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**SUDAN TODAY: PROSPECTS FOR PEACE
AND DEMOCRACY**

A STAFF REPORT

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE



FEBRUARY 1998

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

February 9, 1998.

The Hon. JESSE HELMS,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Beginning December 2, 1997, we traveled to Eritrea, Ethiopia and Sudan to assess political and military opposition to Sudan's extremist Islamic regime, to examine the humanitarian conditions of civilians in eastern Sudan, and to understand regional perspectives of the Sudan question.

This investigation was timely in light of the Clinton Administration's November 4, 1997, sanctions blocking assets of, and prohibiting financial transactions with, Sudan. As you know, the Administration imposed these sanctions as a result, in part, of Congressional pressure from such initiatives as the Ashcroft-Helms bill (S. 873) prohibiting financial transactions with countries supporting terrorism, and similar provisions contained in the Senate passed "Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1997" (S. 903).

According to U.S. State Department officials, our visit inside territory held by the opposition Sudan Alliance Forces in eastern Sudan was the first by any U.S. officials. We traveled to Eritrea and Sudan from December 3-9, 1997, then proceeded to Ethiopia until December 12 for additional meetings with Ethiopian and U.S. officials on the situation in the Sudan.

While in Eritrea, Sudan and Ethiopia, we met with Sudanese opposition leaders (including John Garang, leader of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, Sadiq al-Mahdi, former President of Sudan and head of the Umma Party, and General Abdel Aziz Khaled, leader of the Sudan Alliance Forces), Eritrean and Ethiopian military and security representatives, and U.S. Embassy and AID officials. During the excursion into opposition held territory in eastern Sudan, we were accompanied by AID official, Gayle Smith.

U.S. Ambassador to Ethiopia, David Shinn, U.S. Chargé D'Affairs to Eritrea, Don Yamamoto, and Gayle Smith of AID, along with their staffs, provided outstanding support, without which we could not have accomplished our objectives. We wish to thank them for their cooperation and assistance.

Sincerely,

CHRISTOPHER WALKER
MICHAEL WESTPHAL
G. GARRETT GRIGSBY

KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- The radical National Islamic Front (NIF) regime ruling Sudan threatens the United States and regional security by its aggressive support for international terrorist organizations in many of its neighboring countries. The NIF foments regional unrest in Uganda, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia through surrogate terrorists groups. Also, the NIF regime offers refuge and training for Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organizations Hamas, Abu Nidal, Hezbollah, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Group, and Jihad of Egypt; each of which targets Americans.
- Religious intolerance and Christian persecution are the hallmark of the NIF regime. Forced Islamization of non-Muslims, primarily Christians, is a widely recognized NIF government policy. Severe human rights abuses—including slavery—are perpetuated by the NIF regime. Despite international pressure, the NIF regime has shown no interest in modifying this reprehensible behavior.
- U.S. policy toward Sudan should continue to be to isolate the NIF regime, with the goal of replacing it with a secular, democratic government brought to power through popular elections. To help achieve this goal, the U.S. should continue its military support for neighboring governments in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Uganda. The U.S. should also support legitimate, democratic opposition groups attempting to overthrow the Government of Sudan.
- Comprehensive U.S. economic sanctions against the NIF regime—announced by President Clinton on November 4—while important symbolically, will not force the NIF to fall. Total Sudanese investment in the U.S. blocked by the sanctions is only \$5,500,000; total trade amounts to only \$70,000,000 annually. Khartoum can continue to rely heavily on financial support from fellow terrorist states, Iran and Libya. Only when vital economic links within Sudan are no longer controlled by the NIF and only when internal opposition to the NIF is widespread will the NIF face significant political and economic crisis.
- The United States Government has provided approximately \$20,000,000 in nonlethal military assistance to Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda since fiscal year 1996, to enhance their ability to defend their borders. Unfortunately, the delivery of much of the assistance was delayed because of bureaucratic tangles and diplomatic misunderstandings between the U.S. and the recipient nations. The Clinton Administration should better ensure that such assistance is delivered promptly in the future.

- Popular opposition to the NIF regime is expanding beyond southern Sudan. The recently formed National Democratic Alliance, or NDA, which consists of diverse political and military opposition groups, appears to be the most viable opposition to the NIF in a generation. The NDA, through its Asmara Declaration, has committed itself to a democratic and secular Sudan. The formation of the NDA could be a turning point for Sudanese opposition parties because the coalition brings together political and armed groups, southerners and northerners, and Muslims and Christians for the first time.
- In recent months, NDA forces have driven NIF armed forces from key areas of eastern Sudan, including strategic points near the Port Sudan highway (the supply lifeline for Khartoum), the Roseires Dam (which provides most of the electricity to Khartoum), and Kassala (the largest city in eastern Sudan). From a military perspective, SFRC staff was told that SAF was prepared to launch a major offensive in eastern Sudan against each of these targets. If NDA forces are successful in capturing and occupying these areas, it would provide an enormous political, as well as military, victory against the NIF regime.
- Secretary of State Albright's meeting with the NDA on December 10, 1997, in Uganda sends a clear message that the U.S. can support the NDA as a legitimate political and military alternative to the NIF.
- Regrettably, significant political and personal differences exist between NDA members which must be resolved. Policy disputes include, for example, north-south disagreements about a "federated" Sudan and a resolution of questions regarding the autonomy of the Nuba people. While the Asmara Declaration has been agreed to by NDA members, it is unclear if its principles will be adhered to in future years. Apparent lack of trust and respect among NDA leaders is another key concern. If the NDA is not successful in reconciling its internal differences prior to the fall of the NIF, the NDA itself may disintegrate. Leaders of each of the NDA coalition's groups must work to foster greater internal trust if the NDA is to succeed as a viable long-term alternative to the NIF regime.
- While governments in the region—Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda and Kenya—appear willing to continue to support the Sudanese peace process through the regional IGAD talks in Nairobi, to hold out hope for success through this venue appears unrealistic. According to one Ethiopian government official, the Khartoum regime is simply attempting to buy time through the IGAD process, the next round of which has been suspended until April 1998.
- While Sudan remains one of the poorest nations on earth, conditions are desperate and deteriorating rapidly in the territory controlled by the NDA. The primary reason for this humanitarian crisis is that fighting has caused thousands of individuals and families to be internally displaced in an inhospitable, semi-desert terrain. Furthermore, it appears that thousands are fleeing government controlled areas because NIF forces are reportedly committing severe human rights abuses, killing livestock and destroying villages of perceived NDA supporters.

- There are no international nongovernmental or private and voluntary organizations actively working in territory controlled by the NDA in eastern Sudan. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other United Nations agencies do not operate in areas controlled by the NDA, because families driven from their homes in these areas are ineligible to receive aid because they are considered “internally displaced” and not “refugees”.
- The Clinton Administration should consider redirecting a small portion of U.S. humanitarian aid to those areas in eastern Sudan under the control of the NDA. Since 1988, the U.S. government has provided more than \$600,000,000 in humanitarian aid to the people of Sudan; in Fiscal Year 1997 alone, U.S. aid amounted to \$39,774,378. Reallocating even a small portion of this aid to eastern Sudan would provide desperately needed medical and other assistance.
- The Agency for International Development (AID) often sends assessment teams into areas of humanitarian need to make recommendations. However, in this case AID need not spend scarce funds on such an assessment because several credible assessments have already been made by international NGOs familiar with the area. Furthermore an AID official who accompanied SFRC staff on this investigation has provided a detailed report of her findings to AID/Washington. Funds that would otherwise be used to prepare an assessment should instead be targeted to displaced people in dire need.
- The Clinton Administration recently reached inter-agency agreement to begin a modest development program inside Sudan to be administered by AID. The Administration may allocate up to \$3,000,000 during the next three years for this effort. Since U.S. assistance inside Sudan has been limited during the past decade to only humanitarian medical and food supplies, this new proposal represents a significant expansion of the U.S. role in opposition-held areas in Sudan.
- This assistance proposal is unique and inventive for AID, but must be well-conceived, both at policy and working levels, prior to implementation. The Clinton Administration must answer key questions about undertaking development projects in a country whose rulers are hostile to such projects and AID must consider several important operational questions, including how it will monitor and audit the individual projects carried out by NGOs both on performance and financial grounds. Mishandling these issues could end in the NIF regime’s refusal to allow even basic humanitarian projects elsewhere in Sudan to continue.

I. Introduction and Background

Sudan is the largest country in area in Africa (1,557,110 sq. miles) and has a population of 29,000,000. Sudan has significant agricultural potential and natural resources (it produces practically all of the world’s supply of gum Arabic, a starch used widely by U.S. food processing companies and other industries), so it has held

the possibility of being a stable link between the Middle East and Africa. However, intermittent civil war between the predominantly Christian and animist south and the Muslim-Arab north has plagued Sudan for decades, taking the lives of approximately 1,500,000 people in the past 15 years alone.

Sudan gained independence from Egypt and Great Britain in 1956, but during 41 years of self-rule, its leaders have often mismanaged the economy and abused their own people. In 1989, a military junta, the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation—predecessor of the now-ruling National Islamic Front (NIF)—overthrew the democratically-elected government of Sadiq al-Mahdi (great-grandson of Mohammed Ahmed al-Mahdi, whose Islamic Jihad in 1885 laid siege to Khartoum and had the commanding British General Charles Gordon's head cut off).

The National Islamic Front-led government allows no meaningful popular political participation and represses all opposition in pursuit of its extremist-brand of Islam. The NIF actively pursues a "Jihad" to protect its fundamentalist brand of Islam in Sudan, and to promote its religion and ideology in neighboring countries. Under the current regime, Sudan has become a haven for international terrorists, and it severely abuses the rights of the Christian and animist southern Sudanese people, including allowing them to be sold into slavery, both inside Sudan and for export to Libya. The civil war has taken more than 1,500,000 lives, led to about 2,000,000 internally displaced persons, and created destabilizing refugee flows around the region. The United States Government has provided more than \$600,000,000 in humanitarian assistance to the Sudanese people since 1988.

In mid-1995, the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and its military arm, the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and several northern opposition political parties (including the Sudan Alliance Forces) formed a coalition group under the umbrella of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) at a meeting in Asmara, Eritrea.

The formation of the National Democratic Alliance could be a turning point for Sudanese opposition parties because the coalition brings political and armed groups, southerners and northerners, and Muslims and Christians together for the first time in decades with a united goal of bringing a secular, democratic government to Sudan.

The NDA adopted a program known as the Asmara Declaration (see Appendix J.) that, among other things, calls for the formation of a unitary, secular state in Sudan. It also recognizes the right of the southern Sudanese people to self determination, although it is vague about how this would come about.

SUPPORT FOR TERRORISTS

Sudan's support for fledgling terrorist movements in neighboring Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda and Somalia poses a significant threat to regional stability and to U.S. interests. In supporting these insurgent groups, Sudan has attempted to spread Islamic extremism and overturn secular governments in the Horn of Africa.

While the Sudanese economy crumbles, the NIF continues to be propped up by external supporters. Iran remains the NIF's largest

benefactor, but Iraq and wealthy fundamentalist Muslims from several of the Gulf States also provide significant financial support to NIF leaders.

It should also be noted that France has apparently provided significant assistance to the terrorist NIF regime. According to author Dan Connell in his recent publication, *Sudan Update: In the Eye of the African Storm*, the Government of France's assistance, including military intelligence and training, is a direct threat to the democratic opposition in Sudan.

According to Connell, "France is widely thought to have provided Sudan with intelligence on SPLA positions. Sudanese opposition figures also claim France has provided various forms of technical assistance and military or police-related training to the NIF, and that it brokered arrangements between Sudan and Zaire and Sudan and the Central African Republic to allow Sudanese forces to use their territories to launch surprise attacks against the SPLA."

In Eritrea, the Sudan regime supports the insurgent Eritrean Islamic Jihad. Sudan has also given sanctuary and military support to the Lord's Resistance Army and the West Nile Bank Front, two groups which seek to oust President Museveni of Uganda. In Tunisia, Sudan has supported terrorist activities against the government, and Sudanese embassy officials based in Tunis have smuggled weapons into the country. Sudan also supports the radical Armed Islamic Group which is seeking the overthrow of the Algerian government, allegedly supports the Islamic fundamentalist group Itahad in Somalia, and is recruiting Muslim activists in Ethiopia.

In June 1995, members of the Islamic Group, an Egyptian extremist group, attempted to assassinate Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, after having been given safe haven and logistical support in Sudan. The Sudanese Government allegedly provided the passports and weapons for the assassins, and Sudan still refuses to extradite three of the suspects in the Mubarak assassination attempt.

The United Nations passed three separate Security Council resolutions between January 1996 and August 1996, numbered 1044, 1054, and 1070, calling upon the NIF to extradite those associated with the Mubarak assassination attempt and encouraging all nations to deny Sudanese Government officials entry visas. These U.N. resolutions have had no effect on the Khartoum regime.

In response to this subversive activity, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Uganda have severed or downgraded diplomatic relations with Sudan. The Government of Eritrea broke diplomatic relations with Khartoum and has allowed the Sudanese National Democratic Alliance (NDA) to locate its operations within the Sudanese embassy in Asmara. In February 1996, the U.S. temporarily relocated its diplomats to Kenya for security reasons and the U.S. Ambassador to Sudan resides in Nairobi.

The State Department's 1996 *Patterns of Global Terrorism* report noted that Sudan "continued to serve as a refuge, nexus, and training hub in 1995 for a number of international terrorist organizations." The situation remains the same today. Hamas, Abu Nidal,

Hezbollah, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Group, and Jihad of Egypt are just a few organizations operating freely in Sudan. Khartoum does not deny the presence of these groups, but rejects Washington's description of them as terrorist organizations.

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

Religious intolerance and Christian persecution are the hallmark of the ruling NIF. Forced Islamization of non-Muslims, including Christians and animists, is a widely recognized government policy. Non-Muslims are denied government employment, access to public education and even medical care. According to State Department testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on September 25, 1997, "Churches have been closed, Christian children have been forced into reeducation camps where they are given Arab names and raised as Muslims. Many Christians have been victims of slave raids and forced conversions." Further, according to the State Department, Sudan's 1991 apostasy law states that, "conversion by Muslims to non-Islamic religions is punishable by death."

In the same Foreign Relations Committee hearing, Baroness Cox, President of Christian Solidarity International-U.K. and Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords in London, England, testified that many other Sudanese suffer persecution "...because the NIF totalitarian regime has declared a Jihad, not only against Christians but against others who oppose it, including Muslims and animists, who are fighting for freedom from repression, for survival of their culture, and for fundamental human rights, including religious liberty.

Therefore, many Arab Muslims from the north, the majority of whom belong to opposition parties represented in the previously democratically elected government, have suffered arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, torture, and extrajudicial killings.

II. The National Democratic Alliance and Resistance Against the National Islamic Front

THE SUDAN ALLIANCE FORCE

The Sudan Alliance Force (SAF) is a relatively new opposition group—formed only three years ago—when compared with the established Umma party and Democratic Unionist Party. The SAF, which calls for a secular, democratic Sudan, is considered by some to be the most credible military and political opposition to the NIF because it is lead by Muslims, not Christians as is the SPLA, and because SAF has a credible military force. The SAF, with roughly 600–700 fighters, is second only to the SPLA in military strength and receives military assistance from the government of Eritrea.

General Abdel Aziz Khaled, leader of the Sudan Alliance Forces, met SFRC staff at his residence in Asmara both before and after our trip to eastern Sudan. The General was unable to accompany SFRC staff to the field, because he was coordinating with the U.S. State Department and Sudanese National Democratic Alliance leaders a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, which occurred on December 10, in Kampala, Uganda.

A Brigadier General in charge of the air defenses at Omdurman at the time of the June 1989 NIF-backed coup, General Abdel Aziz is in his 50s and a career professional military officer. He is married and has several children, one of whom attends a university in the United States.

Reportedly popular among rank-and-file troops within the Sudanese Army, General Abdel Aziz was detained shortly after the coup, questioned and eventually arrested, and was imprisoned for 18 months in Kober Prison. He went to Cairo after his release from detention, moved to Asmara in 1994, and convened soon thereafter the first General Congress of the Sudan Alliance Forces. He later participated in the formation of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). He serves as the head of the Executive Council of SAF.

Abu Ghossan, the Deputy Chairman and Chief of Staff of the Sudan Alliance Forces, accompanied SFRC staff while we were in Sudan. Abu Ghossan is in his late 40s or early 50s and has a wife and four children. A Lt. Colonel in the Sudanese army, Abu Ghossan was arrested on July 1, 1989, and accused of advocating, within the military, a peaceful solution to the war in the south. After two weeks in detention, he left Sudan for Cairo, and joined SAF. Seemingly well-versed in military matters, Abu Ghossan received training from the United States Armed Forces School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Georgia in the late 1970s.

Representatives of the SAF-affiliated humanitarian organization, the Amal Trust or Sudan Future Care Trust, accompanied SFRC staff from and to Asmara, including into Sudan. While the Amal Trust has limited resources, it has submitted proposals to the U.S. Agency for International Development and other international aid organizations to fund various humanitarian projects in SAF-held territory.



Sudan Alliance Force (SAF) fighters at the Torgun garrison

THE BEJA CONGRESS

Sheikh Omar, Deputy Leader of the Beja Congress, also accompanied SFRC staff during the visit in Sudan. The Beja tribe are a culturally distinct and long-organized pastoral people who more closely resemble, in military terms, a people's militia than a guerrilla force. They are made up of ten distinct tribes occupying the north and east of Sudan numbering approximately 3,000,000. (For a historical perspective, the Beja people are descendants of the legendary so-called Fuzzy-Wuzzies who, in 1885, defeated a British expeditionary force attempting to rescue General Charles Gordon, the British Governor General of Sudan, in Khartoum).

