

United States Institute of Peace
Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training
Sudan Experience Project

Interview # 41 – Executive Summary

Interviewed by: Barbara Nielsen
Initial interview date: October 21, 2006
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The interviewee, a representative of the Episcopal Church in Sudan, explained the key role of the Church during the negotiation phase of the CPA, and evaluated the Agreement's successes and failures thus far. The greatest successes include the first Constitution for South Sudan, one which incorporates many United Nations protocols to safeguard human rights, children's rights, and women's rights, as well as the establishment of a Parliamentary government for the region, with its own police force, army and banking system. The interviewee gives the new government of South Sudan high marks for its efforts to overcome many of the systemic problems of the country, such as nepotism and corruption, and advises continued patience as this government gains experience.

The interviewee views more critically the attitude and performance of the government in the North, which in his view, is not implementing the CPA in good faith. He cites as examples the failure of Khartoum to implement the Abyei Boundary Accord as well as its failure to provide the stipulated resources for commissions such as the North-South Boundary Commission and the National Petroleum Commission to enable them to do their work. Additionally, Khartoum has failed to live up to the CPA's stipulation that those forced from their homes to permit oil exploration must be compensated. This failure is particularly acute in the provinces of Northern Upper Nile and Western Upper Nile, where the oil exploration is under the auspices of Chinese companies. The interviewee strongly believes the international community needs to do more to put pressure on the Khartoum government to honor the Agreement, especially as it relates to compensation in this area.

He also criticizes the international community for failing to honor the pledges for funds made in Oslo, thus hindering the return of displaced people to their communities, which lack the necessary infrastructure to permit resettlement. He further believes that U.S. sanctions should not apply to the Government of Southern Sudan, given the inherent weakness of a government just "emerging from the bush." He regrets that world attention to Darfur has distracted the international community from implementation of the CPA. He uses analogies of Southern Sudan being like a "plane being loaded but unable to take off," and like "a small child, not yet grown," not being given the nourishment necessary to thrive.

The interviewee expresses concern regarding preparations for the upcoming elections, such as the many displaced persons still in the North and unable to register to vote in their home provinces. He notes the Government of National Unity is also divided on the Darfur issue, suggesting that their partnership is shaky.

Despite all the difficulties he noted in the CPA's implementation, the interviewee remains hopeful that the vision of a strong, unified Sudan, as provided for in the CPA, will be fulfilled. He feels the CPA provides an excellent blueprint, and he advocates patience while the situation is corrected, realizing that it will take time. Ultimately, though, should Sudan be split apart, it will be as a result of the Sudanese government's failure to make unity an attractive option for the South Sudanese.

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Q: I am speaking today with a representative of the Episcopal Church of Sudan. Let me ask you, what role did the churches in Sudan play in bringing about the CPA?

A: The church in Sudan played a very great and significant role during the war. The church had been praying, had been trying to go in between the two fighting parties. The church issued a lot of letters showing the way for the CPA, for the peace agreement to be signed. So the church and the Sudan parties cooperated very clearly in how to bring peace and we were very happy that the CPA was signed last year so it was a great success and we thank God it has materialized to what we were looking for.

Q: Are there some mechanisms built into the CPA that allow for continued Church participation directly in the implementation phase?

A: One mechanism was already in place. Yes, we had representatives in the negotiation in the form of the council of churches secretary general, who was like an ambassador for the churches during the negotiations, so in that way we were represented during the negotiations.

Q: Since the signing in January, 2005, how would you describe changes in conditions in your own diocese or in the parts of the Sudan that you know best?

A: There are a lot of changes and also there are a lot of failures in the implementation of the CPA (Comprehensive Peace Accord). According to the CPA, there is a government in the South of Sudan which we feel is successful. To have a government for the Southern Sudanese with a parliament, with ministers, that is a great success for the CPA. The other one is that Southern Sudan has a Constitution which has not been there since Sudan's independence. Southern Sudan had not been given a chance of having their own way of governing themselves, so that one is a great success. The other success is the parliament. The parliament of the Southern Sudan is making decisions of their own. So these are the first things we have seen that is a success for the CPA.

The other success for the CPA is that the Government of the Southern Sudan have their own police, have their own army to guard the system and to guard the peace itself in Southern Sudan. And then they have their own bank.

