self Government Act, 1972." This defines the South by the boundaries

demarcated by the Condominium policy. What was overlooked was that this policy still fell short of actually uniting the south administratively. The idea of appointing a Lieutenant Governor-General (LQG) to represent the GG for the purpose remained merely an idea. A centralized regional administration embracing the provinces of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal, though welcomed at the start, later experienced problems. Southern ethnic differences, which had not shown up during Condominium and Northern Rule, emerged very conspicuously in southern politics.

Some causes of South-North discord, such as the North's claim to dominate and to enforce its will on the South because of its numerical strength, were unfortunately repeated by some Southern Sudanese who found themselves policy-makers at the start of Nimeiri's Southern Administration. The consequence was that people began to think of and turn to their ethnic groups for support and some form of social security.

The peace accord, however, did ease South-North tensions, and a period of tranquility followed during which some development projects were begun. From 1980 on, however, southern politicians increasingly wrangled for power. Indeed they were prodded to do so by the leadership in the North who continued to hope to control the South, using the familiar policy of divide and rule. But the North itself was not so unified, political parties there lack national outlook, and southern leaders played the same game, allying themselves with one northern leader to out-manoeuvre another. SPLA/SPLM (mentioned below), seem to be doing that, even now.

The southern regional institutions were by then more democratic than those in the North and the Central Government feared that Northerners would demand more democracy for themselves if the southern democratic institutions were left to continue. The Central Government therefore worked to wreck the parliamentary process in the South. This, coupled with growing southern disunity, caused the collapse of the one Southern Regional Government in June, 1983. The three provinces reverted to being separate entities with frontiers which the colonial ad-

ministration had drawn. The characteristics and powers which the one Southern Regional Administration had exercised were not transferred to the individual provinces because the Central Government wanted to withdraw some of the gains made under the peace accord. Instead the provinces were brought into line with their northern counterparts, which had acquired some measure of autonomy as a consequence of the 1980 Regional Government Act — an Act which was only an administrative arrangement covering less than the Self-Government Act of 1972. Levelling the status of the southern provinces with those of the North eradicated the special position the South had acquired as the result of the peace accord, and turned the political atmosphere between the South and North back to the mistrust and suspicion that had preceded the peace settlement. The situation was further worsened by lack of cohesion among Southern Sudanese and by bitter rivalries among Northern leaders.

On-going Conflicts

The immediate cause of renewal of conflict was the movement of troops. The re-introduction of troop rotation was not welcome in the south. When it was ordered by Khartoum, rotation met resistance from southern troops who knew they had the sympathy of their compatriots in the south, because rotation was contrary to the security arrangement of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement. On 16 May 1983, trouble erupted in the Bor garrison where outside elements (Southern opposition groups) filtered in to incite trouble reminiscent of the Torit incident of 18 August 1955, referred to earlier. This spread and led to the founding of another guerrilla army, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and its political wing, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).

SPLA/SPLM — conceived objectives are unlike those of their predecessors (Anyanya/SSLM). The Movement claims that they are not southern separatists; that their struggle is to establish parity in the country, where no citizen will be discriminated against because of the colour of skin, gender, religious conviction or ethnicity. They have even enticed northern dissidents to join them making the problem more complex, and no longer only a "southern problem".

The Demise of the "May Regime"

From 1980, onwards, the popularity of the "May Regime" and its leader, then Field-Marshal Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, began to lose favour amongst Southerners because of his Machiavellian politics, playing one group against another. In the north too he lost popular support for the same reasons. After replacing the colleagues with whom he staged the coup with new friends, his political base was weakened.

Developments against Nimeiri evolved rapidly after September, 1983 when he unexpectedly proclaimed the Islamic Sharia as the law of the land. That move cost him the support of Southerners as well as that of liberal Northerners who began to distance themselves from him and refused to accept his laws as Islamic. These became known as "Nimeiri's September Laws."

When drought, famine, recession and other natural disasters came, the regime found itself without support, and it crumbled before a civilian uprising, supported by the Armed Forces. This occurred on 6 April, 1985. The new rebellion in the South, which had contributed to the weakening of the regime, continued unabated. The leaders turned down approaches for peace by the Transitional (Military-Civilian) coalition Government of General Abdel Rahman Swar el Dahab and Doctor El Juzuli Dafalla that succeeded the "May Regime". The SPLA/SPLM regarded the Transitional Government as the continuation of the May Regime, calling it "May II."

Efforts by the political parties following the election of the third parliamentary democracy, one year after the uprising, achieved no substantial results towards peace with the SPLA/SPLM.

The Incumbents — Government and Movement

The present military-led government assumed power on 30 June, 1989, following a military coup d'état like that of May 1969, and brought about under similar circumstance. The June revolutionaries repeated almost the same pledge made by their predecessors two decades before to end the ongoing conflict and return the country to normal. They stated that politicians were unsuitable because they were occupied by party

rivalries and wrangling for power.

To show how serious they were, the new regime contacted the rebel movement who responded to an invitation for a preliminary meeting at Addis Ababa shortly after the coup. Since a cease-fire announced by the Movement and honoured by the deposed government was still in force, there seemed to be hope for peace. A National Dialogue Conference for Peace was convened, though not attended by the rebel Movement's delegation for security reasons. They might have attended the conference at a neutral venue. The conference started on 9 September and continued until 21 October. It recommended a federal system of government, which would take into consideration the size of the Sudan and its population composition.

As the conference drew to a close, SPLA started attacks on government garrisons and SPLM announced their dismay at the emergence of what they regarded as an "Islamic Fundamentalist Government" in the Sudan. The situation changed. Hope was replaced by despair. An attempt to hold peace talks in Nairobi on the initiative of former United States President, Mr. Jimmy Carter, made no headway. Both sides were unprepared for peace. Mr. Carter who was anxious to help the two sides reach an understanding was not well-acquainted with the circumstances.

Hopefully, nonetheless, both sides now seem to be aiming at a federal pattern of government. Northern Sudanese appear prepared to join their southern compatriots to work to end the conflict through the application of federalism. We may now have to look seriously into that pattern of government. A cease-fire is necessary to create a conducive atmosphere.

Federalism as a Way to Peace

As Irvin Hicks, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Africa, in his November 18th 1990 address to the African-American Institute, entitled "The Horn of African," 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 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 U.S. peace proposal both sides, government and movement, told the U.S. 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 by 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, they acquired characteristics of their own. They therefore found the new unified administrations, 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 crisis 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 U.N. 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.

Issues That Contributed to Conflicts

Employment in the Sudan, as in other developing lands, is provided largely by the government. Discrimination by the government against any group in the country with regard to job opportunities can be a major source of friction.

In this regard, the initial cause for the

eruption of the first conflict in Southern Sudan in 1955 was the question of job opportunities. Southern intellectuals precipitated the conflict by attempting to keep away Northern officials and preserve for themselves positions vacated by imperial officials, especially when it was clear that the Government was providing no opportunity for Southern officials in the North. During the one decade of southern home rule (1972 - 1983) there were also complaints of nepotism against some senior officials. These officials felt more secure when they had their relatives or fellow tribesmen close to them to protect them.

Issues that contributed to the fresh outbreak of hostilities in Southern Sudan in May, 1983, could be these:

1. Most Southerners were disappointed by the weak economic arrangements of the Addis Ababa Agreement, and watched with dismay the systematic erosion of the gains of the agreement as they saw power returning to the Central Government.
2. The apparent lack of seriousness on the part of the central government about carrying through economic development projects in the Southern Sudan, which compelled Southerners to move north in search of jobs.
3. The uprooting of Southerners and their black compatriots from Khartoum and other economic centres in the North where they had come in search of work. This operation, which started from about mid-year 1982 and became known as "Kasha," illustrated a form of racial discrimination.
4. The unpopularity of the Jonglei Canal Project among southern intellectuals and youth. They look at it simply as a means of draining the waters of the sudd for the benefit of Northern Sudan and Egypt without regard to the adverse ecological effects it might have in the area. They fear there could be decreased quantities of fish due to the lowering of the water table.
5. The discovery of oil in the Sudan which pointed to promising development southwards, aroused more suspicion and

mistrust between the political elite of the two regions. It was possibly a motive for the re-introduction of rotation in the armed forces, which was very unpopular in the South among the southern troops, politicians, and the general population.

6. The misuse of the armed forces in the Sudan, which occurred twice to advance the political aspirations of those then in power, and whose miscalculations resulted both in the previous civil war and in the on-going one. The reasons for moving units of the Southern Command to the North in August, 1955 and again in May, 1983 were political. There were no military purposes requiring the call of those units from their bases.

Confidence — A Major Factor

The main concern of our time is the cultivation of confidence to promote national understanding because history falls short of presenting encouraging accounts in this regard. It is a task for the contemporary Sudanese to achieve and not to leave for the next generation. There were, nonetheless, occasions when positive moves demonstrating cooperation by citizens of the two regions of the Sudan, South and North, were taken for common purposes, or in support of one by the other. These are what moderate Sudanese, on whom the hope for national unity rests, must scrutinize and emphasize.

