



IPI's African Leaders Series Presents:

"Sudan: The Referenda and Beyond"

with

H.E. President Salva Kiir Mayardit
First Vice President of Sudan
President of the Government of Southern Sudan

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IPI's Trygve Lie Center for Peace, Security, and Development
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Edward C. Luck:

Good afternoon, everybody. On behalf of IPI, let me welcome you. We know there are a lot of things going on in town, a lot of competing events, but we had a feeling between our speaker and the topic, that indeed, we'd have a large turnout. I'm sorry that this leaves so many people standing in the back.

When I was thinking about how to introduce President Salva Kiir Mayardit, it was not an easy question. I noted that he has many hats, and not only the proverbial trademark hat for which he is so well known, but he has at least four other hats. Just now, when I told him I was going to comment on how many hats, he said, well how many do you think I have? And I said, I think there are four. And I think he said that was okay. I think I had at least the four main ones. He is the First Vice President of the Republic of Sudan. He is the President of the Government of Southern Sudan. He is Chairman of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, the SPLM, and he is also Commander-in-Chief of the SPLA, the army of the SPLM. So those are four quite disparate hats. Some of us find just juggling one or two hats is a little bit complicated, but this looks like, Your Excellency, like you have the most intriguing combination of hats, I think, that I've seen in some time.

In addition to that, I would count three professions in his career. One is as a military officer and commander. The second is as a political figure. And the third is as a diplomat. And it seems at times that all three of these probably come in handy. He was born in 1951, and at age 17, he took up the question of armed struggle very directly. He rose through the ranks of the SPLA, and he joined the High Command Council in 1983 along with the legendary John Garang. When Mr. Garang died in 2005, General Salva Kiir was elected chairman of the SPLM and Commander-in-Chief of the SPLA. In 2002, he led the SPLM delegation to the peace talks in Kenya that produced the Machakos Protocol, and I think it's interesting to look back at that protocol, because on the one hand, it said that the

unity of Sudan would be a priority to the parties. But this was under certain principles of justice and governance. But it also went on to recognize the right of the people of Southern Sudan to self determination through a referendum to determine their future status.

Now, of course, we're approaching that referendum in January of 2011, just a few months from now, and we have, obviously in the international community and the UN particular and in the African Union, both hope and optimism on the one hand and considerable apprehension on the other. Just a few days ago in this room, we had a very quiet off the record meeting on preparations for not only the referendum on the future of the south, but also the referendum on the future of Abyei. So we have a rare opportunity today at a very timely point to hear from and be able to interact with one of the most pivotal figures in this future, and I think it was a good thing that we referred in the title for this program, both about the referenda themselves, but also what they imply for the future in terms of the referenda and beyond. So I'm not quite sure whether I'm introducing General Salva Kiir, President Salva Kiir, or First Vice President Salva Kiir, but in any three of those guises, we're delighted that you're here with us, sir, and we very much look forward to hearing from you and to interacting with you. So please, President Salva Kiir.

Salva Kiir Mayardit: Thank you very much, Dr. Ed Luck and all the invited guests. I'm happy to be here with you today, although I never expected to be talking to you in this forum. But it makes no difference. We'll have to say what should be said, and we leave what does not belong to us in this room.

As I said, I'm grateful to the IPI for giving me this opportunity to talk to you and to explain the situation that we have in our country that is Sudan. I know this institution maintains keen interest in Sudanese political affairs, and therefore, they need always to be updated so that they follow the right track. I welcome this interest and should also help to shed light on what brought us here to New York. Here at the UN, there will be a big gathering on Friday, there will be a meeting, where key members of international community, including heads of state will gather, and I understand President Obama will also be, will be present. These leaders are gathering specifically to discuss the future of Sudan, and so that, they put their views about what should be done, and I will take this opportunity to thank the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon, for the initiative that he has taken to call this meeting on Sudan. We have been looking forward for such a forum, but it was not possible for all this time, and it has come at the right time that we are today, as we are approaching a very critical period in our history.

Today, we are left with about 100 days to go to the referendum. The 100 days, or you say, 105, 103, whatever number of days that are left, you are talking about 100 days, it cannot go beyond that. These are the days remaining out of the, most of the interim period, which was six years. The referendum is supposed to take place on the 9th, and as it was correctly said by Mr. President here, it was agreed that the unity of Sudan be given a chance, and that will be the first priority. If it is near attractive, then the people of Southern Sudan will vote on the 9th of January, 2011, will vote for reaffirmation of the unity. They were also given another option, that if the unity did not attract them, they will have the right also to opt for their own separate state. So we are entered in actually into the end of the interim period. And so the referendum and the choice for the people of Southern Sudan will now actually be a moment in the history of Africa in general. And this would at last make clear the wishes of the people of Southern Sudan.

