

FIGURE 1
Horn of Africa



another movement that was fighting to change the politics of Addis Abeba, and was not fighting against the EPLF; in fact, they had some degree of cooperation. This independence movement found itself in charge of a territory, so it took it over, but the relationship between the province that seceded and the mother government seemed to be a problem, and it looked like the two sides had to fight it out again and find a solution on the battlefield.

So, I am not advocating that solutions to conflicts are necessarily to be found on the battlefield, but I am trying to point out that third parties that attempt to help parties achieve a settlement, don't seem to be succeeding in our region.

In respect to the subject of our discussion today, my observation is that there are too many outside actors. There was one actor in 1972, and there were very few actors, only one person allowing the two sides to discuss. Unfortunately, it didn't last long, but that was the best solution there was. The two sides had the chance to accommodate each other, and they sorted out a solution which lasted at least for a period of time. Maybe this is the time to try that all over again—with fewer external actors, I know our country is involved, IGAD [Inter-Governmental Authority on Development] is involved, others want to be involved. There are interested parties as far away as the United States; there are so many interest groups that would like to appear to help the parties to achieve a settlement—for their own specific interests. Most of the time, external actors play the part they do out of their own specific

interests, to promote them. I think our Sudanese friends would do well to investigate this aspect: Can we have as few actors as possible, at least nearer to the Addis Abeba settlement, where the Emperor met them for very few times, and yet they sorted out the fundamentals that had divided them and they would come to a settlement? Thank you.

Discussion

The Most Important Topic Is Development

Uwe Friesecke, EIR: Two quick questions on the southern Sudanese peace process, which are often brought up: first, the argument that the government is not doing as much as it could to deliver the development means, and that's the reason why people like Riek Machar left the peace process; and second, the argument that the government is more inclined to resort to security methods in dealing with the process than with development methods.

You Should Not Consider These People 'Rebels'

Prof. Sam Aluko, Nigeria: This is the most important topic: development. When there is no peace, there cannot be development. If there is a conflict, as Mrs. LaRouche has rightly said, we must show due love, we must bend over backward to those who are on the other side. I've read the [government peace] paper, and when you refer to a group of people as rebels, it is not good language, it's the language of imperialists. I'm sure it was coined in America. That is the language used by Sudan, in radio and TV—they call them rebels. In the Biafran conflict, I was one of the officials, one of the ambassadors, to Biafra in Nigeria. I was very sympathetic to Biafra. The military used to come and sack my house, asking why I was supporting rebellion, and I said, it is not right for you, as head of state, to consider these people as rebels. You should call them brothers who are aggrieved. So, he changed the language and started calling them brothers. I think we should drop the idea of calling our southern brothers rebels. You can't negotiate with rebels, only with brothers, on a brotherly basis. I think a change in language is important.

We should also define our task. There are many contradictions in the statements; you are calling for federation, and you are calling for a referendum. If there is a federation, there is no basis for a referendum. You should negotiate the basis of what goes into the constitution, regardless of a referendum.

If the majority of those in the south say, in a referendum, we don't want to be Sudanese, we want to be something else—what do we do? So, I think we should revise the idea of a referendum to determine the fate of the south, if you want a united Sudan.

Third, is the idea of sharing power. If you agree to a federation, you should be careful about the idea of where power lies. There is the idea in the south, that whatever power is not in the federal government, should go to the states. That is what happens in a federation, as in the United States. Switzerland is a confederation, but it one of the most united countries in the world.

Fourth, there is a contradiction in saying you want a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-lingual state that recognizes the fundamental right of religion, and at the same time, you say state law will be guided by *Sharia*. That's a contradiction. There should be freedom of religion; then, you cannot say, "guided by *Sharia*." This is one of the things beginning to cause trouble in Nigeria. If you say, no discrimination due to sex or religion, and then say law is *Sharia*, it won't work. Religion itself is not better than the political process. I think we should look at the idea of neutralizing religion. If we want to unite, we must downplay religion. If my father had been a Muslim, I would have been a Muslim. Why should a man or woman be discriminated against because of the religion of the father?

