

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
Building for the Future in Southern Sudan: A Forum with Rebecca Garang
Co-sponsored by the Wilson Center and The Initiative for Inclusive Security
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Welcome

Howard Wolpe
Director, Africa Program

Good afternoon. I'm Howard Wolpe, Director of the Wilson Center's Africa Program. I'm very delighted to welcome all of you to this afternoon's forum with Rebecca Garang. I just want to say a word to those of you who may be new to the Wilson Center about the Center. This institution was established by an Act of Congress in 1968 as the living memorial to President Woodrow Wilson who happens to have been the only American president with a Ph.D., was a university professor and president and was very committed to the proposition that the world of ideas should be merged with the world of public policy. So the Center is a mutual nonpartisan institution that seeks to advance debate, research, reflection on both global and national issues.

Today's event is being co-sponsored by both the Wilson Center and by the Initiative for Inclusive Security and I'm delighted to have Ambassador Hattie Babbitt with us this afternoon. If you recall the early designation Women Waging Peace.

This event is one of the series of many events we've held here at the Wilson Center over the past two to three years on Sudan. We have been very privileged in the past to have here on one occasion Rebecca Garang's late husband, John Garang. More recently, this past November we were pleased to host Vice President Salva Kiir.

We're very honored today to have Rebecca Garang with us. The widow of the late Sudanese leader John Garang she has been a major political voice in her own right for many years, a very prominent voice in Southern Sudan. She was a commander in the Sudan People's

Liberation Army and in recent years has emerged as a major activist and organizer, establishing schools and training programs for women and for girls, and is an advocate for female veterans of the 20-year war.

Currently Rebecca Garang serves as Minister of Roads and Transportation for the government of Southern Sudan and she also serves as a member of parliament. Her visit here in Washington was obviously very timely, given the considerable public interest in the Sudanese peace process, in the evolution of the efforts to consolidate the north-south peace agreement and the continuing concerns about the state of affairs with respect to the tragedy in Darfur. So her presence here today will provide all of us an opportunity to essentially take account of the current status of the Sudanese peace process.

I'm very honored to present Mrs. Garang to you. She'll speak for about twenty minutes and then we will open it up for what I know will be a very rich exchange with the audience. Mrs. Garang [applause].

Rebecca Nyandeng Garang de Mabior
Minister for Roads and Transportation
Southern Sudan

Thank you Mr. Howard to be here today, thank you a long friend Ambassador Carson, good to see you here. Yesterday I was very emotional because normally I come here with my husband. When we came here it was first 1977, he was the one who brought me here. And when we joined the struggle we used to come together. Yesterday it was very emotional that I come here but it was good, I didn't break bone because I know why I was here. I was looking at the bigger picture. I was looking at the bigger picture of our people and the vision of the new Sudan. I'm really glad to be here this evening. I used to tell my husband I'm not a politician. I want him to join the state house and I wanted to join the private sector to promote the private sector. This is

the area I saw in my country which was very weak but God has his own plan. I'm here in front of you as a politician, Minister of Transport and Road. I'm surprised in that title when they call me like that. Sometimes they call me Rebecca Garang, I feel comfortable with that. Thank you for inviting me here and my delegation. I welcome you all even though you are the one to welcome me.

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the diplomatic corps, community members, international community, members of the press, distinguished guests, I owe many thanks to the Woodrow Wilson Center, our gracious host, for allowing me this opportunity to discuss Sudan today. Thank you.

The problem of Sudan is a problem which does not finish. When we signed peace we thought that problem have finished. We didn't know that we were going to come here and again lobby for problems in Sudan because we thought if the peace is signed in Southern Sudan, the problem of Darfur will be solved. We didn't know we were going to come here again and lobby. God knows when to set us free. But we will always talk and continue to talk even in front of God. When my husband passed away God has never been questioned like that. People of Southern Sudan and Sudan at large has questioned God a lot, "Why did you do it at this moment?" But we will always put our case in front of everybody, even God himself.

We have come far these past years, seen many success and failures in the implementation of the CPA [Comprehensive Peace Agreement] the past one year which we celebrated 9th of January 2006. Yes we have achieved two governments. We form two assemblies. We form some commissions. But I don't believe these things will work if there are no pressures because we, the two parties, are dragging their feet to the implementation of the CPA.

The CPA is very slow. I myself have been, as I said, during the burial of my husband, I will be the watchdog of the CPA. I have been talking to all our leaders. I talked to Bashir, I talked to [?Alos Montaha?], I talked to my president Salva Kiir. As I said we just saw the anniversary of the signing of the CPA. It was a proud moment for Southern Sudanese but one that needs to be discussed candidly. Before his death my late husband said he had seen problem. He knew our National Congress Party partner well. We are not surprised if things are delayed. He knew implementation of the peace agreement would be a tough effort. He knew that the CPA was not going to be easy but he did not know that it was going to last long like this. For example, we would have achieved a lot for the last one year because everything is set right. For example, a report on Abiyeh boundary should not have been a still shelf in the store. These problem will not finish because in front of me the sheer promise my husband when we come back in August 3rd we will come with these kinds of problems on Abiyeh not it's a shelf.

I am working hard with President Kiir and our team to guard the peace agreement. I am trying to be the watchdog. My husband said we would need and I want to guard the CPA and give the people of Southern Sudan the freedom and future they suffer for. For example, we celebrated the 50th independence on the 1st of January. I met Bashir before that day and I told him, "I wanted to see which day are you going to celebrate," because in Naivasha he told us that the independence of Sudan was not completed because at that time when Sudan was independent Southern Sudan was at war. So I told him "Now 1st of January is coming and the 9th of January is coming, which one are you going to celebrate?"