As I said, whether they want to remain in a united Sudan or they would want to opt out for their own state. What we want always is that people be given the chance, that leaders provide a conducive atmosphere for the people to choose freely what they want from the agreement. So we will always ask the people, that you help these people to go to the referendum with a peace of mind.

A referendum that should not be disrupted, and a referendum that should not be delayed, because disrupting it means a chaos. Delaying it also may not be to the interest of the whole country. And once they vote, within that, it will be necessary to respect the decision they make. It is respected and should be acceptable to everybody and to be defended also. This is the last, the last chance for the people of Sudan to remain in peace, a permanent peace. So we need the attention of the international community, and we need their support. We need the attention of the United Nations, and also the support, so that this thing takes place in a smooth and a peaceful manner.

Over last five years, while we have been working together, and when I say when we were working, I mean our partners in agreement, the National Congress Party. We have been working in an attempt to make the unity attractive to the people of Southern Sudan so that when the time comes, they vote for unity. It might have not been possible to do this thing, and so people think that unity has not been very attractive. But with all that, the choice be left to them to choose.

They think that unity has not been very attractive, and our partners on the other side might have shown very little attention to what was supposed to be done in the south. The war was fought in the south. Everything was destroyed. There was nothing in Southern Sudan. And so when people talk about an attractive unity, people thought that there would be a sort of development that will put back some infrastructure and basic needs of the people: schools, clinics, water, and all that. These things have not been done. And so if you talk to the people today on the streets, you will find out your own assessment that the majority of the people will vote for secession. It is a very clear message you can hear on these streets.

Not yet to be confirmed by a single person like myself, and as I have been saying all this time that because I have been asked so many questions, that when the time comes for the referendum to be conducted, what will be your choice? Will you vote for unity, or will you vote for secession? My answer is always very simple. I always say that I have only one vote. If I want to vote for unity, and the majority of the people of Southern Sudan vote for secession, my vote will not bring unity to the country. And the opposite also. If I want to be seen as a separatist and vote for secession, and the rest of the people vote for unity, my vote also will not matter. Unity will still happen. So this is something that we want to leave to the people to ascertain by themselves.

In Southern Sudan, we are working very hard so that the referenda, the two referenda, the referendum in Southern Sudan, and the referendum in Abyei should take place exactly on time that has been specified. But it is clear that there are people who are encouraging delays. I'm not complaining about this, but this is the situation, and this is why now many things have not yet been done. And if there was no dragging of feet, we could have gone a long way. But all the same, with this dragging of feet, we have done enough. We have done a lot. I am not going to count what we have done and what we have not. Maybe what we have not done can be counted because they are just points, and what have been done is taken to be the bulk of the agreement which has been implemented. It is vital that the international community should send very clear

signals, and also in Friday's high level meeting, the parties also should be told not to really disrupt the meeting with whatever complaints should appear.

But as we prepare for these votes, it is also important to recognize the limitations of the environment in which we are operating in. Southern Sudan is a huge and vast land, the size of Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi put together, that is the size of Southern Sudan. It is not easy to cover it, and it is a very remote land. I'm saying this because if it comes to the time of the referendum, the referendum material needs to be hefted from place to place, and that thing cannot be done without the support of the international community and without the support from the UN, without support from the United States of America, and all the people who were witnessing this agreement. That means people need finances so that they can hire planes to take the material from the distribution center to the locations that they are needed in. So there is really a great need for the international community to come in to assist the government of Sudan in doing all these things.

I assure you, your excellencies, that my government in Southern Sudan has committed itself to conduct the free and fair vote in all areas of Southern Sudan, and all these options are left to the people who will work together with the United Nations and other international partners, including the NGOs, to guarantee the credibility and legitimacy required in this vote, because it is in our interest to see everything going smoothly, and so that the transparent process is seen to have taken place.

As I mentioned before, any delay or denial of the right of self-determination for the people of Southern Sudan and Abyei can risk a very dangerous instability. There is a real risk, we really talked about census. There is a risk of a return to war in case of delay or any denial for this exercise to take place, and it will be in a very massive scale. We don't want this thing to happen, because we fought enough, and we have seen that war was not good, and both parties agree to negotiate and brought peace. We have maintained this peace for the last five years and would want this peace to continue even after the referendum. After the referendum, it should also continue. We see this timing of the referenda as sacred, and that it should not be missed. The people of Southern Sudan have suffered so much in the past decades, and this was the key to end the suffering. It must not be delayed, and we appeal to everybody to rush in for support to push the two parties to complete the exercise without any resorting or reverting back to violence.

