

Photos: White House, D Haberlah, P Dixon.

## Peace by piece: addressing Sudan's conflicts

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Introductory  
remarks by Peter  
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## What makes for comprehensive peace?

- ▶ CPA brought an end to open N-S armed conflict. But did it usher in a new era of peace?
- ▶ The N-S conflict was only one of a broader web of armed conflicts, with separate peace processes. "A civil war of interlocking civil wars." (Douglas Johnson)
- ▶ Many areas still unstable. Darfur conflict intensified since the partial signing of the DPA in May 2006.
- ▶ Unclear whether Sudan is actually progressing from civil war to peace.
- ▶ Causes rooted in Sudan's geography, environment, resource base and political development.
- ▶ Peace agreements only scratched the surface. Historical grievances and inequities need to be addressed.

## A coherent peacebuilding strategy

- ▶ A piecemeal approach to Sudan's interlocking conflicts has produced several different peace agreements.
- ▶ It is not clear that the jigsaw pieces can fit together to give comprehensive, sustainable peace.
- ▶ Comprehensive texts in the CPA were a positive step, but the bilateral agreement constrained later talks and gave an incentive to others to pursue armed struggle.



## Peace for everyone



- ▶ Many were excluded from negotiations. Formal processes need to be complemented by and connected with informal dialogue processes and civil society peace initiatives.
- ▶ A pluralistic and diverse political arena – including women and members of marginalized groups – generates ownership over the peacebuilding process.
- ▶ Democratic elections are important, but only a part of the process to deal with questions of political and regional identity.
- ▶ Properly implemented, the Cairo Agreement, DPA and ESPA can bring other political groups into a common national process.

## Contentious issues

- ▶ Land tenure
- ▶ Ownership of subterranean natural resources
- ▶ The 'three areas' - Abyei, Southern Kordofan and southern Blue Nile

## International support

- ▶ The role of international actors was positive in supporting the Naivasha process, but may have worked against effective early conflict prevention in Darfur.
- ▶ With hindsight, international pressure for a quick agreement in Abuja was counter-productive, given the lack of engagement by the parties.
- ▶ Minimal international involvement in mediation of the ESPA may mean an absence of incentives and implementation monitoring.



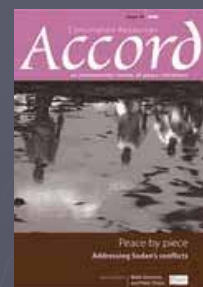
## Conclusion

- ▶ The CPA may have been comprehensive, and had 'ownership' by GoS and SPLM, but was not inclusive
- ▶ Whatever the merits of the DPA as a document, the process was not 'owned'; the DPA can not be satisfactorily implemented without full participation
- ▶ The ESPA needs an intensive implementation effort
- ▶ Peace in Sudan needs complementary processes at all levels of society and a broader, more inclusive approach
- ▶ Making unity attractive?

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