I think we should minimize the role of external people, these NGOs are all people who are fanning the embers of disunity. I don't know where the minerals are here. That is why what Mrs. LaRouche said is crucial: that you must show love, and respect the individuality and the person as made in the image of God. No one creates himself a Muslim or a Christian; we found ourselves that way and should not allow this to determine things.

Finally, I think, as my friend from Nigeria said, you must build bridges between the north and the south; there must be people in government, in society, who are friendly with people in the south. There is suspicion. You make an agreement, they think that you are trying to trap them. It was I who organized the meeting in Addis Abeba, and in Ghana, because I found people who confided in me and said, look, I cannot go to Ethiopia, because I have people who say, if I go to Addis Abeba for three days, I may come back and find I have been toppled. So, I said, well, we can do it in Ghana, go in the morning and come back in the evening and not be toppled. That is how they reached some accord.

'Let Us Seize This Opportunity'

Lawrence Freeman, EIR: I think we should look at the present crisis as an opportunity at the same time, and realize, that we, coming out of this conference, with its unique participation, centered around the Nile, should seize the opportunity to establish something new, not only here, but throughout the world. I think one thing brought out by speakers today, is the

comparison of Sudan and Nigeria.

In the 1960s, after the "winds of change," these were the areas the British knew well, and have succeeded in manipulating, in Nigeria, with the so-called ethnic groups, and in Sudan, where they artificially divided the country. This is something the British have been able to do for 30-40 years, to use it to prevent countries from developing, around so-called ethnicity. And we have to put an end to this. We also know, since the winds of change, the colonialist powers of the bayonets were replaced by the neo-colonial liberalism of the IMF, and that the issue of debt has been used to hold countries under control, while the internal situation is manipulated. But there is absolutely nothing objective that stops us from having development in Africa, beginning in the Nile Valley. We have the potential for all peoples to work together, as Mrs. LaRouche showed in reference to the Treaty of Westphalia. It requires determination and commitment to solve these problems.

But even that will not alone solve the crisis. We are in the final phase of a complete financial breakdown of the West, it has to be seen as an opportunity. The United States is still a significant military power; it is no longer a significant economic power. The U.S. as an economic power is collapsing. The situation mentioned by the professor in Nigeria, where there are only rich and poor, is becoming the case in the United States, with a small elite of 20% of the population, ruled by 1% of the population, having wealth, and 80% poor, and the bottom 20-40% getting poorer. Our industries are collapsing, farms are collapsing, our cities are collapsing. And unique, I thought, only to Nigeria, where you can sit in the wealthiest houses, and lose your electricity, that is now happening in million-dollar homes in the United States, as deregulation has destroyed electricity production. So, the U.S. is no longer an economic power, there is no U.S. economy, there is no Western economy, there is a financial bubble, which is bursting at this point. This is what has to be recognized. We can't say, let the West deal with it. This is the responsibility of our leadership here in this room, to use this opportunity, to seize the collapse of the Western system, to bring about something entirely new, what Mr. LaRouche has called the New Bretton Woods system.

This requires two elements: vision—that we have to fight against pragmatism, against the idea that, "No, this is too big for us, we can't deal with this, we're a poor country, let others

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Dr. Bashir Bakri: "I am one of the believers in Nile Valley unity, not only Sudan and Egypt, but those and all the states of the Nile."

deal with it." That's not acceptable. We have to instill in Africans, not to be victims or second-class citizens any longer. Not only do we have responsibility, to think above our own country, to develop, for example, this entire Nile region, but we have a responsibility to develop the world. Instead of being treated in a horrendous way by the West, internalizing a sense of victimization, let Africans rise up and lead the rest of the world, take responsibility for the entire continent, for the entire world.

If we look at this crisis, imminent and real, and use it, use the principles developed here, in terms of leadership and vision, and the quality of love and forgiveness, then, coming out of this conference, out of this region of the world—which most people don't even care about, about Sudan, Ethiopia, most Americans couldn't find this place on a map. Our own President doesn't even know what a continent is. He thinks Nigeria is a continent. When Bush was asked to comment about Nigeria, he said, yes, that's a wonderful continent. So, if Nigeria is a continent, what is Sudan, Ethiopia, Egypt? His advisers each day point his finger at a map and tell him about a country he is supposed to know something about.

