

SRSG Qazi's Statement for the Sudan Consortium

(6 May 2008, Oslo)

Excellencies and dear colleagues,

I would first of all like to offer my condolences on the sad demise of our colleagues who died in a plane crash on 2 May in Southern Sudan. May the families of the deceased find the strength and resolve to bear this irreparable loss.

I would also like to thank the Norwegian Government for hosting the third Sudan Consortium. Norway has played a crucial role throughout the peace process in Sudan and its hosting of the Consortium underlines the fact that it continues to do so.

I appreciate the discussions between the Sudanese Government and the international community on important issues like Darfur and elections in pre-Consortium sessions which should enable the focus of the Consortium to be on The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and maintaining 'peace through development' in the whole of Sudan.

The CPA is the foundation upon which a sustainable peace in Sudan can and must be built. Implementation of the CPA presents unprecedented opportunities, as well as challenges, to improve the lives of all Sudanese through recovery and development initiatives. This process will not only require considerable funding but also a strong commitment by all stakeholders to enable the Government to provide a range of peace dividends to the population.

I am gratified to note that the CPA, which has passed the half way mark, has made significant progress in its first three years. The basic constitutional framework envisaged in the agreement is in place. Some of the political and institutional structures required to take forward the agreement on power sharing, wealth sharing and mutual security have been set up. Peace, if not always stability, has prevailed in most war affected areas, and development efforts are showing some positive results. Significant progress has been made in the redeployment of forces and the ceasefire mechanisms mandated by the CPA have proved successful.

The issue of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of excombatants has gained momentum in the past few weeks. A high level Roundtable convened on 9 April to bring together the Government, UN and the donor community to discuss the DDR policy. Starting 2008, it has now been agreed that the North and South Sudan DDR Commissions will demobilize and reintegrate a total of 182,900 excombatants over a period of four years. The UN is also pushing for 2008 to be the year in which all remaining children associated with armed forces and groups are demobilized.

Children belong in schools and playgrounds, not with guns in the bush. It is expected that the overall cost of the DDR for a four-year period will be over \$500 million. The stakeholders have acknowledged the need for a realistic start date sometime in the second half of this year. Significant funding for reintegration before demobilization begins is crucial to avoid any risk to stability especially if expectations of soldiers and veterans are

unmet mid-way through the process. Accordingly, an early and strong commitment from donors is required for a critical mass of funding to be available for reintegration.

On the recovery and development side, significant gains have been made, particularly with respect to health and primary education. However, much needs to be done in order for Sudan to meet the Millennium Development Goal targets. Three years after the signing of the CPA, it has become an urgent imperative to provide tangible benefits of peace to the people in war affected areas. Nevertheless, the Government of National Unity (GNU), the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS), donors and civil society have made considerable progress towards peace and development inspite of ongoing conflicts in some parts of the country. The Northern States and GOSS have also received a growing share of federal revenue, more than at anytime in Sudan's history. Moreover, Sudan has maintained its macroeconomic stability thanks largely to its oil revenues.

The biggest achievement of the CPA, however, is the fact that, unlike with many other peace agreements, the parties have remained steadfast in honoring their respective pledges not to revert to war whatever the difficulties in the course of implementing the CPA. We must accordingly commend this demonstration of statesmanship by the leadership on both sides in seeking solutions to crises that have from time to time appeared to challenge the CPA.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

While we rightly commend the parties on the progress made so far, we are also obliged to highlight the challenges that lie ahead. The first and the foremost of these is the issue of Abyei. The people of Abyei have yet to benefit from the CPA. There has been no peace dividend for them so far. Since the signing of the CPA, they have remained deprived of the most basic services. The parties have agreed in principle to a two step approach i.e. to setup an administration with interim boundaries as soon as possible without prejudice to a final settlement; and to recognize the urgent need for a final settlement of the Abyei issue. Accordingly, I am encouraged by the prospect of an early agreement on an interim administration and I urge the parties to transform this agreement in principle into tangible progress on the ground, which is the only way to alleviate the suffering of the people of Abyei.

The process of demarcating the line 1-1-56 is progressing, but remains behind schedule. The Border Technical Committee is yet to submit its report to the Presidency. The UN has provided and will continue to provide technical assistance to the process. The slow rate of progress has, however, contributed to a deteriorating security situation throughout the Three Areas. Without a clearly demarcated line, each party has redeployed forces to areas contested by the other side. As result, the current disposition of forces may warrant a second redeployment when the border is demarcated. In addition, tensions in the area have frequently resulted in clashes incurring significant loss of life. Moreover, our access to these locations has been restricted by both sides which hampers the implementation of our UN Security Council mandate. Experience has shown that whenever access was granted temporarily granted to the UN to defuse tensions and prevent the escalation of local conflicts to something more serious, it has consistently managed to do so. I,

therefore, urge the parties to grant the UN unfettered access in the Three Areas and expeditiously work towards the peaceful completion of the border demarcation process. Because of their knock on effect, Abyei and border demarcation are two of the major challenges to achieving peace through development in Sudan.

