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A3-0366/93

REPORT

of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security
on the situation in Sudan

Rapporteur: Mr Peter CRAMPTON

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- * simple majority
- **I Cooperation procedure (first reading)
simple majority
- **II Cooperation procedure (second reading)
simple majority to approve the common position
absolute majority of Parliament's component Members to reject or amend the common position
- *** Assent procedure
absolute majority of Parliament's component Members to give assent
except for simple majority under Articles 8a, 105, 106, 130d and 228 EC

PE 203.356/fin.

- ***I Codecision procedure (first reading)
simple majority
- ***II Codecision procedure (second reading)
simple majority to approve the common position
absolute majority of Parliament's component Members either to adopt a declaration of intent
to reject the common position, or to amend or confirm the rejection of the common position
- ***III Codecision procedure (third reading)
simple majority to approve the joint text
absolute majority of Parliament's component Members to reject the Council text

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At the sitting of 13 May 1991 the President of the European Parliament announced that he had forwarded the motion for a resolution by Mr Staes on the human rights situation and the war in Sudan pursuant to Rule 45 of the Rules of Procedure (formerly Rule 63), to the Political Affairs Committee as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Development and Cooperation for its opinion.

At its meeting of 15-17 July 1991 the committee decided to draw up a report and at its meeting of 12 November 1991 it appointed Mr Crampton rapporteur.

At its meetings of 26 February 1993, 7 October 1993 and 22 November 1993 the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security considered the draft report.

At the last meeting it adopted the resolution unopposed with 3 abstentions.

The following took part in the vote: Barón Crespo, chairman; Cassanmagnago Cerretti, first vice-chairman; Aglietta, Avgerinos, Bertens, Canavarro, Galle (for Woltjer), Günther, Habsburg, Holzfuss, Lacaze, Langer, Llorca Vilaplana, Newens, Penders and Trivelli.

The opinion of the Committee on Development and Cooperation is attached to this report.

The report was tabled on 24 November 1993.

The deadline for tabling amendments will appear on the draft agenda for the part-session at which the report is to be considered.

A
MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

resolution on the situation in Sudan

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its resolutions of 29 October 1992¹, 19 November 1992², 11 February 1993³ and 22 April 1993⁴ on the violation of human rights in Sudan, and of 9 April 1992⁵ on famine in Africa and Sudan,
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr STAES on the human rights situation and the war in Sudan (B3-0217/91),
- having regard to Rule 4^r of the Rules of Procedure,
- having regard to the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security and the opinion of the Committee on Development and Cooperation (A3-0366/93),
- A. whereas the Sudan is daily the scene of gross violations of human rights by the Government, which seeks to impose its version of Islam on the whole population including the Christian and animist population of the South and those many Muslims who are opposed to the Government's interpretation of their religion,
- B. aware that various factions of the SPLA opposition forces are also guilty of gross violations of human rights,
- C. recognizing that the main cause of these disasters has been the attempt by successive governments in Khartoum to impose dictatorial rule and Islamic law on the animist and Christian population of Southern Sudan, but that the rebel leaders in the South have, especially by their internal rivalries, contributed to the disaster,
- D. aware that as a consequence of the disastrous policies of the government and the resulting civil war almost three million people have been deliberately displaced from their homes by the warring parties, sometimes being forcibly relocated with no warning to virtually unlivable areas, and that many are living on famine foods gathered in the wild and food relief provided by the United Nations and humanitarian organizations,
- E. appalled by the implementation of a strict interpretation of Sharia law, which grossly discriminates against women and non-Muslims and which inflicts penalties such as executions by beheading and amputation for those judged guilty of some non-capital crimes,

1 OJ No. C 305, 23.11.1992, p. 150

2 OJ No. C 337, 21.12.1992, p. 204

3 OJ No. C 72, 15.3.1993, p. 126

4 OJ No. C 150, 31.5.1993, p. 265

5 OJ No. C 125, 18.5.1992, p. 233

- F. aware that slavery still exists in parts of the country,
 - G. aware that 85% of the rural population live in extreme poverty and that the rural infrastructure is rapidly being destroyed,
 - H. outraged at the persecution of the people of Juba, and the ethnic cleansing style campaign being carried out against the Nuba and Dinka people, which has involved thousands of extrajudicial executions,
 - I. shocked at the total lack of basic freedoms: of speech, the press, religion, trade unions, and human rights organisations in Sudan,
 - J. disgusted at the violent obstructions to aid efforts inflicted by both the government and SPLA factions, including the execution of European Commission staff member Mark Laboke Jenner,
 - K. alarmed at the supply of weapons to the Sudanese government by Iran and China, and the training in civil suppression techniques by Iran,
 - L. alarmed by the evidence that Islamic fanatics from other countries are using Sudan as a base from which to inflict neighbouring countries with terrorism,
 - M. shocked by the pressure exerted on NGOs, which are trying to help suffering men, women and children, to organize their activities to suit the political and religious aims of the Sudanese Government,
1. Insists that while these appalling abuses of human rights continue, no assistance, other than emergency food and medical aid delivered under the control of the EC or its Member States, should be provided by the EC and that the Union should take steps to start the process of expelling Sudan from the Lomé Treaty;
 2. Calls on the Sudanese government to respect the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Organisation of African Unity's African Charter on Human and People's rights and Article 5 of the Lomé Convention;
 3. Calls on all the warring parties to honour the humanitarian principles enshrined in the Geneva Conventions of 1949 governing the treatment of persons taking no active part in hostilities,
 4. Urges the establishment of a genuine ceasefire and resumption of peace talks, with human rights explicitly included as central in any negotiations,
 5. Stresses the responsibility of the United Nations to promote a cease-fire and to be ready to provide observers to monitor any cease-fire agreement;
 6. Calls for the Sudanese government and the SPLA to allow the free movement of people throughout Sudan, and for an end to involuntary relocation of people,
 7. Calls for the establishment of corridors of peace- specific agreed overland routes in Southern Sudan - for civilians to leave besieged areas, and to allow food aid to reach those most in need,
 8. Calls on the Sudanese government and SPLA forces to halt obstructions to donor organizations, and allow immediate safe access by land, river and air