He celebrated 1st of January but he did not celebrate it the 9th of January. He promised me that he will do that but he did not and I will go back to him and ask him why he did not. But I celebrated it because this is the day I feel I was independent. Because the 50th anniversary, this

were the 50th years of oppression, the 50th years of suffering. Our people were suffering and these were the days, the years we wanted to now transform so that the people of Sudan can get _____. It is not easy task. Many had less, many faithful, and many challenges. There is no infrastructure in Southern Sudan and that adds to our troubles.

My late husband normally say Southern Sudan has never seen a time of growth since creation. I think among you here, some of you have traveled to Southern Sudan and know that Southern Sudan how it looks like. In his speech when he was talking “I’m from Southern Sudan,” and when he said that I didn’t believe that there was no time of growth that I was there in Southern Sudan until when I came back with his body to Juba. I was really shocked that after twenty-two years Juba is even worse than when we left Juba in 1983.

So I as a Minister of Transport and Roads, I have a lot of challenges ahead of me and this is why I’m here. I was even telling secretary to Ambassador Zoellick today that I came with a basket to come and collect the Oslo pledges. So I left the basket in his office. Our biggest challenge so far is unfortunately with our partners the NCP [National Congress Party] is the development because also in the north you find a lot of part of north are marginalized like us in Southern Sudan. Therefore of course Nuba Mountains [Elvesana?] are more marginalized than the people of Southern Sudan. We are in Southern Sudan are blessed because we have rains, we have water, the River Nile, but in Darfur they don’t have the sea. So these people are double oppressed.

As President Kiir has stressed this past weekend a press conference, this is what President Salva Kiir said that the government of Sudan has not complied with the CPA. They are doing their best to delay _____ and stress the implementation. It hurts me to say it but it is what we are seeing. This is what I said earlier that there is a delay of the implementation of the CPA. We

are dragging our feet for no reason. We are supposed to do that but for no reason and no explanation. We are dragging our feet. Trying to negotiate the CPA the Khartoum city government and the government representative within the government of national unity and setting up of the oil important commissions. Commissions like boundary commissions of Southern Sudan has not been set because after the formation of joint integrated unit the mother SPLA [Sudan People's Liberation Army] was supposed to be drawn to 1-1-1956 south and South Sudan armed forces was supposed to be drawn north 1-1-1956. Even worse bilaterally violating the agreement on redeployment of troops and sharing of our nation's oil revenue wealth among other things, they are massing the troops in the oil areas like the unity state. We don't even know what is the oil producing in Sudan, we don't know the oil revenue. What are we dividing? The transfer which is given to people of Southern Sudan is \$350 million when we were expecting \$1.5 billion. But what we received so far is \$350 million.

If you look closely at the governing institution you will see they have set up a parallel governing institution to the one outline in the CPA, a governing institution that is unaccountable to the people with unclear objectives and all too remaining of the old regime. We agreed to dispose with the CPA. For example, we talk about the National Petroleum Commission. National Petroleum Commission was supposed to be nonpartisan. It was not supposed to be shared by the Minister of Energy. But this is what is happening. It was supposed to be co-shared by the president but now it is given to the energy minister which is violating of the CPA because it was to be nonpartisan.

And then the four members from the oil-producing state were supposed to be the members. This one has not been done which is violating of the CPA. The National Petroleum Commission was the heart of everything. It was supposed to be handled with care. But that is not

what we are doing in Sudan. We don't know the income, we don't know the produce of oil. The transfer of our money has not been done adequately. When I talk with President Bashir he told me the money has been transferred and I'm a cabinet minister. When we were talking about our budget, the budget we had was \$350 million plus the money we got from the multi-donor trust fund, \$55 million which is \$405 million. Where is the \$720 or 50 they were talking about? It was not in our account but that is what I was told.

So coming to the issues which are issues that I wanted to bring to your attention is the issues for example to make the NCP compliant is to have a very strong SPLA, to have a very strong SPLM [Sudan People's Liberation Movement] because to have a total transformation of Sudan and for Sudan to comply (Sudan don't have to comply with the Darfur situation) is to have a strong SPLM party, strong SPLA. Because there is not any other party which can face National Congress Party to have a total transformation and democratization of Sudan. So this is my appeal that I want to see a strong SPLM and a strong SPLA.

The question of Darfur, people see it in isolation with the CPA. They are one and the same. As we implement the CPA the people of Darfur will have incentive of saying that we will be like the people of Southern Sudan. Let us have an agreement. And it is simple, it was easy for the Sudan government and the SPLM to see the problem of Darfur because they can use the same formula, the formula of the two areas, the formula of Nubia Mountains and the one of Southern Blue Nile, wealth sharing and power sharing. I don't know why the problem of Darfur is taking difficulty but if we implement the CPA, the development picked up in Southern Sudan, the people of Darfur will have incentive to negotiate properly because they know that these people mean business.

The CPA and our passion for peace has a profound impact on the stability of the region also. We see the implementation of the CPA with a connection with our region. We need the stability in the region, the countries of Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Chad. Because if there is a peace and a stability in the government, in the people of these countries, the implementation of the CPA will be easy. So also we as the people of the SPLM and the government of Southern Sudan we see the stability in the region is our stability. Because if we don't see a stability in Chad it will complicate the problem of Darfur definitely and all of us know that if there is a problem in Chad there will be a real complications of Darfur problem.

I am confident that if we focus clearly on the implementation of the CPA in both the letter and the spirit in which it was written we will be half way there. I have confidence in the implementation of the CPA. I don't know the other side. Because for us the CPA is like Holy Bible for the people of Sudan. It is well written, it is well versed, it doesn't need somebody to mediate, the quality is well spelled out. It is just for us to take it as Dr. Garang was saying, "I brought you the CPA. This is yours, you take it. You want to throw to the river. It is up to you but the CPA is yours. I have finished my part." And this why last time when I lost my husband I kept my head up because I knew he brought us the CPA. It is for us the people of Southern Sudan and the people of Sudan as a whole to see how are we going to use the CPA to the best of our ability.

