
Book Review

Peace through Development: A Timely Idea from and for South Sudan

by Lawrence K. Freeman

The Power of Creative Reasoning: The Ideas and Vision of John Garang

by Lual A. Deng

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Given the level of violent conflict that has engulfed South Sudan, when fighting broke out on the evening of Dec. 15, 2013, bringing the world's newest nation to the brink of civil war, why is a presentation of Dr. Lual A. Deng's idea of "peace through development" for South Sudan and its northern neighbor Sudan, timely and necessary?

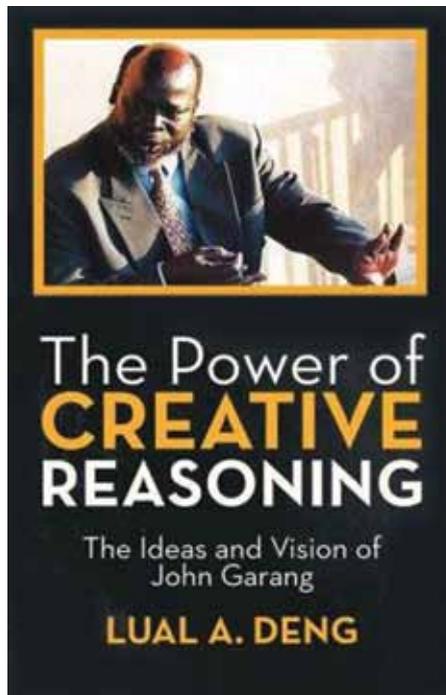
His unique proposal of creating a new geometry of peaceful relations between the two Sudans, emanating from a zone of economic development among the ten states along their common border, is exactly the kind "out-of-the-box," non-practical thinking required. This initiative for Greater Sudan, as Dr. Deng refers to the two countries, is an idea that is not new to the readers of *EIR*. Lyndon LaRouche has had, as a core strategic concept for decades, overcoming prejudice and hostilities among nations by uniting them around a common mission that links the future self-interest of each nation with one another. It is precisely these innovative concepts, presented by Dr. Deng in this book, but dismissed by those obsessed with the practicality of the here and the

now, that are required to find a creative solution to the crisis in South Sudan.

Dr. Deng was a devout follower of the late Dr. John Garang de Mabior, known affectionately as Dr. John, or Uncle John, the founder of Sudan's People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), who was the intellectual and political guiding force that led to the creation of South Sudan on July 9, 2011. Dr. Deng,¹ who has been criticized by members of his own party, the SPLM, for speaking out, publicly and in his book, against decisions made by the government of South Sudan, has survived as a maverick within his party. His relationship with Dr. Garang, which goes back to their first meeting in March 1974 in the city of Wau, now the capital of the state of Western Bahr el Ghazal, lasted more than 30 years, until Garang's mysterious and untimely death on July 30, 2005.

'The Tamazuj Zone': A Common Mission for Greater Sudan

As one might expect, this book contains a great deal of insider history of the struggle of the SPLM, which might be of interest to the non-specialist. However, the *pièce de résistance* is the concept of the "Tamazuj Zone," which is vitally relevant, not only to understanding the underly-



1. Member of the South Sudan Legislative Assembly; Managing Director, Ebony Center for Strategic studies, Juba, South Sudan; Minister of Petroleum 2010-11, and State Ministry of Finance 2005-10, Khartoum, Sudan.

ing causes for the crisis that is engulfing South Sudan today, but more importantly, it provides a pathway to a stable sovereign South Sudan in the future. *Tamazuj* is an Arabic word whose literal meaning is melting point (of African and Arab cultures), which Dr. Garang used in a press conference in Khartoum in July 2005, two weeks after he assumed the office of First Vice President of Sudan, at that time a single country, to describe his vision for the future: joint economic development along the border states of today's Sudan and South Sudan.

Dr. Deng writes that the conception of the Tamazuj zone was, for Dr. Garang, during the interim period of 2005-11,² “the backbone of a viable Sudanese state at peace with itself in case of unity or two viable Sudanese states at peace with each other and within themselves in the case of secession of Southern Sudan.”

This innovative idea flowed from a booklet commissioned by Dr. Garang and published in February 2000, “Peace through Development: Perspectives and Prospects in the Sudan.” Explaining Dr. Garang's perspective for SPLM, Dr. Deng writes: “The rationale behind peace through development is that all people of New Sudan would have stakeholds in defending projects and programs of the peace through development projects of the SPLM.”

In the concluding section of Chapter Two under the subtitle, “The Tamazuj Zone” (pp. 60-69), the author interpolates his own thoughts on Dr. Garang's Tamazuj zone.