Formed in 1952, during a period of relative political freedom in Sudan, the Beja Congress was intended to counter the long-standing disenfranchisement by the ruling center in Khartoum. The organization is structured along traditional lines; its leadership is elected from among ranking sheikhs or prominent Islamic religious leaders in the community. The Beja Congress, now led by Sheikh Suleiman, took up arms against Khartoum in the early 1990s and is reportedly an important member of the NDA. Sheikh Omar was accompanied on our visit to Sudan by the Beja Congress chief military officer and several members of the Beja Emergency Relief Organization.

Beja troops reportedly operate alongside other NDA members in various sectors and bring important influence with their ability to conduct small-scale mobile guerrilla operations based on intimate knowledge of the terrain; to provide access to other NDA forces; and to mobilize militia-type forces when needed (assuming the availability of weaponry). Given their mobility, the Beja are difficult for the NIF to pin down in a military sense. It is difficult for outsiders to distinguish military from nonmilitary personnel.



Traditional Beja Tribesmen in Eastern Sudan

THE SUDAN FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC UNION

SFRC staff was also joined by Dr. Sharif Harir, a leader of the Sudan Federal Democratic Union (SFDU). Dr. Sharif is originally from Darfur in Sudan's far west, and resigned his position teaching anthropology at Bergen University in Norway in November 1997 to enlist in the struggle against the NIF-led government. He currently resides in NDA-held areas of Sudan. Dr. Sharif was accompanied by the SFDU's chief military officer, also from Darfur.

SFDU is reportedly working to cement ties with the NDA and to recruit from among the many Darfurians and other westerners working as temporary laborers in the agricultural areas of Sudan's eastern regions. The SFDU maintains little if any military capacity at present but, according to SAF leader General Abdel Aziz, have some people operating with SAF. SAF leaders talked openly about their desire to expand and, over time, open an NDA front in the Darfur region. Dr. Sharif claimed that, assuming logistical capacity, there are several thousand western Sudanese within Sudan and in Libya, Chad and the Central African Republic who would willingly fight the NIF Government under NDA/SFDU auspices. Although given the existing ties between the Government of Chad and the NIF, the possibility of opening a credible military front in Western Sudan appears remote.

Dr. Sharif, SAF leader General Abdel Aziz Khaled, and military professionals in the region made clear that the potential of the SFDU could be meaningful given that the west is the only region of Sudan in which there is not an NDA presence or an organized opposition to the NIF Government.

OTHER NDA MEMBERS

The Umma Party is a religious, sect-based Islamic organization and is considered, with the Democratic Unionist Party, one of the "establishment" political parties in Sudan. The Umma Party is headed by Sadiq al-Mahdi (as referenced previously, he is the great-grandson of Sudan ruler Sadiq al-Mahdi and, incidently, a brother-in-law of current NIF leader Hassan al-Turabi). The other establishment party and NDA member which has been calling for a constitutional government in Sudan since 1968, is the Democratic Unionist Party. The DUP, too, is an Islam-based political organization (representing the Khitmayia sect of Muslims). Both the Umma Party and the DUP maintain small armed forces which operate within the NDA. Finally, the Sudanese Communist Party, which is reportedly shrinking in membership, is also a member of the NDA.

Regrettably, even if the NIF were to be removed from Khartoum in the near term, significant political and personal differences exist between NDA members which must be resolved if the NDA is to be a viable long-term alternative to the NIF. Policy disputes among NDA members include, for example, North-South disagreements about a "federated" Sudan and a resolution of questions regarding the autonomy of the Nuba people. While the Asmara Declaration has been agreed to by NDA members, it is unclear if its principles will be adhered to in future years.

Equally disturbing is the apparent lack of trust and respect among NDA leaders. According to senior Ethiopian and Eritrean

military officials we met with, the NDA lacks true military and political cohesion. SPLA leader John Garang, for example, reportedly has little respect or confidence in other NDA members' armed forces. While the governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea continue to press the NDA leadership for heightened unity, the apparent lack of trust and confidence can only be resolved from within the NDA. If the NDA is not successful in reconciling its internal differences prior to the fall of the NIF, the NDA itself may disintegrate.

NDA OPERATIONS INSIDE SUDAN

The NDA controls five sectors on the Sudan border with Eritrea and Ethiopia. The northernmost sector is located on the Eritrean border at the Red Sea and includes Karora and the small port of Aqiq. The southernmost and largest occupied territory is in the Blue Nile Province nearby Damazin. In each area, the NDA is represented by at least two member organizations.

The sector visited by SFRC staff is south of the Red Sea coast on the Eritrean border, and the smallest territory held by the NDA. Each sector was taken during the coordinated offensive initiated in January 1997, with the SPLA and SAF as the main military actors for the NDA. Combined, they provide limited rear-base facilities for the NDA along the border from the Red Sea coast to Damazin, as well as proximity to strategic government-controlled areas including the Port Sudan highway (the supply lifeline for Khartoum), the Roseires Dam (which provides most of the electricity for Khartoum), and Kassala (the largest city in eastern Sudan).

According to its leaders, SAF maintains one battalion in this sector organized along "modified" British lines, with the primary modification being a greater emphasis on the operational rather than administrative aspects. All SAF forces are trained before entering service and are also provided with literacy and English-language training as needed. Troops are rotated between "bases" and front line positions or mobile guerrilla assignments, during which time training is often upgraded. All are equipped with light weapons, although ammunition is occasionally in short supply.

SFRC staff observed that the SAF military forces acted in a professional manner, particularly for an insurgent army. The troops reflect the training and professionalism of their commanders. With uniformity throughout, and visibly clean weapons, the unit presented an impressive outward appearance. It is understood that the SAF military commanders would make every effort to present such an image, as well as the fact that these troops were observed in a rear area. However, this display of professionalism is validated by reports of the military success of SAF troops.

Staff met with Dr. John Garang, leader of the SPLA, in Asmara, Eritrea, to discuss military and political developments in Sudan. According to Garang, 70 percent of all NDA combatants in Eastern Sudan were SPLA troops. While staff met only briefly with an SPLA military commander in the field, staff did witness the movement of about 30–40 SPLA troops in a truck inside eastern Sudan.

SAF units have enjoyed continued military success against NIF offices and garrisons and against industrial and agricultural targets. The most active sector is reportedly the Blue Nile, where SAF mounted on December 5, a successful operation 37 miles from

Damazin aimed at a facility that produces gum Arabic, which is an important export commodity for the NIF Government. According to General Abdel Aziz Khaled, NDA forces penetrated the site from positions behind enemy lines capturing three Massey-Ferguson tractors, one truck, one four-wheel-drive vehicle, a gasoline tanker, radio communications equipment, and weapons. SAF reported no casualties, and claims to have captured four NIF soldiers.

Significantly, SAF claims to have undertaken five small operations in and around Kassala during October, including a commando raid during which a small SAF team infiltrated Kassala itself (the largest city in eastern Sudan), raided the state security office, and escaped with government documents and weapons. No SAF casualties were reported.

This and other SAF operations in October were aimed, in part, to signal NIF representatives at the regional IGAD-sponsored peace talks in Nairobi that the war was no longer being waged solely against the SPLA in southern Sudan. (SAF military commanders reported that the small coastal port of Aqiq is now sporadically shelled by Sudanese naval forces. However, the front lines in the sector visited by SFRC staff were at present quiet, with government forces undertaking regular patrols and the two sides engaging in occasional skirmishes.)

Villagers with whom we talked described NIF sporadic air assaults using Antonov cargo aircraft modified to carry 500 lb. iron bombs. Targets appeared to be chosen indiscriminately by NIF pilots, many of whom simply attacked the largest civilian populations possible rather than search for military targets. Since the NIF air force is in near total disrepair, the few flyable aircraft are required to operate on both the southern and eastern fronts in Sudan greatly limiting their effectiveness in both regions.

Coordination between and among SAF, Beja Congress, SPLA and Sudanese Democratic Federal Union officials appeared to be cordial, if not clear cut in the Western military sense. In the case of the town of Telkok, both SAF and SPLA agreed that the civil administration should be led by a member of the Beja Congress, both as a means of building upon traditional local leadership and of ensuring that the civilian administration is comprised of people from a given area, both of these goals reflecting the policy of the NDA.

According to the various organizations, the composition of the civilian administration in most areas controlled by NDA member organizations has been determined on a consensus basis, although there were reportedly NDA-administered elections in the Blue Nile area of Menza. It appears that, whatever the composition of the civil administration and agreed-upon military presence, NDA member organizations are free to open political offices in any NDA area of Sudan.

On December 5, SFRC staff traveled to village of Telkok, Sudan (population 16,000, approximately 87 miles northeast of Kassala), crossing the border at Ribda. Telkok is the zonal headquarters for a population of approximately 250,000 of the Beja people.



Village of Telkok, Sudan (87 miles north of Kassala)

Telkok was captured by the combined forces of the SAF and SPLA on April 20, 1997, and, based on the consensus of NDA members, is administered by the Beja Congress as their people dominate the area. While SAF maintain the most visible military presence, including an office in the village itself, they claimed that the forward defenses are maintained by coordinated SAF, SPLA, and Beja Congress units.

SFRC staff spoke with sheikhs from the Beja Congress, Muslim townspeople in Telkok, and several SAF soldiers, all of whom demonstrated consistency in their comments about the NIF regime. As Muslims, they said, they stand against the NIF because, in the first instance, they consider that the state should play no role in defining the relationship between people and their God. Second, they said, they vigorously object to the NIF “doing bad things to people” in the name of Islam—including “harassing other Muslims, oppressing non-Muslims and destabilizing neighboring countries.”

This is consistent with the statement made by a U.S. State Department official who testified on September 25, 1997, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, “Civilians have paid the greatest price in this war. Rape has been used as a tool of the war, land mines have been used indiscriminately around towns, and children have been abducted and used as soldiers . . .”

In addition to these encounters, SFRC staff witnessed the tragic conditions of the camps of internally displaced families surrounding Telkok. We also toured Telkok’s hospital and school, which are empty shells having been depleted of all supplies. The hospital should serve the village and surrounding region (including the thousands of displaced people), but there are no doctors or nurses, and the facilities are in such bad disrepair that it has been closed.



The school for the village of Telkok

After visiting Telkok, SFRC staff drove several miles to the SAF regional military headquarters at the Torgun garrison. Torgun supports SAF troops at the front lines 10–12 miles distant. The garrison was taken in an April 1997 battle, in which Sudanese Government forces reportedly suffered 120 killed and SAF taking 37 prisoners.



Soviet built T-55 tank destroyed by SAF troops at the battle of Torgun

Three destroyed armored vehicles (one Soviet T-55 and two American B-113s) remained in the compound where SAF also stored approximately 1,300 captured Iranian and Russian-made anti-armor and anti-personnel mines and dozens of rocket propelled grenades and ammunition left by the Sudanese military. The garrison and its immediate periphery had been cleared of land mines by SAF soldiers trained during earlier service in the Sudanese military.



Captured Iranian land mines from Torgun garrison

III. U.S. Policy Toward Sudan

At various times since its independence, Sudan has been an important ally to the United States. Its strategic position in East Africa made it central to U.S. opposition to the Soviet Union's efforts to spread communism in the region. From 1962–1996, the United States provided more than \$2,127,000,000 in assistance to Sudan, making it the recipient of the most U.S. foreign aid in Africa after Egypt. This amount includes \$329,400,000 in military aid, \$893,100,000 in economic aid, and \$904,700,000 in humanitarian support.

According to the State Department, United States interests in Sudan are: (1) terrorism; (2) regional stability; (3) human rights; and (4) internal reconciliation, between the Muslim north and the Christian and animist south. According to State Department briefing material, the United States seeks to contain Sudanese-sponsored aggression and to modify Sudanese Government behavior through calibrated pressure and dialogue.

In August 1993, the State Department placed Sudan on its list of state sponsors of terrorism, joining the rogue regimes in Iran, Iraq, Cuba, Libya, Syria and North Korea. Terrorist nations are prohibited from nearly all political and economic relationships with

the United States, including denial of all U.S. foreign aid (except humanitarian aid) and limitations on exports.

The Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 bars donations to U.S. persons from terrorist states. The United States supported United Nations resolutions condemning the NIF regime for its involvement in the assassination attempt on Hosni Mubarak, and also reduced the number of Sudanese diplomats in the United States. On November 4, 1997, President Clinton ordered that Sudanese Government property be blocked and prohibited financial transactions with Sudan (see Appendixes G and H).

In an attempt to contain Sudan's regional destabilization campaign the United States has committed approximately \$20,000,000 since 1996, in mostly non-lethal military aid (C-130 aircraft were also provided) to Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Uganda to enhance each nation's ability to defend its borders. Since 1993, the United States has supported the Sudan peace initiative launched by the sub-regional organization Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). In fiscal year 1997, the United States government has provided \$39,774,378 for relief efforts in southern Sudan and for internally displaced people around Khartoum (see Appendix C).

Members of both the House and Senate introduced bills in 1997 intended to tighten sanctions against Sudan, including the Ashcroft-Helms bill (S. 873) prohibiting financial transactions with countries supporting terrorism (see Appendix F), and similar provisions contained in the Senate passed "Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1997" (S. 903).

IV. Assessment of Humanitarian Conditions in Eastern Sudan

The humanitarian situation within the areas of Sudan visited by SFRC staff was extremely grave. Within Telkok itself, the hospital—which is supposed to serve some 250,000 people within the region—has literally no medical supplies and no trained professional staff, most of whom fled when government forces withdrew. The school was similarly under-equipped. Staff visited the sole school in Telkok and witnessed only a small percentage of the school-age children in attendance. The school has no teachers and teaching materials—desks, books, pencils and paper—were virtually non-existent. Water supplies are short, and the harsh terrain cannot provide enough food for an adequate diet.

Telkok has, during late November, received approximately 3,600 displaced people—Beja from the Gash area who fled, they said, because of government harassment. Government forces had taken all of their herds. More people, they claimed, were on the way (150 people arrived the day before SFRC staff arrived in Telkok and 97 on the day visited). The displaced families live in miserable conditions reminiscent of those experienced by the Eritrean and Ethiopian victims of the 1984–85 Ethiopian famine who sought refuge in eastern Sudan. Both the townspeople and the displaced rely on a single well for water. It is clear that should food and medical assistance not be forthcoming, both the displaced and many of the townspeople will have to move again.



Internally displaced Sudanese near the village of Telkok

Of note, civilians in Telkok said that their suffering was worth the freedom provided by the Beja Congress and SAF as opposed to the far more oppressive environment under Sudanese Government forces.

According to AID officials, humanitarian assistance provided to the region has come primarily from Dutch Interchurch Aid (DIA) and Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), organizations which were prominent in the cross-border operation from Sudan into Eritrea and Tigray in the 1980s. AID gives high marks to these groups as they operate with low overhead, a high degree of professionalism and minimal expatriate staff (one each).

While both DIA and NCA operate with the approval of the Government of Eritrea, they maintain a very low profile to comply with the Eritrean Government's desire that a large and visible cross-border operation not be established. SFRC staff did not see evidence of any humanitarian assistance efforts in the areas visited.

The organizations reportedly work directly with the Beja Relief Organization and Amal (the humanitarian affiliate of SAF). At one point, medical supplies were also provided by the French NGO *Medecins du Monde*, although no supplies have been provided in recent months. The main medical problems are respiratory ailments, seasonal malaria, conjunctivitis, night blindness, arthritic diseases, diarrhoeal diseases, snake bites, tuberculous and various infections. Most of these illnesses are easily treatable and non-fatal with basic medical care. The only food distributions to the displaced have been those supported by Dutch Interchurch Aid and the Government of Eritrea.



Internally displaced Sudanese near the village of Telkok

Coordination and cooperation apparently exist between Amal and the Beja Relief organization, which have undertaken a division of labor whereby Amal handles medical and educational needs and the Beja Relief organization handles agricultural and water requirements. Amal appears to have more professionals on staff—being more sophisticated in terms of proposals, assessments, etc. Both have such limited resources, however, that their impact was not evident to SFRC staff in the areas visited.

The Clinton Administration should consider redirecting a small portion of U.S. humanitarian aid from predominantly SPLM-administered southern Sudan to those areas in eastern Sudan under the control of the NDA. Since 1988, the U.S. Government has provided more than \$600,000,000 in humanitarian aid to the people of Sudan. Providing even a small portion of humanitarian aid—medical supplies or water well drilling assistance—in Telkok and the surrounding villages would improve the very desperate living conditions for thousands of families.

For a more complete assessment of the humanitarian needs of the region, see Appendix E, “Assessment of the Humanitarian Conditions in Eastern Sudan”.

V. Long-Term Development Program

At some point, questions of the long-term development of Sudan must be contemplated. The ruling NIF has neither the financial resources nor the desire to provide the most basic social services for many areas of Sudan. Many regions are without basic health clinics and hospitals, schools and other government services. Government funded infrastructure, be it telecommunications or highways, to the extent they ever existed, have fallen into deep disrepair dur-

ing years of civil war. Human infrastructure—accountants, lawyers, civil servants—is non-existent. Clearly, the government of a “new Sudan” will need to find creative ways to develop this infrastructure.