The North demonstrated its concern for the South in the mid 40s through the Graduates' Congress, when northern intellectuals blamed the colonial administration for deliberately keeping the south backward, and pressed the administration to put efforts, which would enable the South to catch up with the north, the south reciprocated in accepting to participate in the all Sudan Legislative Assembly opened in 1948, and from there on, both North and South contributed in the struggle for the independence of the country. If that fraternal concern by northern intellectuals in the mid 40s had been carried forward to the mid 50s and determined the behaviour of northern politicians in the first Sudan Parliament (probably some of those same politicians who had shown their concern for the South were in that Par-

liament), that desire to cheat on 19th December 1955 would have been suppressed within the ranks of the northern members of the Parliament and events in our country since then might have followed a better course.

Although the South too is not without blame, it seemed most of the time to be the one aggrieved. The North may have to put more efforts to win the confidence of the South than the other way round. Confidence is our problem and concern, not only between the North and the South, but nationwide, because of late we have been torn further apart even within our two regions, provinces, and districts.

A Proposal for an Interim Period

To ensure stability and balance of power, the collective leadership at the top (Council of State), which the country started with on attainment of independence, is most appropriate for an interim period that may follow the cessation of hostilities in a prolonged cease-fire, or hopefully upon the conclusion of a peace accord. An interim period may last for three years to give the people an ample time to deliberate on the future of the country. A Council of State composed of five or three men equitably distributed to cover the country, with a periodic rotating chairmanship, will in the meantime fulfill the needs of the various groups in the country, in matter of equality of citizenship, since sovereignty is bestowed in the council (collective presidency).

Although a five-man council may be more convenient and may cover more areas and ethnic groups, a three-man council may be better and cheaper to sustain. It may also be a starting point towards accepting in the long run a one-man presidency. The South can revive its unity by having one man representing it in the council. The three-man council would constitute a Triangular Structure of the State Leadership.

The triangle has been proved and found the most rigid geometric figure. It has been used by carpenters and engineers to strengthen door planks, metal frame-works, roof frames and structural designs of many shapes; dividing the constructions into triangles attains the necessary stability. The triangle is strong and stable, not only in engi-

neering, but in politics too. Political systems based on division of power and the interplay of three balancing forces have been the most stable throughout history.

The triangular system may fit the Sudan and give it stability that the country did not experience since Independence. The main institutions of the state are to be chopped into three equal parts or strengths so that they can check and balance each other. The same for the geographical sub-division of the country's regions or provinces, and their institutions.

The three-person Head of State Commission with a rotating Chairmanship is most ideal for the country. Their role is to be ceremonial; they would represent the president or sovereign in what would constitute a Parliamentary Republic. The three will be selected or elected to represent the South, the North and the West for example. Selection may suffice for a provisional arrangement; election would take place when constituencies are demarcated.

It is more appropriate for the country to have in the future two Houses of Assembly for legislation as before so that the triangle is completed by the Judiciary, rather than simply one House which has no other body to check its work. The Houses are to be the Upper House (Senate), and the Lower House (House of Representatives). The Senate would elect the Head of State Commission while the House of Representatives would elect the Prime Minister who would then form the Council of Ministers from amongst members of the House of Assemblies and possibly a few from outside, on condition that the 9 regions (States) of the country Equatoria, Bahr El Ghazal, Upper Nile, Kordofan, Darfur, Khartoum, Central, Eastern and Northern Regions — are represented by at least one Minister in the Cabinet. The Senate would have equal representation from the 9 Regions sub-divided into three Senate constituencies, and the deputies of the Lower House would come from constituencies determined according to population density.

The Regional (State) Governments too, must have their members drawn equitably from the Districts of the Regions in the same pattern as the National Cabinet.

An Appeal for Reason

It is time for us Sudanese — politicians or soldiers, intellectuals or workers and other town dwellers — to ponder in soberness, with sincerity and honesty, and to formulate concrete plans unselfishly for the future of our country and people.

Our people have suffered, and are still suffering more than other peoples elsewhere in the world. The image of our country has dropped below reasonable measure among the nations of the world, and the living conditions of our people worsened below what could be acceptable for a human society by any standards. It is we, who fall within the communities listed above, that are responsible for the plight of our nation, and not the common people in the mainly rural Sudan. If we in those communities examine ourselves, each starting from him or herself unselfishly, we shall definitely change our positions and take decisions without self-interest on national issues. With that, favourable changes will be realized in the process of our nation building.

In 36 years we have seen changes in the government of our country. Three times we experienced parliamentary democracies, and three times we also witnessed military or military-guided democracies in which the political elite from those same communities participated or are participating. We seem not to have actually settled on how to select and agree who are to lead our nation. Those voted out or pushed out by the barrel of the gun at any particular time go underground to work for the overthrow of those in authority, with no vision or acceptable alternatives for anyone other than their own group. Let conspiracies for overthrowing governments be discouraged and replaced by sober and unselfish deliberations by all those interested as citizens in the affairs of their country. Let those able to express their views say so consistently and openly. It is through this that we may find solutions. Those who remain silent when in the positions of influence, but who express their disappointments when they fall out of favour, do not help in anyways in resolving problems; rather, they ferment crisis. Surely the Government is aware that military or physical victories do not resolve issues but only postpone them in

favour of the victor. Issues are finally resolved through mutual consent. SPLA/SPLM should also realize that.

The recent release of all political detainees is an indication from the Government that it is firmly established on the saddle but willing to discuss issues of national significance with those who may hold different views, including SPLA/SPLM. These should now reciprocate, announce a cease-fire as they did before in May 1989 and enter into serious dialogue with the government. It is not in the interests of SPLA/SPLM to appear to wait to outlast this government, as they did previously with the three governments that preceded the incumbent. They should not develop that as a habit. The situation may as well change against them, as so many changes are going on in world political schools of thoughts these days. They should aim to resolve the country's problems for which they took to arms, and this will be possible through dialogue with whoever is in power in Khartoum. While in opposition, there is no choice for them to participate in selecting the country's leaders.

Specific Recommendations

1. The future composition and deployment of the Sudanese armed forces should not place any ethnic elements or political groups at advantage. The armed forces must reflect national characteristics. They should be professional and well trained, and not subject to political expedience. Such neutrality of the armed forces is the best guarantee that the satisfactory political arrangements achieved will be preserved.
2. Arrangements must be made whereby jobs in the civil service at national and regional levels are equitably apportioned to citizens from all areas in the country or region. Nigeria is one example.
3. Traders from relatively progressive areas tend to exploit less progressive areas. Local traders need protection against such commercial adventures, and they need encouragement to improve themselves. Trading rights must be preserved for local traders at certain levels.

4. Development projects are to be located throughout the country as evenly as possible to keep labour local, provide job opportunities, and minimise internal migrations which often cause communal conflicts.

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. ■

The Sudan

Figure 2



Legend:

- · — · — International Boundaries
- — — Provincial Boundaries
- Rivers
- - - - - Canals (Jonglei Canal)

My country, myself.

My country my country, Sudan:
 My utter commitment is to you,
 Myself, my all, being from you;
 My colourful homeland, Sudan.
 I shall strive to preserve you,
 To remain a microcosm of Africa.

I uphold a peculiar southern trinity:
 Union of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile,
 By a common heritage and tied by the Nile,
 Their capitals as centres of communal fraternity;
 Wau, Juba and Malakal on the Nile,
 In the South, towards tropical Africa.

I am just learning to accept realities:
 That nations are formed of different communities,
 Or tribes, each with its own culture;
 Realizing my ideas as not being laws of nature,
 As I struggle to change for the better,
 While planning for my fellow Sudanese, another letter.

Cities' Forum in Richmond

We can make a difference. We can bring hope to our cities. That was the message Dr. John Perkins brought to Richmond leaders at a lunch forum on March 12. "We know the problem, we have the solution, we need each other," said Perkins, who is known for his pioneer work in community development. Perkins chairs the Christian Community Development Association, which links 120 local organizations in cities across America. The son of Mississippi sharecroppers, Perkins lost his mother when he was seven and dropped out of school in third grade.

"If the problem is going to be solved, the people with the problem are going to have to take primary responsibility for it," said Perkins, speaking to a noon forum attended by 70 representatives of city government, business, church and community organizations. "This is a hopeful city... you have the resources. What an opportunity." He also made it clear that there won't be any progress until there is reconciliation.

"Our society has become locked in guilt and blame. If we can blame people sufficiently, then we can live with the problem. If I am a black man and I can say that it is racism that started it, then I can live with the killing and the violence in my community. White folks don't want you to talk about historical justice. So we're satisfied with blaming each other and our resources are being abused and misused."

The occasion was the third in a series of forums sponsored by Hope in the Cities, a citizens' initiative designed to provide opportunities for honest dialogue and fresh perspective on city issues. School board chairman Rayford Harris, Deputy City Manager Jerry Johnson and Richard Tilghman, Chairman and CEO of Crestar Financial Corp., were among the participants.

MISSION DEFINED

Frank Montcastle, a senior vice-president with NationsBank and one of the steering committee, described the mission of Hope in the Cities: 1) To build trust among the citizens of metropolitan Richmond and encourage the healing of relationships; 2) To bring an approach to leadership at every level that tries to bring out the best in everyone and which functions in the spirit of what is right for the whole city; 3) To share with citizens sources of hope - "green shoots" - so that we can learn about approaches that are working - not only in the city, but around the country and world.