We are equally aware that after the vote in the referenda, different challenges will be made. In such challenges, we will need the support of the international community again, especially the UN and the granters of the comprehensive peace agreement. That will mean a very peaceful transition. You have people of Southern Sudan scattered all over in Northern Sudan states, and you have Northern Sudanese who are in Southern Sudan. If there is to be a creation of a new state, you need really to protect these people with their property, and so that nobody infringe on their rights, and it is therefore expected to be a very smooth and peaceful transition.

We always say that those who may want to remain in the South from among Northern Sudanese will have nothing to fear for, because those who were born in the South have grown old, and they believe that Southern Sudan is their home. They are most welcome, and they will have to stay in the South, and nobody will touch them.

We are generally willing to negotiate with our brothers in the North and are prepared to work in the spirit of partnership to create sustainable relations between Northern Sudan with South, and for a very long time. It is in our interest to see that the North remains a viable estate, and we expect also that same thing should be in the interest of Northern Sudan to see Southern Sudan establish itself as a viable state also. Northern Sudan will remain our immediate neighbor. It shares our history, and as I said, there are so many Southern Sudanese who are today in the North. I have reiterated many times in my remarks that even if Southern Sudan separates from the North, it will not shift to Atlantic Ocean or to Indian Ocean. It will remain where it is, and that will be always found where it is. Anybody who has interest in it will always come there. So that thing should not, the suppression should not really create us any more troubles in our situation. We are determined to live with them, that is, Northern Sudanese, peacefully and cooperating for the mutual benefit of our peoples.

From the very beginning, the SPLM has often negotiated for the South in good faith, and will work for good relations and peace between the two peoples. We will develop trade and economic relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and consistent with all the international laws. And we will work to preserve and enhance the livelihoods of all the Sudanese people, including those depending on traditional immigration across the north/south border.

We will also discuss two issues of concern to all of us. One is oil, and the second is citizenship. These two things, I feel, are important.

On oil, we are aiming for a deal that allows both populations to fairly benefit from the mineral wealth of Sudan. I think, even if the oil was to be in any part of Sudan, it is considered to be a national asset and should be utilized in a way that all the citizens benefit from it. It has happened that the oil was found in the South, and I think the resources from, the revenues from the oil resources have been tested by all the Sudanese. It is not only, it is even the South that has remained without a benefit that it has got in this, in these oil resources. There are people who are thinking that, in order for Southern Sudan to become an independent state, it must give up most of its oil reserves to the North, to Northern Sudan. We think that this is not a correct thinking, because if you think that the Southern Sudan should make site concessions, then there will be no justice. Until now, Northern Sudan has been taking a share from the oil produced in Southern Sudan, and it takes all the proceeds of the oil produced in the North, 100%, we don't divide it. The North takes 50% of the oil revenues produced in Southern Sudan. Any oil produced in Northern Sudan exclusively, it's used in the North. We don't get any share there. And yet there are people who are thinking that Southern Sudanese must buy their freedom, they must buy their independence by giving more of their reserves to the North. It is not fair, actually, if it was to be done in good faith, but people have to be realistic in whatever is to be done. We should have mutually agreed for a formula that is acceptable to all so that our populations should have equal economic benefits from this oil sector.

With regards to citizenship, the rights of Southern Sudanese in the North, safety rights of Northernists in the South, as well as for the peoples who have traditionally traveled through the border areas must be fully protected. The people whom I'm talking about to have been traveling across the borders are the nomadic tribes from Northern Sudan, because they immigrate during the dry season to the South, looking for pastures. This right has been granted to them, not by the SPLM, not by the government of Southern Sudan, but it is a tradition, tradition that we found there when we were one, we found that our great, our

fore-grandfathers had been doing this thing in their own way. They made their agreements, and these people were given sectors that, in every dry season, they will come with their cattle, and then they graze there until when the rains come in, then they will go back to their areas. We always think that this right will never be hindered by anybody. They will have the same rights, and they will always come to Southern Sudan whenever they need to come with their animals. I have committed my government to provide and grant adequate security for all Sudanese in a manner that respects the rule of law and the rights and freedoms of all individuals, no matter what their tribe or region, religion, or ethnicity. We look for the same commitment from our partners in Northern Sudan.

These negotiations will not succeed without the help of the international community, as I said before, and we urgently need you, and we need the world to pay close attention to what is about to happen in our country.