to aid organizations,

9. Calls for the removal of the ban on the original Sudan Human Rights Organisation, the Sudan Bar Association, and other human rights organisations, and the release of Dr. Ahmed Osman Siraj, a political prisoner and trustee of the SHRO;
10. Calls for the government to account for Mohamed Nowar Aso, arrested in 1990, and not seen since, for Karshum Mano Atia, who disappeared in late 1992, and for Parmena Chot Arou and Mali Amoul, both of whom disappeared in Khartoum;
11. Calls for the release of the following political prisoners: Dr. Ibrahim el-Amin, ex-Cabinet member, Abdel-Rasoul el-Nour, former governor of Kordofan, Fadlalla Burma Nasir, former Minister of Defence, Mirghani Abdel Rahman - former Minister of Trade, Yousif Hussein, Communist Party Central Committee member, Farouk Ali Zakaria, Communist Party Central Committee member, Mukhtar Abdallah, trade union leader, Al-Haj Abdel Rahman Nugdalla, former Minister of Religious Affairs and Samuel Garang, engineer;
12. Calls for an end to the persecution of women and non-Muslims under the Sharia laws, and a halt to the executions, amputations and other such penalties allowed under these laws;
13. Calls for an immediate halt to the persecution of the Nuba and Dinka peoples, which amounts to ethnic cleansing;
14. Calls for the government to account for the more than one hundred people who disappeared in Juba in the summer of 1992, and the hundreds who have disappeared since;
15. Urges the restoration of religious freedoms;
16. Calls on the Union and its Member States to grant asylum to those Sudanese known to be directly threatened personally by the Sudanese Government and to do all in their power to assist other refugees from the Sudan by providing finance and supplies to the neighbouring countries giving them refuge and to the international agencies and NGOs working on their behalf;
17. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Co-Presidents of the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly, the Secretaries-General of the UN, UNICEF, the OAU, the Arab League, and the Sudanese Government.

B
EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary Africa is largely seen by the West as a disaster area. However its present state is not a necessity resulting simply from environmental factors. Africa has many natural resources, rich traditions and possible futures, in spite of the colonial past, and some continued unconstructive Western actions - for example IMF imposed structural adjustment programmes which force countries to repay debts even at such costs as higher infant mortality. The EC should seek to contribute to Sudan and Africa's reemergence from the current state of crisis.

Arab culture has been devalued in the contemporary Western world. Yet the popular lack of respect for Arab culture reflects a total ignorance of its content. Erskine Childer's comment highlights this lack of awareness:

"I often wish to make a TV film in Britain standing in Trafalgar square, about the Arabs. It would shock a British - indeed I think any Western - audience to its foundations. I would point out that the name of the square was Arab; that the cheques passed through the banks around the square were named from an Arabic word and from Arab commercial innovation, and the numbers on them Arabic; that the drains running under the square had been developed in Baghdad and Cordova at a time when London and every city in Europe were squelching nightmares of mud and refuse; that the key stars in the heaven above Trafalgar Square are still called by the names given to them by Arab astronomers who discovered them at Arab observatories; that the techniques of navigation used by Nelson to reach the place called Trafalgar were first refined and codified by Arab navigators..."
(Erskine Childers, writing in the jubilee volume of the Netherlands-Arabia Association 1955-1966, EJ Brill, Leiden 1966)

I. THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SUDAN: EXTREME POVERTY

Sudan is now in the throes of civil war and economic disaster. However it was once a powerful country. The ancient Sudanese Kushitic kingdoms imposed their rule as far as Egypt. Christian rule followed, in the 6th century, to be succeeded by Arab rule in the 16th. Both traditions survived, and the Arab-Christian division now constitutes a key element of the civil war.

Sudan's natural resources are considerable. In many parts of the south and east the soil is potentially rich, but shortage of water limit the size of crops except where the land can be irrigated from the Nile and its tributaries. Only 15% of the country's arable land is currently under cultivation. Some of the best agricultural land, and much of the country's mineral wealth, including oil, lie in the war-torn Southern provinces. During and after the Second World War programmes were started, with funds from the World Bank and other agencies, aiming to turn Sudan into a major grain exporter, the "Breadbasket of the Middle East". Tragically, Sudan is instead undergoing total crisis, due to drought, civil war and government mismanagement.

FAMINE: 85% of the rural population (which make up three quarters of the

population), live below the absolute poverty level. Life expectancy is 51 years. The under five child mortality rate is 172/1000, whereas in most EC countries it is 9-10/1000. Less than half the population have access to safe drinking water. Literacy levels are around 27% on average, and under 10% for women.

(Figures from The State of the World's Children, 1992, UNICEF)

In some areas in the South, the only currency is soap and salt. People are living as hunter-gatherers on what can be scavenged, or on the aid which gets through. The government refuses to admit that there is a famine. "It is absolutely not true that people are dying of hunger" stated Hassan Turabi, leader of the Sudanese National Islamic Front, and the brains behind the military regime (Financial Times Interview, Wednesday April 29th, 1992)

The harvest this year will be poorer than initially expected, due to lack of rainfall and insufficient investment in agriculture. The breakdown of rural infrastructure is accelerating. Government policy separates rural communities from trade routes, and rural communities are being destroyed. At the same time, the commercial export of grain continues.

Relief: Sudan has received large amounts of aid from the West in the past, including military aid from the US to the Nimeiri government (pre-85). Much of this aid was misguided and destructive. The Jonglei canal project, never finished, typifies the mistakes made. The largest mobile machine in the world, the Jonglei machine, lies somewhere in a Sudanese swamp. It is a specially made excavator to dig the Jonglei canal, to irrigate areas of Sudan by channelling off part of the Nile. Luckily the project, which would have caused untold environmental damage, was never completed as foreign exchange contributions ran out from the Sudanese authorities.

Given this background, government suspicion of aid projects would be understandable, but hostility to donors goes far beyond suspicion. Omar Al-Bashir regards relief agencies as relics of colonialism, and symbols of Sudan's lack of self-sufficiency. "Sudan will never again be a recipient of relief and offerings. ... The energies of the Sudanese people" will be unleashed by the salvation revolution "so as to make them a source of vigour and power for all the oppressed peoples of the world" according to a Sudan News Agency report of an address by Lt. Gen Al-Bashir to a mass rally of students in Khartoum on 16 Sept. 1992. Kenya Times reported on 7th September that Sudan was to send 600 tonnes of food and 300 tonnes of medical aid and clothing to Somalia as a contribution to the international famine relief effort.

The international community is attempting to address the consequences of the humanitarian disaster through the extensive UN relief operation called Operation Lifeline Sudan.

Obstruction of relief efforts: Both government and rebels have obstructed relief efforts in the South: "We've got the money and we've got the grain, it's the politics that are the problem." Paul Mitchell of the World Food Program declared (quoted in Daily Telegraph, 18.7.91). Where donors are allowed to function, the regime attempts to use food aid to win converts to Islam, and to use the international presence to legitimize their actions.

Some relief workers have been deported, accused of being subversives. The authorities have confirmed the execution for alleged treason, of Mark Laboke Jenner, who worked for the European Commission, and Andrew Tombe, an employee

of United States Agency for International Development. Unsurprisingly several agencies have withdrawn.