“The idea of the *Tamazuj* zone is opportune as it provides a solid foundation for the realization of the two viable states at peace with each other through a more effective process aimed at influencing Khartoum, Juba and other major players. Such a process should be grounded on four fundamental binding constraints for the two Sudans to be at peace with each other. I should prefer to call the two Sudans as Greater Sudan. The binding constraints are geography, history, economics, and social capital.

“I would think that the first step in the process of influencing Juba and Khartoum to internalize the *Tamazuj* zone idea as the cornerstone of their peaceful existence is to urge them to agree on the vision, missions

2. This refers to the six-year interim period established by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement to allow the population of the South to decide whether they wished to separate from Sudan and form their own country.

and objectives of the conceptual framework for the two viable Sudanese states at peace with each other and with in themselves.”

I highlight two essential features of Dr. Deng's “roadmap” for the future of the two countries; that they accept:

“**Common Vision:** The two Sudans become a center of stability and economic might in the Greater Horn of Africa. I would think that it is now absolutely clear to any rational policy analyst/observer that neither Juba nor Khartoum has the capacity to be the center of stability and economic might alone.

“**Common Objectives:** The two Sudans enable each state to formulate and implement a development program that aims at sustained peace, economic growth and poverty eradication in the long term.”

Examining the geography, which was one of the constraints mentioned above, Dr. Deng provides an analysis of the ten states on the 2,184 kilometer common border of (southern) Sudan and (northern) South Sudan. The states that comprise what Dr. Garang called the Tamazuj zone are five from Sudan: Blue Nile, Sennar, White Nile, Southern Kordofan, and South Darfur; and five from South Sudan: Upper Nile, Unity, Warrap, Northern Bahr el Ghazal, and Western Bahr el Ghazal.

According to Dr. Deng's statistics, these states combined constitute 40% of the arable land of Greater Sudan, 100% of its oil production, 37% of its population, and approximately 40% of its livestock. Dr. Deng makes the point that in addition to strong historical and social relations among the people populating these states that go back centuries, economically they are dependent on each other. More than 80% of all goods and services in the five states of South Sudan in the Tamazuj zone come from Sudan, and more than 75% of Sudan's oil production comes from the five states of South Sudan.

Dr. Deng lists several prerequisites to promote economic integration between the two countries. Demonstrating the quality of his thinking, he thoughtfully includes:

- Writing off the external debt of Sudan, and lifting economic sanctions as soon as the border is 100% demarcated with full acceptance from Khartoum.
- Establishing a Tamazuj Development Bank (TDB), to serve as a financing mechanism for joint programs and projects, as well as individual projects with the ten states.

Agriculture To Be the Engine of Growth

The Tamazuj zone is ideally suited, with the forward-thinking proposals of Dr. Deng, to become a zone of joint economic development that could serve as a paradigm for an entirely new set of relations between the two Sudans. Such a common mission initiated in this border region, if properly nurtured, could spread north and south to the rest of Greater Sudan, allowing both countries to not only live as neighbors, but benefit from each other's existence, thus validating of the principle of the 1648 Westphalia Treaty—a benefit to the other is a benefit to oneself—which ended decades of religious wars across Europe.

Dr. Deng recalls for the reader that Dr. Garang intended to use the six-year interim period, from 2005 to 2011, to pursue: “A common economic policy to eradicate poverty and a sense of marginalization all over the country through efficient and effective utilization of our natural resources, such as oil, water, and vast agricultural land.” The book correctly focuses on the primacy of developing Sudan's huge untapped agricultural potential as the key to eradicating poverty. Dr. Deng writes that Dr. Garang intended “agriculture to be the engine of growth of the Sudan economy and used new-found oil to fuel this engine.”³

Dr. Garang intended to use his dual official position as the First Vice President of Sudan and the President of South Sudan (holding both positions simultaneously from July 9-July 30, 2005), “to make Sudan the regional economic hub for the Greater Horn of Africa, centered on three pillars: agricultural land, oil and strategic geographical location.” Sudan's potential to become a breadbasket of Africa, with implications for the world's food supply, has been known since the 1970s. If the necessary investments in developing this agricultural sector, accompanied by large-scale water, energy, and transportation infrastructure projects, had been the driving policy of the international community and of Sudan over the previous decades, hunger could have been eliminated in the Horn of Africa, with surpluses of food exported to other regions of the continent. This failure has contributed to genocide against the African people.