Another issue, which is rather urgent, and people should pay attention to, is the issue of Abyei. Where stability now and in the future depends on the implementation of the permanent court of arbitrations decision. We do not want Abyei to become the potential trigger for conflict to start again between the south and the north, because the PCA decision should have been implemented since the two parties accepted it last in July 2009 when the ruling was made, but up to now, that thing has not happened, and as you know, Abyei today has no referendum commission, and if the citizens of Abyei were going to vote in a referendum scheduled for 9th of January 2011, there is very little time left for them to do all that is needed to be done. So the issue of Abyei should really be a warning to all of us, and that everybody should come in for the solution. Those who endorse the CPA, of which the United Nations is one of the major players in that, was a major player in that, in that agreement, should all come in so that this point should not be left out, and they must ensure that there is no reverse of what we have agreed upon in 2005. We welcome reason and ongoing efforts by the United Nations as well as the United States of America and others to step up their engagement on this and other outstanding issues on the comprehensive peace agreement.

I would like to stress that during the post-referendum negotiations, it is unfair to everybody to expect only the South to put all the compromises on the table. That somehow we should be expected to buy our freedom, that is not, of course I said it before. I would like to suggest that for these negotiations to be successful, we need really both parties to work with the international community so that we come to the conclusion and resolve all the issues that have not been resolved today.

Today we have some issues which have... which I don't want really to talk about here, and may appear later on in your questions. These are the fact that we have some very serious provisions of the agreement that have not been implemented.

You may know about the borders between Northern Sudan and the South have not yet been demarcated. You know that I have talked about Abyei, and then the referendum itself in Southern Sudan, we have also worked on how to bring about this popular consultation in the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile. These are the provisions in the comprehensive peace agreement which we have not yet touched.

Then we have other issues, the post-referendum arrangements. These post-referendum issues are really rather vast, but we have started the negotiations

with our partners. I believe that we will resolve them. The only thing is that these things may not be resolved before the 9th of January, but all the same, if these things delay up to the 9th of January, they should not be an obstacle to the conduct of the referendum. The referendum can be conducted, and we can still continue to negotiate on them until when we get the complete solution to them, because after the referendum, we still have another six months of transition. If the people have voted for unity, then we will need six months to put things right, because the unity will not be the same unity that we are in today. It will be a different unity so that we don't go back to work tomorrow, and if people have voted for secession, then also there must be a transition, because we have to divide other things, and these post referendum issues, there is an issue of debts. Sudan has very huge debts, something like 35 billion US dollars. If the South is going away, is it going to divide these debts with the North? Of course, we don't know what was done with this money. Are we going to pay part of it? Then also, what about the assets? Do we have a share there? We have to talk about the oil. I have mentioned citizenship, and then there are many things that we have not yet resolved.

So these things will need time so that we resolve them as we go up to the 9th of July, 2011. And with all that, we should do that so that the two states remain stable and viable. This referendum, ladies and gentlemen, will really mark a longer journey, the beginning of the longer journey, towards the development, and to improve the livelihoods of our people. We want to really behave responsibly, and in a very sustainable manner to exploit all our country's natural resources, and also recognizing the need to diversify our country's economy, and in particular, to develop the agricultural sector. In Southern Sudan, of course, 80% of the land is, there are people who have visited Southern Sudan, would agree with me that it is an agricultural land all, and so if that sector is given attention, Southern Sudan, if it does not feed the whole region of Africa, at least Sudan will not be in need of any foreign, foreign aid in terms of food, security.

There are people who are talking about Southern Sudan, not ready to govern itself. Yes, I always agree with the people that the institutions of the government of Southern Sudan are weak. It is not because the people are not ready or not capable to govern themselves. Nothing was done in Southern Sudan. Whatever institutions that are now functioning in the South is what was done from 2005 to this day that we are here. There was nothing. I believe when I went to my office as the President of Government of Southern Sudan, there was no papers on the table. There was no single file, and there was nobody really to walk me through what has been happening in the South all this time. When we were in the bush fighting the government, we used to hear that there is a system functioning, there was a president in the South, and with the ministers, with all the governors, with everything, but when we went to Juba, we found nothing. So there are people who think that it will not be possible for the government of Southern Sudan to be viable, that Southern Sudan cannot remain a stable country, cannot be a viable state, and people always predicted that it would be, it is already a failed state. I want to say that this is not true. We are committed to good governance, and we are committed to establish a very transparent and accountable government to the people. We have already started all these things, to have all the institutions in place, like the anti-corruption commission, which is now functioning, and many other institutions. All this will prove to the people that the government in Southern Sudan can be viable.

But all the same, we need support, and especially from the United States of America, we need the support, in particular, the support of the multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank, IMF, and all other institutions. We need

also these people to come in with whatever support they can give to Southern Sudan so that development can be rapid in the few years to come. If there is security, and there is accountability, I believe there will be nothing that can prevent the development of the South.