Q: Their own bank?

A: Bank, yes. So, we could see if these institutions which have been put in place now, if they are backed up I think they will make the CPA successful.

Q: Looking at the Constitution that you mentioned, the Constitution for the South, are there some particularly notable features that the Southerners wanted to have included and that are included, that you can point to?

A: Well, there are protocols of the United Nations, like the protocols for human rights, protocols for the child rights, protocols for women's rights; all those protocols I think have been embodied in this Constitution of the Southern Sudan, so this is a new thing.

Q: Those are important rights and as you look at the actual implementation, I guess what I hear you saying is that these rights seem to be observed by the government?

A: Oh yes, of course at the moment we may not guide the Government of Southern Sudan on what they are doing. They are still transforming themselves into being a better, real government; it is still too early for anybody to criticize them now because they are just transforming themselves from being a guerilla to a national government. It is still very far away to talk about it because we have not seen whether they are going to be very successful or not so what we are doing as a Church is we are saying we are supporting them. They are like a small child trying to learn to walk; they can just go and fall down and get up, so we have to help them so that they can walk until they become assured.

Q: It is too soon to evaluate the government, but there may be some indications as to their progress and how well they are doing in transforming from a guerilla organization to a government, things like organizing the political structure and having clear and accountable decision making, overcoming internal divisions among themselves and looking at things like corruption. On those measures, how would you say they are performing?

A: This is why we are saying we know every person has their part of weakness and the government in Southern Sudan, we are talking to them, we are encouraging them because they have already embodied this question of anti-corruption; it is part of the Constitution of the Southern Sudan.

Q: Anti-corruption?

A: Yes. They have that in their Constitution and it is a question of how they implement that, anti-corruption, ethics; we feel it is good, it is in the Constitution. And so far what we are seeing is they are doing their best, they are doing their best to overcome some of the problems like nepotism, corruption and other things. So that is why we say we need to go along with them, so that they overcome these problems on their way.

Q: When you say "we," are you specifically referring to you as Church leaders or as Sudanese, Southern Sudanese citizens, who is the "we"?

A: When I talk of "we," yes, last August, the Churches in the Sudan met and we said clearly that we have to support the Government of the Southern Sudan and what I am saying is what we have said in that meeting at the Church. All the Churches collectively, the ecumenical leaders in the

whole Sudan have said it, we will support the Government of the Southern Sudan and the reason we are supporting it is not because of something good we have seen, but we are saying they are just transforming so we have to go along with them to let them transform more.

Q: So you are a very patient group, the Churches in Southern Sudan. And when people criticize the pace of the implementation, what is your response generally?

A: The implementation of CPA is embodying good things. But also, because the implementation is in both governments, the government in the North and the government in the South, to see to it that the CPA is implemented, but there are failures; the government in the North is not doing it, which is going to backfire, to be the failure of the government in the South. For example, there is a complete protocol, the Abyei Protocol, which has not been implemented. The NCP (National Congress Party), the government in the North, is saying they cannot implement the Abyei Protocol because they have not agreed on the boundary. Yet, during the negotiation, there was a commission which was formed, a boundary commission, five from the government of the North and five from the government in the South and a neutral body from the European side and others, so there were about 15 members who went out to draw the boundary of Abyei and they brought the report to the President. But until today the President has not yet made any decree over the Abyei Protocol. That is a failure by itself. So we are afraid of that. And there is also a commission which has been formed and they are not doing their job; it is a border commission between the North and South to identify the boundary of the North and South; that one has not taken off. So these are failures, we are saying, and they are behind time according to the schedule of the CPA. So there are a lot of delays of articles which have been agreed upon by the Government and this is the fear also we have, that if this protocol is not implemented fully, it will lead to failure.

Q: Looking at the Abyei Boundary Commission report, which the Government rejected, what do you think is behind their rejection?

A: They actually are thinking, the argument is that when these people of Abyei were annexed to Kordofan, there was no clear boundary. The boundary was just a traditional boundary between Abyei, between the Dinka Ngok and the Baggara people. That boundary was a buffer zone where some are on the one side of the land and the other people are on the other side; this seemed to be used by the Government of Northern Sudan which wanted by their own means to take the whole part of the Abyei land, which is not correct but that is their argument. So we feel that the Government of the North is trying to take back part of the agreement which they have accepted so it is another way they are trying to retreat from what they have said. This brings to mind the book written by our elder and the first vice president, Abel Alier, who said there were too many agreements dishonored. They are trying to dishonor the CPA again.