Not just the government, but also the SPLA obstructs AID activity. The mission reported that the SPLA opened fire on food-carrying barges trying to reach Malakel, and that such actions against food aid were both conscious and deliberate. In September 1992, the SPLA summarily killed three foreign aid workers and a journalist. Those who died were Vilma Gomez, a Filipino nurse working with the US-based relief aid organisation Interaid, Tron Helge Hummelvoll, a Norwegian journalist, Francis Ngure, a Kenyan driver, and Myint Maung, a Burmese doctor, both working with UNICEF.

Aid workers can barely function. Evidence suggests the SPLA siphons off food aid for its soldiers. In some areas the government makes little distinction between the rebel soldiers and other villagers. Their strategy seems to destroy whole communities in order to undermine the SPLA. They thus have no interest in allowing aid to reach these areas. New guidelines for aid were agreed in January with the Sudanese government, however they have apparently done little to improve the situation.

Debt: "Sudan currently has a foreign debt amounting to US\$ 13 billion, the equivalent of 15 years in terms of current revenues, or 200% of its GDP. And Sudan manages to pay annually only just 15% of its debt servicing." (Indian Ocean Newsletter, 26.10.91)

II. DROUGHT AND MISMANAGEMENT OF IRRIGATION:

Both drought and war have contributed to the disaster. In 1984 Sudan experienced the worst drought this century, after a 20 year period of below average rainfall. Irrigation schemes failed to address the country's water needs and often caused immense damage. In the mid 1960s the government launched a "Freedom from Thirst" campaign. Hundreds of boreholes were drilled to improve water supplies, particularly in Western Sudan, which had strong links with powerful political parties. The unfortunate result of these boreholes, in contrast to the traditionally smaller wells, was a concentration of nomads in those areas which led to overgrazing and erosion.

Large scale irrigation schemes have been favoured because they are centralised, controllable, allow for fewer labour problems, are least affected by the weather and produce income from cash crops - cotton, peanuts, sugar - directly for the government. The policy continued in spite of World Bank findings that large-scale irrigated agriculture in Sudan was the costliest system, and far less productive than traditional, rainfed mechanised agriculture, even in terms of foreign exchange.

III. THE CIVIL WAR

Sudan has had only 10 years of relative peace, from 1972-1983 since independence in 1956. Since 1983 the war between the North and the South has resumed. Colonel Garang leads the SPLA, the rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army) in the South. However, last year Riek Mashar lead an attempted coup against Garang by other rebel military leaders. Mashar contested Garang's human rights record and his hopes for Sudan. Originally Mashar argued that the South should secede, while Garang aims for a united secular Sudan. However, tribal rivalry

seems to have become the overriding reason for the division, with Dinka people supporting Garang, and Nuer people supporting Machar.

Garang has accused Machar of collaborating with the government. Whether or not this is so, it is clear that the SPLA divisions play into the government's hands. While the rebels formerly held 90% of the South, the government has now reconquered two-thirds since Dr. Machar broke away. However reunification of the SPLA is not a realistic possibility.

Large scale torture, rape, abduction of women and children, and arbitrary killings take place. Whole communities, not just troops of soldiers are destroyed. This appears to be a deliberate strategy, to breakdown the communities which might harbour opposition. Abuses are perpetrated by all sides.

It is clear that the war is catastrophic for the population, not only in terms of direct violence. It is also devastating the economic and social structures, and has displaced almost three million people.

Effects of war:

- **displaced people:** The ACP-EEC mission found that the war had "devastated" the south and displaced more than one-third of the population. The government increases the problems by destroying the camps established by displaced people, and moving them again. It appears their only motive is social control: to undermine social and economic roots of those communities, which may harbour and identify with the rebel movement.

Well-established camps of displaced people exist around Khartoum. Water and food distribution systems, and basic schools, have been established with support from overseas and UN donors. Some of the men living in these camps worked in Khartoum. The regime carries out overnight relocation of large numbers of these people with no warning. They are moved to socially and economically isolated areas with no health services, water shelter, sanitation or transport facilities. "People are literally dropped in the desert" (Medicins sans Frontieres report March 24, 1992)

- **Role of donors in treatment of displaced people:** The government uses aid organisation's work in the camps of displaced people, and in providing services when the people are moved, to legitimise their policies. Donors are caught in double bind: should they continue to provide what services they can, and risk being so used; or should they refuse the risk of being instrumental in government actions, and leave the displaced people with no external witness to their plight and not even basic facilities. A Medicins Sans Frontières delegation which visited Sudan this year concluded that donors should continue their involvement, while attempting to use their leverage with the government to establish minimal rights for displaced people.

Increase in slavery: Traditional slavery survives in modern-day Sudan, and war has provoked an increase, according to the International Labour Organisation (World Labour Report 1993). Reports to the United Nations Working Group on Slavery in 1988 alleged that the Government had provided arms to unofficial militia groups to enable them to raid Dinka villages - the intention being to depopulate the "border" region between the north and the south and remove potential support for the rebel SPLA. As payment for their activities the

militia were seizing various forms of booty, including goods, livestock - and slaves. Desperate parents are also known to have sold their children.

IV. HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

No democracy: The RCC (Revolutionary Command Council, the government) banned political parties in favour of "People's Congresses" which are supposed to be established after a "broad united front" has been achieved to resolve the war and the economic crisis. An unelected "Transitional National Assembly" of appointees was established on 24 February 1992. The government is an Islamic fundamentalist military dictatorship. It may not, however, be monolithic, and may still include a moderate faction who might be more responsive than El Bashir.

No trade unions: Trade Unions cannot function under the present system.

No press freedom: "There is no press freedom in the Sudan" (Report of ACP-EEC delegation 1991, p12). The EP Resolution (B3-0513/91, April 91) condemned press restrictions in Sudan. In 1990, 40 independent newspapers and journals existed. By April 1991, only 3 government sponsored newspapers were being printed. Journalists' travel must be approved by the authorities. Several editors (including Al-Midan, Tijani el Tayeb, al R'ay al Aam and Mohamed Medani Tawfiq, all subject of the aforementioned EP resolution) were arrested without charge and confined.

Human rights organisations: Many members of such organisations have been detained without fair (or any) trial, and tortured in 'ghost houses' (short term incarceration camps, where people are often held incommunicado). Organisations concerned with human rights such as the Sudan Bar Association, the Sudan Human Rights Organisation and the Sudan Amputees Organisation (for those amputated under the Sharia law), have been banned by the government. Some have been replaced by government run organisations with the same name, in an attempt to improve the government's image.

Political imprisonment: Political imprisonment is the norm in Sudan. The former adviser to Sadiq El Mahdi, who spent several months in detention following the coup d'état explained to the European Parliament mission, which visited in 1991, that anyone active in politics in the Sudan should expect to spend some of his political life as a political detainee. The RCC concurred! However on 30 April 1991 El Bashir responded to international criticism of his human rights record by announcing an amnesty for "all political prisoners". 300 prisoners of conscience were freed, many of whom had been detained without trial or charge since shortly after the 30 June coup in 1989. However not all political prisoners and prisoners of conscience were freed. There have since been new arrests, and rearrests of some of those freed during the amnesty. At least 40 prisoners of conscience remain in prison (Amnesty International, 6 Dec 91). An Amnesty report of April 1991 concludes: "The releases, while welcome, have done little to reduce the continuing gross violation of human rights by the Sudanese government." The report also found that in March 1992, at least 200 suspected government opponents were in prison.