I also want to bring to your attention because of the time the question of LRA [Lord's Resistance Army] in the region. We are really having a problem that is not our problem at all. We in Southern Sudan have signed the peace agreement with the National Congress Party but now when we came and opened our roads from Yei to Juba and from Kenya to Juba through Torit the LRA ambushed the towns and trucks on the way. We are surprised why is LRA becoming

counter-insurgents of the people of Southern Sudan. This is the question now we brought to America. We want to ask UN last time they talk about the leaders of the LRA to be expedited and this thing has died down and the LRA is giving us a problem. When we first came to Juba it was like a living hell. There was no food, there was no water. Things were really very bad for the people of Juba. But as we opened the route, the prices of food went down. And as we opened the route from Kenya to Juba the prices went down even further. But when LRA came in there is a fear and there is a problem so we want to see why is the LRA becoming a counter-insurgents of people of Southern Sudan.

I talked today with Ambassador Zoellick about it and I'm going to talk to UN about this because instead of the UN Mission in Southern Sudan they should make it as UN peacekeeping forces so that they can be able to see the problem of the LRA.

The same thing also I talk about the AU peace mission to be reenforced by the US peacekeeping forces. I talk about this today because we don't see the UN Mission doing the work. They were going there only to give the protection to the UN supporters who are in Southern Sudan and in Darfur. But the people of Darfur are saying that the AU are not doing a sufficient work. So the other UN peacekeeping forces should come to Darfur and I also feel that they should come to Southern Sudan so that they can tackle this problem of LRA because I believe the LRA in Juba is not the real LRA. It is soft in the uniform of LRA. Those who ambush us on the way are LRA but those who are in Juba are not the LRA.

So please I want the international community and people of United States and church groups to continue to support the people of Southern Sudan. They may think that we have peace but this is the time we need them. They may ask themselves what of these people, do they need us. We need you. We need your support. We need schools for our children. We need medicine

for our children and this time you will be giving them this support in their locality. Before distance were in the displaced peoples camp but now you will do it in their locality.

Please continue to support us, support our leader, President Salva Kiir, stand with him when he needs you and we will stand strong. My husband would have expected nothing less than that. I will always stand with General Salva Kiir. I want you also to give your support to him so that we are strong. Thank you listening. God bless you all. Thank you. [applause]

Dr. Wolpe: Thank you so much Mrs. Garang. We will now open it up to the audience. We would like to ask you to state your name and identify your affiliation. We will have microphones that will be circulating. The event is being webcast live. Ambassador [?Babba?]. I'll take about three questions in a row and then we'll organize them in groups of three.

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

Amb. Babbitt: Thank you. I don't know whether to address you as Rebecca Garang or as Minister Garang.

Mrs. Garang: Rebecca Garang.

Amb. Babbitt: Rebecca. We're very pleased to have here. The SPLA has long had a policy of including women in positions of authority. UN Security Council Resolution 1590 reenforces that. It was an issue that was reenforced again by the donors in Oslo and I wonder if you could report to us the successes you had in capacity-building and in including women in the work that you were doing to build this success on CPA. Thank you.

Dr. Mohammed, African Embassy and Information Center: Two months, exactly four months before your late husband and our hero died I stood at his lecture at the American University and I told him that if the election were held today in Sudan I will vote for you unreservedly without any hesitation. And I think the million that came out to greet him in

Khartoum were the testament for how we loved the man. And that's why our faith is going to be very great and lengthy but I think we have big balls enough to continue marching with you.

But equally it was fascinating to hear you at that difficult moment of your life that your husband's in front of you dead that you said the words that I think and believe you me will keep the Sudan together when you said this is the act of God, God had called him and his grants so let us continue to march. This will only come from a lady who married John Garang, who lived with John Garang, who walked the walk with John Garang. So continue to be the watchdog for the CPA.

Now the question. Why do you think that now Darfur is becoming even more a problem and it is threatening the whole _____ and is it because of the death of John Garang that Darfur took a second place and what did the role of the SPLA in really mediating this having gone through that good experience.

And then there is this one question. People have asked, some of ladies have asked me, they are away from the United States asked me to ask you this question. It's about an incident that happened in the south. I don't know whether you heard it or not. It's about those women who had been persecuted by a prison tribunal for committing adultery and they were buried alive and this came on the SRA Radio by a general. The question is if you heard about it and then if it is true or not true. I'm pleased if you did not hear about it would you investigate it because I think we are all against violence against women. Thank you very much. I can give you the reference for that.

David Shear, Citizens International Company: Mrs. Garang, I spent much of November in the southern part of your country, mostly in Juba and in Yei analyzing the infrastructure needs for USAID and your government. At the same time I was struck by the large numbers of young foot

soldiers in the communities all with weapons and wondered what your plans are for the integration of these large numbers of young people who have been to the workforce as well as maintaining security at the same time?

Mrs. Garang: Thank you. The first question talked about inclusivity of women and capacity-building. Yes, we did try this and we struggle for it in the SPLA and you have seen during the constitution that 25% affirmative action has been put in our constitution. So that one is a guarantee which is there for women and they are fighting, we can fight in the 75%. I told President Salva Kiir that my position is not from the 25%, mine should be from the 75% because it is national. I refuse to take from the 25% because I say I am bigger than that.