Q: Let me make sure I understood: the government is trying to retreat from the agreement?

A: Retreat from the agreement.

Q: And then you mentioned Abel Alier.

A: Abel Alier. He is a former vice president of the Sudan. He wrote a book, titled *Too Many Agreements Dishonored*.

Q: Too Many Agreements Dishonored. That sounds like a very good book to read. And his argument is that, again, the Government of the North is dishonoring agreements?

A: By not implementing part of the CPA it is leading to dishonoring the agreement.

Q: Right. So this is a tradition they have.

A: Yes.

Q: An attitude, and I think it would be useful if you could help us understand where the Government comes from on this, in adopting this attitude. We would say it is not an honest attitude but they probably are making a rational calculation. How would you explain their behavior to non-Sudanese?

A: Well, because these people see the independence of Sudan, they have been ruling for so long and they think that others are trying to put their nose now into the Government; they seem to be threatened so they are trying to protect their status, of being all the time in power over the whole Sudan. It became their policy to marginalize other parts of the Sudan; they have learned to marginalize over 65 percent of the population of Sudan, so that is what is behind their attitude.

Q: You mentioned the North-South Boundary Commission as well and it has not been constituted, I think you said?

A: Yes, it has been constituted but unable to do the job.

Q: It has been constituted but not allowed to do its job?

A: Not really, because they may not have been given facilities to do the job.

Q: I see. And those technical means should be supplied in what fashion?

A: They should have the finances and means of moving around, they should have the planes, they should have all the facilities which the Government of Sudan should give them to do whatever they are supposed to do to make sure that the CPA is being implemented. So if any part of the CPA is not implemented, as we look at it, that is the Government retreating back or dishonoring again.

Q: Was it clearly a responsibility of the Government to provide the wherewithal for the Boundary Commission?

A: Oh yes. It is clear that all these commissions are to be formed and the Government has to give them the facilities to do their job.

Q: Would you say that the international community has been sufficiently committed to the implementation of the CPA?

A: Yes, everybody who participated in the CPA, I think everybody has a duty to fulfill. I think the international community has promised the Government of Southern Sudan to give them over four billion, four billion for the construction of the Southern Sudan, for development in the Southern Sudan, but so far as I know very little has come to reality. So this is also a failure from the international part, not to fulfill their obligation.

Q: The donors have not produced what they had pledged?

A: Yes, they pledged something but they have not produced it. And we considered it also, the CPA can fail because so many people are trying to come back, but they do not find the schools, they do not find the roads, they do not find hospitals, they do not find clean water, and so they are not helping unless the international community pledged to come in and do all this.

Q: And what response does the international community give when it is pointed out to them that they pledged so much and they have not given what they pledged?

A: Well the pledge should be known. So far, where I am I cannot see anything new coming up, whether it being done by the international community or not, concerning the return of the people home, no water has been built in my place for the people to settle, no hospital built, no school built. These are the things we thought the funds which were pledged in Oslo were going to be for.

Q: Tell me a little more about your diocese. It is called Renk, and you are in the region of Upper Nile. I do not know what infrastructure there was before the war and leading up to the signing of the peace. Maybe you could just sketch the extent of the problem in terms of the needs of your diocese.

A: As you said, the diocese of Renk is in Northern Upper Nile. The Northern Upper Nile is composed of the three provinces of Renk, Maban and Melut. The Northern Upper Nile was one of the places which was very much devastated by the war. When the war came in you could not find a single building in that Northern Upper Nile except a few in Renk. You would find small structures for the government. Most of the villages had structures that were only made of grass, called "tucal," and those tucal during the war were burned down, so there was nothing left. A Chinese company came in for exploration of oil in Northern Upper Nile and more villages were displaced because of the oil exploration and people of Northern Upper Nile until today do not have, they do not yet know where are they going to settle because the oil companies occupy their land. The oil companies occupy their agricultural areas and people are coming back to nowhere now in those areas at the moment. It was said in the CPA that people where the oil is found are to be compensated.