Sudan's Sharia laws abuse human rights: The Sudan Bar Association, which was awarded the 1991 Human Rights Award by the American Bar Association, considers the Sharia contrary to fundamental human rights. Sharia abuses human rights because it discriminates against non-muslims and women, and because the content of Sharia punishments in themselves are incompatible with respect for human

rights.

Sharia (Islamic) law was introduced in March, 1991. At present the Sharia is supposedly limited to the North of the country, although the draft penal code of 1988 envisaged the extension of Islamic law in the south. Already huddud penalties are being applied in government held garrison towns in the South, by local imans and militias. Alcohol is banned throughout the country. Forcible circumcision of both women and men by soldiers has also been reported in the South.

Sharia discrimination against non-muslims: Under Sharia non-Moslems' rights are restricted in the realms of politics, religion, employment, and the judicial system.

Non-Muslims have limited rights to testify in court. In the 1988 case of the Sudan Government versus Abu Nora, the judge interpreted the Laws of Evidence of 1983 (which are still in force) to mean that the testimony of a non-Moslem against a Moslem was not acceptable in court.

Traditionally, under Sharia, non-Moslems may not serve in high government office, the judiciary, or the military in any position in which they will have authority over a Moslem, and may not practice their religion except in a discreet manner.

Sharia penalties: The punishments themselves constitute an abuse of human rights. Hudud penalties, which include stoning, amputation, flogging and crucifixion (the public display of an offenders body on the gallows after death by hanging), may be considered "cruel, inhuman and degrading" and as such are prohibited by the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, inhuman or Degrading Punishments" which was ratified by Sudan on 4 June 1986. Sentences of amputation can be passed under the present government's interpretation of the Sharia law. Four amputations, including cross-limb amputation where the right hand and left foot are amputated, have been performed since May 1991 (Sudan Monitor, October 1991).

Status of women under Sharia: Under the Sharia penal code women are treated as legal minors. They have limited rights to give evidence before a court in a trial for a haddi crime (theft), no rights in the case of adultery, and for other offenses their testimony is considered to be worth half that of a man. Rape convictions are obviously incredibly difficult to secure. According to most fundamentalist interpretations of Islam, women should not be involved in government or the legal profession in positions where they may have authority over a man. The present Sudan government has previously made public statements which suggest the intention of conforming to these principles. For example, the government has prohibited women travelling unless they are accompanied by a mahram (close male relative).

Female genital mutilation: Even before Sharia, Sudanese women were severely disempowered. One of the manifestations of this is the extensive practice of female genital mutilation. In the Northern 2/3 of the country, over 90% of women are subjected to the mutilation. The operation is usually done to girls aged 5-7. It commonly results in haemorrhage, infections, septicaemia, retention of urine, and shock which can be fatal. (For discussion of damaging health effects of circumcision, see Verzin 1975, Cook 1976, Shandall 1967, Toubia 1985, and El Dareer 1982).

Women usually carry out the operation, and some of its strongest defenders are women. The present alternative to circumcision for many women is social ostracism and economic ruin. Circumcision can be a marker of ethnic identity and class status, and without it a woman (in the North) is treated as a slut. While most women are economically active, they depend on their position as wives and mothers for economic security and social status. Under Islamic law men inherit twice what women do.

The fight against female genital mutilation: Colonial government's attempts to curb the practice sometimes resulted in a backlash where circumcision was associated with cultural pride. Nawal El Saadawi, an Egyptian doctor and novelist, commented on some Western attempts to help combat female circumcision:

"That kind of help, which they think of as solidarity, is another type of colonialism in disguise. So we must deal with female circumcision ourselves. It is our culture, we understand it, when to fight against it and how, because this is the process of liberation"

Nawal El Saadawi, 1980

Determined efforts have been made to eliminate the practice. Sudan is the only country in Africa to have a record of legislating against it. Female circumcision is at present illegal in Sudan. Decades ago the Women's Union took a stand against circumcision. Courses about the negative physical and psychological effects have been taught in Khartoum Nursing college and in midwife training. However it is not decreasing.

In February 1979 the Ahfad University College for Women, in co-operation with Community Leaders in Khartoum held a symposium on 'The Changing Status of Sudanese Women'. The symposium recommended, with regard to female circumcision:

- all female circumcision should be stopped
- a campaign including the use of mass media and curriculum programmes should be carried out to inform the public of the harmful effects of circumcision
- medical experts should convince religious leaders and policy makers of the dangers of circumcision
- traditional midwives who practise circumcision should be trained in other medical or health fields so as to enable them to earn a compensatory source of income

The European Community should support these demands.

The death penalty: Apostasy is punishable by death. Speaking out against Sudan's fundamentalist government could be interpreted as apostasy by Sudan's present judiciary. Amnesty reports that in september 1991, in the Western part of Sudan 8 people were sentenced to death by hanging followed by public crucifixion. They were convicted by tribunal (not a fair trial) on charges such as 'Highway Robbery', and 'Spreading corruption on earth' (can mean a political offense). On 6 Dec 91 six men were sentenced to death by hanging under Sharia, charged with murdering and robbing four people in Khartoum South. They were convicted on what the judge described as circumstantial evidence. Under Sharia, crimes such as murder and armed robbery are punishable by death. Ibrahim Dubara was hanged in public in El-Fashir, on 9 November 1991. In early August, 13 other criminal prisoners were executed in Kober prison in Khartoum.

The death penalty contravenes human rights, violating the right to life and the right not to be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment, as

proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Ethnic cleansing of the Nuba peoples: The Nuba peoples are a pocket of Christian and animist non-Arabs in the largely Muslim North. Africa Watch reports that the government appears to be implementing a campaign of virtual genocide against the Nuba:

"The current campaign appears to be aimed at eradicating the traditional society and culture of the Nuba, and removing them from their ancestral lands. It includes the detention and killing of educated Nuba and young men suspected of sympathising with the SPLA; the burning of villages and, most sinister of all, the systematic relocation of the Nuba population away from their homeland to camps in adjoining northern Kordofan. These actions, ranging far beyond what is required to combat the SPLA, are described as a "jihad" by the government. The relocation plan envisages separating men and women: the men will be sent to labour camps for large commercial farms, and the women and children to work as domestic servants in northern Arab households. By these means, traditional Nuba culture and society will become obliterated."