I would like to conclude, Your Excellencies, by saying the following: one, the future of Sudan today is hanging in the balance, and it requires very close attention, and that the UN should be really in the center of this. The North and South is an issue, but they have to sit down and resolve their problem as I have been talking about. There will be no permanent peace in Sudan if we also neglect the situation in Darfur. This situation in Darfur, if it is not resolved, we will not have a very permanent, not really permanent peace when we talk about peace in Sudan. It will not be possible. And so we need to work together so that we bring peace to that part of our country. SPLM position on Darfur has been very clear, and we have been urging our partners to bring an end to the war and to cooperate with the international community for a permanent solution.

Second, there is a cancer called LRA, Lord's Resistance Army, LRA. This organization started as a Ugandan rebel organization, but today, it has not been, it is not any longer a problem to Uganda alone. They have crossed to Southern Sudan, and they have, from Eastern Equatoria, they have crossed to Western Equatoria in Southern Sudan, they have gone to Congo, DRC, and they have gone to Central Africa. They are killing in these areas, and they have gone now up to Darfur. The question is that, who is supplying these people with arms and ammunition? Nobody answers the question. Why do they go to Darfur, Southern Darfur, imagine, if you know, from Congo? People working to Central Africa, to western Bahr el Ghazal, and then to South Darfur. Who is there that goes and gives them arms and ammunition to come and commit all these atrocities that they are committing? I want to say that this LRA has not any longer become, is not any longer a problem of Uganda, it has become a regional problem, and if it is not resolved, the problem of the LRA is not resolved, this region will never be peaceful, and if other elements start from anywhere to join up, then the security of the region will be at risk. So it is not to be left to Ugandan government. Everybody must come in in the international community, all the region, so that this LRA is fought by everybody so that they are brought to, they are brought under control.

The third thing is Blue Nile and South Kurdufan, the states, our position on them is also very clear. The people of these two states should also conduct the popular consultation as it has been stipulated in the comprehensive peace agreement. These areas could become another center for instability if their grievances and demands are not adequately addressed, just like the referendum in Abyei which is equally crucial, it is vital that the popular consultations in these two areas not to be neglected. The stability of Sudan rests on progress and implementation of the agreed decisions on all these fronts. In other words, ensuring full CPA implementation is ensuring permanent peace, not only between South and North Sudan, but also in the whole of Sudan and in the region.

Five, we urgently need the international community, particularly the troika: the UN, the African Union, and USA to monitor these situations very closely and to be able to react very quickly and intervene if necessary if conflict arises during and after the conduct of the referendum. It is vital to have a smooth transition that the international community be ready to endorse the referendum and recognize this, the choice of the people of Southern Sudan and Abyei.

Six, a successful referendum in the South and Abyei and popular consultations in South Kordofan and Brunei will contribute not only to peace in the region but also to the consolidation of democracy in Sudan.

Last, as these events unfold, we will need the support and attention of the United Nations Security Council and the UN itself in unanimous and whatever body that may succeed. After, that may succeed it after the referendum. And as we prepare for a new state, we welcome that involvement. We will need the UN to help provide for and monitor and security including at the border and to help guide and support us as we develop the institutions of the new state. We look forward to discussing this with our partners here in the coming few days.

In a nutshell, we have a roadmap for success in Sudan, which is the CPA. It is up to all of us to ensure that it is fully implemented. I am grateful for your support and interest in my country and people. In order to preserve and sustain the peace, we need your attention, and we need your support. We have a lot of work to do between now and January 9th, 2011, but with your help, I'm confident that we can achieve our common goals.

Once again, ladies and gentlemen, and Your Excellency, thank you for the invitation to share with you about our fears and hopes of the future of Sudan. I should not also forget to thank my brother, Adonia Ayebare, for organizing this event. Thank you very much, and God bless you all. Thank you.

Edward C. Luck: Thank you very much, Mr. President. That was both a very candid and comprehensive statement, but nevertheless, I think there'll probably be some questions. We have about half an hour, and I see a lot of expertise and a lot of experience out there. I would just ask people to try and be concise. We'll take several together and then refer back to the President. And please identify yourself when you ask a question. Who would like to begin? Please, back by the camera there. There's a mic that'll come back there.

Bill Varner: Thank you. Bill Varner with Bloomberg News. Mr. President, what would you say are the major specific logistical technical difficulties that having a fair, free, comprehensive referendum face: transportation, computers, what does it really boil down to?

Edward C. Luck: We'll, sure, take a few together. Want him to repeat it? I'm sorry, he asked if you could repeat the question. It's about technology and logistical –

Bill Varner: Right, thank you. I was just wondering, what are the major logistical, technical difficulties and challenges that remain to carrying off the election that will be perceived as credible and fair and comprehensive? Really, what does it boil down to in terms of the details that comprise the challenges remaining?

Salva Kiir Mayardit: Okay.

Edward C. Luck: Another question? Please, right here.