The question of financial collapse is clear, and in Africa, I think there is a hegemony of leadership and intelligence compared to what the United States is going to be, beginning on Jan. 20. We should use this potential, and dedicate ourselves to establish true peace. But we cannot simply talk about peace, without economic development, and we cannot do this unless we take responsibility for leading this world into an entirely new financial and political system, by intervening now in the economic collapse and not running away from it.

'Enough Is Enough'

Q: I am the delegate for peace in the University of Juba Center for Peace and Development Studies, and I am delighted. First of all, I would like to thank you. All the speakers have touched upon very sensitive issues, which concern us, and I would like to suggest they continue, to give us facts, not theories. I felt the Ethiopian has, though diplomatic, said, "You come together Sudanese, and make use of the past." The other person who talked about forgiveness, the Addis Abeba agreement, showed us that there really was forgiveness—on the spot of signing the peace; immediately any injustice that was perpetrated was forgotten. And we have experience of this. The Nigerian, I think also can benefit from the comments. The external actors, involved in the issue, that's true. But the main issue is that the two parties, if they are not concerned, the external parties will come to destroy us. And we have the experience: In 1972, when the two parties sat in Addis Abeba, the external parties were very serious to destroy the agreement, but, as Mustafa said, political will, by that time, there was political will.

I want to conclude saying, if the two parties say, enough is enough, let us change our mentality, sit down, and then we can complete peace.

'We Are Very Much Encouraged'

Dr. Bashir Bakri, head of Sudan-Unesco, former ambassador to France: We are happy to have our friends from Ethiopia, Nigeria, and from the Schiller Institute here with us. We are sure that they really want the Sudanese to arrive at a peaceful solution. We think what they have said is very useful to us. I am for peace through development, not only in Sudan, but along the Nile Valley, but that's my personal conviction. I am one of the believers in Nile Valley unity, not only Sudan and Egypt, but those and all the states of the Nile. I think that yesterday, the Minister of Irrigation was speaking of the Nile Initiative, which took place in Arusha, two year ago, and which is going to continue, and we are going to have, fortunately, all the ministers next month in Khartoum, implementing this initiative, which is a basic idea of development and peace.

But it's not only true among the Nile Valley countries; it's also true in Sudan, also in Ethiopia, in all other countries, internally. For Sudan, I assure you that all the partners agreed on that, they agreed that development is the way to realize peace; this is true for all the partners. I think you have listened to our friend, the last speaker, and you saw that he is from the south, Juba, and is saying the same thing that I am saying and that all in the north are all saying: Let the past be the past, and let us join efforts to first realize peace among us and to live in one country.

A second point I want to raise, and our friends from Nigeria and Ethiopia advised us, saying, why don't we solve our problems by ourselves? Why do we go to IGAD, or the Egyptian-Libyan initiative? This is perhaps the first time that this

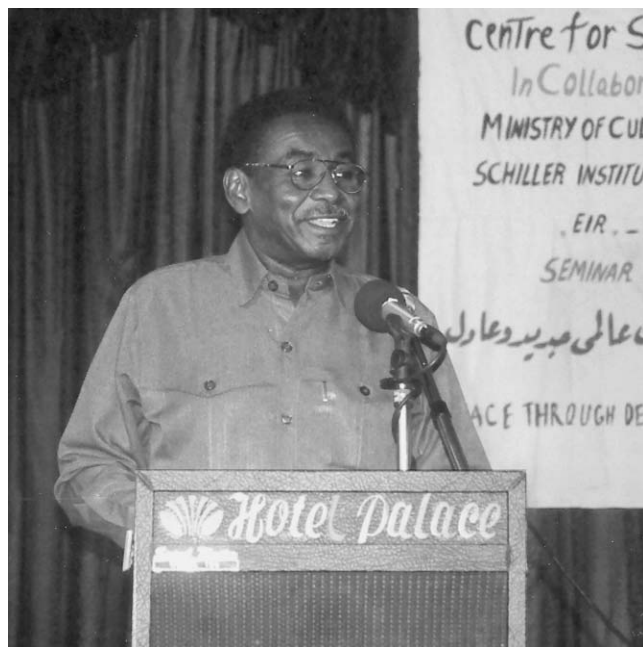
is known: I want to tell you that now we have a Sudanese initiative, a non-governmental one, between people from a non-party alliance, intellectuals, as well as members of civil society. It is a Sudanese initiative; we have contacted the government and are trying to contact the other party from the south and from the northern opposition. I hope that this is a good omen, that this seminar is going to push our initiative, and I hope that next time when you come, soon, you will find peace in the Sudan [applause].