Juba: Sudanese government forces last year deliberately killed "at least 300 unarmed civilians and prisoners" in Juba (Amnesty International). The report on the atrocities due from the Special Commission of Inquiry has not yet materialised.

V. FOREIGN RELATIONS

Foreign involvement in the civil war: The press reports imports of mustard gas from Iraq, 1991, and arms from Iran and China. Rafsanjani, Iranian head of state, visited Sudan in December 1991, and during the visit promised US\$17 million in aid, to pay China to provide weapons for Sudan, to give one million tons of free oil each year and provide weapons. The imposition of strict Sharia laws may be connected with Iranian influence.

In August the US placed Sudan on its official list of countries sponsoring terrorism, although US officials acknowledge that they have no evidence that Sudan has conducted or sponsored specific terrorist acts.

Responsiveness to foreign pressure: There are indications that Sudan is not totally unresponsive to foreign pressure. After the EC-ACP mission to Sudan in December 1990, 300 political prisoners were released. The Pope's recent visit to Khartoum was apparently followed by a decrease in harassment of Catholics. MSF staff have emphasised the importance of continued aid, in spite of potential manipulation by all sides in the war.

VI. FORMER EP ACTION ON SUDAN

In December 1990 ACP-EEC delegation sent a Mission of Information to Sudan.

Resolutions

1. June 1990 the European Parliament made the exceptional decision to call for suspension of all programmable aid to Sudan, while asking for an increase in humanitarian assistance to people of Sudan through international aid organisations and NGOs.
2. Dr. Mamoun M. Hussein was the subject of a resolution and appeal by the EP for clemency. He was subsequently pardoned by President El Bashir from a death sentence for leading a strike. He was freed and met the EP mission to Sudan in Dec 1990.
3. Motion for a resolution on imprisonment of 9 writers in Sudan. Calls for their release and for the government to permit independent newspapers to reopen.
4. 10.6.91, by Bindi and Verhagen, on behalf of the PPE group (B3-0991/91). Motion for a Resolution on behalf of the PPE group on Ethiopia and Sudan. Condemns Sudanese government for attacks on the civilian population and aid workers.
5. 9.4.92, Resolution B3-0489, 0494, 0518, 0545, 0557, 0559, 0570, and 0575/92. on famine in Africa and Sudan.
6. A formal proposal for condemnation of Sudan's policy of oppression and genocide was introduced on 20 October, 1992, and six MEPs, Tindemans, Cassanmagnago, Mottola, Verhagen, Robles Piquer, and Mantovani, met with Bishop Macram Max Gassis of El-Obeid on 4 November to discuss the various problems facing Sudan.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION
pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure
by Mr STAES
on the human rights situation and the war in Sudan

The European Parliament,

- A. whereas the fighting between the military government and the armed opposition in Sudan has plunged the south of the country into a spiral of violence, .
- B. whereas the civilian population is the main victim of this state of affairs,
- C. alarmed at reports in the Egyptian and British press that the Government of Sudan has secretly imported five tonnes of chemical weapons (mustard gas) from Iraq,
- D. alarmed at reports that the Sudanese army has attacked aid convoys sent by humanitarian organizations,
 - 1. Condemns all human rights violations in Sudan;
 - 2. Calls on all political groupings to refrain from acts of violence and to take part in negotiations;
 - 3. Calls on the Sudanese authorities to refrain from using chemical weapons against either the armed opposition or the civilian population;
 - 4. Calls on the Sudanese authorities to allow foreign humanitarian organizations to continue their humanitarian work in the field;
 - 5. Calls on the Sudanese authorities to ensure that the police and the army abide by the law, in the south of the country as elsewhere, and that those guilty of human rights violations are punished;
 - 6. Instructs its President to intercede with the Government of Sudan to that effect.

O P I N I O N

(Rule 120 of the Rules of Procedure)

of the Committee on Development and Cooperation
for the Committee on Political Affairs and Security

Draftsman: Mr Niall ANDREWS

At its meeting of 20 December 1991, the Committee on Development and Cooperation appointed Mr ANDREWS, draftsman.

At its meetings of 21 May and 14 July 1992, it considered the draft opinion.

At its meeting of 23 September 1993, it adopted the conclusions as a whole unanimously.

The following took part in the vote: Mr Saby, chairman; Mr Chiabrandò, vice-chairman; Mr Andrews, draftsman; Mrs Daly, Mr Escuder Croft (deputising for Mrs Bindi), Mr Kostopoulos, Mr Langer (deputising for Mr Telkämper), Mr Mantovani, Mr McGowan, Mrs van Putten, Mrs Schmidbauer, Mrs Simons, Mr Vecchi, Mr Verhagen and Mr Wynn.

Introduction

In the last four years the situation in Sudan has evolved in such a dramatic way that it is time to take stock of what is happening and to debate seriously the sort of relationship that the European Community wishes to pursue with what remains one of the poorest countries of the world.

The vulnerability of the majority of the Sudanese population not only to the impact of drought and environmental changes, but also to the debilitating effects of a prolonged civil war is exacerbated further by severe restrictions on individual and collective freedoms which the authorities in Khartoum have imposed progressively since the coup d'état of June 1989.

The dilemma for the European Community, for its Member States and the for the broader international community lies in its apparent difficulty of establishing the ways and means of providing support to the beleaguered when the authorities are often reluctant to make a request for assistance; while at the same time criticising the authorities, even though they are impervious to such criticism.

The European Community and its Member States find themselves in a situation where they continue to provide humanitarian aid in order to alleviate human suffering as far as possible, which is highly commendable. However the Community has failed to take any real political initiative whatsoever and has failed to act firmly enough to prevent prolonged conflict or to encourage democratic reforms and freedoms within the Sudan. The series of political declarations of intent made by the Council do not appear to have been followed up with political actions.

The sovereignty of Sudan has been sadly undermined by the intra-national conflict opposing the minority forces of the South - in particular the SPLA/SPLM - against the governmental forces of Khartoum. The international community, respectful of international law, naturally continues to view Sudan as a sovereign state, even though it is willing to engage in cross-border relief operations.

Religion and religious belief have always been a key element in Sudanese politics. Colonialisation distilled animistic, christian and muslim beliefs within boundaries which were artificial. Sudan is not alone in that respect for the 1888 Conference of Berlin left its mark all over Africa. Yet, today, Sudan is the only country in Africa where religious identification has caused such prolonged suffering and misery. Attempts to overcome religious sectarianism in the post-Nimeiri period during the short-lived democratic regime of Sadiq al Mahdi, itself undermined by factious disputes, failed as Islamic fundamentalism gained the upper hand.

The Sudanese society, characterised by the mixed influences of Arab and African cultures, was always renowned (in the modern period at least) for its tolerance and respect for humanity. Never before have the Sudanese people experienced the sorts of violations of human rights from which they are currently suffering.