Perkins pulled no punches in his challenge to Christians: "We've taken the precious gospel of Jesus Christ and the love of God that ought to burn through racial, social and economic barriers and put that gospel into our cultures and into our races. We have a form of

godliness that denies the power of God. We have a culturally-defined religion; it has nothing to do with changing society. I decided I wanted to preach a gospel that would change people... to give leadership beyond my race and culture to deal with the problem." Perkins also met with an interdenominational group of clergy and spoke at a public meeting at St. Matthew's Episcopal church.

Pursuing Peace in El Salvador

Recognizing the opportunities and challenges that the December 31 peace agreement brings with it, Salvadorans committed to MRA invited a small group of international guests to their country in late March for a series of meetings and visits to further the peace process. Those who came included retired Brazilian industrialist Erwin Zimmerman and Uruguayan trade unionist and journalist Lino Cortizo, Peter and Digna Hintzen from the Netherlands, Gen. Joseph Lagu, Roving Ambassador from Sudan, Gen. Hector Gramajo and Col. Felix Baeza from Guatemala, and three from the U.S. - Michael Olson and his wife Helen Boddy from Minnesota, and Randy Ruffin from Washington.

The aim of the program was to reach various sectors of Salvadoran society - notably ex-combatants, lawyers and judges, youth and people in media, business and trade unions - with the message of MRA, especially experiences of reconciliation and changed attitudes towards those perceived as opponents.

Members of the Supreme Court, who had welcomed General Joseph Lagu on two previous visits to their country, had invited him again because of his role as a leader of the guerilla forces in the southern Sudan during the seventies and his subsequent role in reaching a peace agreement with his country's government. In addition to his participation in the MRA initiative, Lagu spoke at three further occasions arranged by the Court in early April. General Gramajo returned to El Salvador for one of these occasions, sharing his experiences, following his recent retirement from the military, of trying to bridge differences in Guatemala following its civil war, and of working towards a truly participatory democracy. Two members of the Court will come to the States in early June for a further exchange under the auspices of MRA.

While in San Salvador, General Lagu and the Hintzens, among others, were interviewed on television and there were several articles about MRA in the press. During a visit with some of the participants in the action, Inez Duarte, the widow of former President Napoleon Duarte, told about her foundation, which provides training and small loans to rural women. On another occasion, Teresa de Chavez, who attended the women's "Creators of Peace" conference in Caux, Switzerland, last July, told about her initiatives in developing a character-training program in a large high school and another program which will train potential voters in basic concepts of democracy.

placed in line and pushed into the oven to burn, I thought I was going to be sick. Outside the death cells, I saw the wall where people were shot, and the place of the public gallows. It was enough for me. Although I had never hated in my life, I felt real hatred, and cried: 'My God, how could you let people like this suffer? Where have you been?' I was lost. Complete darkness.

Then I became frightened. 'My God, help me. You can't leave me alone here with these feelings.' I started to shout: 'Christ, help me.' At the moment of my utter despair - maybe I imagine it, I don't know - I saw Christ's outstretched hands on the Cross and heard his words: 'Look, I died on the Cross for love, and what about your love, where is your love? I died from love, I died for

them, and what about you? I saved you and where is your love?'

I answered: 'Yes I want to be yours.' And suddenly I could feel that my hatred was dying down, and it was as if clean, clear waters were falling on my head.

Whenever I look back, I think: 'When you cry with your heart, God always listens. He will come.' In my utter desolation, he came to help me. All my life, that has been my experience.

It is necessary to forgive, otherwise you won't be a new-born person. I can forgive only because God helps me. God speaks to each one of us in a different way. God - he is the Creator of each of us, and he knows the way. You have to ask, to cry, to shout. And he always answers.

mercy in war

Civil conflict erupted in Sudan shortly before its independence in 1956. One Sudanese who took to arms was Joseph Lagu. In 1967 he became leader of the rebel movement fighting the government.

In December 1971 an airliner carrying civilians loyal to the government crash-landed in territory held by Lagu's guerrillas. A message was sent to his headquarters asking if the 29 surviving passengers should be killed or held hostage. Lagu recalls his decision:

I thought about it in the night. What should I do? I thought, 'Will I ever be forgiven if I take the lives of these people who are now at my mercy'? After all, I could have been in their position - just an innocent traveller on that plane.

I remembered the compassion Christ had on the multitude, and automatically I felt some sympathy for those people. So I put aside whatever anger I had because they were from the enemy side. Then another thought came: 'Release them'.

Sometimes in the coolness of the night a

thought comes to you that may be the guidance of God. So in the morning I just said, 'Gentlemen, I have taken the decision. We shall release these people.' A few soldiers tried to murmur, but I said, 'If you want me to continue as your leader then you better accept this.' They consented and we let them go.

The government never expected us to do that, and the victims of the plane-crash became our ambassadors with our enemies. The government could never be believed if they again described us as savages. The government was embarrassed, and possibly because of that they asked for peace talks.

In 1972 negotiations led to a peace accord which gave Sudan its only peaceful decade since independence. Joseph Lagu was a co-signatory of the accord. He became Inspector-General of the Sudanese Armed Forces and later Vice-President of the whole country.



NEWSLETTER

12 Palace Street, London SW1E 5JF

Issue no. 76

Newcastle upon Tyne
November 1993

JUSTICE WITHOUT HATRED

General Joseph Lagu in Sheffield

"The struggle for justice without hatred" was the theme of the forceful and stirring message to 160 students in Sheffield given by General Lagu, Sudanese Roving Ambassador. He had been invited, in association with Moral Re-Armament, by the recently formed International Forum Group, which aims to give students the opportunity for dialogue with outstanding men and women involved in bringing peaceful change to difficult situations.

Ambassador Lagu was entertained to supper beforehand by the Committee of the Junior Common Room of the Stephenson Hall of Residence. The following day he had interviews with Radio Sheffield and the SHEFFIELD TELEGRAPH, and was received by the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of Sheffield and the Chairman of the Council for Racial Equality.

Betty Gardiner

BROADWATER FARM ESTATE

Viewers of London Southeast TV on Oct 6 would have seen a film extract from a memorial service for Mrs Cynthia Jarrett and PC Keith Blakelock on the eighth anniversary of their deaths in the Broadwater Farm Estate riots. Police and residents took part. The woman Chair of the Residents' Association and the Catholic Father shown taking a leading role at this event were amongst those from the Estate who have participated in Caux and Tirley Garth Cities' conferences. The Chairwoman also initiated a packed Gospel Concert three days later, on Reconciliation and Bridge-building. The priest challenged all present to hold out a hand in friendship to neighbours and upward for God's inspiration - symbolic of a desire to share the new spirit in Broadwater Farm with the world. Commenting on the Chairwoman's clear message which followed, a resident remarked, "This would not have happened but for Caux."

Ron and Mary Mann, John and Betty Rainbow, Miguel Richards

FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR

The publishers of CAST OUT YOUR NETS (by Garth Lean) in Chinese were amongst the first visitors to the Grosvenor Books stand at this year's Frankfurt Book Fair in October. They are based in Hong Kong and also sell to mainland China. We signed a contract with a company from Kuala Lumpur to publish a special English language edition of THE MUSLIM MIND for Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia.

Our main interviews were with publishers from Central and Eastern Europe and we had profitable talks with others from Russia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Latvia. Several Czech publishers showed interest in a possible Czech edition of the new book STEP AHEAD OF DISASTER by Eugene von Teuber and in REDISCOVERING FREEDOM.

David and Elizabeth Locke, Hugh Nowell

Wind of good hope

(Continued from page 1)

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...ompete on the political
front."
He was asked whether
ethnic violence had not
caused so much hatred and
bitterness in the country,
that a point of no return had
been reached.
In any society, not only
in South Africa, there are
always two extremes, and
they tilt the country in the

wrong direction.
masses in South
whom he believe
strongly for peace,
included the whites
these people over-
clear reasoning.
ECONOMY
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country, he said t
where was it better in
or, for that matter,
world.

"There is a wind of good hope blowing over South Africa." This was told The Advertiser on Good Friday by General Largo, former Vice-President of the Sudan, and a roving ambassador for his country. "I am very optimistic that you will have a gentle process of change whereby the people of this country, no matter what the colour of their skin is, will be living together in harmony."

Wind of good hope is blowing over South Africa: Gen. Largo

Gen. Largo was the leader of the forces in the South Sudan, and was instrumental in bringing about reconciliation between his people. He was then elected Vice-President.

He has been in Cambodia and South America speaking reconciliation among opposing forces.

He attended a Moral Re-armament conference in Graaff-Reinet over the Easter weekend which was aimed at bringing peace and reconciliation to the country. "I see South Africa as the most developed part of Africa in both resources, in-

cluding human resources and also manpower, and a peaceful and harmonious South Africa will contribute a great deal to the rest of Africa, and it may become a model for the rest of the world to copy.

"Right now there is a lot of ethnicity and ethnic politics which is a dangerous thing, and I am hoping that South Africa is a place where they will start to reverse that trend."

DIED

He said he had come to SA as a guest of the late Mr

Bremer Hofmeyr who had died in a Johannesburg hospital shortly before his arrival in the country. He had gone to see him in hospital where he learned of his death.

"After coming to South Africa I found no difference in life in Johannesburg, Harare or Nairobi, or any parts of Africa and the world where I have been. People are living together in harmony. I do not know what the situation looked like some months ago, but now I find it no different.