The Clinton Administration recently reached inter-agency agreement to begin a modest development program inside Sudan to be administered by the Agency for International Development (AID). The Administration may attempt to allocate up to \$3,000,000 for this effort. Since U.S. assistance inside Sudan has been limited during the past decade to humanitarian medical and food supplies, this new proposal represents a significant expansion of the U.S. role in opposition-held areas in Sudan. (The United Nations Development Program, UNDP, has recently expanded its Operation Lifeline Sudan effort to include a small civil society component, but UNDP has secured the Government of Sudan’s tacit approval to do so).

Details of the proposal have yet to be finalized, but the broad parameters consist of a multi-year assistance program to be carried out through grants to non-governmental organizations whose aim is to develop basic structures of civil society in opposition held areas. AID has not yet determined in which regions specific projects would be undertaken, but, obviously, only those areas in which the opposition maintains sustained control should be considered.

Dr. John Garang, in his meeting with SFRC staff, insisted that all development assistance be targeted to areas under SPLA control, some of which have not been under NIF control for five or more years. He argued that the three zones of NDA occupation in Eastern Sudan have been held for only months, not years, and therefore are not yet ready for long-term institution building aid. Garang told staff that while the SPLM has not submitted a specific proposal to AID, he wrote AID Administrator Brian Atwood with a detailed seven point plan for local governance and infrastructure development. Garang’s insistence that all funding be dedicated to SPLM controlled areas and his concept of how the funding would be utilized appears to be somewhat at odds with AID’s view of the program. The humanitarian wing of the SAF, the Amal Trust, has not submitted any proposal to AID.

This proposal is unique and inventive for AID, given that the agency operates almost exclusively in countries with which it has received official government support to do so. From Khartoum’s perspective, through this initiative the U.S. Government will in this instance be directly assisting those whose goal is to overthrow it. The Clinton Administration will have to answer significant policy questions regarding this. AID must also consider several important operational questions. Key among these are: (1) how AID will monitor the program (currently all AID-supported humanitarian programs are coordinated through Nairobi, and this proposal may require AID missions in Addis Ababa and Asmara to play a role) and (2) how the individual projects carried out by NGOs will be audited both on performance and financial grounds.

It should be noted that an international consensus is growing that long-term international aid is simply not the answer to developing countries’ needs. In 1993, the Clinton Administration ac-

knowledgeed these failures in a critical AID self-assessment (known as the “Wharton Report”), which states, “Despite decades of foreign assistance, most of Africa, and parts of Latin America, Asia and the Middle East are economically worse off today than they were 20 years ago.”

Further evidence of these foreign aid failures can be found in a recent U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) audit of the World Bank’s IDA programs. This audit makes public staggering statistics about widespread failure of IDA lending. After poring through documentation for 737 World Bank projects, the GAO unearthed data showing that between 1985 and 1993, 49 percent of all IDA projects in Sub-Saharan Africa had “not made an acceptable contribution to development”, even by the World Bank’s own lenient performance requirements.

Worse yet, IDA’s financial and technical reform projects in Africa—which Bank officials claim are critical to future economic development—failed 62 percent of the time. And the future for IDA projects remains bleak: World Bank data reveals that despite so-called reforms at IDA, “virtually no improvement has been made in implementation or the prognosis for projects’ eventual impact on development.”

After the NIF is forced out of power, the leaders of a “new Sudan” should resist this aid dependancy which will undoubtedly be encouraged by misguided international donor agencies.

APPENDIX

A. Letter from Senator Jesse Helms to U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright

January 13, 1998.

The HON. MADELEINE ALBRIGHT,
Secretary of State,
U.S. Department of State,
2201 "C" Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20520.

DEAR MADAM SECRETARY: Genuine congratulations are certainly due you—and are hereby extended—for your important role in the President's November 4 decision to impose additional sanctions against the terrorist Government of Sudan. (The Foreign Relations Committee took a special interest in U.S. policy toward Sudan this past year, and that interest will continue in 1998.)

I understand that Dick McCall accompanied you on your recent trip to East Africa; thus you are well informed about opposition gains in eastern Sudan. In December, the Foreign Relations Committee staff traveled to areas controlled by the Sudan Alliance Forces in eastern Sudan (the first Americans to do so in an official capacity.)

Their descriptions of the tragic abuse suffered by local citizens at the hands of the Sudanese Government and the hardships caused by the civil war are almost beyond belief. Apparently, thousands of families are on the verge of a humanitarian disaster as a result of having been displaced from their homes in one of the most harsh environments on earth.

In fiscal year 1997, the U.S. Government provided \$39,774,378 in humanitarian aid to southern Sudan and for the camps of internally displaced people around Khartoum. Opposition held territory in eastern Sudan received no assistance from the United States, and a technicality blocks United Nations refugee assistance there because potential recipients are viewed as "internally displaced" and not genuine "refugees."

In view of the almost total lack of assistance for an increasing number of suffering people, I strongly urge that you devote at least a modest amount of humanitarian assistance funds already earmarked for Sudan in 1998 for opposition held territory in eastern Sudan. A small infusion of funds may prevent another humanitarian crisis in East Africa, and it certainly would be in concert with U.S. national security interests. Furthermore, on the heels of the new U.S. sanctions, it will send an important signal that the United States wants to help the people of Sudan who have suffered at the hands of the Sudanese Government.

I hope you agree that even a modest amount of humanitarian assistance could be greatly beneficial to the people of eastern Sudan, as well as furthering U.S. interests there.

kindest personal regards.
Sincerely,

JESSE HELMS.

cc: The Honorable John Ashcroft

**B. Secretary of State Albright's Response to Senator Helms'
Letter of January 13, 1998**

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT,
SECRETARY OF STATE,
January 30, 1998.

The Hon. JESSE HELMS,
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
United States Senate.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of January 13 regarding Sudan and the President's decision to impose sanctions. Your continued interest in Sudan is greatly appreciated.

I share your concern for the people of eastern Sudan. During my recent trip, I met with Sudanese opposition leaders, and we discussed our mutual concern for the suffering of people throughout Sudan.

For ten years the United States has provided humanitarian aid in all parts of Sudan under very difficult circumstances. We have not concentrated assistance in the northeastern region, which was relatively peaceful and less needy than other parts of the country. However, in recent months as opposition to the regime in Khartoum has spread, parts of eastern Sudan have been taken over by rebel groups. The fighting in these areas has caused conditions to deteriorate.

The Agency for International Development (USAID) is prepared to support humanitarian assistance programs in the northeast, as in all areas of Sudan, that address the urgent needs of war-affected civilians. In order to obtain a sound assessment of humanitarian needs and to determine support requirements, USAID has been talking to the few international non-governmental organizations which have permission from the government of Eritrea to conduct assistance operations in eastern Sudan. We will keep your staff informed on developments.

Sincerely,

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

C. Agency for International Development Activity Data Sheet—Regional Economic Development Services Office for East and Southern Africa (REDSO/ESA)—Effective Delivery of USAID’s Humanitarian Assistance

September 4, 1997,
Washington DC.

SUDAN—COMPLEX EMERGENCY SITUATION

Report 2, Fiscal Year (FY) 1997. September 2, 1997.

Note: The last situation report was dated November 12, 1996.

U.S. Agency For International Development, Bureau for Humanitarian Response (BHR), Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA).

BACKGROUND—Fighting began in 1983 between the Government of Sudan (GOS) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) when the southern-based rebels demanded more influence in the government and protested the GOS efforts to “Islamize” the Christian and animist south. In 1991, the SPLA split into factions, and intensified fighting between SPLA factions erupted in areas of the south. The conflict continues today and civilians throughout the south and the transitional zone (the area of southern Darfur, southern Kordofan, northern Bahr el Ghazal, and the northern Upper Nile States) are directly affected by aerial bombings by the GOS and forced relocations due to fighting. Ongoing insecurity and population displacement in the south and the transitional zone have not only interrupted or destroyed most of the indigenous trading and productive systems, but have also been a major impediment to relief efforts. The United Nations (U.N.) and numerous non-governmental organizations (NGO) within and outside the framework of Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) are delivering relief assistance by airlifts, airdrops, barges, trains, and truck convoys. In the more secure areas of southern Sudan, efforts to rehabilitate and restore self-sufficiency are underway.

Total USAID Assistance for FY 1997 (to date) = \$39,774,378

Numbers Affected: At a Glance

Figures listed are U.N. Humanitarian Coordination Unit and U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs): 2.5 million, including 1.8 million in Khartoum, 350,000 in the transition zone and government-held garrison towns, 150,000 in camps in Equatoria, and additional tens of thousands elsewhere.

Refugees: 209,000 Sudanese refugees in Uganda, 110,000 in the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), 78,000 in Ethiopia, 28,000 in Kenya and 27,000 in the Central African Republic. 349,000 Eritreans, 51,000 Ethiopians, 4,400 Chadians, and 10,000 refugees of various origins currently in Sudan.

Current Situation

- *Thousands Displaced as Rebels Advance:* In January, the united forces of the SPLA and the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), an alliance of opposition groups in northern and southern Sudan formed last October, launched a military campaign in the northern regions of Sudan. The military campaign, aimed at toppling the Sudanese government, initially resulted in the capture of several strategic areas. The offensive slowed down after a government call for general mobilization, but NDA forces still reportedly control several towns in the Red Sea and Blue Nile regions, including Kurmuk, Qeissan, and Maban. The NDA, based in Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, includes the country’s main traditional parties and the SPLA. In March, the military offensive shifted to the far south after SPLA forces captured the town of Yei. The SPLA subsequently seized Kaya and Kajo Keji in Western Equatoria and Rumbek in Bahr el Ghazal/Lakes. The SPLA, under the leadership of John Garang, now controls most of Western Equatoria and Bahr el Ghazal/Lakes.

The renewed military offensive generated major population movements, particularly in the south. A joint OLS assessment in late March identified a total of 100,000 returning refugees from northern Uganda and vulnerable persons among the resident population in Yei as requiring urgent relief food and non-food assistance. Many returnees eventually settled in or around their home villages, while others settled in three existing IDP camps located near Uganda. The mass exodus into southern Sudan coincided with increased rebel activity in northern Uganda.

- *Restrictions Hamper Response:* GOS-imposed restrictions on relief operations hindered initial efforts to meet humanitarian needs from April to June. In both May and June, the GOS suspended all flights into southern Sudan for up to one week. From March to June, the GOS also banned all C-130 flights to Equatoria and Bahr el Ghazal from Lokichokio, the OLS base in northern Kenya, and the use of high capacity C-130 Hercules aircraft in areas controlled by the SPLA. OLS access improved in July following the visit of the newly-appointed U.N. Special Envoy for Humanitarian Affairs for the Sudan Ambassador Robert Van Schaik. However, reports indicate that the restrictions on OLS flights reduced food aid for more than 700,000 aid-dependent Sudanese and prevented the delivery of seeds and tools, affecting timely planting. Minor restrictions imposed by the SPLA also affected humanitarian access to some areas. Recent SPLA gains have, however, allowed the OLS to transport relief supplies and personnel to Western Equatoria and Lakes regions by road via Uganda for the first time in many years.
- *OLS Ground Rules Violations:* In July, the United States temporarily suspended all distribution of vegetable oil in southern Sudan, northern Uganda, and northern Kenya. The suspension was imposed after an estimated 300 MT of BHR/Office of Food for Peace (FFP)-provided P.L. 480 Title II commodities were diverted by SPLA officers and sold for personal gain in northern Uganda in early May, in violation of OLS ground agreements. The suspension was lifted in late August following a field investigation by a team from BHR/FFP and the USAID Office of the Inspector General's Special Audit Division that took place from July 21 to August 4. In discussions with the team, the SPLA's humanitarian wing, Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association (SRRA), confirmed the diversions took place but without SRRA/SPLA sanction. The team has recommended several specific measures to reduce the potential for future diversions.

Donors and NGOs are also concerned about recent violations of OLS ground rules committed by SPLA forces in Western Equatoria, including the commandeering and use of NGO vehicles for military purposes. In late July, armed bandits forcibly entered the World Vision Relief and Development (WVRD) compound in Yambio, Western Equatoria, and robbed, beat, and held at gunpoint five international staff while SPLA military were nearby. All WVRD staff were subsequently evacuated. Some items looted have been recovered and four people were reportedly arrested later in connection with the attack. In late January, SPLA forces entered a Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF)/France compound in Pochalla, forced the staff into a tent, and looted equipment. The staff were safely evacuated to Lokichokio, and U.N. World Food Program (WFP) and MSF/France equipment looted during this attack were later recovered.

In July, Southern Sudan Independence Movement (SSIM) faction forces looted radios and other property from an NGO compound in Ayod, Upper Nile Province, also in violation of OLS ground rules agreement. SSIM forces also occupied health units and looted medicines from a BHR/OFDA-funded Mercy Corps International (MCI)/ACROSS health project in Akobo. While activities under this project continue in other areas, the Akobo portion was suspended.

- *1996/97 Crop Outcome:* According to a USAID Famine Early Warning System bulletin released in late July, a dry spell that affected parts of southern Sudan in May and June will severely affect crop yields in Rumbek and Yirol in Bahr el Ghazal/Lakes and Juba, Torit, and Kapoeta counties in Equatoria in the coming weeks. Although pasture and herd conditions are generally good, NGOs estimate that the dry spell, which also rendered crops more susceptible to damage from insect pests and disease, will reduce first-crop harvests for about 300,000 persons by as much as 65%. Prospects for the second, main-season crop, which represents 60–75% of annual production, depend on the current rains, which arrived late at the end of June and will last until October. Outstanding OLS relief food requirements for 1997 are currently projected at 36,410 MT.

Political/Military Situation

- *GOS Signs Peace Agreement with Rebel Groups:* On April 22, the GOS and five rebel factions, including the SSIM and the SPLA/Bahr el Ghazal Group, signed a peace agreement in Khartoum. Under the peace deal, a coordinating council would run the affairs of southern Sudan for four years after which a referendum on the future status of southern Sudan would be held. Soon after, six factions, including all five signatories to the peace agreement, signed an accord recognizing former Garang ally and SSIM leader Riek Machar as their overall and united militarily under the South Sudan Defense Force. The United States

commended the peace agreement as a positive first step, but stressed the need for the GOS to seek a peaceful settlement with other factions.

- *IGAD Peace Negotiations:* From July 8 to 9, President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya hosted a regional summit of Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) members to discuss the war in southern Sudan and Somalia. The GOS, after some initial resistance, finally accepted a declaration of principles as a basis for discussion, clearing the way for the resumption of talks which broke off nearly three years ago. The principles lay the groundwork for discussions regarding the country's return to a secular constitution and a four-year interim administration to address issues surrounding self-determination. Al Bashir also called for a cease-fire with the SPLA during an official visit to South Africa. Both the SPLA and NDA rejected the call for a cease-fire, arguing that it was just a ploy to give the GOS an opportunity to rebuild its forces against advancing SPLA troops. In late August, South African President Nelson Mandela held separate talks with al Bashir and Garang and hosted a summit between al Bashir and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. A meeting of East African leaders under the auspices of IGAD, which was originally scheduled for August 19, has been indefinitely postponed.
- *USG Increases Involvement:* The United States has stepped up diplomatic efforts to pressure the GOS and other parties to improve the country's poor human rights record and cease hostilities. At the USG's urging, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights is pressuring the GOS to comply with international human rights laws and reduce restrictions on international relief organizations. The USG also backed a recent U.N. Security Council (UNSC) Resolution banning international flights by aircraft owned, leased, or controlled by the already-bankrupt Sudan Airways or another entity of the GOS. Other UNSC sanctions on Sudan restrict international travel for GOS officials and call on nations to reduce the size of Sudanese diplomatic missions abroad and to not hold international conferences in Sudan.

Relief Efforts

- *IDPs and Returnees Assisted:* Coordinated donor-funded relief efforts continue to focus on the highly-variable needs of returnees from Uganda, as well as those displaced by this year's offensive. OLS delivered food and priority relief supplies by road from Yambio and from WFP food stores in Uganda and BHR/OFDA-funded NGOs have been active in the distribution of agricultural inputs and relief kits, health activities, and the rehabilitation of key road routes. WFP recently initiated an airlift operation into Juba where over 20,000 returnees, most of whom had arrived from Yei, required immediate assistance. WFP barge convoys will deliver nearly 4,000 MT of food and non-food supplies to Juba by the end of September. Nutritional activities, implemented through the BHR/OFDA-funded Action contre la Faim (ACF) grant, also continue. Three WFP barge convoys successfully delivered over 2,400 MT of food to beneficiaries along the Nile River corridor, despite the looting and attack of one barge convoy in Jonglei reportedly carried out by SSIM forces. Relief agencies are also responding to rising humanitarian needs among displaced populations in Bahr el Ghazal/Lakes Region.

In Khartoum, donors and relief organizations are working with the GOS to ensure that needs continue to be met, despite the demolition and relocation of several IDP camps in the area. BHR/OFDA and BHR/WFP programs continue to provide food, water, and health care for IDPs in Greater Khartoum. Access to IDPs in and around Khartoum has improved, allowing several therapeutic and supplementary feeding centers to address high levels of wasting.

BHR/OFDA is also funding Save the Children Fund (SC)/US food security and health activities that benefit populations in areas of south Kordofan under GOS control and is funding a small water project through Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), implemented by the Nuba Relief, Rehabilitation, and Development Society (NRRDS) to provide water assistance in areas outside GOS control. SC/US is trying to secure an agreement from the GOS and SPLA to conduct measles vaccinations in rebel-controlled areas. Parts of northern and western Sudan, including Darfur, recently experienced heavy flooding. Casualty figures and details on the full extent of the flooding are unavailable.