With the capacity-building we are trying to do the capacity-building not only for women but the people of Southern Sudan. They need the capacity. You know we lack capacity. The two wars. Those who had knowledge or the skills, some of them have lost their life and for us to build this it take time. When we were negotiating in Naivasha we were saying that. We need three interim periods, six months, so that we do the capacity-building. It was not possible. We could not do anything in six months, not even in these six years, but slowly now we have institution of government in the places we will be able to do it in our institutions. Like for example in my ministry I am targeting to build a capacity of drivers because those people don't have roads. Now we are going to put the roads. We must put the road signals. So before we do we give them the keys to drive us with the road signals and tarmacs and all this. We need to train them. So we will do in our institutions to build a capacity.

I started it before my husband passed away. I gathered about twenty-five women and I was giving them driving lessons because you can't find women in Southern Sudan driving. And I

said let me start, twenty-five. I trained them in new site and I will be the first to take a woman driver in my ministry.

So we are trying that very very much. We are also in our Cabinet we will talk about the capacity-building of our people. We are mindful about that because this is what we are fighting for. Not only that. We want it even when they investors when they come they must have local partners. So we go far in the capacity-building alone because you build the capacity of the people by involving them with investors, with the contractors. They will now learn how to build the roads. You build them. If I have one truck I can be your partner because I have my one truck and I will learn through that. We want to bring it out as a policy so that our people gain their capacity. Our neighbors are ready to help us in the capacity-building.

Thank you Mohammed for your compliment. It was a national duty. My husband and I told a lot of people that we were partners in the struggle and we were partners in peace. We were going to be partners in development. We did our part as a family. We have our children. What was left for us was to help our people, what can we do for our people. And when my husband died two things came to my mind. Whether somebody is involved in his death or God has called him, for me it doesn't matter. If somebody is involved maybe it is somebody who wanted to destroy this goodness of the CPA. I will not allow that. Now if I tend to be a women and cry for my husband I will be losing both. I will lose my husband and I will lose my people. So this is why I had to stand up and because my husband is gone, it's just like I spill milk. I cannot get my husband back but I have to hold onto my people. That's why I stood strong, was very very important that moment to our people. Thank you for the compliment.

The problem of Darfur is becoming a problem and this why I talk about _____. It is not only the problem of Darfur it is the problem of Southern Sudan when we are fighting. Today

the government of Sudan will tell you that we are going to finish these people today, tomorrow you will not hear about them. You cannot finish the guerrilla war, the guerrilla people. You cannot finish them. They are under many trees. We find us here today we are not using any plane, we are using our foot, we walk on foot. We sometimes use the cars. In all under the trees of Southern Sudan how can you get these people? Even now in Darfur it is even going to be difficult because they have mountains. They say we will not go to all the mountains because they wanted to use a military solution. We do not be there. We said no, the military solution will not solve the problem of Sudan. I wish John Garang was here, it would be faster. But it took us from 1983. We have been negotiating since we came to the bush with all the government who have come and gone in Khartoum until we reach peace with the National Congress Party. It will take the people of Darfur some time but they will achieve peace.

Now the SPLM will be involved in a big way to advise on the line of this power sharing and wealth sharing and we have our delegation in Abu Deia and they are doing that. We have to be patient, it will take time. The problem is the relief situation in Darfur. This is why I talk about Chad because the quicker way the food can get to Darfur is through Chad. And if there is a problem in Chad it will really complicate the problem of people of Darfur.

This question, I don't know, the question of the women executed my delegation knows about this. I do not hear about these women being executed because they committed adultery, even though the Shira law was still there but I have not heard about this situation. You say in Juba?

Dr. Mohammed: It came on the radio that among executed were also two women, buried alive for allegedly committing adultery but the two men accused of committing adultery with the

women were set free after they paid for _____. If you don't hear about it just the women asked me can you investigate it and if God forbid turns to be true what would do to stop this thing?

Mrs. Garang: This is a thing that I will investigate because I don't know, we didn't hear about it. There are many atrocities which was committed in Juba to the people of Juba. It is something need Commission of Truth and Reconciliation need to be set in Juba. It is not only this, there are a lot of atrocities committed in Juba. If we wanted to investigate we will investigate now. But the _____ is now. They sent the _____ to investigate these issues, to see into it that these are dealt with. If you go to Juba now you will find the women and children are very free. Every morning you will find that they go to the grave site of John Garang and pray. I found a small child like and I asked her, "Why are you here?"

He say he is praying to his god.

"I say who?"

He say, "Babba John, the one who set us free. We have never got freedom here until John came here even though he's dead."

You can see the problem people are in in Juba. So I cannot rule this out, that it has not been done but I have not heard about it. We will try to investigate. This is what we have been going through during the war and this is what the women of Darfur are going through now.

Question: In front of the issue of integration.

Mr. Garang: This one will be done by the DDR. Since last time when the UNICEF talked about the question of child soldier and they started to demobilize the child soldier at that time before even we came to Naivasha so I have not seen any child soldier among the soldiers who are coming now. But there are disabled and there are elderly people who will be demobilized and we are trying to see how they can be useful to contribute to the nation-building of their country.

In the south we will have two armies. We will have SPLA and we will have joint integrated units. I will talk about the SPLA because these are the soldiers we commanded. SPLA soldier is a very well disciplined soldier and now in Juba they are around the trees and you will never hear that one day the SPLA soldier have committed a problem or fought with anybody in Juba now. And our people as soon as they came to Juba we all feel secure. I myself, I was not secure when our soldiers were not in Juba. I don't sleep at night. You know if you are a soldier and you are sleeping inside without a gun and somebody is with gun around you, you don't sleep. So it was very difficult for me to sleep in Juba until our troops came because I know they are very well disciplined. So the DDR are doing their work to demobilize and then also to disarm. The disarmament has already started especially in Upper Nile. There is a resistance. Some people want still to hold onto their guns but peace has come and this is what we are telling them, that we have to disarm them. And then also we will do it with our neighbors, Kenya and Uganda, so that the disarmament of the tribes along the border has to be done so that we have total peace in our country. I don't know whether I answered your question.