South Sudan, was born a poor, vastly underdevel-

oped, landlocked nation, with absolutely no infrastructure, whose main “value” was to be exploited as a new oil spigot and new base for U.S. military operations. This criminal stupidity has contributed to the violence that erupted in South Sudan in December 2013. Instead of fixating on turning South Sudan into a one huge tin-can oil refinery to serve the predatory financial system, there should have been an Army Corps of Engineers-style mission to develop South Sudan's agricultural sector to alleviate the desperation of a hungry, poverty-stricken population. This would have required a brute force commitment to build the necessary infrastructure to achieve this goal. Neither was done. The most charitable comment that can be made about the international donors and USAID is that they are utterly incompetent in understanding the *science of physical economy*, i.e., how to actually develop severely underdeveloped countries such as South Sudan.

Closer to the truth is that such economic incompetence coincides with intention. Genocide through war, starvation, and disease, has been the consistent policy for centuries against Africa by the Anglo-Dutch monetarist imperial system. This could not have been clearer in the case of South Sudan, whose urgent requirement was to meet the needs of its people from the first day of independence, and even years earlier, with the commencement of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Was (is) this not obvious to all, but the mentally blind?

‘It's the Leadership, Stupid!’

From Dr. Deng's book, we learn of Dr. Garang's awareness of the importance of utilizing Sudan's agricultural sector to spur economic growth, but like many problems facing South Sudan today, we can only speculate what South Sudan could have become had he not died, within weeks after joining the government, and becoming arguably, the second-most powerful figure in Sudan.

Dr. Deng does not hide his disagreements with some of the decisions made by the leadership of the SPLM-run government of South Sudan, and provocatively questions in his book, whether South Sudan will continue to be haunted “until another visionary leader, like Dr. John, emerges.”

At the end of Chapter Three, the author recalls the “moral dilemma” that he and others faced with the SPLM, when they considered policy decisions by its leadership to be harmful to their “national interest,” but

3. This writer independently had formulated a similar approach immediately following the birth of South Sudan. See Lawrence Freeman, “A Common Mission: Two Sudans Can Become a Breadbasket for Africa,” *EIR*, July 22, 2011.

would not contradict them publicly. “We are now,” he says, “an independent state, so we can afford to speak out loudly.” And that he does.

Dr. Deng courageously criticizes two well-known reckless and harmful actions by his party and government: the shutdown of its own oil production of 350,000 barrels per day in January 2012, costing the country billions of dollars in lost revenue; and the deployment of the Army to capture (invade) northern Sudan’s Heglig oil facility in April 2012, which almost escalated into a resumption of war between the two countries.

In a forum at the Woodrow Wilson International Center on April 24, 2013, when his co-panelist Brian D’Silva mendaciously and callously asserted, that the self-imposed shut down of its own oil facilities “was a blessing in disguise” to the people of South Sudan, Dr. Deng sharply rebuked him, calling that action “a disaster,” that cost South Sudan several billions of dollars. D’Silva was part of a group of Washington political intelligence operatives that included Roger Winter, Ted Dagne, Eric Reeves, John Prendergast, and Susan Rice, who cynically campaigned for the U.S. to support the creation of South Sudan, for the purpose of continuing

their intent to overthrow the government of Sudan in Khartoum.

While some in South Sudan may foolishly consider participants of this anti-Khartoum cabal as supporters of their country, one can see, from D’Silva’s disgusting comments and the harmful consequences for the people of South Sudan, due to the influence on the SPLM by Winter and Dagne, who became advisors to the government, the truth about these so-called friends.

The book also discloses that over the many years of its struggle, the SPLM was unfortunately, but not unsurprisingly, influenced by the British “free-trade” doctrine of Adam Smith, and advised by so-called experts from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank—the which, along with the lack of vision of Khartoum, contributed to the SPLM’s failure to build up their country during the CPA interim period, and immediately upon independence.

Of course, there are many factors involved in creating what was essentially a coalition government among the various competing militias. However, once the new government was established, its decision to allocate 50% or more of its budget for defense and security, while assigning a much lower priority to improving the per capita wealth of its people, demonstrates a glaring flaw in the SPLM leadership’s thinking, the consequence of which is contributing to the country’s dire straits today.

This is why it was delightful to read Dr. Deng’s refreshing “peace through development” approach to secure a future for his two and half year old country. Now these ideas must become practice and become the foundation of a new policy for the Greater Sudan.

Postscript

Since my review of Dr. Deng’s book last year, the world has changed beyond the boundaries of Africa and South Sudan. Civilization is now threatened strategically with the outbreak of a war between the super-powers, which would be a nuclear war of extinction. From the beginning of this year, we have witnessed a dangerous escalation of encirclement of Russia and secondarily, China, by Europe and the United States, as the collapse of the trans-Atlantic financial system accelerates. All people who love mankind and are concerned about the future of humanity cannot ignore this strategic reality, no matter how pressing and urgent national and local concerns.

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