I just want to say, always Ethiopians and Nigerians were participants in our problems, even the first conference for peace here, a minister from Nigeria came in 1975. And the peaceful agreement of 1972 took place in Ethiopia, and we know Ethiopia intervened. We are very much encouraged by this seminar, and I'm sure I want to thank very much Mr. and Mrs. LaRouche for their advice. We don't want to speak of the influence of religion, but we just say that we want man to be in the spirit of God, and because of that, we are going to, I hope, continue these efforts for peace.

Responses from the Round Table Participants

Dr. Tagelsir Maghoub: One thing that struck me, is the love theme. I think that is the heart of the matter. In all aspects of life, love is there, and without love nothing can be achieved. We are concerned with structures always, and not content. I wrote a book while I was in Somalia in 1971, entitled *In Expectation of the Dawn*, which dealt with the northern/southern conflict. I published it only six months ago, 30 years later. The manuscript was lying there. I found it and felt it was written yesterday, because the situation still exists—30 years—because we are not concerned with these aspects, the content of love; we are concerned with structure, meetings, negotiations, third-party interventions, coming here, going there, prolonging time, and so on, but the real content is not there.

I always cite the story of the chicken: There was a company that sells chicken, it made a big advertisement, on TV, and everyone saw it. One day, a person wanted to buy a chicken, went there, found a four-story building, very plush, and walked in and saw secretaries, computers, and so on. Someone came up to him and asked him, "Can we help you?" He says, "Yes, I'd like to buy a chicken." So he says, "Would you like it killed or alive?" He says, "I'd like a killed chicken." "Then," he said, "go to the first floor." So, he goes up to the first floor, finds the same setting, and then somebody comes to him and asks him, "Yes, can we help you?" "Yes, I would like to have a killed chicken." And he says, "Would you like it with or without feathers?" He says, "I would like it without feathers." He says, "Then, you go to the next floor." He goes

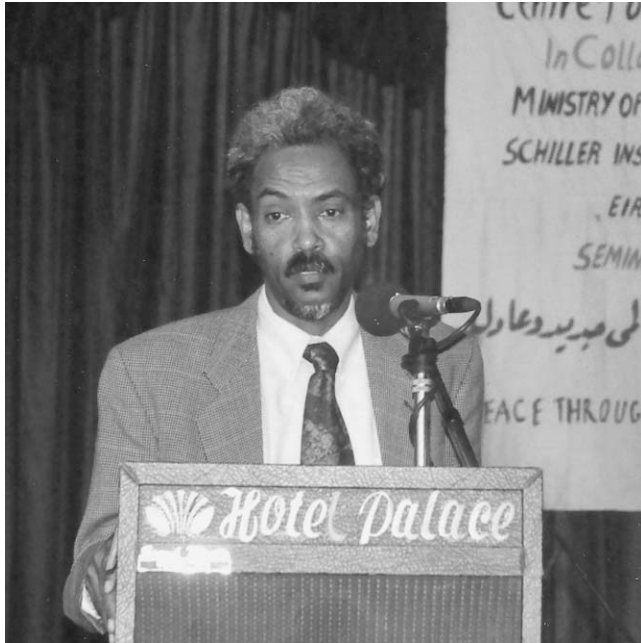


Dr. Tagelsir Maghoub, secretary general of the State Support Fund of Sudan.