International relations have now reached a stage where the respect for human rights has become a touchstone which determines broader political actions. Thus, countries which are seen to condone systematic human rights violations are becoming increasingly ostracised by the world community. Such is the case of Sudan.

The system of power

Following the coup d'état and the establishment of the Revolutionary Command Council of National Salvation, all political parties, trade unions and other organised bodies of opinion were banned with the notable exception of the National Islamic Front (NIF), which provides the hard core of the country's leadership. Press freedom was abolished.

Although in the early period of rule of Lt. General Omer Hassan Ahmed El Beshir the government was by no means monolithic in character, as time has passed those with alternative views have gradually been expelled. From the beginning the NIF, directed by Hassan Abdalla El Turabi, nevertheless occupied all the key strategic positions. No political decision of any significance was able to be taken, even by General El Beshir himself, without it having been first approved by an 'inner council' whose membership was drawn entirely from members of the Muslim Brotherhood. As time has gone by, El Turabi and his close associates are becoming more clearly identified as the nucleus of political authority and power in the country.

An example of governmental sackings is the case of Peter Orat, responsible Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, who was working to the best of his abilities to administer the country's humanitarian aid programmes directed at refugees and displaced persons. His efforts were considerable and coming from Malakal, a few hundred kilometers south of Khartoum, he had first hand experience of the hardship faced by an enormous number of his fellow countrymen. He also did much to improve the relationship between NGOs working in Sudan and the authorities, yet this was not appreciated by the authorities, and he was sacked shortly after the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly mission visited Sudan in December 1990. His responsibilities were transferred to the Minister of Commerce and Trade, and since then no new Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation has been appointed.

Following the coup of June 1989, the National Islamic Front leadership immediately set about replacing several thousand of the country's senior civil servants, diplomats and other officials, including judges, by their own nominees. The army leadership was purged and many senior military officers were subsequently executed in April 1990. Their executions, numbering 34 at this time, followed a supposed attempted coup d'état for which proof was never furnished. At the same time the security forces were re-organised and muslim militia groups established throughout the country. With the objective of creating a force of 150.000, these militia groups were frequently trained by Iranian personnel, and Iran also paid for arms and equipment, much of it from China. (In fact, since 1985, Islamic militia groups had been formed, notably the Murahaleen, which pursued the war in the south with support from certain sectors of the army before the 1989 coup).

While this was taking place a National Dialogue Conference was created in order to make recommendations concerning the nation's future institutions. The proposals made by the conference favoured the establishment of a system of

people's congresses. They also favoured the establishment of Islamic law and the application of the Sharia. In February 1992, a new parliament, the Transitional National Assembly, met for the first time. Its membership is composed of 300 persons appointed by the authorities. The Transitional National Assembly was not mentioned in the final report of the National Dialogue Conference on the Political System, which had been set up by General El Beshir and organised by Colonel Mohamed Al Amin Khalifa in order to make proposals for new constitutional and institutional structures for the country. Significantly, Colonel Khalifa, having been "dismissed" from the government shortly before, became the first President of the Transitional National Assembly. Given Colonel Khalifa's previous responsibilities in external affairs, it is likely that he will use his new office to try to add a foreign affairs component to the Transitional National Assembly's role.

Originally a national congress was to be instituted which would elect members of the state council. The fact that none of this has happened and that the regime has had to fall back on an appointed Transitional National Assembly, indicates that considerable difficulties are being experienced by the government in gaining anything like popular support.

All regional governors were replaced by NIF nominees. Since February 1992 the regions have been replaced by states, of which there are nine including three in the south. In the south the deputy-governors appear to have more authority than the governors who are noticeably non-muslim and seen as figure-heads. 66 provinces are established and 281 local government areas or districts. In spite of such measures, control is still exercised from the centre.

The application of the Sharia linked to the emergency laws dating from before the coup have provided a legal framework for the country which appears in many cases to be arbitrary. 124 judges were replaced following the coup d'état and 60 more resigned in protest at the Islamisation of the legal system. At local level, local village tribunals (Nizaam El Ham) operate alongside public order tribunals. Sharia sentences are executed swiftly though appeals are allowed to the Appeal Court in some cases. The Appeal Court judge is usually a muslim nominee from the governor following authorisation from the Minister of Justice in Khartoum. In February 1992, Mr Abdel-Sami Omar Ahmad became Minister of Justice and Attorney-General. An influential "adviser" to the government's inner circle, he also represented Sudan on occasion, at meetings of the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly.

Economic affairs have been more or less detached from Islamic political considerations, as the government pursues radical reforms aimed at liberalising the economy according to IMF requirements. Within the banking centre however, the Agricultural Bank of Sudan has lost out to the Islamic banks of the capital. Economic growth should increase in 1992 with cotton, the country's main export, increasing its share of trade. Inflation remains a problem and is forecast to exceed 200% in 1992.

Diplomatic relations

The government of Sudan has few allies in the international community and finds itself isolated by most Arab states. Its closest foreign relations are established with Iran, Iraq and, to a certain extent, Libya which provides much of the nation's oil imports. General Ghadafi is known to mistrust Islamic

fundamentalism, which confuses the Islamic religion with state institutions.

The Muslim Brotherhood is increasingly using Sudan as a base for its international operations in Africa, and one can note the attempts being made to strengthen the Muslim Brotherhood in such countries as Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Senegal as well as Jordan in the Middle East.

The Sudanese government and its Foreign Minister, Ali Sahlool, have nevertheless pursued their efforts to normalise relations with neighbouring states. The new Ethiopian régime has collaborated with the Sudanese army during the dry season offensive when they captured Pachala in the south of Sudan and allowed Sudanese military personnel to operate on Ethiopian territory⁶. A non-aggression understanding has been discussed with Kenya and relations are said to be improving with Uganda and Zaire.

Relations with Egypt and Saudi Arabia are increasingly strained and other Arab states remain mistrustful of Sudanese intentions, as they fear the activities of the fundamentalists. Events in Algeria have served as a clear warning to many countries with muslim populations. Increasing efforts are made by these countries to stress the need for the respect for religious beliefs as well as the need to separate religion from constitutional politics.

Diplomatic relations with the United States and other industrialised countries were further complicated when the Sudanese government supported Saddam Hussein in the Gulf conflict. Accusations were made that the Sudan had trained scud missiles on Saudi Arabia at Iraq's behest, though no proof was ever provided. However given the prolonged period of tension which has yet to subside, in the aftermath of the Gulf War, it is unlikely that relations between the Sudan and the United States will improve. The Sudanese government has also been critical of the Middle East Peace Conference in contrast to most other Arab countries. Both the U.S. Senate and Administration echo the European Community criticisms of human rights abuses in the Sudan and the U.S. has gone further than the Community in drastically reducing its development aid and food aid programmes and personnel. U.S. Aid has reduced its staff from 54 to 4 in Khartoum.