In the Red Sea Hills Region, the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC), the Sudanese Red Crescent Society (SRCS), and Oxfam are working to provide food to thousands of drought-stricken Beja nomads, despite numerous logistical and security problems. Oxfam and SRCS also provided supplementary feeding to vulnerable groups in Tokar and Sinkat provinces in response to reports of high levels of wasting and malnutrition in this area. Also, IDPs and war-affected people re-

main vulnerable and in need of assistance in areas of the Blue Nile that fell under NDA control in January. WFP recently delivered food to four IDP camps in the region.

- *Disease Outbreaks:* Surveys conducted by CARE, International Medical Corps (IMC), and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control have revealed an outbreak of sleeping sickness in Western Equatoria. The team found an overall 19.3% prevalence of the disease in Tambura County, with Ezo town, the epicenter of the disease, reporting a very high 27% prevalence rate. IMC and CARE hope to respond to the outbreak, among the worst documented in this century. Sleeping sickness is a parasitical vector-borne disease that is fatal if untreated. Relapsing fever has also been reported in Mankien, Upper Nile, among new IDPs from Gogrial. Efforts to treat existing cases and control an outbreak of this vector-borne disease, which could cause death if left untreated, are currently underway. An outbreak of relapsing fever recently reported in Twic County is said to be under control and treatment is ongoing. OLS NGOs recently conducted several measles vaccination campaigns following reported cases near Juba, Yei, and Bahr el Jebel, as well as in western Upper Nile and northern Bahr el Ghazal. An outbreak of gastroenteritis and cholera reported in Eastern Equatoria is now under control. OLS also conducted vaccinations against rinderpest in Bahr el Ghazal and anthrax in Eastern Equatoria.
- *OLS Funding Crisis:* Despite urgent humanitarian needs, the U.N. scaled back activities, particularly air operations, in southern Sudan for several weeks when funding received for the 1997 U.N. Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Sudan fell short of the amount requested. The Appeal, which was launched on February 18, requested \$120.8 million for 33 projects, of which 29 are OLS projects, in six priority areas. Priority activities supported by the Appeal include emergency food aid and essential health, nutritional, and water activities, as well as overall logistics support, Lokichokio camp management, and security. OLS is conducting a large fund-raising effort and has established a cost-recovery system for air operations and for food and lodging at the Lokichokio base camp. BHR/OFDA has already contributed \$2.25 million to UNICEF and \$1.3 million to WFP to support OLS operations.
- *OLS Donors' Meeting:* OLS's recent funding difficulties, humanitarian conditions, and access difficulties were the highlights of the U.N. Department of Humanitarian Affairs' Second International Advisory Committee (IAC) meeting on OLS held in Geneva on June 27. Senior U.N. representatives and donor government representatives, including BHR/OFDA, attended. The IAC invoked the 1994 OLS Agreements facilitated by IGAD as providing a framework within which OLS should pursue its activities in cooperation with the GOS and the rebel movements rather than trying to negotiate a new access agreement in Sudan. Participants also discussed the status of 1997 OLS programs as well as progress achieved in efforts to reform OLS. After the meeting, Ambassador Van Schaik sent a letter to the GOS requesting action and clarification on access and clearance issues.

Before attending the Geneva meeting, Ambassador Van Schaik traveled to Sudan, Lokichokio, and Nairobi to discuss humanitarian access issues with OLS and representatives from the GOS and SPLA. Ambassador Van Schaik, former Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the U.N., succeeds Ambassador Vieri Traxler, who resigned last September on account of ill health.

- *ICRC Suspension Continues:* ICRC suspended its operations in Sudan following the hijacking of an ICRC plane in November. The aircraft was captured by forces of GOS-ally Kerubino Kwanyin Bol upon landing in Wunrok in Bahr el Ghazal to return five wounded SPLA soldiers. Four westerners who were on board, including an American pilot, were released after 38 days, following the intervention of former New Mexico Congressman Bill Richardson, now U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. However, the welfare of the five Sudanese who remain in captivity is unknown. Nine ICRC staff in Juba, held under house arrest since November 1, when this incident began, were released in December. ICRC activities will remain suspended until GOS accusations that the ICRC was transporting arms are put to rest. However, the ICRC hospital in Lokichokio is operating at full capacity and the ICRC continues to work with Sudanese prisoners in Uganda and Sudan. ICRC recently sent food to Juba hospital under the auspices of the SRCS.

Later in March, an OLS aircraft was detained in Bor, Jonglei province, by GOS authorities claiming that flight clearance for the aircraft had not yet reached them. The GOS officials accused the pilot of carrying sensitive documents to rebels and held him for seven weeks until, following the intervention of senior U.N. officials,

he was released on May 2. The documents in question reportedly were flight log books and aviation maps.

- *Refugees:* In line with an agreement between Sudan, Ethiopia, and the UNHCR, the last 23,000 Ethiopian refugees in eastern Sudan are expected to be voluntarily repatriated this year. Of this group, about 7,000 Ethiopians were repatriated between May and July. Effective May, Eritrea suspended UNHCR staff from Eritrea over disagreements about the repatriation of refugees from Sudan. UNHCR is currently investigating high mortality rates among IDPs and refugees in Juba, particularly among 800 or so refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

USG Assistance to Sudan

The USG has actively been providing humanitarian assistance to Sudan since 1988. On October 28, 1996, U.S. Ambassador to Sudan, Timothy Carney, renewed the disaster declaration for Sudan for FY 1997, stating that continued U.S. assistance is required to assist over 3 million war-affected and displaced Sudanese. Currently, the USG's humanitarian response to the emergency in Sudan is provided through BHR/OFDA, BHR/FFP, and the State Department's Bureau for Population, Refugee, and Migration (PRM). USG-funded programs in Sudan promote continuing emergency relief to populations at risk, while at the same time providing rehabilitation assistance that builds local capacity to meet their own needs. This goal is captured under the recently-approved USG Integrated Strategy Plan for Sudan 1997–1999, which was developed within the context of the complex emergency in Sudan and takes into consideration current legislative restrictions on providing development aid to Sudan. The plan aims to meet urgent food needs in a way that increases food self-reliance and to address the major causes of mortality in Sudan by supporting comprehensive coverage by a basic primary health care network. It also promotes working with appropriate authorities and IDPs to develop local reintegration options and strengthening local capacities for peace as well as relationships and linkages that help reduce conflict.

BHR/OFDA and BHR/FFP staff in Washington continue to work with the USAID/Regional Economic Development Services Offices/Sudan Field Office to plan and monitor relief and rehabilitation activities in southern Sudan and with USAID/Khartoum staff to monitor activities in northern Sudan and GOS-controlled areas of the south. In January 1996, the United States suspended its diplomatic presence in Khartoum, due to concerns for the safety of American Embassy personnel in Sudan. Subsequently, Ambassador Carney established a temporary office in Nairobi to maintain regular diplomatic communications with the GOS.

BHR/OFDA Assistance (to date)

ACF emergency aid to Juba	\$1,025,743
ACF/France food security program in Bahr el Ghazal	\$546,957
Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) emergency health and food program in Eastern Equatoria and Greater Khartoum	\$2,144,267
American Red Cross nutrition program in the Red Sea Hills	\$68,090
American Refugee Committee emergency program in Kajo Keji	\$736,842
CARE programs in Western Equatoria, west Kordofan, and Bor County	\$1,040,243
International Aid Sweden water and road rehabilitation program in Equatoria and Lakes	\$565,513
MCI health program in Bor County	\$93,694
MSF/Belgium emergency medical, nutrition, and sanitation program	\$344,134
MSF/Holland health program in Bor County	\$575,840
NPA food relief and agriculture rehabilitation program in Equatoria and Lakes	\$1,453,079
NPA/NRRDS water program in Kordofan	\$45,000
SC/US emergency relief activities in south Kordofan	\$241,565
UNICEF health/nutrition program in IDP camps in Bahr el Ghazal Region	\$172,889
UNICEF OLS/Southern Sector support	\$2,250,000
WFP food needs and logistics support	\$1,300,000
WVRD emergency response	\$750,222
Total FY 97 BHR/OFDA Assistance (to date) = \$13,354,078	

BHR/FFP Assistance (to date)

To date in FY 1997, BHR/FFP has contributed 35,860 MT of Title II emergency Food to Sudan, valued at \$26.4 million, to ADRA, Catholic Relief Services (CRS), NPA, and WFP for emergency programming and refugee assistance. In FY 1997,

BHR/FFP also implemented CRS and WFP activities in food security and distribution that were funded in FY 1996.

Total FY 97 BHR/FFP Assistance (to date) = \$26,420,300

State/PRM Assistance (to date)

In FY 1997 to date, State/PRM has provided over \$92 million to UNHCR, IFRC, ICRC, and International Rescue Committee for regional programs that supported Sudanese refugees and IDPs and the care and maintenance of Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees.

Total FY 97 State/PRM Assistance (to date) = \$92,000,000*

*State/PRM funding to Sudan is regional and, therefore, not included in total USG assistance figures.

Summary

BHR/OFDA Assistance FY 1997 (to date)	\$13,354,078
BHR/FFP Assistance FY 1997 (to date)	\$26,420,300
USAID Assistance FY 1997 (to date)	\$39,774,378

D. Assessment Mission and Proposal for Support to Togan

[Prepared by Sudan Future Care AMAL Trust/Regional Office for the Horn of Africa]

Project Proposal [7]
Infrastructural Support for Togan, Eastern Sudan

*Assessment Mission Report
Asmara, October, 1997*

Project Summary

1. *Project Title:* Infrastructural Support for Togan.
2. *Objective:* To rehabilitate the basic infrastructural services in the non-government held area of Togan as a first phase to a comprehensive programme to be formulated during the implementation of this basic services project.
3. *Components:*
 - 3.1 *Health Services:*
Target: Rehabilitation of (3) Primary Health Care Units and (5) Dispensaries and their operation for one year.
 - 3.2 *Water Sanitation:*
Target: The provision of potable water at the major population centres in Togan by Establishing (10) water points (wells, reservoirs, pumps) and installing one incomplete water station.
 - 3.3 *Education:*
Target: The rehabilitation of (3) primary schools and their functioning for this educational year 1997/98 without major constraints or shortages. This will serve (500) students and (3) adult education classes at least.
4. *Estimated Budget Summary:*

Budget Item	Total (US\$)	Percent
Institutional Support	32,000	17.6
Rehabilitation of the Health Services	68,760	37.9
Water Sanitation	26,500	14.6
Rehabilitation of the Education Services	26,940	14.8
Contingencies	15,420	08.5
Support to Amal Trust Main Office	11,873	06.5
Total	181,493	100

1. Objectives of the Visit:

- 1.1 Assessment of the situation of the health institutions in the area for more detailed and accurate information.
- 1.2 Assessment of the general health problems and needs, prioritizing them, and defining affected population groups.
- 1.3 Identification of the possible support needs in terms of rehabilitation, medicines, medical equipment, and other urgent health requirements.
- 1.4 To assess the other needs of Togan area and the possible means for support and intervention.

2. The Mission and Data Collection:

The mission to Togan area took place in the period between 17–20 October 1997. The team was composed of two members from *Amal Trust*:

- Diab K. El-Zubeir , Country Office Administrator for Eritrea.
- El-Hadi Abdalla Mohamed, Desk Officer for Development and Humanitarian Emergency Operations, Main Office.

The visit covered the villages of Togan, Talkuk, and Maman El-Masgid as representative samples to the Togan area.

The data collection methods included direct observation, semi structured interviews, and meetings with key figures in the area (leaders and personnel of schools and health institutions ... etc).

3. The General Characteristics:

3.1 *The Togan Area:*

This area lies at the Eastern borders of Sudan with Eritrea, c.e. 75 km to the North-East of Kassala, it extends from Gadama-yeab in the North to Gir-Gir at the South. From the East its bordering Eritrea and is bordered by the Gash river from the West (near Aroma Town). The non-government held area of Togan represent (70%) of the Hamishkoreeb District, 30% of it is still under the control of the Government including the religious town of Hamishkoreeb itself.

3.2 *The Land:*

The land in this area represent a vast valley crossed by several seasonal rivulets (the most famous ones are Togan, Talkuk, and Maman). There are several rocky mountains scattered in the North and South of the area as well.

The climate of the area is semi-desert or poor savanna, with few scattered xerophytes, mainly acacia species. Seasonal grasses wilt shortly after the end of the brief rainy season. rain levels are very low (less than 400 mm annual precipitation).

3.3 *The Ethnic Composition:*

The population of the area is mainly composed of the Beja tribe. Within the Hamishkoreeb District there are (7) major sub-groups of this tribe, namely:

1. El Gohabab
2. El Jimailab
3. El Williab
4. El Himaisab
5. El Gaidab
6. El Bash-kwab
7. El Beno Daynab.

Within the non-government held area of Hamishkoreeb, targeted for *Amal Trust* operations, there are only three sub-groups of the sub-groups mentioned above:

1. *El Jimailab:* Their major concentration and residential areas are in the villages of Elat Yot, Edarot, Talkuk, Gadama-yeab, and Kotanaib.
2. *El Bash-kwab:* They are mainly in and around Togan and up to Faghda.
3. *El Himaisab:* Their population centres are in the areas of Gir-Gir, Tumkeat, and their surroundings.

3.4 *Language and Religious:*

The main spoken languages in the area is the Bedawet of the Beja, Arabic is spoken but not widely. The only religion is Islam.

3.5 *Population and Settlements:*

The population of the Hamishkoreeb District area is estimated to be 68,000 people (including the Government held areas). The population of the non-government held areas of Togan is about 40,000 people. Population mobility is very high because of their pastoralist patterns. It is not surprising that movements to and from the government held areas and inside Eritrea do exist. *Amal Trust*, however, had started a population census to obtain accurate figure of the population based on the main settlement centres.

There are two patterns of Settlements:

- a. The Religious Settlements (Masgid, sing.; Masgid, Pl. Literally Mosque and Mosques).

This is based on the characteristic religious education of the area i.e. that of Sheik Ali Betaye. The major sedentary settlements are called Masagid and are centred on a real mosque around which people live and get their religious education. The centre of the power and authority under this system is the Sheik, who is always a member of Ali Betaye family. Ali Betaye family ethnically belong to el Jimailab sub-group of the Beja. The Beja formation, thus, is typical to the ethno-political confederations of the Beni Amir and Tigre, who are both pastoralists, where the traditions of serfs and leaders are predominant characteristics.

The main example to these mosque settlements are Talkuk el Masgid, Maman el Masgid, and Tehdaye el Masgid.

- b. The Nomads Settlements: These are temporary settlements, usually around the seasonal streams and at the skirts of the religious settlements.

The nomads are in continuous movements in search for water and pasture for their animals.

Generally speaking, there are (135) population centres (full list available), ranging from small nomadic settlements to religious villages. The major population centres of these, however, of the highest population that can be targeted by *Amal Trust* operations, are the following:

1. Tehdaye
2. Talkuk

3. Maman
4. Togan
5. Elat-Yot
6. Belestaf
7. Gadama-yeab.

Each of these major centres have several small settlements adjacent to it which are also going to be targeted for support. It is also necessary to emphasize that, the other areas which were not mentioned here are not going to be neglected by Amal Trust, although the organization will start its first phase of operation with the (5) centres mentioned above for clear practical reasons.

3.6 *The Economic Activities in the Area:*

Animal rearing and pastoralism is the major economic undertaking in the area. Animals include goats, sheep, and camels in addition to very few cattle. Agriculture is practiced at very small scale at the seasonal rivers' banks using diversion structures to flood the land. Main crop grown is sorghum. The main areas suitable for this type of farming are Maman, Elat-Yot, and Talkuk. Related to agriculture, there are small businesses of palm leaf products (mainly in Belestaf) which are usually traded at Kassala.

4. **Infrastructural Services:**

4.1 *Health Services:*

4.1.1 *The Talkuk Hospital:*

The main health institution in the area is the Talkuk hospital. This hospital was established in 1982 by assistance from the Dutch government under the Kassala Area Development Activities (KADA), a joint project between the government of Sudan and the Netherlands. The buildings of this hospital consist of:

1. Registration Room.
2. First Aid Room.
3. Pharmacy.
4. Doctors Office.
5. Dentist Office.
6. Surgical Department consisting of sterilization room and operations theatre.
7. Men's ward.
8. Women's ward.
9. Incomplete children ward, (3) rooms.

The inpatients capacity of the hospital is (57) beds (men's ward [16 beds], women's ward [16 beds], and children's ward [25 beds]). This is despite the fact that, currently there are only (12) beds in total, (6) in the men's ward and (6) in the women's ward.

Before the conflict, the health staff of the hospital consisted of the following:

1. (1) Medical Doctor.
2. (2) Medical Assistants.
3. (1) Medical Assistant for the laboratory.
4. (1) Pharmacist.
5. (1) Senior Nurse.
6. (9) Nurses.
7. (8) Attendants.
8. (8) Midwives.
9. (5) Guards.
10. (1) Cook.
11. (1) Electric Generator Operator.
12. (1) Cleaner

Apart from the Medical Doctor, all the hospital staff are from the local community and are still available in the area. The Medical Doctor had left during the conflict to the government held areas, taking with him the only Ambulance vehicle which was previously used for out-reaching the scattered population of the area.