Q: Right.

A: Nothing has been done for the people of Northern Upper Nile, nothing has been done for the people in Western Upper Nile. No one has been given a penny in compensation for the land.

Q: So the oil companies arrived and the people were forced to move away?

A: Yes, they were forced to move away from their area.

Q: And at that time they were not paid for their land?

A: Peace has come and the agreement has said these people have to be compensated, but the companies are not doing anything and the Government is not doing anything about that. So that one also is a contribution to the failure. These are leading to the failure or to dishonoring the CPA.

Q: How many people would you guess are affected by that problem in the Upper Nile?

A: About 40,000 people.

Q: Have they started to come back and are they living in camps?

A: Yes, they have come back and you can see them making another new tucal in a swampy place where they have been pushed, which is not good. No, nothing has been done for them, no hospital, no school. The company is supposed to do that as part of compensation. The company is supposed to build their villages for them, school and hospital and water, but they are not doing that. So this is a really serious violation of human rights to these people in Northern Upper Nile and Western Upper Nile. It is a case that we want the international people to study and help these people.

Q: It is obviously a complex situation with contracts between the companies, the Chinese companies, I guess, in this case, and the Government, and those contracts perhaps did not speak much of compensation?

A: No.

Q: But the CPA tried to address it. Which commission is overseeing that aspect?

A: That is the oil commission, which is part of the CPA, and that commission also has not yet been given tools to do their job.

Q: I have spoken to others a bit about the National Petroleum Commission and I understand that one of the problems may be a lack of trained individuals to work on the commission. How would you view that?

A: I may not say it is a lack of trained personnel. There are tangible things which do not need a person to be trained. We had a commission to come out with a report and they said we want these people to be compensated. It does not need training. We need the will of decision, those who can make decisions. And if some aspect needs training, that is okay, we have to look for it. There are technical people all over the world who can just be brought in. So I do not think it is really the issue. The issue is the will to implement the agreement.

Q: I will not disagree with you; it makes sense to me that there has to be the will to implement the decisions so long as they are clearly spelled out. I imagine that the problem is a very crucial one and also one of the more complex ones. Would it be helpful for there to be more resources

that, again we get back to the donors, that they should be bringing to bear, to help the National Petroleum Commission to do its work?

A: I think so, because the National Commission, if they are given the tools and the budget, that they will operate on it. I think they will be able to bring in those experts who can come and help them. But if they do not have the budget and you just tell the world “Oh, I will form the commission,” you will form the commission but that is not doing anything. It means it is nothing. So you do not tell me I have formed the commission, but you tell me I have formed the commission and this is their work; that will be acceptable.

Q: Where you are, in Renk, how do you keep track of what, let us say, the National Petroleum Commission is doing? Do you have a means of visiting the Commission, which I guess has its office in Khartoum? Is that how you would have to communicate with them and keep pressure on them?

A: First of all, I am the Justice and Peace and Reconciliation chairperson for the Episcopal Church of Sudan. I have to make sure that we follow what is happening even though I may not visit there, but we have a way to follow them, find the information of whether they have done their job or not, because it is our concern to follow what is happening to our people; it is our concern and it is supposed to be the concern of the Commission and the Government to tell the public what they are doing. We know the Government in the North and South have tied their hands by saying we have to make this CPA attractive to the people of the Southern Sudan. So if we are not seeing a tangible, attractive thing going on, then it is sure there is nothing going on.

Q: You mentioned you are the chairperson and naturally you have a leadership role to be monitoring what is going on. When you bring these same facts that you have explained to me to the attention of the National Petroleum Commission, how do they explain that they have not acted?

A: We have the last report of the EU (European Union) on oil petroleum in Sudan. That will give you more information. It talks about what is happening and I have been quoted in that report also. Of course, I have been interviewed by them.

Q: Right.

A: On the petroleum question, the Chinese and the Government in the North, they do not tell you or they do not admit what is called transparency of what is happening. The agreement is between two parties who are not with the people on the ground, so you just see them doing the job but they do not tell you how they came to that. So it is a matter of somebody in Khartoum sitting in the office ignoring the people on the ground telling the company that that place is empty, nobody is there. They will not tell you that.