"In the hospital I saw Black and white nurses working side by side. I found Black and white patients in the same wards, side by side. It is a normal thing. You see it in any country. You see, it is already happening in your country, and that is why I say that in the country called Cape of Good Hope, there is a wind of good hope blowing all over South Africa.

"My appeal to my fellow Blacks in South Africa would be to reciprocate positively to this initiative taken by President De

Klerk."

He said that when President De Klerk announced his policy of change he had been so touched that he wrote a letter of appreciation to the ambassador of South Africa in London, and asked him to convey his good feelings to Mr De Klerk.

"He is on the right path," he added. "I number him among the heroes of peace."

SHARE POWER

"My appeal to my fellow Blacks in South Africa would be to aim to share power in South Africa; to aim to share the land; to aim

to share the fellowship, and not to plan to grab power and unseat De Klerk. I feel De Klerk has started a revolution, a peaceful revolution. He should continue to be there playing a leading role in that revolution. Until it is fully accomplished, South Africa needs him side by side with Mandela, side by side with Chief Buthelesi. The future of this land depends on these three men working together. If they can be encouraged to work together South Africa will have a bright future. The masses should encourage them in this aim.

"We are all human. I am human. I have contributed to the political affairs in my country. Perhaps I could also have contributed to the mess in my country. These three men playing leadership roles in South Africa also have human weaknesses, but the people should stand behind them, and should encourage them to work together and not to

(Continued on page 2)

"South African live together in harm this will bring pro he said. "South Africa most developed part Africa in resources and power, and South Africa export its know-how products to the rest of when it will be received by Black African countries and the rest of the world which has been boycotted. Then it will boom. Appeal is more to the African countries to cooperate to the changes underway in South Africa. To begin to recognize government of Pretoria raise the morale of De Klerk and his people to encourage faster on affecting change in this country.

WHITE TRIBE

"When the whites accept living together harmoniously with the Blacks they will not only benefit South Africa, but a whole of Africa to their resources to.

"The fact that the leaders chose to call this name shows they are identifying themselves with Africa. We Africans should reciprocate. You are telling us that you are an African tribe. You are Africans and we should

The story of General Joseph Lagu

LAST week this column related a brief account of a Moral Rearmament (MRA) conference at the "Mountain House", Caux, Switzerland. Columnist Martin Henry in *The Gleaner* ("Back from the Mountain Top", September 1) gave a useful expanded review of the MRA experience.

Last week the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland declared a unilateral cease-fire after 25 years of nationalist struggle marked by bombings and acts of terror and death, often against innocent civilians. The paths to ending hate, revenge and hostile conflicts, are very much what MRA is about.

General Joseph Lagu, former leader of a Sudanese rebellion, former Vice-President of the Sudan, former Sudanese Ambassador to the United Nations and now Ambassador-at-Large, is an ardent MRA supporter. I was his house guest in London last week and he shared his story with me. I now share it with you in his own words, edited from a speech he made in the Cameroon.

"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 heaven above
Deep, deep as the deepest sea
Is my Saviour's love...
Still am a child of His care..."

"In the context of the song, my nation, though confused and in disorder just as I am, is still in God's care. I decided that this would be my message to you in Cameroon, that God cares for you and your country and He, most compassionate, as the Muslims meekly say, is healing the hearts of us all. I wish to share with you my own experiences of listening to the silent voice which answers problems.

Liberation

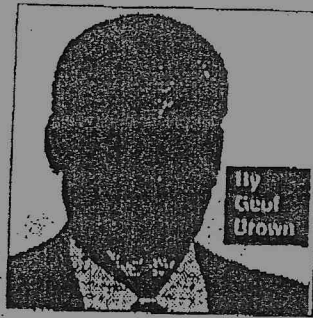
"At secondary school and later at military college in the

1950s, 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 way of life, which I came to call "cultural aggression". A few years after I graduated from military college, I felt obliged to respond to the call to join a liberation struggle that aimed to separate the south from the north.

"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. Those southern soldiers who mutinied killed indiscriminately. Starting with their northern officers who failed to get away, they then broke out of garrison. 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 which 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 the South Sudan were also guilty of racism. Racism in reality is a common crime being committed by all the peoples on our earth... That is a temptation which affects us all. It is the evil from which we need to be delivered 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 to the south. Many southern soldiers and policemen who surrendered in response to a call from the Governor-General were nevertheless put to death



after the trial. Among them was a close relative of mine. The northern soldiers, police and civil servants flooded in like an occupying power. All this sowed the seeds 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 stand for the struggle for justice, but 'justice without hatred', because hatred does not make one think soberly. It derails one from the real track, poisons one's blood and harms one's self far more than the people hated.

Positive thoughts

On December 6, 1971, a test for me came when a civilian aircraft of the Sudan Airways crash-landed in a territory controlled by my guerilla forces, 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. 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 Christian scrip-

ture guided me to act on the positive thoughts. Christ had compassion on the multitude: what about me? He said, we should forgive not seven but seventy times seven. My compassion for the survivors became stronger than my hatred for the northern Sudanese and my Christian upbringing stressed the need to forgive.

"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 may be guidance from God. Act on it; the guidance is for you'. 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; the news of the massacre of Christian worshippers in a grass-thatched roof church and burning them, was still fresh. It was difficult for the staff to accept the decision outright. I had to convince them. And it paid off soon afterwards. We released the survivors. As I envisaged, they became our ambassadors. They spoke well of the conduct of our men and the cause for which we were fighting, and their stories were well publicized. This caused embarrassment to the government who came under serious pressure to start serious negotiations with our Movement. This resulted in the Addis Ababa Agreement that ended 17 years of conflict between the south and the north. The lesson I learned from the crisis is that it is rewarding to do what you believe to be right before God, as the silent voice tells you."

● Geoff Brown is an HRD consultant and part-time lecturer at the University of the West Indies, Mona.

THE GLEANER, JAMAICA

sécurité alimentaire du monde. Cette réflexion doit se poursuivre, notamment avec le secteur de l'agro-alimentaire. Il y aura un autre dialogue!

Américains et Canadiens chez les agriculteurs beaucerons

Quelle joie pour Annie et moi de pouvoir faire rencontrer à cinq amis américains et canadiens (venus pour le dialogue à Caux) nos voisins et amis agriculteurs (chez qui ils ont logé)! L'agriculteur qui m'emploie depuis octobre à temps partiel a voulu recevoir tout le groupe et notre famille: excellent repas, mais surtout très franche et profonde discussion. Oui, la situation de l'agriculture est difficile, partout! Oui, on réagit souvent contre l'autre côté de l'Océan! Mais les agriculteurs européens et nord-américains ne devraient-ils pas unir leurs efforts de façon beaucoup plus organisée pour imposer leur réflexion dans les débats et décisions qui sont souvent menés sans eux? C'est dans ce sens que la délégation nord-américaine réfléchit à la tenue éventuelle d'un dialogue aux Etats-Unis. En attendant, les petits déjeuners dans les cuisines des agriculteurs créent des liens humains essentiels pour la suite... La suite donc, ... au prochain numéro!

En passant par la Lorraine

Charles DANGUY, quant à lui, a accueilli en Lorraine l'agriculteur canadien John BOK et ses collègues américains après leur visite en Beauce. Ceux-ci avaient reçu le ménage BASTIEN lors de leur séjour en Iowa et Minnesota (USA) en juin dernier. Outre l'accueil dans les exploitations agricoles des familles BARBÉ et BASTIEN, le groupe a visité une ferme expérimentale en Meuse. John résume ainsi cette étape: "Nous sommes allés au Luxembourg et y avons eu un entretien avec le Directeur du service "Information" d'EUROPE, la maison d'édition des documents de l'Union européenne, la plus grande maison d'édition du monde. Une de ses collaboratrices, une cousine de Mme BASTIEN, assistait à l'entretien. La signification de l'Union européenne, récemment élargie, a été mise en évidence le jour suivant lors de notre visite du mémorial de la bataille de Verdun. Un somptueux repas de seize couverts chez Jean-Marie et Geneviève BASTIEN a conclu nos deux journées en Lorraine. De sérieuses réflexions sur le contenu de l'étape française ont été échangées dans un climat de joyeuse confiance. Un des participants américains, le Dr Lloyd FREDERICK mentionna quelques domaines où Français et Américains pourraient oeuvrer ensemble, par exemple dans le développement du biocarburant. Nous avons été touchés par la marque de confiance de nos hôtes lorrains qui nous ont montré les livres de comptes de leurs exploitations et nous sommes reconnaissants pour l'accueil si chaleureux et plein d'attention dans tous les foyers."

Visite à Paris du général Joseph Lagu Frédéric Chavanne

Le général soudanais Joseph LAGU est venu fin janvier de Londres où il réside pour une semaine de visites à Paris. Le britannique Peter EVERINGTON l'accompagnait.

Il faut rappeler que le général LAGU a dirigé la rébellion armée du sud du Soudan avant d'être un acteur de la réconciliation qui a permis, en 1972, de mettre un terme à la guerre assurant dix années de paix civile à son pays. On pourra relire dans le numéro de **Changer** de mars 1989 le récit de cette réconciliation. Il a ensuite été élu président de la province du sud, puis nommé vice-président du Soudan. Il bénéficie aujourd'hui du titre d'ambassadeur itinérant de son pays.

