

The Triumph of African-Led Negotiations? Brokering Peace in Sudan

**By Fridtjov Thorkildsen,
Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

Sudan at the Crossroads at The Fletcher School, Presentation on March 11, 2004

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Norway's historic relations with Sudan

University collaboration

- Started in the 60'ies
- Gave understanding of Sudanese history and culture
- Created networks and credibility
- Many Sudanese trained in Norway

NGO's

- Supported the implementation of the 1972 Agreement
- Broad and stable presence in the South
- Accepted by GoS (except NPA)
- The SSE programme

Main achievements towards peace

- May 1994: IGAD DOP, SPLM accepts
- August 1997: GOS accepts DOP
- Autumn 2001: Progress on Danforth's 4 tests
- December 2001: IGAD rejuvenates Kenya's mandate
- January 2002: Ceasefire Nuba Mountains/
JMC established

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Main achievements (cont.)

- July 2002: Machakos protocol
- October 2002: Ceasefire agreement
North/South
- September 2003: Security agreement
- December 2003: SPLM delegation visits
Khartoum
- January 2004: Wealth Sharing Agreement
- January 2004: Core Consultative Group

Present status of the peace process

- Negotiations on the three areas
 - Powersharing arrangements next
 - Basis for the Framework Agreement
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- Negotiations on ceasefire and security arrangements
 - Basis for Comprehensive Peace Agreement
 - Pre-interim period starts

Norway's formal role

- Co-chair IPF Sudan Committee since 1998
- Observer IGAD peace negotiations
- Observer IGAD Summits
- Host for first donor conference after CPA
- Chair for Consultative Core Group/Joint Assessment Missions (JAM)
- Key position in the JMC/Nuba operation

Role of the Western observers

- Consistent support to the IGAD initiative/DOP
- No to forum shopping
- Full support to General Sumbeiuo's mediator role
- Ensures coordinated advice from key stakeholders
- "TROIKA" members have complementary roles
- Stable presence and support
- Ensures contact with broader international community through IPF and other fora

Role of African Observers

- Decisive importance
- Direct interest in peace
- Understand the conflict fundamentally (from the African perspective)
- Play different roles and have different objectives
- Unity main objective for all?

The Failure of Arab-Led Negotiations? Role of Arab Countries

- No formal role in the negotiations
- Sticked too long to the ELI
- Egypt mistaken/Machakos a chock
- Arab League accepted Machakos at once
- Libya brought SPLM to Khartoum
- Huge debt arrays
- Massive investment plans in the South

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Norway's strategy

Principles

- Main focus: a just and sustainable peace: no repetition of 1972
- Support the South's rights for compensation and high degree of self determination
- Making Unity attractive
- Support democratization and devolution of power

Norway's strategy

Principles (2)

- Treat the GOS and SPLM as equal partners
- Use the UN system
- Keep a regional perspective on the conflict (Arab/African)
- Mobilize longterm international guarantees and support

Norway's Strategy Instruments (1)

- Support the IGAD process through personnel, financial contributions and infrastructure
- Facilitate communication at all levels between the parties
- Keep contact with parties not at the table
- Support capacity building for SPLM

Norway's strategy

Instruments (2)

- Support the UN Peace keeping operation
- Mobilize long term development assistance for the whole Sudan
- Support the Joint Assessment Missions and arrange the first donor conference

Norway's strategy

Organisational issues

- Flexible organization of Sudan Team at HQ and in the field
- Keep high political profile on Norwegian support to the negotiations and related international processes
- Maintain continuity at political and MFA staff level
- Rapid and non-bureaucratic financial assistance arrangements (MFA/NORAD/NGOs)

Challenges (1)

- Ensure broad basis for Peace Agreement
- Maintain legitimacy of GoS and SPLM
- Strengthen SPLM's capacity for civil administration
- Solve the Darfur conflict/ avoid spreading of armed conflicts
- Plan the UN monitoring operation

Challenges (2)

- Rapid peace dividend to the have-not's
- Information about the peace agreement
- Inclusion of opposition groups
- Mobilizing the civil society
- Establishment of Joint National Transition Team
- Establishment of commissions and committees, ref. the Machakos protocol

Divison of responsibilities (1)

Parties' responsibility

- Sign CPA
- Involve other parties
- End unresolved conflicts
- Establish agreed interim arrangements
- Fight corruption and ensure transparency

Partners' responsibility

- Fulfill promises of support
- Peace dividend
- UN Monitoring Operation in place
- Make debt plan
- Arrange JAM and Donor Conference

Division of responsibilities (2)

Parties' responsibility

- Ensure security for foreign personnel
- Inform about the peace agreements

Partners' responsibility

- Ensure coordination of aid
- Respect the fragile economies
- Involve non-traditional partners