Katherine Jones: My name is Katherine Jones, I'm with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. I wanted to ask what President sees as the key steps that need to be taken to address the threat of the LRA, particularly by the countries in the region that are affected by the LRA?

Edward C. Luck: Very good question. We had a very lively meeting on that a few months ago here. Anyone else? Please, in the back there to the right.

Kayon Watson: Hi, my name is Kayon Watson with the Mennonite Central Committee. The Sudanese Council of Churches were a very strong backbone for the people of Southern Sudan during the civil war, and so there's an upcoming "Kajiko 2" meeting that the Sudanese Council of Churches is calling on the government of Southern Sudan to partner to build a comprehensive peacebuilding and reconciliation strategy in the south for Southern Kurdufan and the Blue Nile. And so my question is, what are your expectations for "Kajiko 2" for this meeting?

Edward C. Luck: Anyone else for the first round? Please, right here on the left.

Male: Thank you very much, Your Excellency. Refugees International. We've noted with great pleasure that Northerners in Southern Sudan will be protected during and after the referendum, and we truly hope that the NCP will be making statements to the same effect. Also following the interest in the government of Southern Sudan to repatriate the approximately 1½ million northerners who are still in the North, and we certainly subscribe to the right of people to return home. We would however urge that this return be carried out along international principles of safety and dignity, and in our experience, such a large repatriation is a very great undertaking, and we would urge that it's not carried out in haste, and I would like to know what are the measures you are taking to make sure that such return be respecting all these international principles. Thank you.

Edward C. Luck: Returning displaced people would be done with the principles of international refugee movement. Is that enough, or would you like to...

Salva Kiir Mayardit: The last, the last question.

Edward C. Luck: Another one? Any? Please, right by the camera there.

Rebecca Hamilton: Hi, Rebecca Hamilton. I'm with the New America Foundation. I was just in Khartoum last month, and there was a lot of concern among the Southerners that I spoke to about their ability to vote for the referendum from the North. I'm wondering what your government is doing regarding both the logistics and the right of Southerners in the North to be able to exercise their vote in a free and fair fashion.

Salva Kiir Mayardit: What are the concern?

Rebecca Hamilton: About Southerners who are resident in the North being able to vote in the referendum and have their voting rights respected.

Edward C. Luck: And I think there's a related question, the voting lists to begin with, and how are those going to be compiled.

Salva Kiir Mayardit: Okay, now I'll answer them.

Edward C. Luck: I had actually told the president beforehand that as a sometime professor, we don't always exactly answer the questions, but he actually wants to answer the questions that you asked.

Salva Kiir Mayardit: Well, I will attempt to answer your questions which you have asked.

The first question was talking about the logistical problems that I have talked about. I was talking about these logistical problems because, in Southern Sudan, there are no good roads that you can drive to any station. There are

areas that you may not go, you may not reach if you don't fly. This is one of the major obstacles that within, can hinder the referendum process. And this is why we call for the international community and the UN to support the referendum commission with most of their helicopters so that this referendum material can be transported in time to the places that they are needed in. That is one. The international community also and all other institutions are needed to contribute financially so that the commission can hire many people as possible, the staff that can do the job. This is why I talk about logistical problems, because the government of Unity in Khartoum, the national government, and the government of Southern Sudan may not be really in a position to fund the process of the referendum. In the government of Southern Sudan, we have contributed about \$80 million, but that will not be enough. So far, I have not heard from the national government what have they also paid to the commission. But I believe we will try our best as the government, and then we turn around and look to other friends to come in to our aid. So these are the logistical problems that I was talking about, because there will be no roads transport. So we will rely mostly on the air lifting of whatever materials that are to be transported to these stations. Does that answer your question?

Bill Varner: You think these are problems can be overcome? How much confidence do you have?

Salva Kiir Mayardit: What?

Bill Varner: Do you think the problems can be overcome? How much confidence, as you sit here right now, that you'll get what you need to carry it out?

Salva Kiir Mayardit: Problems...

Bill Varner: I'm sorry, what I said was how much –

Salva Kiir Mayardit: Well this, this, we are asking for the helicopters, the planes, the money, so that we can accomplish the mission. There is no other way that the problem can be solved unless these things are provided.