Une trentaine d'Africains vivant en France, originaires du Cameroun, de Côte d'Ivoire, dont l'attaché militaire de l'ambassade, de Guinée Konakry, du Maroc, de l'Ouganda, du Zaïre se sont retrouvés autour de lui un dimanche après midi. **Changer** publiera les principaux points de son intervention. "Nous avons besoin de regarder en nous-mêmes où nous avons failli", a-t-il dit à plusieurs reprises.

Un participant commentait en fin de séance: "C'est la première fois de ma vie que je rencontre un militaire de haut niveau, noir, africain qui parle de paix. J'ai à l'esprit la cascade de coups d'Etat militaires qui ont secoué l'Afrique. Jusqu'à présent, quand je voyais un militaire africain, j'avais peur. Vous êtes le premier à commencer à me réconcilier avec les militaires."

Canadian Newsletter

Published by Moral Re-Armament from 251 Bank Street Suite 500, Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1X3

Volume 7 - Number 2

March



Healing the Past — Forging the Future

When the spirit of God inspires people, they become creators of peace, reconciliation and change.

50 years of Caux

This summer, the international conference centre for Moral Re-Armament in Caux, Switzerland will celebrate its 50th anniversary. It will be marked by a series of conferences, seminars, lectures and cultural events. (Please see pages 4 and 5 for further information.)

Over the past 50 years, thousands of people, from all walks of life, have found at Caux a purpose for living which has in turn led to a new direction for their families, their places of work and often for their entire community and country, as the changes in their lives have affected those around them.

Joseph V Montville, Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, evaluates Caux:

...“Caux has been one of the rare magical places where the human aspiration to integrity and community has been allowed to flourish. There, self-seeking and sectarian defensiveness have been subordinated to a much broader vision of the universal community of souls. Year after year Caux serves as a model for multicultural social integrity.

But Caux has made an even

more important contribution to our potential for community by encouraging standards of political leadership which elude even the oldest democracies.....The genius of Jean Monnet, and the moral commitment of Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer, in conceiving of community in a Europe savaged by ethnic conflict is one of the greatest achievements in human history. These political leaders, of rare moral strength and integrity, found that Caux shared and nourished their vision.....The model of European Union nurtured at Caux is a standing invi-

tation to build community between Islam, the West and Hindu India; to accelerate reconciliation between the Latin Church and Orthodoxy; to welcome Russia generously into Europe and help her bridge the civilisations of Central Asia and Europe. Caux stands always at the service of brotherhood and sisterhood amongst Africans and between them and the rest of the world; and is ready to help European descendants in the Americas build genuine community with first nations and the descendants of Africans. Caux is a precious resource for humankind.” ❁

Sudanese Statesman Visits Canada

Report of the visit of Lt. General (retd.) Joseph Lagu to Montreal, Quebec City and Ottawa, Feb. 1996

General Lagu’s interest in visiting Canada was first aroused when he met a Mohawk Grand Chief and other Canadians among the 450 people from 53 countries attending a conference entitled “Regions in Crisis, regions in recovery - learning from one another”, which was held at Caux in August, 1995. Convinced that more Canadians should have the chance to benefit from General Lagu’s experiences, Grand Chief Joe Norton of

Kahnawake and Laurent Gagnon from Quebec City issued him a joint invitation to visit Canada under the auspices of MRA. (Continued on page 7)

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Sudanese Statesman...

(continued from page 1)

Joseph Lagu was born in Southern Sudan and was baptized into the Anglican Church. He attended the Sudan Military College and became an army officer. In June 1963 he defected from the Sudanese army, in favour of the South Sudan Liberation Movement. He organized the Anya-nya as the armed wing of the movement and led them against the Sudanese Armed Forces until 1972, when a peace accord was signed. He became a guerrilla leader because he wanted to counter religious and linguistic aggression from the North. He decided to make peace,



MRA Books
good reading
for a better world
3 new "must read" releases!

CAUX pictorial - Healing the past - forging the future (see pgs. 4-5)

Compiled by Mike Brown and John Williams. 50 years of the World Conference for Moral Re-Armament and the people and places that have been affected by it. This beautiful 52-page pictorial is an historical document you will want to own. Published by MRA in Switzerland.

1 - 5 copies - \$8.00

6 - 10 copies - 10% discount;

11 - 15 copies - 15% discount;

16 and more 20% discount

A Hand On My Shoulder

True stories of how God communicates with us today by Norah Cook and Vera Frampton \$11.95

The Good Boatman - A Portrait of Gandhi by Rajmohan Gandhi

\$25.00

For a generation growing up on images of the 'simplified Father of the Nation and apostle of nonviolence frozen in statues or reduced to a few predictable strokes of an artist's pen', this biography offers a rewarding insight into the man, his victories and his defeats.

All available from:

MRA Books

251 Bank Street, Suite 500,
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1X3

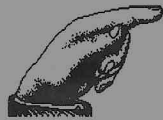
Tel: (613) 230 7197 Fax: (613) 230 4233

he says, "because the cost of hatred and vengeance was becoming too great for my people, and I saw in the enemy a willingness to compromise". He was later elected President of the High Executive Council of the Southern Region and served as Vice President of Sudan from 1982 - 85. Since then, both as diplomat and man of faith, he has committed himself to working for peace in Africa and on the international scene.

Speaking at a (public) meeting in Montreal with General Lagu, Grand Chief Norton said, "Here is a man who had the courage to stand up for his people, and then had enough courage to sign a peace accord - a man of faith, of courage, of peace, who was able to move from guerrilla leader to peace-maker. We have to truly believe that there are always solutions possible in situations of conflict. It is better to have a war of words than a war with weapons."

In Quebec City, a luncheon at the Gagnon home was an opportunity for Lagu to meet one of the co-chairmen of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, two negotiators with First Nations people, three university professors and others.

Lagu was invited to the Kahnawake, Kanasatake and Maniwaki Reserves, and met government representatives in Quebec and Ottawa. The Deputy



**New Caux video
now on sale!**

The opening shots of a new video about Caux show the preparation of a Swiss fondue - a unique dish of deliciously blended flavours. The video, 8 minutes long, is an introduction to MRA's international conference centre in Switzerland. Producer Ken Dodds has created a kaleidoscope of images, a tantalizing insight into Caux and its aim of shaping "a culture of care and responsibility".

You may order your copy from:

MRA Productions North America,
9071 Glenthorne Court,
Richmond, B.C., V7A 2Y1.

The postage-free cost is \$10.

Speaker of the House of Commons was among those who attended a noon-hour meeting at the MRA office in Ottawa, and 45 Sudanese from North and South packed into the same room later in the day.

His faith that unity is still possible in Sudan based on understanding, challenged his Canadian listeners to have the same faith for Canada. Asked about his thoughts for the present situation in this country, he pointed out that Quebec could not be compared with Southern Sudan, where it was still unthinkable that a Southern Sudanese could lead a national government. He suggested, however, that the key to Canadian unity was the recognition of some special status for Québec. He went on to argue that statesmanship in building unity involves leaders who are inspired to win the confidence of minority groups and allow them to have a role in governing the country. On the international scene, he called on Canadians to play a more active peacemaking role in addition to their commitment to peacekeeping.

At the conclusion of a conversation with the General, a Northern Sudanese Muslim told him, "In your struggle for peace, count me as a soldier in your army". Many who met him would say the same. ❀

By Richard Weeks, with notes from
Henry Heald and Laurent Gagnon

For Thy blessing I pray
Just for today -
That I may walk your way...
Be still, and let you say
Love and wisdom in my heart.
Be still, my soul, and listen...
All too often I am riven
With anxious, useless care
And sense not that He's near,
Blocked only by my restless thought
Which brings His power to nought...
Bend, proud thrusting soul.
Oh that we would humbly follow..
Deep enrichment ever comes
To any man who stops to say,
Thy will, not mine - just for today.
Monica Maskell

Moral Re-Armament, Inc. (MRA)

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Washington, D.C. 20005-1704

News Briefs:

Ambassador Joseph Lagu of the Sudan met with a number of ambassadors and senior officials in the UN community during a ten-day visit to MRA's New York center last month. The talks were particularly relevant since the future of Sudan is a central item on the international agenda. A former guerilla and political leader of the South Sudanese separatist movement, Ambassador Lagu signed a peace treaty with President Nimeiri and later became Vice President. In the early 90's he came to New York as Ambassador, and now is a Roving Ambassador based in London. He is deeply committed to building bridges between the South and the North, Christian and Muslim, in Sudan's continuing war, which has killed 500,000. Among a group who came to hear him speak was a young Afghani graduate student in international affairs who is President of his university's Muslim Students Association. He expressed deep appreciation at hearing someone of Lagu's background speaking of "doing the right thing" in national affairs, which the prevailing academic culture suggests is irrelevant and impossible.

In February the prestigious *International Journal of Middle East Studies* reviewed Harry Almond's book, **Iraqi Statesman: A Portrait of Mohammed Fadhel Jamali**. The reviewer concludes, "Although not a scholarly contribution in the strict sense of the term, Almond's book reopens the debate over the role of the Shi'i in shaping Iraq's national life. As such, it

MRA (Moral Re-Armament) is a worldwide network of people of different convictions and faiths who seek God's inspiration for individual and common action. As agents of change, they work for new motives and relationships at all levels of society beginning in their own lives.

Breakthroughs is edited by Kathy Beenen with the assistance of Catherine Guisan-Dickinson and Jeannine Kellogg.

deserves to be included in the relevant biographical lists." Jamali was a pioneer of MRA at the heart of the United Nations and frequently attends Caux conferences. Available from Grosvenor Books, \$19.95.