All the health staff in the area are working now on voluntary basis and are supported by the local community in covering their living expenses.

Provided that the hospital is rehabilitated, it can provide adequate services to the whole area especially under the current conflict situation. There is a need for some medical staff namely a Medical Doctor, Dentist, Assistant Ophthalmologist, Anesthesia and S. Operations Technicians.

This hospital was the only referral institution in the area. Now, after the conflict patients are referred to the Hospital of Kassala (within the government held areas) and as such the situation is becoming very difficult. The health staff interviewed

during this mission, however, had indicated that the most important obstacle now for patients referred to Kassala is the lack of transportation.

4.1.2 *The Other Health Institutions:*

There are (5) Dispensaries within the non-government held area of Togan namely in Yodorot, Tehdaye, Elat-Yot, Maman el Masgid, and Gir-Gir. All these PHCUs are constructed by brick and composed of two rooms buildings. Each of these dispensaries practically serves a population of over (10,000) people, as with the case of Maman where its PHCU serves the (1840) people residing in Maman in addition to about (9) small settlements (all listed) with estimated population of around (1,000) people each. During their operations, these dispensaries receive about 5060 patients a day. Each dispensary is run by one nurse, one health worker, and one attendant.

There are also a number of Primary Health Care Units PHCUs under the supervision of these dispensaries namely in Adardaib, Maman Baimock, Hashanait, Gadama-yeab el Masgid, Gadama-yeab Ad Kinat, Rabsim, Kotayneab, Timaykeet, Beialambay, Togan, Belestaf, Hamt-yay, and Aladait. The PHCUs are constructed of local materials. Each PHCU is run by one health worker and an attendant.

All these health institutions need furniture, medical equipment, renovation of buildings, and medicines in order to be able to provide the required services to the rural areas of Togan. The health staff who are all available, are striving at their level best to run these institutions with the minimal supplies they receive from time to time.

Up to April '97 there was a vaccination programme for children every month. It was discontinued due to the armed conflict that led to driving all the government presence from the area.

4.1.3 *The Common Diseases:*

The common diseases in the area are Malnutrition, Malaria, Respiratory Tract infections, Eye Diseases, Dysentery, Gardiasis, TB, and the Anemia.

The main causes for children morbidity are said to be diarrhoea, pneumonia, and malnutrition and are responsible for 50% of the children deaths, according to the Taikuk hospital officials.

4.1.4 *Medical Supplies:*

Since the liberation of the area, no medical supplies were received from the Government side. Few endeavors, however, were made by some NGOs to provide medical supplies to these institutions, these included provisions by:

1. Beja Congress during the months of July and September '97.
2. *Amal Trust/Doctors of the World*, during August '97.
3. B. Cox of Christian Solidarity International, During August '97.

5. The Water Supply:

Apart from few shallow wells, the whole population of the area depend on the seasonal rivulets in their water supply. Usually the water can be obtained from these seasonal rivulets and streams from June and up to the end of October, after which time the sandy river beds dry, and the people had to go to the nearest village with a well to get their water. Some times the nearest village can be more than 20 km as the case with Belestaf village where its people usually get their water from Taikuk during the dry period.

As far as the wells are concerned, there are three wells in Taikuk, two of them used by men, and the third is reserved for women use under the religious settlement regulations. In Togan there is one well in the military camp which is now shared with the local population. The third village which enjoys having a well is Maman el Masgid, the hand pump of this well had broken down and at the time of this mission it was awaiting repair at the town of Tessenei.

In Talkuk itself, there is an incomplete water project which needs only minor efforts for its completion. All the well, the water tank, and the pump are available to be installed. The requirements are seen as mainly an expert and small funds to mobilize the communal labour, to build an stand for the tank, to procure some metal pipes, and to establish small basin with taps. It is perceived that this project will contribute very much in solving the water problems of Taikuk and its close surroundings.

Maman Bemock and Belestaf as well as all the other major settlement within Togan area, with exception of the above three villages, have no any source of potable water apart from the contaminated water of the seasonal streams, and as such have to share with these three villages the water during the dry season.

6. The Education Services:

Its amazing that in the whole of the Togan area, and the Hamishkoreeb District as well, that girls have no access to education at all. The only form of education the women can have is the religious education which is carried at monosexual Koranic schools (*khalwa*), by women instructors, with the sole purpose of teaching Koran.

There are about (7) schools in the non-government held area of Togan. These schools are namely in the villages of Taikuk, Maman, Togan, Tehdaye, Elat-Yot, Yedarot, and Gir-Gir.

School	No. of Classes	No. of Teachers	No. of Students
Taikuk	8	2	216
Maman	6	3	160
Togan	5	2	150
Elat-Yot	5	2	100
Yedarot	5	2	100
Tehdaye	5	2	100
Gir-Gir	6	3	120
Total	40	16	946

Before the conflict, and to attract the students to education, all these schools were run under boarding system, (3) meals a day were provided to the students.

Under the current situation, however, such arrangement had become extremely difficult. The schools had commenced operation this month (October '97), the local community had provided minimum support for one meal a day (at least for Taikuk students). For instance, in the case of Maman School, the monthly requirements for the students hostel were estimated at 720 kg of wheat, *Amal Trust* had managed to provide 100 kg of wheat just to start the process. In Addition *Amal Trust* had also provided 100 students' notebook, and 100 pens, but still there is great need for more of these items to meet the requirements of the (150) students of this school alone.

7. Suggested Intervention for Amal Trust:

7.1 Rehabilitation of the Health Delivery System and the Water Sanitation

7.1.1 The objective of this project is the rehabilitation of the rural health services delivery units that can provide direct and accessible services to the different villages in Togan area. This has been identified as a priority need for the following reasons:

a. The initial idea of rehabilitating the Taikuk hospital was postponed due to the fact that, Taikuk as a referral hospital does not have the capacity to cover the health needs of the area without the support of the rural units, nor it has the location that make it always accessible to the remote villages.

b. In terms of staff, to rehabilitate the hospital will imply looking for a medical doctor, Dentist, Assistant Ophthalmologist, Anesthesia and S. Operations Technicians. And since there are no doctors available, it is not expected that a hospital lacking these medical staff will function properly. With regard to the PHCUs and the dispensaries, all the health staff who are originally from the local community are available to run these services as soon as the minimal support is provided.

c. Considering both *Amal Trust* strategy of a rural development that should start from the periphery, and the need for a sequential and gradual process of rehabilitation, it is quite logical that the project should start by rehabilitating the rural health units in its first phase, then it can undertake the rehabilitation of the hospital as a second priority.

d. In terms of feasibility, its also less costly and more socially beneficial to rehabilitate the rural health units than the hospital.

This been the strategy, *Amal Trust* had discussed with the local community the suggested units for rehabilitation by the first phase of the project. The following units were agreed as appropriate both in terms of the available infrastructure, and the geographical coverage and accessibility to the local communities:

7.1.2 The Suggested Dispensaries:

1. Tehdaye Dispensary

2. Maman Dispensary
3. Elat-Yot Dispensary

7.1.3 *The Suggested Primary Health Care Units:*

1. Gadama-yeab PHCU
2. Rabsim PHCU
3. Timaykeet PHCU
4. Adardaib PHCU
5. Belestaf PHCU

The rehabilitation of these health institutions will include:

- a. Renovation of the Buildings
- b. Supply of Medical Equipment
- c. Supply of Drugs
- d. Provision of basic furniture
- e. Meeting the personnel cost of the health staff

The local community will participate in the construction activities as well as expected to maintain their support to the health staff.

7.2 *The Water Sanitation:*

In almost all the villages visited by the team, water born diseases were mentioned as one of the major problems added to the fact of difficulties associated with fetching the water itself. The objective of this project is to provide sources of potable water to the major population centre. To help in the eradication of the water borne diseases, to reduce the water fetching burden from the women, and to assist in the settlement of the population and the improvement of their living.

This project will include:

1. The installment of the water project of Talkuk.
2. The establishment of (2) wells in Maman.
3. The establishment of (3) wells in Tehdaye.
4. The establishment of (3) wells in Togan.
5. The establishment of (2) wells in Belestaf.

The local population are also expected to contribute labour for the digging of the wells. While the technical expertise and inputs are expected to be provided by the project.

It should also be stated here that, these water services are seen as part of the health programme. A complete water supply project for Togan are is been submitted by the Beja Relief Organization (PRO) to the Dutch InterChurch Aid for funding, therefore, the provisions of this project, here, could be seen as primary phase of that wider project.

7.3 *The Rehabilitation of the Educational Services:*

This is a short term programme with the aim of providing support to the initiative already taken to open some of the schools in the Togan area with local support. On the long run, *Amal Trust* would look into the possibilities of supporting all the schools of the area, as well as looking into women education. However, the emphasis of this project, is to see that at least (50%) of the schools in the project area could function adequately, without major problems and shortages, to the end of the school year.

The same infrastructures will be used for opening Adult Education classes at the respective schools to be rehabilitated.

The form of the support is suggested to include:

1. Essential renovation of the buildings.
2. Supply of Educational Materials and Aids (pens, notebooks, pencils ... etc).
3. Support to the Teaching Staff (each school should have at least 4 teachers).
4. Support of the Students Hostels (at least 1-2 meals a day). The requirements per student per day could be calculated as follows:

- a. Wheat or sorghum: 200gm
- b. Lentils: 25gm
- c. Oil: 25gm

The selected schools for this project include:

1. Talkuk el Masgid School.
2. Maman School.
3. Togan School.

It is expected that these three schools will accommodate at least (500) students since more students are expected to come from adjacent villages and other schools.

7.4 Project Requirements:

For *Amal Trust* institutionally to be able to implement this project, support will be needed for both its Logistics offices at Tessenei, and the Field Office in Togan.

8. Organizational Structure and Implementation Strategy:

It is suggested that the structure of the project will take the form of partnership between *Amal Trust* and the local community in Togan. The characteristics of the local community and their implications will be considered in the structuring of the project form.

8.1 Logistics Office (Tessenei)

8.1.1 Functions of the Office:

- a. Supervision of the programme activities at the field level (Tokan).
- b. Monitoring, assessment, and updating function on the situation on the border, and at the project area.
- c. Logistical support to the programmes in Eastern Sudan.

8.1.2. Office Staff

- a. Office Manager
- b. Office assistant
- c. Office Secretary
- d. Office cleaner/guard

8.2 Field Office (Togan)

8.2.1. Functions of the Office:

- a. To implement *Amal Trust* programmes and Activities at the field level.
- b. To monitor, assess, and update, by reporting, Tessenei and the Country office on the developments, problems, and arising issues at the project area.
- c. To mobilize the local communities for self-help activities, and to identify further areas for intervention by *Amal Trust*.

8.2.2. Office Staff

- a. Project Coordinator
- b. Community Development Worker
- c. Office Administrator.

8.3 Local Community Structures:

Amal Trust had already established the link and services committees as follows:

1. Taikuk Committee (5-members)
2. Maman El-Masgid Committee (3-members)
3. Togan: Unlike Taikuk and Maman, Togan people are not based in one place, in fact Togan itself is a market and transactions place whereas the people of Togan are scattered over many small pastoralist settlements (*Furgan*, Local) around Togan. For practical reason the area is divided into two:

3.1 Togan East Committee (7-members): Extends from Togan to the East up to the Eritrean Borders including the main areas of Gebrayeet Glabinyou, Gebrayeet Serarat, Gebrayeet Silky, Angatait Serarat, and Angatait Belait, around the valleys of Gebrayeet and Angatait. It covers the sub-tribes of Semendowab, Hamfey, Yousab, Araray, and Berkey.

3.2 Togan West Committee (6-members): Covering the sub-tribes of Reddey, Hadedwab, Omdab, Bushariab, Simdir, and Bushnab. Their area extend from Togan to the west up to the Gash River.

4. Belestaf Committee (5-members): It covers the sub-tribes of Shokab (Khor Shagloba), Hisay (Kadab), and the Masmar.

These are committees are formed from the local communities at the major population centres level. Their membership includes teachers, health workers, religious leadership, tribal leadership, and ethnic groups representation all of whom are influential in the local community mobilization.

Each committee is selected with the consensus of the local community and local leadership. The role of these committees is expected to link the project with the local community, to represent the local community as far as the identification of needs, prioritization of problems, formulation of projects, and mobilization of the support of the local community in the implementation and management of these projects is concerned.

Considering the ethnic composition of the population and their relationship with their traditional tribal-religious leaders, *Amal Trust* had already discussed the possible project with the Administrative Commissioner, who is also the ethno-religious Beja leader (Betaye Family), who had in fact pleaded for *Amal Trust* intervention and support to the rehabilitation and development of the area. He promised to provide all possible support for the implementation of this project.

The support of this leader (in addition to the local community structures or committees) is thought by *Amal Trust* as quite vital in smoothing the implementation of the project and in gaining maximum community participation, and in ensuring the sustainability of the services. Without the consensus and agreement of these local leaders *Amal Trust* believes that it would be quite impossible to implement any activities in this area.

9. Monitoring and Evaluation:

Amal Trust will develop a close monitoring and follow up system for both the process and impact of the intervention. The project will develop together with the local community a set of basic indicators for the project to be used both for the monitoring of the implementation and the impact of the activities and to be used for reorientation of the activities whenever proved necessary by the periodical evaluation results.

While *Amal Trust* will initiate its own monitoring system, both at Tessenei and the Togan field office levels, it will strive to meet the monitoring requirements of its donor and partner NGOs and institutions to the possible level, and to incorporate them in its own system.

In principle *Amal Trust*, in accordance with its transparency strategy, will avail all the monitoring and evaluation results for its activities, as well as those related to the general project area context (economic, military, security ... etc.), to its partners. And in principle there *Amal Trust* welcomes that some of the monitoring activities to be taken by the partners as long as they are permitted by the local authorities (i.e. our third partners in such Cross-Border-Operation), *Amal Trust* will do its best that the partners get such access which is quite necessary for reflecting its efficiency and for building solid bases for cooperation and continued support with its partners.

10. Estimated Project Budget:

As far as the renovation of the buildings and the establishment of the wells is concerned, this budget figures are tentative, and are based on figures of a similar programme to be implemented in Menza, North of Blue Nile. More accurate figures could be obtained by a technical team upon reaching an agreement of support to this project.

Estimated Project Budget

(U.S. Dollars)

A. Capital		
1. Establishment of Tessenei Logistics Office	21,200	
2. Support to Togan Field Office	10,800	
Sub-Total (A)	32,000	
B. Support Components		
B.1 Rehabilitation of the Health Services		
a. Renovation of the Buildings		
@ 3 PHCU x 2,000 US\$	6,000	
@ 5 Dispensaries x 1,000 US\$	5,000	
b. Supply of the Medical Equipment	10,000	
c. Supply of Drugs	24,000	
d. Meeting the personnel cost of the health staff		
@ 3 Nurses x 50 US\$ x 12 months	1,800	
@ 8 H. Workers x 35 US\$ x 12 months	3,360	
@ 8 Attendants x 25 US\$ x 12 months	2,400	
Sub-Total (B.1)	68,760	
B.2 Water Sanitation		
1. The installment of the water project of Talkuk	1,500	
2. The establishment of (2) wells in Maman	5,000	
3. The establishment of (3) wells in Tehdaye	7,500	

Estimated Project Budget—Continued

(U.S. Dollars)

4. The establishment of (3) wells in Togan	7,500
5. The establishment of (2) wells in Belestaf	5,000
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Sub-Total (B.2)	26,500
B.3 Rehabilitation of the Education Services	
1. Renovation of the buildings	6,000
2. Educational Materials and Aids	
@ Notebooks 3 x 500 x 0.5 US\$	0,750
@ Pens 2 x 500 x 0.14 US\$	0,140
@ Pencils 2 x 500 x 0.07 US\$	0,070
@ Posters and Markers	0,150
@ Chalk	0,150
@ Teachers Aids	0,350
3. Teaching Staff	
12 Teachers x 12 month x 50 US\$	7,200
4. The Students Hostels	
a. Wheat or Sorghum (200gm x 500 students x 9 months = 27.0 MT)	
@ 27.8 US\$ x 270 Quintals	7,506
b. Lentils (25gm x 500 x 9 = 3.4 MT)	
@ 66 US\$ x 34 Quintal	2,244
c. Oil (25gm x 500 x 9 = 3.4 MT)	
@ 0.7US\$ x 3400 kg	2,380
<hr/>	
Sub-Total (B.3)	26,940
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Total	154,200
10% Contingency	15,420
<hr/>	
Total Budget	169,620
Support to Amal Trust Main Office (7%)	11,873
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Grand Total	181,493

Appendix (1)

(U.S. Dollars)

Tessenei Office Budget:

A. Capital:	
1. Rent of the office 200 X 12	2,400
2. Furniture	1,500
3. Motorbike	3,500
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Sub-Total (A)	7,400
B. Office Equipment	
1. Computer and Printer	2,500
2. Communication Radio	2,500
3. Stationeries	1,000
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Appendix (1)—Continued

(U.S. Dollars)

Sub-Total (B)	6,000
C. Personnel	
1. Office Manager 250 X 12	3,000
2. Office Assistant 150 X 12	2,400
3. Secretary 100 X 12	1,200
4. Office Cleaner/Guard 100 X 12	1,200
Sub-Total (C)	<u>7,800</u>
Total	21,200
Togan Office Budget:	
A. Capital	
1. Construction of Office (local Materials)	0,500
2. Furniture	1,500
3. Typewriter + stationeries	1,000
Sub-Total (A)	<u>3,000</u>
B. Personnel	
1. Field Office Manager @ 250 X 12	3,000
2. Community Development Worker @ 200 X 12	2,400
3. Relief Worker @ 200 X 12	2,400
Sub-Total (B)	<u>7,800</u>
Total Budget	<u>10,800</u>

E. Assessment of the Humanitarian Conditions in Eastern Sudan

1. INTRODUCTION

The Land and the People

Geographical Location

The Beja region accommodates more than 3.5 million Beja people. The region extends from Aswan, Southern Egypt, in the North up to the Eritrean plateau and the plains of Massawa in the East and along the coast of the Red Sea into the Sudanese territories up to the Atbara area and along the Nile riverside as their Western borders.