Mr. Wolpe: Another round of questions and I have some from the overflow room as well which I will read in a second.

Dan Griffen, Catholic Relief Services: Mrs. Garang, thank you for taking time to speak with us today. I was hoping you could shed some light of the security concerns in Eastern Sudan, particularly the [?Hamish Carab?] area, particularly speaking about the reports of attacks on the [?Abaza?] people as well as will the SPLA be drawing down troops from that area?

Kim [?Manard?], independent: I was just in South Sudan looking at the People-to-People's Peace Process and it was quite exciting. They were doing the signing of the new constitution and a lot of dancing and a lot of expectations now. And I was wondering what you thought the

People-to-People's Peace Process has contributed if anything to the sort of solidification of peace in the south, as well as if there is a role for it in the future as a transition goes on and evolves and if so who might be the ones to perpetuate the People-to-People Peace Process?

Mr. Wolpe: Let me add a couple of political questions that have come in from the overflow room related to Sudan's political future. Will the SPLM contest the elections in the north and do you think General Salva Kiir will contest the presidential election in two and a half years? If not do you contemplate to stand in the election and this question writer says if you do the person thinks you will win.

Mrs. Garang: Repeat the second.

Mr. Wolpe: The second is whether General Salva Kiir will contest the presidential election in two and a half years and if not do you contemplate to stand in the election?

Mrs. Garang: [?Linda?], answer the question on security in Eastern Sudan.

[?Linda? - man] Thank you very much. I'm one of the war victim. I left the war in 1987 but I grew up there and I learned there and this is why I'm here. Let me just pick this question of Eastern Sudan as it was asked. In the peace agreement, the security arrangement, it was agreed that all the forces of the SPLA in Eastern Sudan will be withdrawn by the first year into the south to the border of 1956. And then the government and the rebels of [?Abidiya?] will make some joint integrated unit in that site. Now to those who are in Eastern Sudan the government of north to and [?Shagrid?], something that not really agreed upon because the SPLM was to withdraw to the south according to the 1956. The SPLM is committed to withdraw. But the government would not withdraw the troops in the south. They were supposed to move 14% in the pre-interim period and they were supposed to move another 10% in the first year, about that 1% all were up removed. Now the issue is could the SPLM still continue to stay in Eastern Sudan? Of course

not because the CPA said SPLM should go to the south. [?Bidya?] and the south to create a joint integrated unit and deployed in those places that were occupied by the SPLA before. So the issue is really for the presidency and the commander Lt. General _____ have raised this question as a concern that there is a total violation of the security set to review in that site and it goes on to what David was saying before, the issue of security sector review is the most important thing now in Sudan. How many troops does Sudan have? Is it 100,000, is it one million and for what reason all that forces. And so the issue of _____ is in Sudan is a similar situation like what happened in Darfur. But the SPLM is certainly committed to withdraw their forces to the south as it came to in the CPA. Thank you very much.

Mrs. Garang: This is Brigadier [?Den Dow?] is a member of our delegation. He was talking about he is still being intimidated but he is hired also as intimidated. [laughter].

People-to-People Peace Process will be answered by [?Dan Andrua?], member of our delegation, SPLM..

[?Dan Andrua?]: Thank you madam. People-to-People Peace Process was chaired by council of judges before but now since we are moving, we have a peace agreement, we have the government, the conciliation will be dealt at the state level and then the community and the technical conciliation through the structure they have. So we are hoping that when the _____ Council of Judges and the Sudan Council of Judges get to form one unit they will focus mostly on the issues of development and the fat issue but reconciliation at grassroots level would be best for the community, the community will end up taking that conciliation process.

As for the question of who will be handling this we believe that reconciliation will be done according to the state where they are. For example, in Eastern Upper Nile or Western Upper Nile the community there have different circumstances of reconciliation compared to Eastern

Equatoria where LRA is involved. And also if you look at [?Bargazel?] the circumstances are different. So one unify in _____ for the attempted conciliation will not be possible. So it's better to decentralize the People-to-People reconciliation process according to the circumstances where it is taking place. This is how it's going to be brought and that's a better solution than centralizing it. Thank you very much.

Mrs. Garang: We just achieved a Juba declaration with [?Paulina Matid?], the bigger group in Western Upper Nile on the 8th of last January. It was a very big achievement and we have been doing this since 1983 until today to bring our people together. So the coming of [?Paulina Matid?] was very good, it coincides with the celebration of 9th January and really our people were very very happy. We will continue to do that. Even after the war our communities, cattle keepers, they always have this cattle raiding so we sent a commission of peace reconciliation. We will always look after this. So it is not a one time thing, it is a continuous process until now when we do the disarmament and put education in its place. To target those groups when I build a school in Kapoeta area, Eastern Equatoria I would start it in the [?Taposi?] because I said the [?Taposi?] goes and raid the cattle because they are not educated. But if you give them education they will know that the cows—because they think that the cows at large belong to them. So when they're going to steal they don't think they are stealing, they think they are recovering their own properties. So we want to let them know that if you have education and you have money you can buy cows. Everything is a lot of education. It is our duty that we educate our people so that they know their rights, what is their right, what belongs to them.

The question of election I don't know, I'll give it Steven Wondu, but the part which belongs to me I will answer it. Will Salva Kiir stand for election for president?