There was somebody also, question number 2 was about the LRA. The LRA, to us, we don't think that there is, that they have an agenda, because we tried, I attempted myself to persuade President Museveni to negotiate with them, and that we can mediate, the government of Southern Sudan can mediate. President Museveni had a very hard line towards Joseph Kony, that he would say that he cannot negotiate with terrorists. I said, but if you don't negotiate with them, they will finish the people. And now they have gone out of Uganda, they are killing in Uganda, they are killing in Southern Sudan. Why don't we bring them back by peaceful means? He accepted, very reluctantly. And so we gave this message to the LRA, and they came to Juba. So President Museveni did not really, did not let us down in any way. He sent a very high level delegation to Juba, led by his current ambassador to the United Nations here in New York, Dr. Rugunda. He was heading the delegation of the Ugandan government. These people, negotiated for about two years, and all of the sudden, when they reach the point of signing an agreement, Joseph Kony said, well, if we want him to sign that agreement, we must write to ICC to cancel his warrant of arrest, the indictment. I said, this is not in my powers. I cannot do it. And the only way that you can be helped about it is to sign this peace agreement so that there is peace, and then the people of Uganda will have to write to the ICC to cancel their decision to indict, of indictment. All of us can plead to, on your behalf, and this is the only way we can help you, but not me writing directly to the ICC. So Joseph Kony

decided to disappear. He cut his communication. We were not able to get in contact with him again. This is how the talks collapsed. It was not the government of Uganda, it was not the government of Southern Sudan, it was the mediator, who failed to do this. So they resorted to oppressions again. Now we made another attempt that now, if it is military operations, it should not be only the Ugandan armed forces that can fight with LRA alone. They are in Southern Sudan, they are in Congo, and they are in Central Africa. These countries, we have to meet, and so that we make joint operations. SPLA, UPDF, and then the Congolese army, and then from the Central African Republic. The President of DRC refused, that they do not want foreign troops in their country. They don't want the Ugandan army in Congo, they don't want SPLA in Congo. We told them, okay, then you fight them. You fight inside your country, and we'll come and fight them whenever they come out of your country. They have no capacity to fight them. This is what happened. So the fighting was left only to the UPDF and the SPLA. And when they find that they are always in the hard press, they ran, they opened that road to Darfur. This is how they have been moving. But if you want a solution to the LRA, it needs all the forces in the region to be launched together in a joint operation, operation that is well equipped so that there is no hiding. If they run to, if they run to Juba, then the problem will be solved. If they, they know who is supplying them, they will run to that person, and this is, when the time, you will, has that person, why are you sheltering the criminals, those who are actually destroying the whole region? So it is only through military operations that you can really curb the activities of the LRA.

You can negotiate with somebody who has a political agenda. LRA does not have. Joseph Kony wants to rule by 10 commandments of God, and with the 10 commandments is misbehaving in a way that God even cannot believe, cannot accept. Where on earth do you kill people by dismembering their bodies with fungus, and you rape, you abduct people? Are those allowed, are they allowed by God? I don't think God can forgive you even when you do them, and you take the Bible in your hands that you are holy. No, I don't think. So that is about Joseph Kony, because he's becoming a cancer in the whole region, not only in Uganda.

Question number three was about the initiative of the Sudan Council of Churches. Well, in 1997, the person who asked the question, I believe, is completely aware of how this Kajiko came about. 1997, when the first Kajiko meeting was conducted. It was conducted as a result of the church and the SPLM were not in good terms. Each one of them was accusing the other of interference in their affairs, and so we said, okay, then let us sit and resolve all these problems. This is how Kajiko came about. And when we went to Kajiko, the church was slow to unveil whatever bad things that the SPLM was doing to them, and they came out with what abuses that have been committed by the SPLM and all that. When they finished, SPLM took over again, and when SPLM took over, they said, no, no, no. Please let us stop. We cannot come and do this in public. We said, but you have been saying all bad things against the SPLM. Later, the SPLM also say what they think you have been doing. And then, we agreed, and the solutions were there past, and then we resume our normal relations. There was no time again to have those resolutions to be revisited. It was recently that people came up again, that Kajiko 2 should take place so that we review the situation and see what we can, what we can do. My answer to it now is that yes, there is a possibility of having Kajiko 2 soon in Juba. I was supposed to address it by the 31st of August, but by then, I was in Khartoum. I could not, I could not really attend to it. Again, when I came back to Juba, I was then now called to come to USA, but when I go back from here, unless they're not ready, but if people are ready, we are going to hold this

conference in Juba. The venue was set that it would be in Yakouren Cultural Center. So, I'm hopeful that when I go back from here, we'll really sit, and if you are one of the interested parties, we'll expect you to be there, and so that, you just see by yourself what will be said and what will be done.