Ethnic Origin and Composition

The Beja are widely believed to be descendants from the Hamiatic people of Asia who crossed the Red Sea and inhabited their current location some 4000 years B.C.

The distribution of the Beja as one ethnic group in the areas of Southern Egypt, North-East and Eastern Sudan, and the Eastern and Western lowlands of Eritrea, and before the setting of the current political boundaries of these states, is confirmed through the tribes that constitute the Beja ethnic group. The Beja are divided into 10 distinct tribes namely El-Artega, El-Bushareyeen, El-Amar-er, El-Ashraf, El-Kemalab, El-Hedandawa, El-Melhetkanat, El-Habab, El-Halanga and El-Beni-Amir.

The Beja of the Sudan

The Beja of the Sudan occupy an area that extends from Halayeb in the Northeast along the Eastern borders of Sudan up to the Atbara river, and are bordered from the West by the river Nile. Their main population settlements are Halayeb, Tokar, Mohamed Goal, Hamash Koraib, Sinkat, Port Sudan, Karora and Kassala.

The population of the Beja of the Sudan is estimated to be three million people.

The Ecological Description of the Beja Area

The region of the Beja lies just above the (600) isohyet with rainfall ranging between 500 mm in the Southern parts, to 0.0 mm annual precipitation in the Northern areas. The coastal areas receive the winter rains between November and January in the range of 150–200 mm.

The land is mostly bare and rocky with few scattered xerophyte vegetation namely *Acacia ssp.*, *Ziziphus spina christie*, *Prosopis chilensis*, and some wild cactus *ssp.*, seasonal grasses are associated with the rainy seasons.

The terrain is generally rough, mountainous and is crossed with a multitude of dried and seasonal rivulets. The Beja land is also crossed by two major rivers, Gash and Tokar both bringing water and fertile soil from the highlands of Ethiopia and Eritrea, thus, their respective deltas and flood plains are considered to be among the most fertile schemes in Sudan. The climatic zones of the Beja areas thus, vary from dry savanna in the Southern parts, to a typical desert zone to the far North. It is generally characterized by very low temperatures during the night, and extreme hotness during the day.

The Nomadic Patterns

The Beja tribes are mostly pastoralists with some of them practicing agropastoralism. Their pasture land and routes extends, as indicated by one of them, from Halayeb in the North-east of Sudan to the mountains of Rura Habab in the Sahel province of Eritrea. Their livestock consist mainly of camels and goats, which best suit the tough environment of the region. Farming is practiced at various levels along the pasture route as a supplementary activity.

The nomadic pattern of the Beja, which necessitate a continuously mobile pattern of living characterized by the non-existence of permanent settlement forms—in most cases, has had its clear implications and consequences, historically, on the development of this ethnic group and that of the area they inhabit.

This lifestyle has led to an underdevelopment of adequate infrastructural services such as health, education, . . . etc. This state continuously maintained by environmental pressures necessitating migrations in search of water, pasture, and farming lands, the aspect that put the Beja in a historical dialectic and a vicious circle of poverty, underdevelopment, and high vulnerability to external environmental elements.

The Historical Suffering of the Beja—An Old Plight, New Concern

The present suffering of the Beja people is a result of a long process of deprivation and marginalization which has characterized the contemporary history of this group.

This has been mainly due to successive mal-policies adopted by the various governments in Sudan which have neglected and overlooked the existence of the Beja, and possible negative impacts and adverse effects of these policies on their survival. Such policies include taking of vast grazing areas and their conversion into agricultural schemes, forcing the people to move with their animals into poor grazing land, mostly mountainous, areas of the Red Sea coast.

The Gash and Tokar agricultural schemes stand as a conspicuous example for such depriving policies. Both schemes had taken land which was vital for the Beja in terms of resources and pattern of their economic activity. These areas used to provide the Beja with good pasture land and water for their livestock in their seasonal migration from East to West.

Other plantation schemes in the Eastern region as a whole have also sprung up using intensive mechanization and taking large areas which were once a resort for the nomads and their animals. The horticultural gardens occupy all the land around the Gash river.

The remaining areas, resource poor as they were, have also been used for building of roads such as the roads connecting the capital Khartoum with Port Sudan, coupled with the recent ongoing war and the economic decline nationwide, have aggravated the situation even more.

Thus, the end result is a loss of wealth and impoverishment of the Beja people as well as accelerating environmental degradation and desertification. Both the land and its people have suffered tremendously from such mal-policies adopted by the different groups that have come to power in the contemporary Sudan.

Some studies carried out in the area described a previous situation where animals were traded for sorghum and other consumer goods, and agriculture was also practiced along the seasonal wadies and khores. This practice no longer exist, the loss of natural pasture land combined with the drying-up of wells in the area, and the recent droughts have all led to the loss of livestock and the decrease of nomadism in the area. Accordingly, the area witnessed a large influx of rural people into the urban centres especially during the famine years of 1984, 85, 90, 93 and 1996. Large scattered settlements started to emerge around these urban centres indicating the magnitude of poverty and displacement that have since taken place within the Beja.

Poverty, disease, hunger, illiteracy have all been permanent and persistent phenomenon and is characteristic of the Beja life during the last years.

2. THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

A subsequent era in the process of deprivation and impoverishment followed, however, this time with marked differences in terms of methods and impact. This era also witnessed a growing concern, however limited, from the international community about the excessive human rights violations. The phase is closely linked to the present government of Sudan (GOS) practices and ruthless suppression of the Beja people.

The attitude of GOS towards the Beja can be explained by political developments in the region in general and the Beja in particular. Presently the different fractions of Sudanese opposition opposing the Khartoum regime are operating from the Eastern Sudan border with Eritrea, an area which is dominantly Beja. The Beja after long periods of suppression have decided to take arms and revolt against this situation. Demanding economics and political rights. Consequently, the GOS reacted aggressively and indiscriminately against the whole Beja population in Sudan.

This reaction in addition to other measures taken by the GOS has led to the displacement of a large number of people. Some of these measures and practices which have been reported by many concerned bodies and circles can be summarized in the following:

- I. Direct confiscation of the Beja land to be either sold or given to other more favoured groups.
- II. Levy of heavy taxes, which lead to loss of the little possessions people have.
- III. The GOS has detained, tortured and harassed many people accusing them of assisting or being members of the Beja Congress.
- IV. Young men are taken by the thousands and sent to fight, against their will, in the South of Sudan.

*Situation of human rights in Sudan**(UN Commission on human rights in Sudan, April 1997)*

Recalling General Assembly resolution 51/112 of 12 December 1996 on the human rights situation in the Sudan and its own resolution 1996/73 of April 1996, also on the human rights situation in the Sudan. Noting with deep concern reports of grave human rights violations and abuses in the Sudan, particularly detentions without trial, forced displacement of persons and torture, as described inter alia in numerous reports submitted to the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights—expresses its deep concern at continued serious rights violations by the GOS, including extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests, detentions without due process, enforced or involuntary disappearances, violations of the rights of women and children, slavery and slavery-like practices, forced displacement of persons and systematic torture, and denial of the freedom of religion, expression, association and peaceful assembly, and emphasizes that it is essential to put an end to violations of human rights in the Sudan.

All accusations mentioned above, are confirmed by the Beja population, during my field visit in July 1997.

3. THE BEJA RELIEF ORGANISATION (BRO)

The Beja Relief Organisation (BRO) was formed in October 1996 by conscientious Sudanese nationals wishing to address the current plight of the Sudanese people in general, and of the Beja nationality in particular. BRO is registered in Eritrea as a non-profit making humanitarian and a political agency, having its headquarters in Asmara, and with field offices inside Sudan in areas liberated by the Beja Congress. The Beja Congress recognizes and extends full support to BRO in its operations to monitor, assess and assist the vulnerable Beja communities.

Objectives of the BRO

BRO, as a relief association, aims to address all economic and social problems, created not only by the present regime in the Sudan, but also by the chronic effects of droughts and land degradation to which the region, as part of the Sahelian zone, has been exposed for decades. The initial and immediate objective of BRO is, however, to provide relief support to the Beja people suffering from the crude and rude policies of the NIF, and, thereby, contain and rehabilitate them in the land of their forefathers by arresting forced migration to neighbouring Eritrea and Ethiopia. As such, BRO has the following specific objectives;

- make the international community aware of the plight and needs of the Beja people,
- solicit material and financial assistance for relief programs from the international community on behalf of the Beja people,
- assume responsibility for the implementation of all relief activities in the Beja region, and
- mobilize activities designed to prevent man-made and natural disasters in the region inhabited by the Bejas.

Functions of the BRO

As stated above, BRO functions as a humanitarian organisation working closely with all war-affected peoples of the Sudan. But, under the present circumstances, it gives priority to conducting relief operations to those Bejas in areas controlled by the armed wing of the Beja Congress; it, thus, assumes the following functions;

- formulate policies required to achieve the organisation's stated objectives,
- conduct surveys to detect signs of impending natural and man-made disasters in the Beja areas, and on this basis to formulate and implement preventive measures,
- negotiate and sign agreements with international and national organisations, on behalf of the Beja people, and implement approved relief and rehabilitation programmes and projects in agreed manner,
- conduct nutritional and food needs surveys and disseminate the results obtained to donor communities,
- prepare plans, and budget proposals regarding relief requirements for the Beja people,
- distribute relief assistance to the affected social sectors of the Beja population, and

- issue official statements, communiqués and other documents pertaining to relief situation in Beja region.

Organisational Structure of the BRO

In order to effectively bear its mandate and strengthen its capacity to fulfill its immediate objectives and functions. BRO is currently instituting an organisational structure that can reach most of the vulnerable groups of the Beja people through cross-border operations. At the same time, it is laying the ground for an eventual evolution of the organisation into a rehabilitation and development agency. The General Assembly of Association, the supreme authority of BRO, has already elected its Board of Directors for a term of three years, which is responsible for general policy and other strategic guidelines. The Board of Directors, led by a Chairperson, in turn, has appointed the Secretary General, also for a term of three years, and vested with executive powers of the organization. There are three departments and one field coordinating office, viz., Finance Department, Relief Department, Projects' Department, and a Field Coordinating Office. The Field Coordinator, stationed inside the liberated areas, is responsible for Four Regional Offices set up to operate in the liberated areas of the Beja territory; these Regional Offices are located in Tahday, Ghedamayabe, Rabasien and Karora. The Field Coordinator will work in close collaboration with the Civil Administrator of the liberated areas already appointed by the Beja Congress.

4. HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES

Food security

During my field trip I visited the following villages: Tailkook, Tahadia Osies, Aladyoy, El Maskiet, Gadamayabe Elmasgid, Rabasien, Akedie, Ogmayate Elmasgid, Hashanate Elmasgid, Maman Biamoke, Manan Sharic, and Balhastuf.

Traditionally the Beja are goat herders, although many still follow this way of life, some are also crop farmers. The economic crisis in Sudan has adversely affected the Beja. The majority of the people are depending on Sorghum for their staple food, and are very susceptible to a poor harvest, high inflation, and government taxes on produce.

The totalitarian policies of the Sudanese government that has harmed the Beja in recent years are:

(a) Discrimination, particularly in land ownership. The confiscation of prime land by the government has forced many previous owners to become tenants on their own land. They are subject to pay taxes to graze animals and on any produce sold.

(b) The obstruction of humanitarian assistance to the Beja population in the Sudan.

(c) Harassment and extortion of Beja Communities by government officials and military is reported to be widespread.

The current fighting between the Sudan forces and the Beja Congress has escalated during the recent months. This has made the region far less secure for the Beja who are exposed to widespread destruction such as aerial bombardment, landmines, burning of villages by Sudan ground forces, looting, etc. This has affected the availability of, or access to, normal sources of food. People's lives and health are at risk directly from the destructive effects.

The present situation is that the Beja in the liberated areas depend largely on wild fruits and their livestock. They are trapped between the Eritrean border and the front line, which also makes it impossible for them to follow their normal traditional nomadic pattern. The Beja Relief Organization (BRO) estimate 635,000 people live in the area, out of these, 35% of the, i.e. 222,250 are expected to be effectively displaced and requiring urgent relief support (see also food aid request from DIA, Head Office in Utrecht the Netherlands).

Discussions at village level

In all mentioned villages above, we held discussions with the elders. In all discussions the same problems came up. First, the food situation, secondly, water, third, health and as last, housing. The food situation is very urgent, people are living on wild fruits and their last animals; they cannot cultivate, because the surrounding area is not suitable for cultivation and irrigation systems are not available. Beside the problems mentioned there are no farmers and little experience is available among them. Water is also a big problem, in most places they have to walk several hours to collect drinking water, most people are collecting surface water of poor quality. Health care is not available at all, the hospital in Tailkook is operating, but without any drugs. For many people shelter is a problem, in most cases they lack

the money to buy the necessary building materials. Several villages have been bombed or destroyed by the Sudanese army and the people lost their housing, others had to escape their area and are in need for housing. The Beja are very proud people and they do not complain about their situation (but if no action is taken the situation of the people will become more difficult). Also mentioned is the complete lack of education for their children.

Discussions with the different elders in the villages have made it very clear that humanitarian relief, at this moment, is the only way of survival for the Beja population in the liberated areas. With the total breakdown of the economic system, and the present frontline, which has stopped their normal pattern to migrate with the different seasons, they are no longer able to survive on their own resources. Money is hardly available among them. (The price for a goat is Birr 25.) Due to lack of water and fodder their livestock is decreasing rapidly and they do not have the funds to replace them. This will lead to starvation if assistance is not forthcoming.

In the current situation there is little prospect to return to normality, let alone an improvement upon normality as long as they are locked between the frontline and the Eritrean border. They also made it clear that as soon as the situation changes, or their area will be extended, they hope that the international community is prepared to assist them to replace their lost animals, to avoid long dependency on relief food.

Water situation

During my field visit it rained almost every day, which helps the Beja population to find water. Two main rivers are crossing the area, the Gash and Tokar. Both rivers are important suppliers of drinking water. All water collected by the population is surface water, which is of a very poor quality and in many cases the people, especially the children, are suffering from diarrhea. In the area there are no water pumps in working condition and with the dry season coming the water situation will make it impossible for the people to stay in this region.

Health situation

The main pathologies in the region are: Malaria (hyperendemic), Respiratory tract infection, Conjunctivitis and night blindness (linked to vitamin deficiencies), Infected wounds, Arthritic diseases (linked to vitamin deficiencies), Diarrhoeal diseases (linked to poor drinking water situation), Intestinal complaints, and Snake bites.

The only hospital available for the whole North Kassala region is located in Tailkook. This means that many people have to travel two or three days by camel to reach it. The hospital was built in 1982 with Dutch funding. Today the health care in the hospital is very limited due to the lack of essential drugs, staff, materials and diagnostic facilities. The limited medical service provided by the hospital is the only access people have to health care. The medical facilities in the surrounding villages are no longer in use, because there is no medical equipment or drugs available.

Shelter

Except in the semi-urban areas, the Beja people are largely nomads practicing long distance migration in search of grass and water for their livestock. They live in tents made of mats, clothes, and tree branches. They call them Bedaygaw. The Bedaygaw can easily be dismantled and transported by camel between their wet and dry season camps. Since most of them live in hot areas where the annual average temperature is about 39–42 degrees centigrade, the Bedaygaw is constructed in such a way that a maximum of air flow is possible.

The target population is about 250,000 people, the BRO estimated that out of these 250,000 people about 44,000 people are in need for shelter. In several areas the population is making the necessary mats from palm leaves and they were selling them in Kassala, but because of the economic boycott by the Sudanese government this is no longer possible. To activate the market again, the BRO wants to buy the mats and distribute them in other areas, where needed.

This will partly bring the necessary cash flow back into the local economy. It will be much cheaper than imported tents. Although there will not be sufficient material available some tents should be purchased.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Food aid

Out of the 250,000 people living in the areas controlled by the Beja Congress, about 90,000 people are in urgent need of food aid.

Total needed for the first six months:

Food items	Six months' need in MT	Price/Ton	Cost USD
Sorghum/rice	8,100	210.00	1,701,000.00
Edible oil	408	1,300.00	530,400.00
Pulses (Lentils)	810	480.00	388,800.00
Powdered milk	810	2,005.26	1,624,260.60
Sugar	408	340.00	138,720.00
Total	10,536		4,383,180.60

It is requested to purchase the first two months supply locally.

Transport

For the transportation of the above mentioned food, local transport in Eritrea can be hired from ERREC. For the transportation inside Sudan lorries should be purchased, if possible four wheel drive Mercedes. Secondhand or new.