Steven Wundu: I think we are really jumping the thing. If one asked Salva Kiir whether he was going to run for elections in 2007 he would probably decline to answer the question. He was with me here in November. We went through a lot of things but this was not one of them. This was not one of the issues. I don't want to categorically say he will not run or categorically that he will because he has not made any indication. He and Madam Rebecca have pressing problems of the moment that need to be dealt with. She has been talking to you about our difficulty getting things done as agreed in the schedule. If they are sleepless at night it is these things that keep them sleepless. It is not presidential ambition that keeps them sleepless. So let us leave that to rest. The person who have [inaudible] like myself who are in Washington and Ezekiel maybe and I was but I think they are not thinking about that. That is not yet in the screen of their day-to-day deliberations in my view. Madam.

Mrs. Garang: Thank you. It is stipulated in the CPA that SPLM was going to contest the election whether it was Salva or Dr. John, it is in the CPA. But it needs preparation as I say earlier that the National Congress Party they have prepared themselves, they have done their convention so we are also in the SPLM preparing ourselves for the election. Whether we will contest or not it is something there in the CPA saying you should guess.

If Salva declines will you madam can do? No, that is not my ambition. My ambition is to speak out for my people. I want my people to be comfortable. I want them to drive as far as we did with my husband when we exit from Iowa through Minnesota. We drove in Canada, through Canada. We came to New York and we went, we did a second. This is a dream, a real dream that I want my people to be connected. And when I achieve that I have my grandchildren to take care of.

Dan [?Andrua?]: The state election is very important but in Southern Sudan as SPLM, I'm speaking as SPLM now. SPLM is a party which is still infant. In Southern Sudan according to the CPA this year it is stated clearly that all of this year we must have census in the whole country. We should have a census in order to determine the consequences of the election. As we speak now, Madam Rebecca stated it clearly here, the whole of Southern Sudan is a bush. How do you conduct census in area where there is no roads. How do you establish constituency and how do you contest election is the question I wanted to put to you intellectuals and the [inaudible]. We are committed for a democratic process but we need your assistance to help us to make [inaudible], to cross the road. Democracy is a process. You cannot give a democracy to somebody in the glass or in a cup of tea, say here is a democracy, drink it. It's a process which must develop and grow within the society. We are committed to this. We want your assistance. We want to alert you that there is a goal to be a serious violation of this agreement for the _____ election because our refugees in the camp in Uganda are displaced people in ____ camps. We don't have resources. The money which is promised to us [?50%?] revenue as you heard from Madam we are expecting over a billion dollar, we have under \$400 million given to us. We view American government, American people, the individual contributions to support us in order to open roads, support us in order to build SPLM [inaudible] to National Congress so that we will a vibrant democracy in Sudan. Thank you.

Dr. Wolpe: Another round of questions. Dave Peterson in the back there and then over on the left.

Dave Peterson, National Endowment for Democracy: Thank you Howard. To my mind possibly the most important provision in the CPA is the holding of a referendum after now five years. Your husband John Garang was a fervent advocate of unity for Sudan. But many

southerners and members of the SPLM I think now favor independence. What is your assessment both as far as the south in general is concerned and the SPLM? Will Sudan hold together or will there be an amicable divorce?

Sam Bell, Genocide Intervention Network: Thank you very much for coming. I wanted to ask, we heard that Mr. [Saligosh?] had come from Sudan on behalf of the CIA last April or last March and there is report about it in the *LA Times*. We've heard about a growing counter terrorism relationship between the U.S. government and the Sudanese government. I was wondering how the U.S. relationship has changed due to this relationship, the U.S.-Sudan relationship has changed?

Deborah [Fikes?], represent the churches in Midland, Texas. Madam Rebecca we were very honored when you and Dr. John came and visited us and we have been praying for you and we continue to do so. We think you're a very important figure in the days ahead for the future of your country. The question that I have is what do you see as the solution to the situation with the LRA and also what do you see is the solution to the classes in Darfur.

Mrs. Garang: Can you repeat?

Ms. [Fikes?]: What do you see as the solution to the counter-insurgency that you mentioned in the south, the LRA, and what do you think is the solution to the crisis in Darfur.

Mr. Wolpe: Let me add one other question from the overflow room, a security-related issue. How is the mine clearing effort going on and is assistance required for that?

Mrs. Garang: Dave Peterson talk about the people of Southern Sudan going towards oppression. These people were there living when John Garang was—

SWITCHING TO SIDE B

. . .unity of Sudan. I used to tell my husband do you know that you are sleeping in a room with a separatist? [laughter] Then he told me as long as it doesn't tell you to Khartoum. [laughter]

But you see I was convinced after we went to Khartoum on the 8th of July when he was received by all the people of Sudan, I was there. After we came back to our hotel I told him, I confessed, he say what? I say, "The Americans they say if you can't beat them join them." I told him, "I have joined you."

And he told me, "On what?"

I say, "I now join you in your new Sudan."

Because I was a separatist but I did not have means of fighting for suppression. But I used to see my suppression within his Sudan and we were going along like that. But when we came to Khartoum now I saw why he wanted a united Sudan. He normally preached and say that there are more Africans in the north than in the south and I really believed him when I went and I saw the faces of more than six million people. So now I'm preaching his unity but the separatists have never—nobody can say that they have never been there. They are always there and they speak loud and this is the head of John Garang's heart during the liberation struggle. It was for these separatists but my suppression was very different. Mine in company with John Garang and their's to Bashir. So there was a real big problem.

This is why we have to give unity a chance. We thought that the National Congress Party would give unity a chance. But what I am seeing now they are giving suppression a chance because they are not doing the right things that will affect people there and say that this is our country, why are going away. I have a right. I can go with my head up. Nobody can arrest me. I can walk at night. Nobody can harass me. These things are instilled not only on the southerners

but everybody in Sudan is complaining. But the southerners are saying if I have this option why should I go there. For example, if President Bashir could not come to join with us in the celebration of 9th of January can this make unity a captive. It can. Just simple examples. So that one will be answered by the southerners I think but that's my small explanation.