up to the next floor, the same setting, the same everything, and then the question is, "Can we help you?" And he says, "Yes, I would like a killed chicken without feathers." He asks, "Would you like it with or without the internal parts?" He says, "I would like it without the internal parts." Then, he says, "Go upstairs." Then he goes up, finds the same setting, the same questions, and says, "I want a killed chicken without feathers and without internal parts." So then the person says, "In that case, you will have to see the manager." He goes to the next floor, and is to see the manager. He waits for a while and then walks in, plush office, the manager says, "Yes, can we help you?" "Yes," he says, "I would like to have a killed chicken, without feathers and without internal parts." The manager looks at him for a while and then he says, "Sorry, we don't have chicken, but what do you think of our organization?"

That is the point. Structure and content. What we are interested in is selling chicken, not the outward parts, sitting and coming and going. That's why it is not something that is deeply rooted. When Mrs. LaRouche talked about love, I thought about what it is. We have to talk about trust and confidence-building. How can we do that? It cannot be done by signing memos and papers; we have to instill love, instill trust, and instill confidence, reinforcing the sense of equality and practicing it. We are all the same; we are all one; we are all entitled to the same things, and that is what reinforces trust and confidence.

The third thing, is real social integration. If we can think and focus on this, then we can talk about instilling love, the



Amin Hassan Omer, editor-in-chief of the Sudanese daily Al-Anba.

most important thing.

The other point that triggered thinking, is the idea of crisis and opportunity. I like the idea of this vision, and rising up and leading. I think that is not a quest for something that is impossible, but it can only be done, if we feel we have developed this sense of love, love among all the parties. This is one of the things that needs to be thought about, and worked on, because I think it provides great potential. I also like the idea that we should stop thinking of ourselves as second-class citizens, and try to become first class, try to make use of the crisis, to build.

The question raised, about the government's not doing as much as it could, delivering development: I think maybe the government is trying to do as much as it can, but there are other forces hindering the government from doing that. A lot of programs have been launched, a lot of work is being done. One example, is Unity State in the south: the electricity, the bridges, the schools, the medical services that have been carried out there as a pilot program—I think it is amazing, wonderful work. Even when people talk of the oil revenues, we are still just beginning. One of the things raised at the conference in Nairobi, was oil revenues and their utilization, right now, to develop the framework for how oil revenues should be used. This is what the government is trying to do.

Being more inclined to security than development: Despite the incessant calls for a cease-fire, it is not being done. Obviously, something has to be done. But it is not related to security, because most of the things we do now, and what we spend for the south, is not for security, but the main focus is

development. That's why people are concerned about stability, water, electricity, roads. Security is for the welfare of the south, because of the devastation created by the war.

I like the comment from our friend, about rebels versus brothers. I can't disagree. These words have connotations that don't help. They have their point of view, we have ours. How to deal with it is important. What if we try to address each other as brothers to pave the way for a more positive understanding?

'Forget About Labels'

Amin Hassan: I want to respond to the question of naming those in the south as rebels or brothers. They in the SPLA have been formed to topple the government, not only this one, but every one since 1983. I want to say that we call each other brothers, but I hope we can act as brothers.

Regarding the advice to downplay the role of religion in society, I guess he knows this is easily said, but difficult to implement in African societies. It is difficult to say, forget about religious affiliation, or about the role of religion in political life. I guess we have to call upon our people to rethink religion, give new interpretations, to innovate religious thought, so as to enhance egalitarian principles. We are trying to do this, saying we will not neglect religion, but will rethink it, to marry democracy, human rights, to a new understanding for religion. We are trying this in Sudan. We say that *Sharia* does not contradict the basic rights of any citizens in the Sudan, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. We are trying to make that something of common understanding, and will enshrine it in the Constitution. We have to forget about labels and come down to the real issues.