European Community Member States have also reduced staff levels in the Sudanese capital and Denmark and Spain have closed their embassies in protest at human rights violations, while The Netherlands has blocked its 1992 bilateral aid programme.

The European Commission Delegation in Khartoum has had one official expelled by the Sudanese authorities. This official was responsible for humanitarian aid projects and relations with the NGOs.

The war in the south

⁶Pachala was very lightly defended by SPLM soldiers. Most of its inhabitants and nearly all of those killed were former refugees who had been forced to flee refugee camps in the Gambella province of Ethiopia by the new Ethiopian régime.

In fact the civil war which has been going on for a decade has spread beyond the south and into Khordofan and southern Darfour. It is estimated that military expenditure accounts for 60% of the government budget. Hundreds of thousands of people have been displaced by the conflict and at present there appears to be no prospect of reconciliation between the government and the SPLA/SPLM. The nature of the existing régime in Khartoum remains anathema to the SPLA which seeks to establish a multiparty democracy with respect for human rights. It is not always the case that SPLA methods themselves conform with its professed objectives, as the SPLA has also been strongly criticised for human rights violations.

There are signs that the government would do a deal with the SPLA if the conditions for a ceasefire could be established. Yet in spite of unilateral commitments by the SPLA, no negotiations have been able to be concluded. The February 1992 government offensive put paid to hopes of the cessation of hostilities. The government is still unwilling to engage itself in a roundtable discussion with all opposition parties with a view to bringing about peace.

Since June 1989, three distinct peace initiatives have been undertaken. In November 1989, the government published a document entitled "The Government's Peace Programme for Negotiations with the SPLA/SPLM", which was presented by Colonel Mohamed Al Amin Khalifa, Chairman of the National Dialogue Conference on Peace Issues. The document is very detailed in its proposals on federalism and on cultural diversity. The state and religion is also covered, yet much of what is written is at variance with the practice of the government of Sudan. Talks were held between both sides in late 1991 in Addis Ababa and in Nairobi before they eventually broke down.

The second initiative was made by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in conjunction with the Nigerian government. Although the government publicly welcomed the OAU's efforts, once again it failed to make the practical steps necessary to achieve any progress. The SPLA also found itself in difficulty and having to cope with internal divisions before any talks got underway. (See below)

The third attempt at peace was undertaken by the United States' Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen. Colonel Pio Yukwan Deng, Minister responsible for the South, welcomed the initiative which has nevertheless remained a dead letter. Since then Washington has declared that it would still be prepared to mediate in any settlement if both sides were prepared to make concessions.

In Equatoria, Bahr El Ghazal, Jonglei and in the areas to the north, fighting has continued. The split within the SPLA of last September led to vicious internecine fighting and the marginalisation of the leaders of the revolt against the SPLA, Riek Machar and Lam Akol, but not before several battles had been fought between the Dinka supporters of the SPLA and the Nuer supporters of the dissident faction. The government-backed Anya Anya Two militia sided with the dissidents to increase havoc and commit atrocities in the town of Bor. John Garang, the SPLA leader, is now said to have restored the unity of the SPLA enough to have repulsed the government's offensive in April 1992. The dry season offensive by the government appears to be at an end and its troops are apparently demoralised. Nevertheless, they may legitimately claim a series of military victories and several former SPLA strongholds have fallen.

Possibly as a result of the spring military campaign, the OAU peace initiative was resurrected and negotiations were held in Abuja, Nigeria from May 26th to June 4th 1992 under the good offices of President Ibrahim BABANGIDA. (The European Council of Ministers, meeting in the framework of European Political Cooperation, on 18th May 1992 lent their support to the peace initiative.) No ceasefire was agreed, yet there was recognition of the widespread disruption caused by the war and the need to embark upon the process of reconstruction. References were made to an interim administration without any details being agreed. The Delegation of the Government was led by Mohammed El-Amin Khalifa and the Delegation of the SPLA was led by William Nyoun Bany. Further meetings are envisaged.

The civil war has probably claimed more than 600.000 lives and completely disrupted and destroyed what is potentially one of the more economically viable parts of the country. It has also exacerbated a severe drought problem in the region and undermined all efforts at obtaining food security.

Opposition to the government in Khartoum is constituted not only by the SPLA but also by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). The NDA is formed of several parties including the Umma party and the Democratic Unionist Party. It is a fairly heterogeneous group and most of its leadership is constrained to live in exile in Egypt and England. It has produced many blueprints for a new multi-party democracy for Sudan, yet it remains divided, critically, between the secular parties including the SPLA and the two religious parties mentioned above who retained their support for the Sharia.

The weakness of the opposition coalition forces does not necessarily mean that they would be unable to form an alternative government within a federal structure, respecting democratic freedoms and human rights. Indeed if the country is to avoid being split completely in two, they constitute the only alternative to the existing regime unless the army intervenes. The latter option becomes less likely as time goes by as the frequent purges are designed to weaken the organisational capacity of the military hierarchy and most non-muslim military leaders have already been removed.

The no-win situation for the government and the SPLA/SPLM in the intra-national conflict, by attrition, may gradually encourage the secessionist tendencies in the government and the opposition.

Problems of food security and humanitarian assistance

In the areas affected by the war, malnutrition is the norm. Even the attempts to organise cross border aid convoys prove to be extremely hazardous and air-dropped supplies are frequently inadequate given the enormous expanse of territory which needs to be covered. The warring armies have not hesitated in the past to shoot at aid convoys travelling by river, by road and by air. Even when humanitarian corridors are negotiated, the delivery of urgent medical and food supplies may not last very long - rarely as long as was intended.

Scarcity of food and medical supplies in the south, south-west and south-east of the country is such that even when people do not die from hunger, they remain physically and often mentally diminished for the rest of their lives. Life expectancy in this area is the lowest in Africa.

Faced with such a situation, western donors, international aid agencies, and non-governmental organisations have for years been working to prevent the

worst from happening with only limited success in spite of enormous efforts. Sudanese authorities have failed to ensure effective coordination of aid efforts and they have been unwilling, except under pressure, to appreciate the contribution that can be made by NGOs in particular. Obstacles have often been placed in the path of aid agencies.

This is not to say that the Sudanese government has made no effort to improve national food production and agricultural development. New irrigation schemes have increased sorghum and wheat production. However the government has too often recused international relief efforts as being unnecessary when this was clearly not the case. The subsequent delay in the implementation of certain operations only added to hardships in 1991. FAO and WFP crop assessments on which food aid predictions are based, are again only belatedly accepted by the government and its agencies. Public requests for international solidarity are considered by the government of Sudan to be demeaning. The FAO/WFP crop assessment for 1992 while indicating an increase in food production overall, forecasts a 900.000 tonne food deficit in the subsistence areas of southern Sudan, Darfour, the Red Sea Hills and Khordofan. By December 1991, the European Commission had already received requests from NGOs for 177.000 tonnes of food aid. According to the Commission in its Communication of April 2nd 1992 on a Special Food Aid Programme for Africa, Sudan had requirements amounting to 480.000 tonnes of cereals, 133.000 tonnes of other food aid and 59.000 tonnes of vegetable oil. The Community's response so far has been to programme 82.600 tonnes of cereals, 5.600 tonnes of other food aid and 2.000 tonnes of seed. Member States have programmed 45.000 tonnes of cereals and 4.200 tonnes of other food products. The shortfall is still considerable. The government continues to export food and has been uncooperative in food swap arrangements.