Q: Have you encountered stonewalling, as we call it, when you tell them there are people who live there?

A: They do not understand; they think that there are no people there. So when you come around, you look like a stranger because when the Chinese come to the area, everywhere, all the villages, have been burned down so they say “look, this is an empty area.”

Q: All the villages have been burned down?

A: Oh yes, burned down, yes.

Q: In the war?

A: Yes.

Q: Sure. So it looked like an empty area.

A: Yes. So when a person who had run away comes back to the area, he finds somebody doing some work there, who looks at him like a stranger, while in fact, he is the owner. You see?

Q: Right. And for people in that area, probably there was not a lot of documentation to prove that they owned the land?

A: They owned the land; we are there. We have not run away, all of us.

Q: That is true, but the nature of the village in Sudan may be that it was a little informal?

A: The land in the Sudan has been marked in the name of every clan, every tribe. You know which part belongs to whom; whether there is a tucal, whether there is no tucal, it is already known, it belongs to a certain tribe. So whatever you do in that area, whether there is a tucal or there is no tucal, that land belongs to a certain group within the Sudan. So it is a tradition which -- and that is what the CPA has addressed -- that whenever you want to go to a village or to a part of the land, elders of that area must be called in to agree if the Government wants to do something there. But in this case the Government of Sudan, when it was fighting the war, did not mind who was doing what. It was trying to get the oil by all means, regardless of whether people are there or they are not there. But to change this now needs international organizations and the Government of the Southern Sudan to talk very seriously to the Government of the North on behalf of the innocent people who are now suffering. Oil is being pulled from their area and they are not benefiting from it.

Q: So you would say both the Government of Southern Sudan and the international community need to be putting pressure on the Government of the North, which has signed these contracts and which has leverage over the Chinese companies and anyone else who is doing business there? I presume the oil extraction is being done only by Chinese companies, or are there some other international interests?

A: There are others, like Malaysia, and then there are so many companies, anyway, combined, but in Northern Upper Nile it was the Chinese who actually came in and did the exploration of the oil.

Q: So that remains a key issue?

A: Of course.

Q: I wanted to ask also about the preparation for elections in 2009. You have elections scheduled and also a referendum in 2011, but given the election history in the Sudan, where the Government has been known for its interference and harassment of candidates and intimidation of voters, would you say the right things are being done to have free and fair elections in 2009?

A: Looking at 2009, we see the difficulties. There are difficulties now going to be faced by our people. First of all, the registration by itself is another problem because people are not there, especially in the South. We still have two million people in the North as IDPs (internally displaced persons.) These people have not yet been helped to go back to their own land so that they are registered. We have refugees in other parts of the country, in other parts of the world that have not been helped to come back, so that they are registered. That is one of the problems we are looking at. We do not know how they are going to make it. The other part of it is that the parties have to organize themselves, those who are going to stand for the election. So far as we are seeing it, there is already a disagreement between the SPLM (Sudan People's Liberation Movement) and the NCP, which are the major parties, who have agreed- who have signed the peace agreement. They already disagree now on the Darfur issue, so that is the beginning of seeing that the partnership is going to be shaky. They disagree now on implementation of the CPA; things are not going according to plan. So you can really see the danger. What is going to happen during the election? There is no harmony at the moment. We feel that the CPA should have brought in harmony and then people could work toward the development of our country and toward the democracy of our country. Those things, we were looking at it and they seemed to be very far from the surface. So seeing elections coming, we are not sure what is going to happen. That is a concern.

Q: Are there other parties who were not signatories to the CPA but that nevertheless exist and should be brought in to the process? Would that be helpful?

A: Yes, the CPA is open to that; the national government in the North have included all the parties who were not even part of the CPA. The same thing in the South. The Southern Government has included the parties who were not part of the CPA. That has been done.

Q: That has been done, and is it working all right?

A: Yes. But now really what on earth is happening where every party now is going to participate and now bringing up their candidate for election? That is going to be a big test for the Government of the Southern Sudan and the Government of the Northern Sudan. Whether there are going to be fair elections in the South and in the North, that is going to be a test and it is going to be a test of the CPA. So they need us and the international community to be part of how to help these people to make that election successful.