The Chinese language *Seattle Chinese Post* has recommended the Chinese edition of Michael Henderson's book, **All Her Paths are Peace**. "We can learn a lot," the paper writes, "from these women who often in difficult circumstances contribute so much of themselves for other people without regard for personal gain."

Delegates from all over Africa and overseas will join **South Africans in a conference to be held in April**. *Healing the Past, Building the Future* is the theme that has drawn support from priests, academics, sports and business people, students and social workers. The invitation states, "We (South Africans) need to recognize that the roots of our new found freedom and hope could be destroyed by our own selfish pursuit of power and possessions." West Indian Conrad Hunte is quoted, "When forgiveness meets repentance, a new dynamic and creative synergy is released that the world has scarcely begun to tap." Several from the US will attend the conference, including a group from Richmond who will share their experience of working with racial issues.

The 19th MRA course of **Study and Action in Effective Living** was held in Melbourne, Australia, in January with 13 young women and men. The course is offered every two years and has graduated 246 young adults from over 30 countries since 1977. This year's group included three from Japan, three First Nation People from Canada, a New Zealander, Cambodian, Burmese, Korean, Malaysian and Fijian. Fetu Paulo from Samoa, one of the course faculty members, learned during a visit home that every Friday at 5:00 am all the leaders of

CAUX

An 8-minute promotional video, filmed in Caux last summer, is an excellent tool for communicating the beauty and spirit of Caux. With panoramic scenes, shots in and around Mountain House and brief quotes from several people, the film is an especially helpful introduction for those considering going to Caux. *Grosvenor Books*, \$10.00 tel. 503.393.2172

the Parliament, including the Prime Minister and his wife, meet at Government House for prayer. The Minister of Health told Fetu that this practice grew out of his experience at an MRA conference that she had organized in 1992.

The **Foundations for Freedom** regional meeting took place in Krakov, Poland, over the New Year. Forty young adults gathered from 13 countries. Isaack Otieno, of Kenya, noted, "We saw the importance of these courses, their scope and relevance to the unfolding events in Eastern Europe."

Jim Newton, author of **Uncommon Friends**, and his wife, Ellie, both pioneers of MRA, are written about in a history of Fort Myers Beach by Jean F. Matthew. Her book is called, **We Never Wore Shoes: Growing up on Ft. Myers Beach, Florida**. Author Matthew, who has known the couple since she was a child, writes, "They taught me why discrimination was wrong, and how we must see everyone as God's child and as a real contribution to the well-being of mankind. Ellie taught me that I must strive to do whatever I was called to do, and not to allow myself to use excuses about women not having the same rights as men." The book is available from P.O. Box 31147, Flagstaff, AZ 86002 (600p, \$31.45)

'I think it can work'

Northern Ireland's warring sides last week began debating the historic Good Friday peace agreement aimed at ending 30 years of strife between Catholics and Protestants. A poll showed 73 per cent of respondents in Northern Ireland favored the deal, but Rev. Ian Paisley, a fervently pro-British Unionist, launched a campaign to defeat it in referendums to be held on both sides of the Irish border on May 22. The survey said supporters of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, backed the agreement by four to one.

Concluded after 22 months of talks—sponsored by the British and Irish governments and chaired by former U.S. senator George Mitchell—the pact gives the Catholic-dominated Irish republic a governing role through a North-South council on island-wide issues, but assures the North's Protestant majority that union with Britain will continue unless a majority decides otherwise. Over the weekend, the governing council of the Ulster Unionist party, Northern Ireland's main Protestant political organization, voted to back the deal. And if the peace agreement is approved by voters in May, elections will be held in June for a new assembly—and the pact's most sensitive task will begin. Over the next two years, retired Canadian general John de Chastelain, a co-chairman of the talks and former chief of Canada's defence staff, will be in charge of disarming the guerrilla groups acceding to the pact. Last week, de Chastelain met with Maclean's board of editors to discuss the agreement and his new role. Excerpts:

On the pact's prospects: I think it can work. And the reason, I would say, is there's something in it for everybody. The essence of the agreement's 60-some-odd pages was meant to address most of the concerns of each but not give everybody what they wanted. The real understanding was that if everybody got what they wanted, then quite clearly it wasn't a solution, because it would not be acceptable to others.

On the announcement: At 5 o'clock, we came into the room. Senator Mitchell was able to announce at 5:20 that both governments and all of the parties agreed to this proposal—and the effect was electric. Not only did we have the normal group of people, the eight parties and the two governments and chairmen and the two prime ministers in the room, but given the nature of the event some family members were there, and it really was an extraordinary moment. I think so many people who'd been involved for two

years never really believed they were going to get to that stage. So many who had lost family members or friends or had been attacked, and had seen the kind of destruction that went on in their communities, found it a very emotional moment.

On disarming the guerrillas: It is most likely that when—I'm tempted to say if but I'll say when—the IRA hand over their weapons, they will do it in the South. Seventy-five to 80 per cent of their arms are down there now

Canada's negotiator looks at the peace pact



De Chastelain last week: 'The IRA are a group of thugs'

anyway. They consider the north a war zone.

We've been given figures [on the amount of weaponry], in the north by the police special branch, MI5 and the British army and in the south by the Garda Siochana defence force, and the figures by and large jibe. We have deliberately not said what they are. If we say there are 50 tons of arms and two tons of Semtex, the IRA can look at that and say "Hmmm, that's what they think." So we haven't done that.

On his personal security: We've had no security at all from the outset. That was a determination when the international body started, that it would send the wrong kind of signals. Nor have we found it necessary. I make a habit of walking a two-mile walk out of the Europa Hotel, up the Falls Road, which is an IRA area, and then back down the Loyalist side, down the Shankill Road and back to the hotel. There's a wall 30 feet high keeping them apart.

On the danger posed by the traditional

summer marches by Protestant groups, often in Catholic areas: In the summer of 1996, I think the province came as close to anarchy as I've seen, and I've been to places like Yugoslavia and Rwanda and Honduras. I think the concern that they'd gone so far in 1996 led people to draw back in 1997 and make some accommodations. They said: "OK, we'll do it this year, but not next year." Well, this is next year and I think that is the concern that has led to trying to get this settlement done, out of the way, signed, sealed and delivered before the marching season.

On the suggestion that the IRA gave up more than the Unionists: I would put it more in terms of Sinn Fein. The IRA are a group of thugs who decided rightly or wrongly years ago that the only way to stop the harassment and intimidation was to take up arms, but they have done some of the most horrible things imaginable, and killed innocent people in large numbers. So have the Loyalist terrorists—I take no side with terrorists. I would say the people that might be giving up more are Sinn Fein, the legitimate republicans if you like, in the sense that their aim is a united Ireland. They will say they're not giving it up, this is a transitional circumstance.

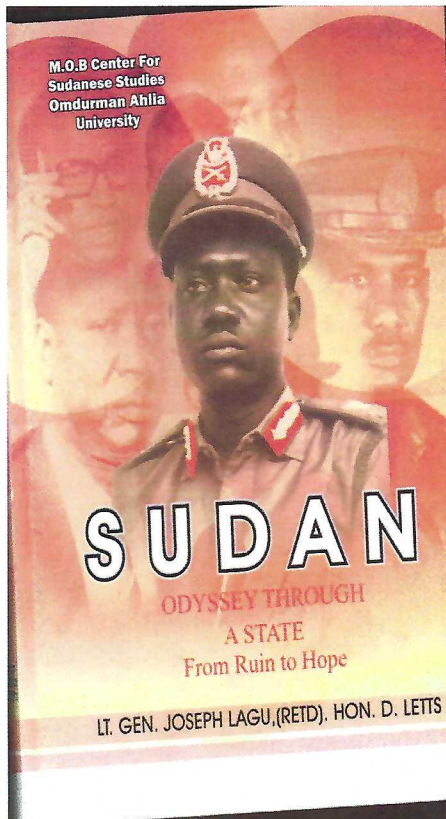
Some people have said that the Adamses and the McGuinnesses of this world [Sinn Fein leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness] have reached the age now where they have children of their own and look for a more secure future for them, and recognize the futility of violence in producing anything lasting. I would extrapolate that into saying that what they're looking for is peace at a fair price.

On his appointment: I was asked, in September of '95, would I wish to put my name forward, and I said, "Don't be silly, I used to be British, in fact I still have a British passport"—I renewed it in '92 so I could get through the airports more easily in Europe. I don't claim any kind of British citizenship, I'm a Canadian; I have been for 40-some-odd years. I told them there was no way Ireland or Sinn Fein would accept. But I was at a NATO meeting in Brussels in November and I got called at midnight. The Prime Minister's Office said they're setting up this organization and they want you. I think the reason they accepted is they wanted one of the three members to have a military background because we were talking about [arms] decommissioning, and I turned out to be it. I think the Canadian connection was very important. □

The Self Inflicted Open Sores of a Country: A Review of Lt Gen Joseph Lagu's Memoir

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Published in *Review of African Political Economy*
Vol 34, No 111, March 2007, pp 214-216



The political elite in the Sudan, as the prime shakers and shapers, are guilty beyond any reasonable doubt of robbing the country of an invaluable part of its history in failing to institute the culture of political memoirs. It is for this, if for no other reasons, that Lt Gen Joseph Lagu's memoir, the first ever Sudanese political memoir to be published both in Arabic and English can be said to be, not only a welcomed venture but a ground breaking event, which one hopes will be a trend setter, worthy of emulation and congratulations.