Current price information indicates that the minimum cost of transporting one ton of cargo by truck is approximately USD 0.14 per km. In total, transport cost to the border would amount to about US \$737,520.00. In addition, as the experience of ERREC shows, loading/unloading and other handling cost usually reach about 3% of the total transport cost, i.e., approximately US \$22,126.00

For the transport inside Sudan there are approximately 10 trucks needed, five in the North Kassala region and five in Karora region. Prices approximately US \$40,000.00 per truck, secondhand price. New price for 4 wd Mercedes trucks US \$95,000.00 per pcs.

Water project

The water situation in the region is extremely difficult, beside some hand-dug wells along the river side, which are often open wells and made of poor material. They are susceptible to damage after each flood. Secondly, the total number of people living in the area at this moment is far more than during the normal situation. The water table is often more than 30–40 meters below the surface, which makes hand-dug wells impossible.

Total price of the water project, including operation cost for one year, approximately US \$1,500,000.00.

Included in the water project there should be a training course for four Sudanese operators. The Beja Congress has a technical department, from this unit technical people can be selected.

Health project

Danida, through LWF in Asmara, has provided the BRO with the requirements of a months supply of medicine and medical equipment. According to LWF they intend to continue supplying medicine for the first six months. This will help the BRO with their basic needs of medicine and some medical equipment. Beside the above mentioned supplies, medical training for their field personnel is urgently required. This training should be given in Eritrea, is possible in cooperation with the ministry of health in Asmara or any other organisation/NGO specialized in health care. At this stage it is impossible to give any budget figures.

Shelter project

To stimulate the economic activities in the area controlled by the Beja Congress, local made mats should be purchased from the Beja, which can be used for distribution among the population in need for shelter. Total budget US \$100,000.00. In addition, beside this local purchase, tents will be needed to provide shelter. Proposed is an Indian-made Bell tent, this is a round tent, which can be easily open at the sides and comes close to their own houses the Bedaygaw.

Total budget one thousand tents US \$155 × 1000 (US \$155,000.00)

Local purchase of mats (US \$100,000.00)

Transport cost (US \$20,000.00)

Total US \$275,000.00

Organisational support to the BRO

The activities from the BRO are increasing daily, the responsibilities are beyond the current capacity of the organisation. Urgently needed is the following:

(a) Transport, Two Toyota Land Cruisers, with anti-mine protection mats. US \$80,000.00.

(b) Communication equipment. US \$30,000.00.

(c) Office supplies for one year. US \$10,000.00.

(d) Running cost for the two field offices and main office in Asmara. US \$25,000.00.

Total request US \$145,000.00

F. S. 873: Prohibition on Financial Transactions With Countries Supporting Terrorism Act of 1997 (Introduced in the Senate)

[NOTE: CHAIRMAN HELMS WAS A CO-SPONSOR OF THIS LEGISLATION.]

105th CONGRESS,
1st Session

S. 873

TO AMEND THE PROHIBITION OF TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE, AGAINST FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS WITH STATE SPONSORS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 10, 1997

MR. ASHCROFT introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

TO AMEND THE PROHIBITION OF TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE, AGAINST FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS WITH STATE SPONSORS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the 'Prohibition on Financial Transactions With Countries Supporting Terrorism Act of 1997'.

SEC. 2. FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS WITH STATE SPONSORS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

(a) PROHIBITED TRANSACTIONS—Section 2332d(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking 'Except as provided in regulations issued by the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, whoever' and inserting '(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) or (3), whoever';

(2) by inserting 'of 1979' after 'Export Administration Act'; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

'(2) Paragraph (1) does not apply to any financial transaction—

'(A) engaged in by an officer or employee of the United States acting within his or her official capacity;

'(B) for the sole purpose of providing humanitarian assistance in a country designated under section 6(j) of the Export Administration Act of 1979;

'(C) involving travel or other activity by any journalist or other member of the news media in a country designated under section 6(j) of the Export Administration Act of 1979; or

'(D) within a class of financial transactions, and with a specified country, covered by a determination of the President stating that it is vital to the national security interests of the United States that financial transactions of that class and with that country be permitted.

'(3) Each determination under paragraph (2)(D) shall be published in the Federal Register at least 15 days in advance of the transaction and shall include a statement of the determination, a detailed explanation of the types of financial transactions permitted, the estimated dollar amount of the financial transactions permitted, and an explanation of the manner in which those financial transactions would further the national interests of the United States.

'(4) The President shall submit a report to the Committees on Foreign Relations and Appropriations of the Senate and the Committees on International Relations and Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Speaker of the House

of Representatives containing any determination under paragraph (2)(D) at least 30 days before the determination is to take effect. Any such determination shall be effective only for a period of 12 months but may be extended for an additional period or periods of 12 months each.

(b) DEFINITION—Section 2332d(b) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking ‘and’ at the end of paragraph (1);

(2) by redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3); and

(3) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following:

‘(2) the term ‘humanitarian assistance’ includes, but is not limited to, the provision of medicines and religious materials; and’.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE—The amendments made by this section shall apply to financial transactions entered into on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

G. Executive Order Blocking Sudanese Government Property and Prohibiting Transactions With Sudan

The White House.

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release, November 4, 1997.

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (IEEPA), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code;

I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, find that the policies and actions of the Government of Sudan, including continued support for international terrorism; ongoing efforts to destabilize neighboring governments; and the prevalence of human rights violations, including slavery and the denial of religious freedom, constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States, and hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat. I hereby order:

Section 1. Except to the extent provided in section 203(b) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1702(b)) and in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses that may be issued pursuant to this order, all property and interests in property of the Government of Sudan that are in the United States, that hereafter come within the United States, or that hereafter come within the possession or control of United States persons, including their overseas branches, are blocked.

Sec. 2. The following are prohibited, except to the extent provided in section 203(b) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1702(b)) and in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses that may be issued pursuant to this order:

- (a) the importation into the United States of any goods or services of Sudanese origin, other than information or informational materials;
- (b) the exportation or reexportation, directly or indirectly, to Sudan of any goods, technology (including technical data, software, or other information), or services from the United States or by a United States person, wherever located, or requiring the issuance of a license by a Federal agency, except for donations of articles intended to relieve human suffering, such as food, clothing, and medicine;
- (c) the facilitation by a United States person, including but not limited to brokering activities, of the exportation or reexportation of goods, technology, or services from Sudan to any destination, or to Sudan from any location;
- (d) the performance by any United States person of any contract, including a financing contract, in support of an industrial, commercial, public utility, or governmental project in Sudan;
- (e) the grant or extension of credits or loans by any United States person to the Government of Sudan;
- (f) any transaction by a United States person relating to transportation of cargo to or from Sudan; the provision of transportation of cargo to or from the United States by any Sudanese person or any vessel or aircraft of Sudanese registration; or the sale in the United States by any person holding authority under subtitle 7 of title 49, United States Code, of any transportation of cargo by air that includes any stop in Sudan; and
- (g) any transaction by any United States person or within the United States that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions set forth in this order.

Sec. 3. Nothing in this order shall prohibit:

- (a) transactions for the conduct of the official business of the Federal Government or the United Nations by employees thereof; or
- (b) transactions in Sudan for journalistic activity by persons regularly employed in such capacity by a news-gathering organization.

Sec. 4. For the purposes of this order:

- (a) the term "person" means an individual or entity;
- (b) the term "entity" means a partnership, association, trust, joint venture, corporation, or other organization;
- (c) the term "United States person" means any United States citizen, permanent resident alien, entity organized under the laws of the United States (including foreign branches), or any person in the United States; and
- (d) the term "Government of Sudan" includes the Government of Sudan, its agencies, instrumentalities and controlled entities, and the Central Bank of Sudan.

Sec. 5. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State and, as appropriate, other agencies, is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, and to employ all powers granted to me by IEEPA, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order. The Secretary of the Treasury may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the United States Government. All agencies of the United States Government are hereby directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this order.

Sec. 6. Nothing contained in this order shall create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by any party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

Sec. 7. (a) This order shall take effect at 12:01 a.m. eastern standard time on November 4, 1997, except that trade transactions under contracts in force as of the effective date of this order may be performed pursuant to their terms through 12:01 a.m. eastern standard time on December 4, 1997, and letters of credit and other financing agreements for such underlying trade transactions may be performed pursuant to their terms.

(b) This order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the Federal Register.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON,
The White House, November 3, 1997.

H. November 4, 1997, Message to Congress Regarding Executive Order Blocking Sudanese Government Property and Prohibiting Transactions With Sudan

The White House

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release, November 4, 1997.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(b), I hereby report to the Congress that I have exercised my statutory authority to declare that the policies of the Government of Sudan constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States and to declare a national emergency to deal with the threat.

Pursuant to this legal authority, I have blocked Sudanese governmental assets in the United States. I have also prohibited certain transactions, including the following: (1) the importation into the United States of any goods or services of Sudanese origin, other than information or informational materials; (2) the exportation or re-exportation to Sudan of any nonexempt goods, technology, or services from the United States; (3) the facilitation by any United States person of the exportation or re-exportation of goods, technology, or services from Sudan to any destination, or to Sudan from any destination; (4) the performance by any United States person of any contract, including a financing contract, in support of an industrial, commercial, public utility, or governmental project in Sudan; (5) the grant or extension of credits or loans by any United States person to the Government of Sudan; and (6) any transaction by any United States person relating to transportation of cargo to, from, or through Sudan, or by Sudanese vessel or aircraft.

We intend to license only those activities that serve U.S. interests. Transactions necessary to conduct the official business of the United States Government and the United Nations are exempted. This order and subsequent licenses will allow humanitarian, diplomatic, and journalistic activities to continue. Other activities may be considered for licensing on a case-by-case basis based on their merits. We will continue to permit regulated transfers of fees and stipends from the Government of Sudan to Sudanese students in the United States. Among the other activities we may consider licensing are those permitting American citizens resident in Sudan to make payments for their routine living expenses, including taxes and utilities; the importation of certain products unavailable from other sources, such as gum arabic; and products to ensure civilian aircraft safety.

I have decided to impose comprehensive sanctions in response to the Sudanese government's continued provision of sanctuary and support for terrorist groups, its sponsorship of regional insurgencies that threaten neighboring governments friendly to the United States, its continued prosecution of a devastating civil war, and its abysmal human rights record that includes the denial of religious freedom and inadequate steps to eradicate slavery in the country.

The behavior of the Sudanese government directly threatens stability in the region and poses a direct threat to the people and interests of the United States. Only a fundamental change in Sudan's policies will enhance the peace and security of people in the United States, Sudan, and around the world. My Administration will continue to work with the Congress to develop the most effective policies in this regard.

The above-described measures, many of which reflect congressional concerns, will immediately demonstrate to the Sudanese government the seriousness of our concern with the situation in that country. It is particularly important to increase pressure on Sudan to engage seriously during the current round of negotiations taking place now in Nairobi. The sanctions will also deprive the Sudanese government of the material and financial benefits of conducting trade and financial transactions with the United States.

The prohibitions set forth in this order shall be effective as of 12:01 a.m., eastern standard time, November 4, 1997, and shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the Federal Register. The Executive order provides 30 days in which to complete trade transactions with Sudan covered by contracts that predate the order and the performance of preexisting financing agreements for those trade initiatives.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON,
The White House, November 3, 1997.

I. November 4, 1997, Remarks by Secretary of State Madeline K. Albright on New Economic Sanctions Against Sudan

STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING ROOM
Washington, DC, November 4, 1997

AS RELEASED BY THE OFFICE OF THE SPOKESMAN, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Good afternoon. I am here to announce that the United States has imposed sweeping new economic sanctions against the government of Sudan because of its continued sponsorship of international terror, its effort to destabilize neighboring countries, and its abysmal record on human rights— including religious persecution.

Under an executive order signed yesterday by President Clinton, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, Sudanese Government assets in the United States are now blocked. United States trade with Sudan is prohibited, as are most financial transactions between the United States and the government of Sudan.

We take these steps because the government of Sudan has failed to respond to repeated expressions of concern, or to the imposition of lesser sanctions. Instead, it has earned international condemnation by persisting in its objectionable policies, causing us to conclude that more dramatic action is required.

I stress that the new sanctions are targeted against the government of Sudan. They are not designed, nor are they expected to add to the hardships faced by Sudanese civilians. Since 1988, the United States has provided more than \$650 million in humanitarian assistance to the victims of Sudan's civil war. And under the executive order and the licensing system it will put in place, humanitarian, diplomatic and journalistic activities will continue.

The purpose of the sanctions is to deprive the regime in Khartoum of the financial and material benefits of US trade and investment, including investment in Sudan's petroleum sector. To ensure flexibility, the Administration will consider issuing licenses on a case-by-case basis for activities that are in the US interest.

I hope that the President's action will contribute to a fundamental change of policy and behavior on the part of the Sudanese Government. We appreciate and share the concern that many members of Congress have expressed regarding this issue, and we will continue to consult closely with the Congress as we implement our policies of opposition to terrorism and support for democracy, law and human rights around the world.

Thank you all very much.

J. The Asmara Declaration

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (NDA) CONFERENCE ON THE ISSUES OF
DESTINY

The Final Communiqué

Friday, June 6, 1995.

The NDA held a historic meeting in Asmara, the capital of the State of Eritrea, from June 15 to June 23, 1993. The conference, held under the banner of "Issues of Destiny", was attended by all the leaders of the political, trade unions, and military formations in the NDA as well as the national personalities, viz:

- (1) The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP);
- (2) The Umma Party;
- (3) The SPLM/SPLA;
- (4) The Union of the Sudan African Parties (USAP);
- (5) The Sudan Communist Party;
- (6) Trade Unions;
- (7) The Legitimate Command;
- (8) The Beja Congress;
- (9) The Sudanese Allied Forces;
- (10) and non-partisan national personalities.

The Conference discussed the following issues:

- (1) stopping the War and restoration of peace;
- (2) the right of Self-determination;
- (3) religion and politics;
- (4) system of rule during the interim period;
- (5) programme and mechanisms for escalating the struggle to overthrow the NIF regime;
- (6) interim arrangements and responsibilities;
- (7) The Sudan of the future;
- (8) the structure of the NDA; and
- (9) humanitarian issues.

The NDA convened its conference under difficult and severe conditions imposed by the NIF fascist regime on our people. The regime has devalued the dignity of the Sudanese citizen, destroyed the national economy, abused Sudanese foreign relations by threatening regional and international stability and by exporting terrorism and discord to the neighbouring countries and other countries in the world as well. The regime has amply demonstrated its bellicose nature by aborting all the peace initiatives and by intensifying the war in the South. The NDA would therefore like to re-affirm the continuity of the political, military and popular struggle against the regime.

On the basis of the principles of the NDA, and by way of continuing the struggle of our people against successive dictatorships, and inspired by its experience in the consolidation of national unity, and fully believing in a new democratic system based on political pluralism and respect for human rights, the conference hereby resolves as follows:

A—Ending the War and Restoration of Peace

1. The right of self-determination:
 - (a) affirmation of the right to self-determination as a basic, original and democratic right of all peoples;
 - (b) recognition that the exercise of the right to self-determination shall bring the war to an end and shall facilitate the retrieval and consolidation of democracy, peace and development;
 - (c) the right to self-determination should be, however, exercised under conditions of legitimacy, democracy and under regional and international supervision;
 - (d) the areas affected by war are South Sudan, Abyei District, the Nuba Mountains and Ingessina Hills;
 - (e) the citizens of Southern Sudan (within its boundaries as they stood on 1/1/1956) shall exercise the right to self-determination before the end of the interim period;
 - (f) the people of Abyei shall be consulted, in a referendum to be held before the end of the interim period, to ascertain whether they wish to continue with the administrative arrangements within Southern Kordofan or to join Bahr El Ghazal. If the majority choose to join Bahr El Ghazal, then they will exercise their right to self-determination together with the citizens of South Sudan.

(g) With regard to the Nuba Mountains and the Ingessina Hills, a political solution, aimed at removing the existing grievances in these two areas, shall be sought and implemented by the government of the day, after which a referendum shall be held, during the interim period, to ascertain the wishes of the peoples of these areas over their political and administrative future.

(h) Affirmation of the NDA's commitment to the realisation of a just and democratic peace and unity based on the free choice of the Sudanese people, and a just and effective peaceful resolution of the ongoing armed conflict. In this regard, the NDA hereby announces its acceptance of the IGADD's Declaration of Principles (DOP) as constituting a reasonable and practical basis for achieving a just and lasting peace.

(i) Affirmation that real peace in Sudan cannot be achieved by viewing the problem as the Southern Problem, but by comprehending the national origins of the problem.

(j) Convinced that the national problems of Sudan cannot be solved except through a serious, open dialogue among all the national groups, and that the nature and history of the Sudanese conflict has proved that just peace and stability in the country cannot be achieved by military means.

2. The Conference hereby affirms that all NDA members shall seriously work to adopt a common stand on the issues of the referendum, which are:

- (a) unity (confederal or Federal) and;
- (b) independence.

(3) The NDA government recognises that the exercise of the right of self-determination, aside from being a human, democratic and peoples' right, is also an instrument for putting an immediate end to the civil war and for opening up a unique and historic challenge to build a new restructured Sudan of justice, democracy and free choice. The NDA is committed to leading the Sudanese to a successful exercise of this historic right.

B—Religion and Politics in Sudan

(1) All human rights norms and standards enshrined in the regional and international human rights instruments, charters and covenants shall be deemed to be an integral part of any constitution of Sudan, and any law, decree, executive order or action or policy measure contrary thereto shall be null and void for being unconstitutional.