Keep Our Eye on Development

Helga Zepp-LaRouche: Again I want to refer to Nicholas of Cusa, who wrote a very interesting dialogue, "Peace in Religion." It starts with people coming from all over the Middle East—Syria, Lebanon, the Mediterranean, Italy, and other places—and they all go to God and say, "Why is it we all claim to be your representative and fight your cause, and yet we fight one another and kill each other? That cannot be your wish. Why don't you give us advice, on how we can have peace?" The argument developed, is that peace in religion focusses on the unity in faith, and puts down the difference in rites. It is important not to be so taken in by the difference in religious rites, which are historically grown, and have long historical explanations, but to focus on the unity in faith.

The second point, is what strikes me, is that if you look at Africa, don't forget what is really fundamental. What is fundamental, is Africa needs development. You look at the continent, and it's like a shout: "We need development!"

I have studied international organizations: They are masters in changing the subject. For example, I attended the UN



Helga Zepp-LaRouche: "Concentrate on development."

conference on world population in 1974 in Bucharest. At that time, people were not so brainwashed, as they are now. At that time, people said, the key problem of the Third World is underdevelopment. And then came Rockefeller, who said, "No, the key problem of developing countries, is overpopulation." But at that point, people said, " 'Overpopulation' is a Rockefeller baby," because everyone recognized this was a trick, to change the question of development to some other issue, namely, so-called overpopulation. If you look at all UN conferences, they produce papers, and keep participants busy, but what gets lost is *development*. This is what we have to focus on.

I would like to bring back the thinking of what we have discussed in the last few days. When I heard this report yesterday on rain-fed agriculture, I thought, no country like Sudan should be dependent on rainfall for its agriculture, because it is just too risky, because one year you may have drought, and another year too much. So, you need water management. I think that is the key: To concentrate on development is the only way out. I am confident we can achieve it, if we realize that the enemy's aim is to get away from that most important concept.

Respect Human Rights

Journalist: No solution to African problems can be found unless based on respect for human rights. After 50 years of independence, Africans cannot complain that their problems are the result of external powers. The problems are their own: dictatorships through military coups, corruption, the use of

military coups—these are the problems which should be discussed and solved, especially the situation of human rights. The theme of this seminar is peace through development, but what is the use of development, if there is no respect for human rights or human dignity?

A Conference on Water and Peace

Prof. Hamid Ahmed El-Hag Ismail: I am director of the Unesco Chair for Water Resources at the Omdurman Islamic University. This is a regional chair, which has ties with the university for academic activities, but for applied activities, research training, and public awareness programs, it has nothing to do with the university, it is a separate entity, formed of all interested in water resources: national chair advisory board, ministries, universities, and so on. We have a regional chair, with focal points from other Nile countries. We have activities in research in water resources. We are also interested in this theme.

In fact, through Dr. Bakri, as president of the Sudan-UN Society, we decided to form a conference on water and peace. We plan to hold a national forum about water and peace, because we think the idea in the world media, "water and war," is a fallacy. It has nothing to do with religion or any other factor; it is just political. It is wrong, and builds in our children the wrong idea. We want the idea of water and peace, and development, to be the idea that goes into the media and public. This is the main idea and this is our theme. We will do this on the national level, then for the Nile basin. We think, historically, the Nile basin has been a very peaceful area, and would like it to be a model for other regions as well.

I want to cite two incidents which were very annoying. People talk about political systems, whereas we would like to talk about natural resources. When you think about political systems, you may think, this government is bad and should be combatted. But if we think about natural resources, we think about them for us and for future generations. The government here invited a Japanese professor, important in Japanese support for Africa. He gave a lecture, and said, we cannot support Sudan because of this and that. But there are natural resources, which have been there since the pharaohs, and we are making use of them, irrespective of government. If we don't protect these resources, and think the government is bad because it is communist or a dictatorship, this is criminal to future generations. Certain areas must always be there, to be developed for all, irrespective of the government.

The other incident was a forum in Belgium, on financial support for the Third World. I took some projects with me for water development, and when I mentioned it, the World Bank manager said, sorry you cannot talk about Sudan. The European Union man said, okay we can consider it if you present it through your government. Natural resources have nothing to do with politics. These are God's bounties, Allah's bounties, irrespective of what you think.