The memoir, "*Sudan: Odyssey through a State from Ruin to Hope*," by the one time Vice President of the Sudan and leader of the South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) and its military wing, the Anyanya, catalogues the events that led to the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 and its aftermath. It concludes with the bell going off in Bor, for the second stint which was to herald the undignified exit of the orderly of the first round, Field Marshall Jafaar Nimeiry and his May Revolution from the center stage.

The commencement of this second bout, barely ten years after the first round, serves as a timely reminder that the factors, which led to the first spell, are not ephemeral and have not been exorcised by the Addis Ababa Accord, after all. May be, it is appropriate to paraphrase Oscar Wilde here - to have one civil war is an accident, but to have two is carelessness beyond any imagination on the part of the northern political establishment.

The Accord, negotiated under the auspices of Emperor Haile Selasie of Ethiopia, brought to an end the first round of armed uprising in Southern Sudan, which sprang in 1955. The seeds of this avoidable trouble, which is still burgeoning fifty years later, were sown on the eve of independence. As the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium packed its bag, the northern establishment was busy positioning itself to be the new colonial master rather than build the newly independent nation with the South as an equal partner. This repositioning, unsurprisingly,

triggered a series of uprisings in the South, primarily in Nzara and Torit. The various Southern movements that sprang up then, though heavily fragmented, were however, united in their key territorial objective - an independent South Sudan. As wholly staunch separatists, who wanted nothing short of an independent South, they were also pragmatic enough, especially bearing in mind the hostility of African nations to secessionists, to leave ajar a tiny compromise window for 'autonomy', however defined. On assuming the leadership, Joseph Lagu brought the various groups together under the name of the South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) and the Anyanya National Armed Forces (ANAF), as its military wing.

General Lagu's book charts not only a personal, but a nation's odyssey through a lethally self inflicted open sores of a country, which has resulted into multiple lacerations and a possible perforated lung. The English version of the book, which is a hard cover edition (584pp), is published in 2006 by Mohamed Omer Beshir Center for Sudanese Studies, Omdurman Ahlia University, P O Box 1363 Omdurman, Sudan. Fax (+249) 187570352. (Unfortunately, the email address supplied, seems not to be working, hence my difficulty in obtaining the cost of the book). The Arabic version was published in 2005, by the same publisher and translated by Mr M A Gadain.

The book consists of five parts: Part 1 Early Years and Upbringing, Part 2 Years of Adventure, Part 3 Entering Public Life, Part 4 Home Rule in South Sudan and Part 5 The Descent of May Regime. These are further divided into a total of fifteen chapters. In addition there is a prologue which has valuable pre-independence historical information, an epilogue, which is an interior monologue of Lagu reflecting on key moments of his political life, and finally an appendix in which he includes some key letters and two of his earlier two booklets: "*Anyanya: What We Fight For*" and "*Decentralisation: Why a Necessity.*"

The year was 1963 when the frontline odyssey started for Lagu. Scores of Southern politicians like Elia Lupe, Fr Saturnino, Aggrey Jarden and Joseph Oduho, were already in exile in the neighbouring countries laying the foundation for the liberation struggle. A handful of ex-mutineers, some of whom were released from prison, were already taking up strategic positions in the bushes of the South and were starting to engage government troops militarily. It was under these circumstances that under the guise of darkness, two young school boys slipped across the international border from Uganda, evading the rapidly expanding army post. They were heading for one of the largest hamlets in Nimule, that of Yakobo Yanga, with a message for his son, Joseph Lagu. They were equally careful not to draw the attention of the occupants across the road: the Nimule Police Post. For, concealed in their pocket was a highly confidential letter from the exiled ex-parliamentarian and the President of Sudan African National Union (SANU), Mr Joseph Oduho. While uncomplicated in its content, the letter is devastatingly explosive in its consequences: the exiled political leadership of the South wanted Lt Joseph Lagu to defect and assume the organization and leadership of the military side of the liberation struggle.

Lt Joseph Lagu was en route to the United Kingdom for an advanced military training. He had just brought his young family to leave at home in Nimule with his father, two weeks before. The two errands were William Alira, the younger brother of Joseph Lagu, later to become a Lt Col in the Sudanese Army, and a local school boy, Jerome Kanyara, later to become a police Major. In less than ten hours, Lagu was to defect, cross an international border, plunge into the unknown and forget his dreams of a further military training.

It was not an easy decision as career wise as he had a lot to look forward to in the Sudanese Army, a forthcoming course abroad, a young family to take care of and besides he did not know "Joseph Oduho that well". What won the day were the desire "to be on the side of my people, right or wrong", and the urging of his brothers Simeon, who soon afterwards fell at the front line, and Benjamin. In addition, an elder he confided in, called Musa Lugba, gave him his blessing to "join the politicians in exile" with the parting word of advise, which was to become handy, that "the important thing for a commander is to take care of his men, especially in the matter of rations" as "Soldiers cannot fight without food". That Lagu's defection was not planned was to have serious repercussions and ramifications as he assumed his new responsibilities and had to learn quickly how to work with a disjointed team he did not know very well in a hazardous and non-paying job.

To his chagrin, Lagu was to find that the rhetoric of the political leadership in exile did not match the reality in the field. He found a leadership that was at each other's throat and so divided that it was in all purposes and intent ineffectual. Lagu could not help but marvel at their successful propaganda machinery, which "had saturated the South with false information and lies about their actual strength, organization and management." However, the saving grace, if any, was that "it was not known back in the South Sudan that William Deng was working separately from the Father and Oduho." This was the political disarray Lagu found himself plunged into.

His first encounter with Fr Saturnino in Aru, on being taken by George Lomoro from Kampala to meet him, best illustrates the indifference of the politicians. "He took no interest in me", Lagu was to write, "even when Lomoro tried to introduce me to him". It later transpired that Oduho possibly did not consult the Father, before writing to Lagu, hence the indifference. It was not until the second day that the Father started to warm up to Lagu, which was to be the beginning of a fruitful working relationships, which was to last until the gunning down of the Father by Ugandan troops in mysterious circumstances on 07/02/1967. The Father was with two of his tribesmen who survived, Peter Ode, a cousin and another one simply called John. Both men have never clearly explained what happened on that fateful day. Though the Father's village was destroyed by the army, the year before, Lagu found it necessary to trace the Father's sister who had relocated

nearby to pay his condolence to a fallen pillar of the movement, at a time when things were just beginning to click.

The military front was no better. The Anyanya was not blessed with a ready-made pool of well-equipped and trained soldiers to start with. Whatever personnel there was, consisted solely of ill-equipped individuals operating in small groups scattered all over the South with no central command. There were no sizable Southerners in the Sudanese Army, either as soldiers or officers, who one could rely on to defect and swell the numbers. The exiled politicians hardly had anything you could call an army to start with. Nor did they have the arms for the few available men. The only option was to start from zero with the training of the available men. Lagu, did not make thing any easier for himself militarily, by sending away all school age volunteers to go to the neighbouring countries and pursue their education, for the inevitable next phase of the struggle.

The lack of basic military understanding of the politicians was staggering and often resulted in unnecessary loss of life. Lagu recalls how after only a few days of rudimentary training, the Father called him and ordered him to lead the men into action. When he asked for "what was available to start with", the father went to his "bedroom and came out with three old rifles!" That was how bad the situation was. Thus, in their first coordinated operation against the enemy on 19th Sept, 1963, code named the D-Day, Lagu as the commander had only a machete!

In the face of all these predicaments, Lagu's greatest achievement was to mould out of the ragtag of ill-equipped, untrained and disorganized but well motivated volunteers a formidable fighting force the government could reckon with. History tells us that if you cannot defeat, negotiate. And that was what exactly the government did. His key achievement was the bringing of the various groups under a unified central command, the Anyanya High Command. Ironically, for a man, whose defection from the Sudanese Army was in a response to a call from the civil authority, his greatest achievements could only be realised after dispensing with the same politicians. The book is a catalogue of myriads of 'governments' formed in exile by these same political leaders like Joseph Oduho, Atem Akuot, Aggrey Jarden, Fr Saturnino, Gordon Mortuat, William Deng and many others. Lagu was also to survive an assassination attempt spear minded by the politicians.

It was not easy to be a liberator in Africa then. Liberation movements were treated by African leaders as highly contagious aberrations. The neighbouring African States had their prison rather than the State House doors wide open to the political leaders of the South like Joseph Oduho and Pankrasio Ocheng in Kampala. Rather than ride in coveted presidential jets, the leaders found themselves riding in prison vans. There were rare exceptions when, for example, Field Marshal Al Haj Idi Amin Dada, CBE, DSO and Life President of Uganda briefly flirted with the Anyanya, before he had a conversion on the way to Libya

and flung the doors shut again. Then there was the ill wind that blew over Congo in 1960s which rained a few arms and ammunitions to the Anyanya. Overall, the Anyanya found themselves not only at the receiving end of enemy fire but had to deal with the daily harassment of the security forces of the neighbouring African countries as well. This was to cost, inter alia, the life of Fr Saturnino. This indifference and harassment was to play some role in the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972.