Q: Do you have some ideas about how to make that election more successful?

A: We will be happy to have monitors from the international community, to send them in and to look at how things are being done and to be helpful, in order for things to be done in the right form.

Q: This also goes back to your point earlier about people needing to be physically relocated so they can take part in the elections in their home areas.

A: Yes.

Q: That is a big issue as well. When we began, you sounded optimistic, in the sense that you are not impatient, but is it correct to say that there is growing disenchantment with the CPA, or are most people as patient as you are?

A: Well, I may see it as a Church person. We have learned to be patient and that is the spirit of the Church people; we have to be patient, because if you are not patient you may destroy the future. So one always must be patient while correcting the situation. That is how we look at the whole thing as a Church. But the innocent person, the message of the people of the South and the whole Sudan, you may not know what they are thinking but this is what we say as the leaders, that we need to be patient while correcting the situation because you cannot build a nation in one day. You cannot correct a situation which has been falling apart for 22 years in one day. So we must know that to correct things in the Sudan or in the Southern Sudan it may take us another 21 years. It is easier to destroy a house in one day, but to build it it takes time. We know there are problems, we know there are violations, but we have to go through them, we have to really go through them and change them.

Q: And what is your vision and that of the Church, for a unified Sudan for the future?

A: Our vision is already stated in the CPA. When the CPA spoke of the unity of the Sudan, it said to let the CPA be attractive to the people of the Sudan, Southern Sudan. That was what has already been written there. And everybody is looking at that critically, at that statement.

Q: And why is unity attractive?

A: The Government in the North has never made a balance with the South, everything was in the North. So if they want to say they are genuine, they have to have balance and to do things in the South as they have done in the North. That is unity.

Q: Perhaps unity for unity for unity's sake is only half good. What would be the concrete benefits of unity for the South as well as the North?

A: Well one benefit, there is nothing bad in being a great nation. It is good to be a great nation, it is good to be a young, strong person, you do not need to slim yourself down. But when you are forced by the situation, that is where the disunity comes. So we are saying to our brothers in the North, they have to look at the big Sudan. They should not look at the small Sudan. But the way they are implementing the CPA will make others not to look for the small Sudan. So it is a challenge to the Government in the North. Do they really want the unity of the Sudan or not? You cannot measure between something weak and something strong. You have to measure unity of the strong people.

Q: When you sit down with your Northern brothers do they understand when you explain it that way?

A: Yes, they said “Yes, we will do it” but they can say that as now they signed the CPA, but implementation is another thing. They do not deny it, they say “yes, we will do it,” but for the implementation, they do not do it.

Q: It sounds as if maybe their heart is not in the implementation.

A: That will be up to them because at the time we are in now, if they do not do it then they will be held responsible for the disunity of the Sudan.

Q: And if they are willing to pay that price?

A: If they are willing to pay the price, they keep the unity. Yes.

Q: Some people have raised the possibility that the sanctions that the U.S. Government has in place, the anti-terrorist sanctions against Sudan, are a hindrance to some of the work that you would want to have happen under the CPA. Do you think that the U.S. should consider some kind of an exemption for the Government of South Sudan from those sanctions?

A: I think if the U.S. was part of bringing the CPA to be signed, I think the U.S. has to be generous to the Southern Sudan. You cannot impose sanctions on a people who are just coming out, emerging from the bush. How do you think they will make democracy? How do you think they will stop corruption? How do you think they will stop other things which the human being can do when he is hungry? So it is a test to the U.S. to make sure how are you dealing with the international problem, by putting sanctions on the Government of Southern Sudan.

Q: The counter argument is that it somehow recognizes a two state policy. It has been pointed out that if there is a Government of National Unity, how can you have a sanctions regime that operates for only one part of the country?

A: But the reality must be faced. That is the reality and that is the policy. So you have to see your policy and the reality.

Q: I see.

A: If you say this is my policy, “I have to deal with the sovereignty of the whole country.” But yesterday you participated in bringing peace and so you are contradicting your word. You see? How do you want me to survive if you do not give me something to start with and you tell me now, “Okay, you stay there and you are not to do this because ...” What you are doing at the end is encouraging me to go back to the bush. So the Government of America has made the decision, made a choice, because here is one country which was fighting itself. Now you come in and said “No, stop the war” and you have stopped it. Now these people have moved into the town. What do you expect they will do? You are keeping the sanctions on them while the others are doing their job. They have the money, they have whatever they do. Whether you give them sanctions or not they have their friends, they can do anything, but Southerners returning have nothing. So when they come and stay here and they have nothing, what do you read between the lines?