The question of [?Saligosh?] relationship with U.S., I will not answer that. I think the American would be the one to answer because they are the ones who know the relationship with [?Saligosh?].

Deborah [?Fikes?] talked about the solution of LRA and Darfur so please [?Charino?] can you answer that?

[Dr. [?Charino?]: Thank you madam. I think the LRA as Madam Rebecca put it well has really become a problem because it seems they are sifted, they are all across even [inaudible]. I do not really know that they are in the center of _____. It never happened to us that we left the grounds of southern Sudan and the new Sudan and went to fight in Congo or in Ethiopia or in Uganda. We never crossed the borders because we knew our course. We had a focused leadership which knew what we wanted to achieve. I think that is something that LRA has really not been able to articulate. So their presence in southern Sudan is really a violation of sovereignty of southern Sudan and I think it is up to our government now and my minister is part of the Cabinet that will take it as an intrusion into the sovereignty of southern Sudan and that of the country.

Secondly, the presence of the LRA in southern Sudan is suspect because we do not really know whether it is the LRA who have a reason of making life difficult to our persons in Southern Sudan. Maybe there is an invisible hand behind it and that invisible hand is working, requesting the international community and of course a lot of _____ states and those who are interested

in the [?division?], a lot of conflict. As an academic, I'm one of those who have dismissed the LRA in my own right, in my own analysis since 1996. In one of my review articles I wrote and I was not just condemning them for nothing, I really believed they are going to have a _____ period. They have never articulated why they are actually fighting and contributed to the violation of human rights in the region was in Southern Sudan and in the Congo now.

So what would be the solution? I think the solution is either to ask them to come and articulate their political problems on table like we did with the National Congress Party. And we discussed how to resolve it politically. If not, then I'm not going to suggest the next solution.

As for Darfur I think, as my minister said, Darfur is an easy one to be resolved if there is really negotiation in good faith. We have the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the CPA, which my minister has just explained to you. It could be used as a formula for resolving Darfur. For those of you who have access to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement it has provided a solution for similar areas of the country like Southern Blue Nile and _____. So we really see a problem, a reason why the _____ is becoming difficult.

The paradox is that the SPLM is also part of that government, government of national unity, and so the SPLM will play a role in trying to bring about the solution in Darfur and I think we have sent members of our delegation there after _____ Darfur. And if we need we will reenforce our presence in Darfur, more political experts. It is clear the age of Darfur is viewed that it is not just because the negotiations are not successful. There is a reluctance in accepting the problem with Darfur. This happened to us. The government never recognized our problem for twenty years. They are saying we were bandits. That is not the case. There is need first of all for the government of Sudan to recognize that there is a problem in Darfur and the problem is political. Not just to dismiss it as something which is non-existent. That is a major problem that

we need to recognize so that you can then negotiate and resolve the political problem. But the CPA is really a good formula for resolving Darfur. Thank you.

Mrs. Garang: On the light of LRA President Salva Kiir approach President Museveni and I think he talked with some of the LRA leaders so that they can sit and negotiate and bring solution to the problem of LRA. As Dr. [?Charino?] said I also see that the LRA people didn't have any reason at all to fight but they are the one who knows the reason and the one that feels the Ten Commandments as their manifesto which is violating the bible because we don't have that in bible that you tend the Ten Commandments to go and kill other people. And they are killing their own people. They are committing very bad atrocities. They cut their tongues, their ears and even sometimes they bring lock on them, they pierce and lock your lips. The women they cut their breasts and these are their own tribesmen. So these atrocities, if the government of Southern Sudan and the SPLM can be of help we will try and our president has attempted to bring the solution to Uganda.

The question of Darfur as I said earlier, we sympathize with the situation of Darfur and we want the solution and this is why we have our delegation who realize that there was some technical problem that one of our, maybe head of our delegation will ve changed so that somebody else has to be brought, somebody who was in Naivasha in negotiation team because the head of the delegation we had was not part of the delegation in Naivasha. Those who were in Naivasha like those of the [?Tatrino?] they have technique of negotiating because they negotiated for sixteen months. So they have learned the technique of solving the problem.

I talked with President Salva myself. I told him that when you appointed the head of the delegation first it was okay but the second time we should not have allowed him to go back. It

was our mistake. So we should have changed him and he accept and he said yes this is what he is going to do. And we need to participate in the solution of Darfur.

[?Kalin Musa?], Embassy of Sudan: I really appreciate the courage as a symbol of all that management here in Sudan, your leadership and I salute you personally in leading our people for the future of new Sudan. Despite your gloomy picture that you presented before but I could see a light at the end of the tunnel. My question is about the national reconciliation between the south and the north after the bitterness of the riots after the death of Dr. John Garang. We know the events that have taken place at that time and did the SPLM has taken any positive march in the north because there is accusation right now that the SPLM has caused some trouble in the south and forgotten about the north regardless of the new Sudan plan and its protege and picture.

The second question also is about the south as dialogue because we can't see there is reconciliation between the south and the north without shedding any light between the south and south's dialogue.

My last question is about the implementation of the CPA because you just concentrated on the empty half cup and the negative aspect of the implementation but definitely there is a positive aspect of the implementation of the CPA regarding the political, radical restructuring of the political life in Sudan, the participation of the SPLM in the north and political life and the relation between the center and _____ in Sudan. Thank you.

Mr. Wolpe: Thank you very much. Those are three questions to close out our discussion this afternoon. Mrs. Garang.

Mrs. Garang: Simon, the reconciliation between the north and the south question.