What they lacked in numbers and resources was soon made up for in other areas. The Anyanya remained one of the very few revolutionary movements in Africa not to be characterized by opulent lifestyles, Armani suits, expensive mansions in neighbouring countries, millions stashed away in foreign bank accounts, hordes of body guards to keep the very public they purport to be serving like lepers at arms length. When, for example, Lagu was en route to Addis Ababa to sign the Agreement, his fellow countryman Dr Hasan Gama was so embarrassed by the clothes he had on that he loaned him his own. The Addis Accord was, as a result, not signed in a three piece Armani suit, but in a borrowed second hand suit.

The theme of forgiveness, clemency, reconciliation and restorative rather than retributive justice pervades every page of the book. The key focus for Lagu, as a leader was the preparation of others to be ready to take over from him. This was reflected in the formation of the Anyanya High Command with the rotating second in command post, to give everyone in the leadership ladder a fair chance. Subsequently, he aimed to build up rather than drag down people with potential and support those in trouble. Three examples may suffice here. First, following the Wau incident in which two top absorbed soldiers from the province, Brigadier Emanuel Abur Nhial and Lt Colonel Gibril Makoi Mabok were mowed down by the renegade Capt Aguet, there were rumours that the two were implicated in some form of uprising that cost them their lives. The General Headquarters (GHQ) responded by suspending the "pensions to the families of the two deceased officers". Lagu was however, as their commander, regardless of the rumours, to take up the delicate matter "personally with the president" and with Abel Alier supporting him, the President authorized the pensions to be released to the respective families of the officers, who they felt were as much victims.

Secondly, on his way to the signing of the Addis Accord, Joseph Oduho personally appealed to him to reconsider the case of Camilo Lodongi and Edward Peter, who were implicated in an assassination attempt on his (Joseph Lagu's) life. Following a court martial, rather than being condemned to death or summarily executed as in many guerilla movements, Lt Col Camilo was demoted and dismissed in disgrace from the Anyanya while Capt Edward was "stripped off his rank and kept underwatch" as he was considered "dangerous since he had killed someone before." "I took his (Joseph Oduho's) words", Lagu explains, "as a kind of confession, and, since the country was passing through a general process of reconciliation, I forgave them." He included their names for induction into the army as well as "the name of Samuel Abujohn." The latter, was

dismissed from Anyanya for neglect of duty when arms and ammunitions entrusted in his care were intercepted by the enemy.

Thirdly, there were a series of leaflets appearing in army barracks attributed to Capt John Garang. Following the leaflets, Lagu requested to handle the situation himself with the knowledge of the Southern Command. "I sent", he writes, "for Captain John Garang" and "showed him the leaflet and asked if he were the author", to which he replied "in the affirmative." Lagu's response was to tear up a copy of the leaflet there and then "indicating that the matter was over" and that he "had forgiven him." This, he said, was because of the great affinity he felt with the Dinka, especially Dinka Bor and Agar among whom he had studied. Besides, Garang was the only university graduate "who had returned to his people, suffered with them as a guerilla fighter." Subsequently when an opportunity availed itself to nominate an absorbed officer for training, rather than block, his obvious choice was Garang whose leadership qualities, he "wanted to develop".

Lagu was aware that marginalization has the tendency to spawn a culture of distrust of outsiders and ensures that the only security and comfort one felt was often among one's own kindred. He was determined to harness and channel this into a positive force for community cohesion by inculcating the principles of fairness and equity. Two concrete examples would help to illustrate the point here. First, his initial delegation to the talks in Addis was constituted to ensure equitable distribution; three delegates from each of the then three provinces of Southern Sudan. From Bahr el Ghazal (Arkanjelo Wanji representing Western Bahr el Gazhal, Lawrence Wol Wol, representing Central Bahr el Gazhal and Gordon Mortuat, leader of the delegation and representing Eastern Bahr el Gazhal), from Equatoria (Angelo Voga representing Eastern Equatoria, Ezbon Mondiri representing Western Equatoria and Oliver Batali representing Central Equatoria), and from Upper Nile (Mading de Garang representing Southern Upper Nile, Mathew Obur representing Northern Upper Nile, and Rev Paul Puoth representing Central Upper Nile). Frederick Brian Magot was to represent the special interest of the Anyanya. However Gordon Mortuat and Arkanjelo Wanji from Bahr Ghazal Province declined. Mathew Obur was unable to travel as he was preparing for an examination. The resulting imbalance in the final delegation team was therefore not for lack of trying.

Secondly, on signing the Accord, Lagu was determined to ensure that the six thousand Anyanya soldiers to be absorbed in the national army "were apportioned equally among the three southern provinces, though Equatoria had more people under arms." To him equality must not only be ensured but must be seen in work. It is this sense of fairness that was again to see Lagu engage in one of the controversial issues to face the south: decentralization. When he saw that Abel's government was contrary to all that he stood and fought for: equitable representation, his panacea was decentralization, which his opponents termed re-division. Needless to say, the resulting debate and formation of three regions in the south created a lot of ill feelings within southerners. The irony is that twenty two years later, in typically Orwellian style, the South embraced not only three

but 10 states, without as much as a blink of the eye! Even stalwart opponents of decentralization, who bitterly resented the idea of three states, actively participated in drafting the constitution of the ten state governments! Was decentralization the 'bantunization' of the south that it was portrayed to be or was it an act of a man ahead of his time who believes that the nation state is never an absolute or a constant but is continuously being shaped by political realities? Only time will tell.

No political movement can be divorced from international politics. The overriding reasons for the Addis Ababa Accord, at the internal level, was the recognition by the North of the cultural difference between the North and the South and the granting of the South 'autonomy' as demanded by the political leadership of the South on the eve of independence. At the external front, the single most important factor was the deteriorating political situation in Uganda under the mercurial Amin who had severed relationship with the main backers of the movement, the Israelis.

The irony of Abel Alier's title "*Southern Sudan: Too Many Agreements Dishonoured*" echoes loudly in the book. The erosion of the Accord started from Day One with the appointment of Abel Alier, as President of the High Executive Council (HEC), which was done without consultation with the Chairman SSLM. It has to be pointed out that the SSLM did not, whether out of altruism or naivety negotiate individual positions for its leadership. The appointment of Abel was resented strongly by SSLM leadership who felt that if it did not go to their Chairman, then it should go to one of them. On the other hand, within the Southern Front (SF), the leader of SF, Mr Clement Mboro, felt that in the appointment of Abel, "his birth right had been hijacked by one of his juniors." The appointment of Abel was to signal "subsequent interference by the north in the supposedly autonomous southern affairs." Why did Lagu not protest or go back to war? His view was that as a signatory to the Agreement he could not rip it apart, because of a personal position. The South had gone through enough and was bigger than any single individual. He had to bid his time, which he did.

Liberation is not cheap as Lagu was to learn. It has a cruel way of exacting a personal price from the leadership. President Tambo Mbeki of South Africa's son 'disappeared' during the liberation struggle. Gen Lagu was no different. His brother Simeon Jima fell in an ill conceived military adventure which was driven by political rather than military considerations. His marriage too like that of Mandela was sacrificed on the altar of the liberation struggle. And at a more organisational level, the loss of Fr Saturnino and Lagu's second in command, Joseph Akwon, who fell in action on the eve of the Addis Ababa Agreement were devastating events.

Lagu is probably the best orator the Sudan has ever had by miles and this book places him among the best of the griots in Africa. In keeping with the best traditions of griots, the book's approach is to narrate and catalogue the events and the human players rather than the abstraction of ideas. This narrative

approach ensures the human angle and touch remains central, with Lagu remembering what some would consider insignificant details, like the name of the driver, Mbali, who drove him to meet Fr Saturnino for the first time in Aru and the make of the car, an Opel! Though it is almost forty years since most of the events took place, the attention to detail is breathtaking, especially when we know that the General kept no diary for obvious security reasons.

Lagu is a rare breed of political leaders in the Sudan who builds his castles on the hill for everyone to see. There is no attempt made to mask the weakness of the Addis Ababa Agreement. He acknowledges frankly that during the Addis Ababa Agreement negotiations they "performed poorly" in economic matters because, "except for Dr Lawrence Wol Wol" the team "lacked the necessary experience and expertise."

The subtitle of the book is misleading as there is hardly any evidence in the book to suggest that the country is in the process of lurching from 'ruin to hope'. On the contrary, all the imponderables that confront the nation catalogued in the book offer no lasting solution, which exclude total disintegration. The reason for this is not difficult to find: the country is putting the emphasis in the wrong place. It is trying to keep the Sudan as one united nation rather than create one united nation out of the Sudanese.

This chronicle of events by a man who has had the rare distinction of serving his nation as a soldier, politician and a diplomat, must find a place in your mantle piece. This is an excellent addition to Abel Alier's, "*Southern Sudan: Too Many Agreements Dishonoured*", in the category of memoirs. In obtaining the book, you will also be in possession of two rare booklets published by Lagu in the appendix; "*Anyanya: What We Fight For*" and "*Decentralization: Why a Necessity*". If there is any major weakness of the book, it is the absence of an index.

In ending the book at two key iconic national signifiers: the demise of the May Revolution, of which he was briefly a part, and at the inception of the SPLM, the author seems to be symbolically signaling the end of an era and the passing of the mantle to the next '*munyamiji*' or generation, at all fronts.

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