About the, about the Northern Sudanese who are residing in Southern Sudan, I said they will be protected, and I think it is a commitment with which we have made a long time, and since we established the government in Juba, they have never been targeted. What happened in August 2005 when Dr. John died, it happened, we were not in Juba. We were not in any town. We were still in the bush. So in the government-controlled areas, this is where all these things happened. They happened in Khartoum, where Southerners were killed. They also fought back to kill some Northerners. The same thing happened in some towns in Southern Sudan. We don't take it to be our responsibility, because we were not there. It was the responsibility of the National Congress Party, because they were the government of the day. We were not part of the system, and we were, Dr. John has just gone to Khartoum. He was sworn in, and he came back to us in the South. He visited us in the bush where we were staying, and when he went for that foreign trip, he did not come back. This is where he died. So we were not part of any system in that, in our areas, nobody fought one another, whether they were Northerners or they were what, nobody touched them. So in this situation, I believe Northern Sudanese in Southern Sudan will be safe. Their property also will be safe, and I promise that they will be protected, no matter whatever happens. These are our people, and they will remain under heavy protection.

For the IDPs who are in Northern Sudan, Southern Sudanese who are displaced, and they are now in the North, I think it would be the responsibility of the observers to see and to heed that these people can be allowed to vote, and I don't know how they will vote anyway. I will not be supervising. But there are committees that will be set to work together with the referendum commission and the observers will work with them so that they can vote. Our position as the SPLM was that the referendum should be conducted in the territory of Southern Sudan, but it was said that we were trying to isolate some Southerners, denying them their right to vote. We knew there was a hidden agenda behind, because when we tried to repatriate our people, bringing them back to Southern Sudan, they were being ambushed on the way, and many people lost their lives. So we stopped it. We told the UN to help in transporting them. They did not do it. But some people decided to leave on their own, and they came back to Southern Sudan. So in this situation now, if there is going to be vote of the IDPs in Northern Sudan, it will have to be done by, under the supervision of the International Community, those who will be responsible to monitor and to observe the referendum. These are the people that will be, will be done.

I know there will be a lot of forgery in the North, because when we conducted the referendum, the population census, the figure we were registered as the Southern Sudanese in the north were 500,200. These were the only people accepted by the North to be in Khartoum, and all the other states. 500,200. Not only the voting age. These are the people including those who were recently born. But recently, some people who were registered made their own registration, and they came out with a figure of about 4 million Southern Sudanese, voters, in Northern Sudan. Where did they get these 4 million people? Because when we were arguing with them, we were saying, our people are no less than 2 million in the North. But they said, no, you have only 500,200. Okay, now they are talking about 4 million. Where did these 4 million come from? That is the forgery that we are afraid of, and if there is no, nobody really to

stand where registration is being made, you are going to register Northerners, and already, there are Northerners claiming to be Southern Sudanese, that their grandmothers were Southerners. All this time, they were calling us slaves. Today, they are claiming to be slaves also with us. So there must be something wrong, and that this thing must be corrected. They have never one time accepted they are part of us, and even if you know somebody that this person originally comes from the South, and you tell him or tell her that you will really get very terrible abuses. So we left them, and we accepted to be slaves. Now they want to be slaves with us. They are categorizing themselves as slaves. It is forgery. It is not true. It is not true, and that needs real people to follow.

And then the return of the IDPs to Southern Sudan, we have tried all our best in order to bring them back. You can recall the government of Southern Sudan paid something like 24 million in 2006-2007, but that money went without people coming back to Southern Sudan, but we have not given up repatriating them. Today, they are being given land in Khartoum, that this is your land. You can develop it. But where will they get money from? It is something that, to make them vote for unity, and soon after the referendum is over, they will be chased out from those places, and some people have turned to accept, to believe that now that people can become one, but that is not my problem. They will get here alone. I will not settle there in Khartoum. I think I have answered all the questions.

Edward C. Luck:

I'm very impressed. You actually did answer all the questions. It's something we're not used to around the UN. We're used to evasion. But no, you answered them all and answered them all very thoroughly, and we very much appreciate that.

We had said this was going to end at 2:45. We're almost to that point. I think probably rather than open up for another round of questions, I think we'll let it go here. Let me just say a couple things in closing. One, you're very gracious to recognize Adonia Ayebare and his work as our director of our Africa program, so thank you, Adonia. I also say that your colleague Ezekiel. We tried to get him up here to speak on an earlier program, and the weather stopped us. He spent a lot of time, I understand, in the tarmac in Washington, one of the airports, but we hope we can get either both of you back at another point. Needless to say, after the referenda, there'll be still great deal of interest in these issues, so we hope this isn't your final visit here.

Finally, let me just say that we're quite honored that you would choose IPI as a place for your first speaking engagement to the UN community. You then have to meet with the leaders on Friday, but I think you'll find the audience here is far superior to the high level meetings at the UN, but we like straight talk at IPI. We don't take sides. We're not partisan on this, but we particularly appreciated the fact that you were so straightforward in your presentation, and particularly in the way you answered the questions, so whichever hat you're wearing next time you're in New York, I hope you'll bring it here to IPI, so thank you very much. Appreciate it.