Simon (?): Thank you very much Minister Garang. The reconciliation between the south and the north is actually stipulated in the CPA. Because if the CPA has not done that I think the

thousands would have sat together. It started in the CPA by forming the national government and the national parliament. The SPLM has about 119 members of parliament in the national assembly and we have ministers in the north in the national government. The national ministers and the state ministers and we have also members in the Council of States who are from the south. These people work together. I think the reconciliation, the national reconciliation in Sudan has already started. I don't know why he's asking this question and he is also from the embassy of Sudan. He should be well aware of what is really happening in Sudan because these things have already started and we are there. And Salva Kiir Mayardit is the first vice president of Sudan. I don't know whether you ask me about the Reconciliation Commission. That may be the real question because this is a commission that can sit and reconcile people. But I think about the reconciliation in terms of an institution, in terms of other things. Actually we have already started it and it is working in Sudan. Thank you very much.

Mrs. Garang: Dr. [? Deal?], would you answer the south-south dialogue.

[?Dr. Deal?]: Thank you minister. The south-south dialogue has gone a long way. It started when the last chairman was still controlling the movement. And a big part of it was actually done at the [?More?] Center or the [?More?] Institute in Kenya. That was the first chapter.

When you talk about south dialogue you are literally talking about bringing the people of Southern Sudan who have different views about the south. Not particularly that they differ politically but that the political views just as you have in this country, you have Republicans and the Democrats, each one has an approach to the problems in the country. But the aim is the same. And I think this is where there was a problem. The problem of two different armies or several armies, the main SPLA, that was under the SPLM, under the late chairman. And then there were other counter-insurgent groups that were used to form them because that is usually a practice

done by somebody who is _____. They usually employ your own people to do the job for them. And what we really wanted to do was to see to it that they should not be used. We literally _____ them and brought them around and again as the south-south dialogue.

And the south-south dialogue has actually gone a long way and as Rebecca was saying on the 8th of January the main big group of the SSDF, that is the Southern Sudan Defense Force, they were the main military group led by _____ merged with the SPLA. And he is now the commander-in-chief of the whole SPLA.

And I think we have gone a long long way. There are some splinter groups that still assist for the _____ will be addressed and I think dialogue is still going on with a few others. So the area of south-south dialogue whether they were political groups or military groups has been addressed. A lot of them at the moment are participating both in the parliament in the south and in the north. Those who are military are getting merged together with the SPLA therefore a common agenda politically, militarily in a democratic way is taking place and has taken place and I think we will achieve that. That is not our big problem really. We have achieved our goal and we are going to achieve it. I hope that is sufficient to explain the situation. Thank you.

Mrs. Garang: The last one. I said this during the burial of my husband. I'm going to be the spokesperson of my people and if the CPA is not implemented the lion is killed and you will see what the lioness will do. Don't expect me to come and say good things here. What I will focus on are the negative things. Because if the positive were more we would not be complaining but the negative things, the violation of the CPA is a lot. And this document is exemplary to our people in Sudan as a whole. It will solve the problem of Sudanese people not only in the south but the one who will hold it properly, who will hold it as CPA and not throw it away is the owner of the CPA. So don't say that I have concentrated. This is how I talk. Nobody intimidate me. Because

the CPA is my husband. I don't have any husband. The CPA is the only husband. If anybody want to kill it I will deal with the person. I tell Bashir like this. I tell Ali Osman Taha like this and I tell my president Salva Kiir like this because I want to see the CPA is the eye of our people. If anybody want to come and hit we will see because we have fought the war for thirty-two years. To fight the war for the implementation of the CPA we don't see that it is a big thing. But for me to come and tell an audience to help me, peaceful transformation of Sudan is better. This is what we are approaching and this is what we are preaching. We don't any war. So I don't see why should I come and talk about the positive, only the positive. But now because the negative and the violation of the CPA is there this is why we are here. Because what happened with the National Congress they think that the CPA belong to them and I differ with them. And I told President Bashir, I say, "Please the CPA does not belong to us alone. It belongs to the region and to the international community because the international community has invested in it. They invested their energy and money. The region has also invested in the CPA. So I don't think that it is mine, it is ours and I can do whatever I want to with it. No, the eye of the international community including me who lost her husband. My husband in Khartoum say that the people who have died during his reception were the martyrs of peace. My husband is a martyr of peace. But he has loved the CPA and I will see into that that the CPA is implemented so that when I follow him I'll go and tell him the mission is accomplished. Thank you. [applause]

Mr. Wolpe: Mrs. Garang, I want to express on behalf of the Wilson Center our enormous appreciation.

Mrs. Garang: There was a small part of the SPLM concentrating in the south. This is what you talk about. If you come to the south, the south as I say the SPLM is well organized in the north and we have not started in the south so they are giving pressures to our secretary general in the

south because of the [?Lasis?] is supervisor of the SPLM in the north and he has organized the SPLM very well in the north.

And I will agree with my colleague who said that you are an official in the embassy, you should be having all the information. [laughter] So in the north, SPLM is very well organized and they are there and belong to them. SPLM belong to all of us in Sudan. The one who _____ into our SPLM and hold the flag of the SPLM can say that and SPLM and it is for all of us. But the SPLM is like the spokesperson like me who is a better SPLM. Thank you. [applause]

Mr. Wolpe: I want to express my great appreciation Mrs. Garang for your being here today. Your words and your example in the aftermath of your husband's tragic death were an inspiration to all Sudanese and I think clearly were a major factor in keeping the peace process afloat at a very difficult, very traumatic moment. I think we've had through the discussion today a reaffirmation of what many have said which is that the CPA is a beginning of a process, not the end of a process. There is so much work that remains to be done. There is much trust yet to be built and there are many tasks yet to be accomplished. And it will take courage, determination on the part of all Sudanese to really realize the potential that is reflected in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. I'm convinced that with the kind of courage and determination that were so much in evidence today by your own presentation here that you will succeed. Thank you so much. [applause] We are adjourned.