According to the CPA timelines, Sudan will conduct national elections in 2009. However, the Parliament is yet to pass the electoral and other laws essential to provide an appropriate legal framework for the electoral process. The lack of an electoral law has delayed the formation of the National Election Commission (NEC), our main interlocutor for coordinating international electoral assistance. In this regard, I am encouraged by the progress made during the discussions on elections yesterday and hope that these will continue in the future. Once again, I urge the Government and the political parties to expedite the passage of the electoral law and the consequent formation of the NEC in order to make optimal use of international assistance on elections.

On the recovery and development side, poverty is a constant challenge and the level of human development remains low. Nationally in 2006, nearly three out of every ten children were underweight and four out of ten of primary school ages were not attending school. Roughly one percent of mothers died during child birth and 10 percent of the children did not live to see their fifth birthday. For peace to take root, it is imperative for the peace dividends to be visible at the grass roots level. Recent successes need to be scaled up through improved governance, increased development spending and sustained financial support from the donors. At present, the North and South of Sudan constitute two separate economies. There is no road or rail link between them and most of the population cannot afford the weak air link which itself needs to be enhanced. As a result, the economic focus of the North and South is oriented externally rather than towards each other.

The relationship between the two CPA partners remains the lynchpin of the peace process. It will determine the quality of CPA implementation. So far this relationship has survived some serious challenges. But the parties need to muster more political will and further develop the necessary critical mass of the mutual trust to resolve the principal challenges confronting them. The last three years have already demonstrated that this is not beyond their capabilities and international support and assistance have certainly contributed to this.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Peace in Sudan is indivisible. It is clear that a comprehensive peace in Sudan will not be achieved without a resolution of the Darfur conflict. But even more clear is the fact that without the CPA, there will not be a Darfur Peace Process. CPA implementation and the Darfur peace process must accordingly be addressed on the basis of a comprehensive peace strategy. In practice, however, it must be frankly stated that there has been a tendency to acknowledge the centrality of the CPA process while focusing attention, policy and resources on Darfur at the perceived expense of the CPA. As a result, the perception that the focus on Darfur has been at the cost of effectively delivering a peace dividend to the South Sudan and the Three Protocol Areas has strengthened. Similarly,

the perception that differences on Darfur will always overshadow any progress made in CPA implementation is growing stronger in Northern Sudan.

There is no doubt that the humanitarian and security situation in Darfur cries out for redress. But let us not forget that millions also died during the North-South conflict. More than a generation was lost. Millions more were displaced. Thanks to the CPA and the ceasefire that has been maintained with the support of the international community, many of these displaced have now been able to return with hopes and aspirations for a peace dividend that would enable them to reclaim their lives in peace and security. We can no longer just pay lip service to the centrality of the CPA in Sudan. This Consortium provides an ideal opportunity to redress this situation. The international community must end a positive and reassuring signal to the people of Sudan through a stepped up focus on recovery and development. Otherwise the risk is that a perception could take root that international assistance is just a function of ongoing conflict. The perception that we must help to take root is that a cessation of conflict and hostilities is the best way to bring about the level of international assistance that helps the two sides to realize their hopes of sustained peace through development.

It is in this context that I hope that the period 2008-11 will focus on the CPA as the context within which other pressing issues can best be addressed. The third Sudan Consortium provides not only an opportunity to review progress of implementation of programs initiated as per the Joint Assessment Mission (JAM) framework during the 2005-07 period, but also provides an opportunity to discuss and arrive at a consensus among the GNU, GOSS and international partners and all other stake holders on a shared way to move forward during the period 2008-11.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In 2011, the people of South Sudan will decide in favor of unity or separation, and the people of Abyei will decide whether they wish to be part of the North or the South. This is their right of self determination enshrined in the CPA. But this choice for the South and Abyei does not have to be a zero sum game for Sudan. It can and must provide a positive sum outcome. For this to happen, it will be essential for the people of the South to be in a position to make an informed choice. The international community should assist them in making such an informed choice based on a realistic perception of the relative costs and benefits of both options. This will require further progress on political and wealth sharing issues. The development plan prepared by the two parties is a testimony to their ability to work together and achieve peace through cooperative development. The plan includes national projects that look beyond 2011 and aims at enabling the parties to do the same. By supporting these national projects the international community can help to develop options for the people of Sudan and enable the people of South Sudan to make an informed choice to either go for a more prosperous united Sudan or co-exist as peaceful neighbors benefiting through mutually rewarding economic interdependence. Renewed conflict must never become an option even by default.

During my last briefing to the Security Council, I had said that the last three years of experience had clearly shown that a strategy based primarily on pressure and sanctions

would not work. Instead, I called for strengthened and sustained engagement to realize the objectives of the CPA to which all stakeholders subscribe. Therefore, while the resolution of differences over Darfur will continue to be a matter of urgency, I also hope the donors would be magnanimous in their pledges so that the people of Sudan, in line with the theme of this Consortium are able to achieve ‘Sustained Peace through Development’.

Thank you.

Ashraf Jehangir Qazi

Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations

For the Sudan