(2) Laws shall guarantee full equality of citizens on the basis of citizenship, respect for the religious beliefs and traditions and without discrimination on grounds of religion, race, gender or culture. Any law contrary to the foregoing stipulations shall be null and void and unconstitutional.

(3) No political party shall be based on religion.

(4) The State recognises the plurality of religions and noble spiritual beliefs and is committed to ensuring a peaceful co-existence and interaction, equality and tolerance among religions and the noble spiritual beliefs. The State permits freedom of "proselytisation" by peaceful means and forbids compulsion or any act or measure which may lead to religious sedition, racial hatred in any place, forum or location.

(5) The NDA is committed to upholding the dignity of the Sudanese woman and affirms her role in the Sudanese national movement and recognises her rights and duties stipulated in the international human rights covenants and instruments to the extent that they don't contradict religious tenets.

(6) National enlightenment, education and cultural programmes shall be based on the commitment to the international human rights covenants and instruments.

C—System of Rule

(1) The Sudan shall be run on a system of decentralisation during the interim period. The Transitional Constitution shall determine the distribution of powers and functions between the Central Authority and the regional entities.

D—The Decentralisation Act

(1) Decentralisation shall be based on the distribution of the powers and functions agreed upon between the Central Authority and the Northern Entities on the one hand and between the Central Authority and the Southern Entity on the other and deferring the naming of the system to a later stage.

(2) Local government systems and native administration should also be catered for in the Decentralisation Act.

(3) The following factors should be considered in the decentralisation arrangements during the interim period:

(a) redressing of grievances and removal of the causes of the war and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to national reconstruction;

(b) ascertainment of people's wishes in various areas in the process of developing democratic structures; and

(c) taking into account the economic circumstances of the country and the need for retrenchment.

Emphasis shall therefore be on mobilisation of the masses, and the provision of adequate opportunities for popular participation in the democratic structures of the decentralisation arrangements.

E—On the Programmes and Mechanisms for the Intensification of the Struggle to Overthrow the System:

(1) Legitimacy of the armed struggle being currently waged by some formations in the NDA to overthrow the system. Armed struggle is by agreement one of the mechanisms for overthrowing the system.

(2) Provision of the necessary support.

(3) Establishment of a High Military and Political Committee to co-ordinate and supervise the implementation of the programmes for intensification of the struggle to overthrow the system.

F—Interim Military and Security Arrangements

The conference adopted all the recommendations made by the relevant specialised committee.

G—The Sudan of the Future

To lay the foundations of the New Sudan, the conference adopted the following:

(a) the economic programme for the interim period;

(b) programme for foreign policy, regional and international co-operation;

(c) programme for the removal of the vestiges of the NIF regime;

(d) Political Parties Bills;

(e) Trade Unions Charter; and

(f) Press and Publications Bill.

H—Humanitarian Issues

The wrong-headed economic policies of the regime and its escalation of the war have aggravated internal displacement, heavily damaged the environment, and have created tragic conditions of life for the ordinary Sudanese citizen, especially the women. In addition to the war, instability, political repression and violation of human rights have driven thousands of Sudanese into exile. In pursuit of its commitment to the security and safety of the Sudanese people and their freedom of movement within and outside the Sudan, the Conference has adopted a practical programme for relief during the interim period, all in co-operation and co-ordination with the international community and the relevant establishments in Sudan.

I—Structures of the NDA and Amendment of the Charter

The conference adopted the new structure of the NDA which consists of:

(1) The Conference;

(2) The Leadership Councilium;

(3) The Executive Office; and

(4) The General Secretariat;

(5) Specialised Secretariats; and

(6) Centres for the subsidiaries.

The Conference also adopted amendments to the Charter in keeping with the changing political scene.

Signatures:

1. Mohamed Osman El Mirghani, DUP;

2. Dr. Omer Nur El Dayem, Umma Party;

3. Dr. Colonel John Garang de Mabior, SPLM/SPLA;

4. Eliaba James Surur, Leader, the Union of Sudan African Parties (USAP);

5. Tighani El Tayeb, Sudan Communist Party;

6. Engineer Hashim Mohamed Ahmend, Trade Unions;

7. Lieutenant General Fatih Ahmend Ali, Legitimate Command of the Armed Forces;

8. Mohamed al Tahir Abu Bakr, the Beja Congress;

9. Brigadier Abdel Aziz Khalid, the Sudanese Allied Forces;

10. Bona Malwal, independent Sudanese personality;

11. Farouk Abu Eissa, independent Sudanese personality;

12. Al-Wathiq al-Kameir, independent Sudanese personality; and

13. Mansour al-Agab, independent Sudanese personality.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE CONFERENCE ON
FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

Resolution on the Issue of Religion and Politics in the Sudan

The National Democratic Alliance (NDA);

- Recognising that the relationship between religion and politics has a direct bearing on nation-building;
- Aware of the reality of religious, cultural and national diversity in the Sudan;
- Cognisant of the role of scriptural religious and noble spiritual beliefs as sources of moral values and spiritual tenets that can help promote tolerance, brotherhood, justice and peaceful coexistence;
- Conscious of the terrible human rights abuses committed by the National Islamic Front (NIF) regime through its diabolical manipulation of religion to perpetrate genocide and ethnic cleansing falsely in the name of *jihad*;
- Determined to achieve a just and lasting peace and national unity based on justice and the free will of the Sudanese people; and
- In adherence to the principle of non-exploitation of religion for political purposes, hereby make the following constitutional dispositions:
 1. All human rights norms and principle enshrined in regional and international human rights instruments and covenants shall be an integral part of the constitution of the Sudan, and any law, decree, executive order or policy measure contrary thereto shall be considered null and void and unconstitutional.
 2. All laws shall guarantee full equality of citizens on the basis of citizenship, respect for religious beliefs and traditions and without discrimination on grounds of religion, race, gender or culture. Any law contrary to the foregoing stipulation shall be considered null and void and unconstitutional.
 3. No political party shall be established on religious basis.
 4. The State shall acknowledge and respect religious pluralism in the Sudan and shall undertake to promote and bring about peaceful interaction and coexistence, equality and tolerance among religious and noble spiritual beliefs, and shall permit peaceful religious proselytisation and prohibit coercion in religion, or the perpetration in any place, forum or location in the Sudan of any act or measure intended to arouse religious sedition or racial hatred.
 5. The NDA undertakes to preserve and promote the dignity of the Sudanese woman, and affirms her role in the Sudanese national movement and her rights and duties as enshrined in international instruments and covenants without prejudice to the tenets of prevailing religious and noble spiritual beliefs.
 6. National programmes in the fields of information, education and culture shall be formulated and disseminated in accordance with the regional and international instruments and covenants on human rights.

Signed:

1. Democratic Unionist Party
2. Umma Party
3. Sudan Communist Party
4. Union of Sudan African Parties
5. Sudan People's Liberation Movement & Sudan People's Liberation Army
6. Trades Unions
7. Legitimate Command
8. Sudanese Alliance Forces
9. Independent National Personalities

Resolution on the Issue of Self-Determination

Preamble:

The National Democratic Alliance

- Deeply committed to an immediate ending of the current armed conflict through a just and lasting settlement;
- Fully aware that the attainment of such a just and lasting settlement requires political courage, statesmanship and farsightedness on the part of the leadership of its constituent members;
- Convinced that our preferred option is unity, based on diversity, and the recognition that the Sudan is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic country, and that this unity shall also be based on the right of citizenship and equality in rights and responsibilities in accordance with the norms and standards enshrined in international conventions on human rights;
- Fully cognizant of the fact that the unity of the Sudan cannot be durably based on force or coercion, but on justice and the free consent of all the various groups in the Sudan;

- Conscious of the existence of other issues and problems caused by the interaction among tribes living in contiguous areas, which problems and issues shall be addressed and resolved during the national constitutional conference; and
- Mindful of the fact that the resolution of the present Sudanese conflict requires a comprehensive approach in order to bring peace and justice to all the marginalised people of the Sudan and build the New Sudan; hereby:
 - I. 1. Affirms that the right of self-determination is a basic human, democratic and people's right which may be exercised at any time by any people.
 2. Recognizes that the exercise of the right of self-determination constitutes a solution to the on-going civil war, and facilitates the restoration and enhancement of democracy in the Sudan.
 3. Affirms that this right shall be exercised in an atmosphere of democracy and legitimacy and under regional and international supervision.
 4. Affirms that the areas afflicted by war are Southern Sudan, Abyei District, the Nuba Mountains and Ingessena Hills.
 5. Declares that the people of Southern Sudan (within its borders as they stood on 1.1.1956) shall exercise the right of self-determination before the expiration of the interim period.
 6. Resolves that the views of the people of Abyei District as regards their wish to either remain within the administrative set up of Southern Kordofan region or join Bahr El Ghazal region shall be ascertained in a referendum to be held within the interim period but before the exercise of the right of self-determination for the South. If the outcome of the referendum establishes that the majority of the people of this district wish to join Bahr El Ghazal, the people of Abyei shall accordingly exercise the right of self-determination as part of the people of Southern Sudan.
 7. Resolves that with respect to the Nuba Mountains and Ingessena Hills, a political solution to redress the injustices suffered by the people of these areas shall be sought by the interim government and that a referendum to ascertain their views on their political and administrative future shall be organized and carried out within the interim period.
 8. Reaffirms its commitment to a just peace, democracy and unity, based on the free will of the people of the Sudan, and to resolving the present conflict by peaceful means through a just and lasting settlement. To this end the NDA endorses the IGADD Declaration of Principles (DOP) as a viable basis for such a just and lasting settlement.
 9. Reiterates that true peace in the Sudan cannot be viewed within the framework of the problem of the South but rather from the standpoint that our problem is of a national origin.
 10. Affirms that our national problems cannot be solved except through clear, serious and continuous dialog among all Sudanese national groups.
 11. Asserts that the nature and history of the Sudanese conflict has proved that permanent peace and stability in the country can not be achieved through a military solution.
 - II. The constituent members of the NDA shall adopt a common stand on the options to be presented in the referendum in the South, which options shall be (a) unity (confederation/federation) and (b) independent statehood.
 - III. The NDA affirms that the Central Authority shall within the interim period devise and implement the necessary confidence-building measures and the appropriate restructuring of the State and socio-economic institutions and processes, so that the exercise of the right of self-determination could have the best chances of upholding the unity option.

Signed:

1. Umma Party
2. Sudan Communist Party
3. Union of Sudan African Parties
4. Sudan People's Liberation Movement & Sudan People's Liberation Army
5. Trades Unions
6. Legitimate Command
7. Sudanese Alliance Forces
8. Independent National Personalities

Resolution on the System of Rule

Whereas the Sudan has been in a State of war against itself for four decades,
Whereas this unremitting war is a result of historical injustices with political, economic, social, cultural, religious and administrative dimensions; and

Whereas the continuation of war throughout this period has created a great mistrust among compatriots; and

Whereas the hegemony of the Centre (Khartoum) on most regions in the Sudan has led to the perpetuation of underdevelopment in, and marginalization of, those regions; and

Whereas the National Democratic Alliance, representing the Sudanese people in the South, North, East and West is determined to remove all historical injustices and eliminate all causes of war in order to create conditions conducive to the birth of a new Sudan united through the free will of its people and in which every citizen shall enjoy peace, security and happiness; and

Whereas the creation of those conditions requires the adoption of all political and administrative measures necessary to restore confidence,

Decided:

1. The Sudan shall be ruled in the interim period as a decentralized state. The powers and competence of the central authority and decentralized entities shall be provided for in the constitution.

2. Immediate attention should be given, in view of the nature of the interim period, to the definition of those powers, leaving the appellation of the entities to a later date.

3. The NDA shall give due consideration, in promulgating decentralization laws, to the role of local government and native administration within the new set-up.

4. Due regard should be given in the regional administrative divisions to:

(a) the wishes of the people in accordance with democratic processes,

(b) keeping in mind that the division of power between the Centre and the Entities at this critical point of our history is meant to end historical injustices that have led to war and marginalization, restore confidence and consolidate peace, stability and a unity based on people's free will.

5. In view of the difficult economic conditions of the country administrative costs of decentralization should be reduced to the minimum necessary.

Powers of Entities in Northern Sudan

The legislative and executive organs of Northern Regional Entities shall have competence over:

1. Economic planning in alignment with national development plans
2. Finance including the levying and collection of taxes (according to an agreed upon schedule)
3. Telecommunication (within the Entity)
4. Town planning and construction of feeder roads
5. Police, prisons, fire brigade and game wardens
6. Promotion of local culture and arts
7. Health services
8. Education up to higher secondary level
9. Industry, intra-Entity commerce and supply
10. Agriculture, forests, pastures and plant protection
11. Animal wealth and fisheries
12. Sustainable land use and development
13. Water use with due regard to national water policies and international obligations
14. Intra-Entity river, land and air transport
15. Radio, television and print media within the Entity

Powers of Central Authority (CA) Vis-a-vis Northern Entities (NE)

1. National defence and national security
2. Foreign affairs and regional and international cooperation
3. Nationality, passports, immigration and aliens
4. Auditor General
5. Judiciary, attorney generalship and regulation of private legal practice
6. Currency and coinage
7. Regulation of interstate waterways and national electricity grid
8. Mineral resources without prejudice to the right of the host Entity to fix a reasonable percentage of the returns of the revenue accruing from the exploitation of that resource
9. Customs and foreign trade excepting of borders trade
10. Commission for National Elections
11. National Education Planning
12. National Health Planning
13. National Economic Planning
14. National census (Concurrent)

15. Railways
16. Regulation of river and air transport
17. Levying and collection of taxes (according to the established schedule)
18. Posts and telecommunication
19. Weights and measures
20. National statistics
21. National Radio and Television and regulation of technical matters pertaining to radio and television stations in the Entities
22. Higher education
23. Any other power that is not specifically allocated to the Entity

Concurrent Powers (CA & NA)

1. Environment protection
2. Water use
3. Economic development planning

Institute of NE

Legislative:

Executive: made up of Governor, Executive Council and Secretariat

Competence of the Southern Entity (SE)

The legislative and executive organs of the SE shall have competence on following matters:

1. Maintenance of peace security and good governance
2. Police, prison wardens, game wardens, fire brigade
3. SPLA armed forces in accordance with the interim military and security arrangement
4. Agriculture, forestry, pastures and fisheries
5. Animal husbandry
6. Industry
7. Wildlife and tourism
8. Commission for Elections within the SE
9. Water use without prejudice to international obligations and national policies
10. Administration of justice including the establishment, maintenance and organization of courts and attorney generalship
11. Exploration, developments and management of non-renewable natural resources subject to arrangements with the CA over taxation, revenue sharing and development needs of disadvantaged regions
12. Radio and TV and print media
13. Art and culture
14. Education up to senior secondary school level
15. Levying and collection of taxes according to agreed upon schedule
16. Intra-entity commerce and supply
17. Intra-entity water, land and air transport
18. Intra-entity telecommunication
19. Trade with neighbouring countries and levying of customs on goods entering SE from those countries
20. Personal law, property law and the incorporation, registration licensing of companies
21. Public health services
22. Any other issue that does not come under the competence of CA and under concurrent powers

Section B

Special Dispositions:

1. For the purpose of reconstruction and rehabilitation the SE shall solicit financial and material assistance from, and conclude cultural and economic agreements with, the international community and foreign entities.

2. SPLA Forces shall remain in the SE under their present command and subject to the authority and overall command of the SE government and in accordance with the interim security and military arrangements. The government of the SE shall discuss with the CA the formation, functions and composition of the National Security Council after a common understanding over national security and threats to it has been achieved.

Concurrent Powers (between CA and SE)

1. Environmental protection
2. Reconstruction in the war-affected areas and rehabilitation of the war disabled
3. Higher education

4. Licensing and regulation of private professional practice
5. Cost of translation of official proceedings, documents, notices, minutes
6. Location and establishment of CA courts

Institutions of SE

1. Legislature
2. Executive: made up of President, Cabinet and Secretariat
3. Judiciary up to the supreme court of the Entity

Competence of CA vis-a-vis Southern Entity

1. National defence subject to interim security arrangements
2. Foreign affairs as qualified by the special powers given to the SE in relation to mobilization of resources for reconstruction and rehabilitation
3. (CA) judiciary
4. Currency and coinage
5. Foreign trade subject to qualifications regarding trade with neighbouring countries
6. Coordination of national economic policy
7. Coordination of national health policy
8. Railways
9. National electricity grid
10. Levying and collection of taxes (according to schedule)
11. Posts and telecommunication
12. Weights and measures
13. Supervision of national Radio and regulation of national TV and Print media
14. Regulation of radio and television stations within the Entities
15. Civil Aviation and ports

Subject to 3 Requirements

1. Institutions which exercise competence over these powers should be restructured in terms of personnel, orientation and functions so as to effectively reflect the decentralized and pluralistic character of the Sudan.
2. Decentralization of those institutions dealing with naturalization, immigration, passports and visas so that they are reasonably accessible to citizens all over the Sudan.
3. Decentralization and deconcentration of development and financial institutions and services.

Interim Period

The interim period shall be 4 years starting from the day of the official inauguration of the interim government.

Signed:

1. Democratic Unionist Party
2. Umma Party
3. Sudan Communist Party
4. Union of Sudan African Parties
5. Sudan People's Liberation Movement & Sudan People's Liberation Army
6. Trades Unions
7. Legitimate Command
8. Sudanese Alliance Forces
9. Independent National Personalities