Q: You alluded to Darfur briefly and we have not really talked about it very much. I'd like to ask you how in your view the conflict in Darfur has influenced the implementation of the CPA.

A: It is connected because Darfur is part of Sudan, and the people who are dying are Sudanese. This is a general fact that needs to be recognized; we need peace in Darfur. It influences the CPA because the attention of the whole world is now on Darfur. All the countries are now running to Darfur, thinking that the Southern Sudan, has peace, leaving them alone, so that is a very big effect on the CPA because people are now talking about Darfur. Yes, people are dying in Darfur. So people have to go and rush there and give help, whatever they could do for people of Darfur. However, they left the CPA, which is still a small child, not yet grown; they are not giving the milk that they are supposed to for this child. Now it is up to the international community to see the balance they should use, that they really need peace in Darfur and they need peace in the Southern Sudan. What may come any day now may bring peace very soon to Darfur; now you have a peace which is crumbling in the Southern Sudan. It is a peace but it is not moving, maybe like a plane being loaded and it is unable to take off. So this is what has happened. So we have a peace, we have a plane ready to take off but it is not.

Q: Which countries, would have the most leverage to bring a change in Darfur, given that we understand the roots of the genocide lie in the Government in the North supporting the Janjaweed and the fighting, making it possible for there to be fighting in Darfur? Countries like the United States have less leverage on Khartoum perhaps than some other neighbors or other countries. What do you think?

A: I do not know how to say that but as far as we know the UN is an institution, instituted by the whole world that could intervene to convince a nation, a nation which is part of the UN. If the United Nations is already divided, if the U.S. and the five (permanent) members are divided, with China supporting Sudan, Russia supporting Sudan, then it is a test, a great test for the United Nations not to be seen as powerless to stop a country which is killing its own people. So the world is questioning the ability of the UN now.

Q: That is true.

A: So there will be no nation that the Sudan will be listening to if the UN is divided. Sudan is now a giant in power. It managed to divide the UN. So it is up to the UN now. Either you remain as a powerless organization and allow any nation to do whatever they like, killing their own people, because what we have seen now, interests have become more important than the life of the people. China is protecting its interests in Sudan, not the life of the people in Sudan, and Russia is protecting its interests in Sudan not the life of the people in Sudan. That is a very serious problem, when you put the interests of another nation ahead of the life of the people on the ground. That is a crime. And God will not forgive those things. It is a serious crime. The UN must look at it seriously; it is a crime by allowing people to be killed for the interests of others.

Q: So, while there is recognition that there is an unacceptable genocide in Darfur, the problem the UN seems to have is making the resolutions meaningful and backed up by force to enforce them.

I now want to ask you about the lessons that you take away from the CPA agreement that might be useful for future peace accords involving complex negotiations. What lessons do you think the international community or the Sudanese have learned from negotiating and trying to implement the CPA thus far?

A: The CPA is a good document; it needs to be supported. It is a document to be supported and a document to learn from. Of course, we never had such a document before so this is a document which we feel has to be implemented. It is a document whereby democracy for Sudan will be generated. It is a document which can unify the Sudan and it is a document which can separate the Sudan, because it is very clear in that document, either you make it attractive or you lose. So the decision spelled out in the document is very clear to the people and it is up to the Sudanese Government to make it attractive and it is up to the people who want the Sudan to be united, to make it attractive.

Q: I think you have summarized it quite clearly and neatly and I gather the CPA, for all its complexity, has achieved a remarkable clarity.

Would you like to add any additional thoughts?

A: I give thanks to you, to your institute, to your organization which selected me to be part of the interview. Thank you for that. And what I would add is that we want you to let the world pressure the Government in the Sudan to bring peace to Darfur. We want peace in Darfur as soon as possible because it will make the people of Sudan live in peace again. The death of people in Darfur is painful and we do not want it and we need the international community to put more pressure on that because that will serve the CPA also.