Because of the war, in March the government suspended permission for both the United Nations and International Red Cross flights from Kenya and the Head of the UN Relief Programme, Thomas Ekvall, strongly criticised this decision. Since then a few flights have resumed. Those who operate such flights work in permanent danger. In September 1991, the Red Cross Hercules C-130 transport plane was destroyed by a mine on an air strip in Wau. The French NGO Medecin sans Frontiere lost two of its staff when a clearly marked plane was shot down.

Refugees and displaced persons

Sudan has a population of approximately 22 million people. Refugees have constituted at times almost 10% of the population. Most of these came from Ethiopia in the east, but also from Uganda and from Tchad. The European Parliament has participated in several missions which have investigated this situation at various periods.

The European Community and its Member States have not only been the major source of humanitarian aid for refugees in Sudan, particularly through the Lomé Convention and the Community food aid commitments, they have also been initiators of new refugee policy in conjunction with the UNHCR and with many NGOs such as CONCERN, OXFAM, Save the Children Fund, CARITAS and others. During the severe Ethiopian famines of the 1980s hundreds of thousands of people fled into the safe haven of Gedaref and other places in eastern Sudan. Many of these were euphemistically called spontaneous refugees, settling in local communities, though never officially registered. Obviously, the impact of such a large influx of people placed great strain on local communities in many ways.

Now, in spite of the fact that repatriation programmes are in preparation

for many Eritrean/Ethiopian refugees, their hypothetical move is likely to spread over several years and there is still special and urgent need for the care and maintenance programme to be maintained. It would be completely wrong of the European Community to withdraw financial support for this programme at this crucial stage. Until now the Community has financed this to the tune of 30 mECU and refugee-affected areas must continue to be supported. The Community should also engage itself in the discussion on the repatriation projects for which Lomé funds could be used. In any event such projects as these must be dissociated from any political sanctions that the Community might operate in relation to the Sudanese authorities as they are clearly humanitarian in nature.

The plight of several million displaced persons has always been particularly tragic as they do not enjoy the particular status afforded to refugees, nor can they count on international protection. Over 2 million people, having fled the war in the south, were housed in often appalling conditions in large sprawling camps around the capital. They were subject, not only to the frequent interruption of water supplies (as were many of Khartoum's indigenous population), but also from neglect by the government and by NGOs. In spite of this, families managed to exist under extremely arduous conditions.

Following severe flooding in 1990, the government proceeded to move the occupants of Hellat Shoak camp by force, and without warning, to Jebel Aulia camp situated some 50 kilometres south of Khartoum. Rudimentary preparations had been made in Jebel Aulia to receive the displaced persons although nothing like as much as would have been reasonably required. In some ways, compared to the disease-ridden rubbish tip that was Hellat Shoak, Jebel Aulia was an improvement and close by agricultural land was available. But, the violent way in which people were loaded on to lorries and dumped at a place which seemed to them to be in the middle of the desert was justly criticised by the international community. If a rationale existed for such a move, it was certainly hidden well behind the facts of the situation.

In spite of attempts by UNICEF, the Sudanese Council of Churches, and one or two other relief organisations, other camps around Khartoum and Omdurman, for example, Zagalona and Kousha camps, were only slightly better than Hellat Shoak had been. Inevitably, consideration needed to be given to finding alternative and available land while maintaining access to water, fuel and where possible, work. In any event, by no stretch of the imagination, can these camps have been intended as a permanent home for their occupants. At best they constitute, and they constituted, shelter from the storm of civil war, famine and drought.

From January 1992 the army, the militia and police moved into the camps and violently ejected tens of thousands of men, women and children. What little infrastructure the camps possessed was destroyed and burnt. In separate incidents more than 30 people were killed during the move. In Kober too, more were expelled towards the south.

This latest move appeared to be more of a deliberate attack which some have qualified as deliberately racist, which aimed to force the displaced back to where they came from. Some of the displaced may find their way to the refugee populated areas of eastern Sudan.

A relatively new displaced persons settlement called Dar-es-Salaam/Kurmuta was destroyed by government troops and most of the pumping equipment was destroyed. This had been provided by UNICEF and they are claiming compensation.

Given the often atrocious conditions in displaced persons camps around Khartoum, it is understandable that more amenable locations be sought. What cannot be admitted however is the frequently violent methods used to evict displaced persons from established camps and their expulsion to new, and for them, unknown settlement areas which have not been properly prepared in terms of water or sanitation. For relocation policy to operate successfully, more resources must be found. The international community could contribute more in this way. At the same time, the government must endeavour to act more openly and discuss with the displaced persons' representatives the timetable and logistical matters related to their transfer to alternative settlements.

Human rights

If one were to judge the human rights situation in Sudan, purely on the basis of the written communications between the Sudanese authorities and the European Parliament or the Joint Assembly, then one would gain the impression that no problem existed, that no violence or ill-treatment ever occurred or was perpetrated by the security forces, that government detention centres or 'ghost houses' were a figment of one's imagination and that those who made statements having been tortured, and having witnessed the torture of others were mere provocators.

In his letter to President Baron of October 13th 1990, President El Beshir assured the European Parliament that his country's observance of basic human rights was unwavering. Yet no independent judicial enquiry into allegations of torture and ill-treatment, as requested by the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly, has been authorised.

The head of 'revolutionary security' Commander Ibrahim Chamseddine, member of the NIF leadership, who has overall charge of the 'ghost houses' and detention centres, has never acted against any member of the security services, accused of torture and ill-treatment. Silence is consent in such circumstances. The NIF leadership must be held responsible insofar as no other alternative responsibility exists. The former Minister of the Interior, Faysal Ali Abu Salik, refused all attempts to bring security agents to justice. The new Minister, Zubair Mohamed Saleh, who is also Deputy Prime Minister, pursues the same policy. They clearly, therefore, act with impunity and are a law unto themselves.

Following the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly mission in December 1990, President El Beshir promised a positive response to the delegation's appeal for the release of political detainees. Of those visited by the delegation in Kober Prison, many were subsequently released in April 1991, some slightly before. However, not all those named by the government in its Communication of January 23rd, 1991 were in fact released. Several were re-arrested later.

Since then, the government has apparently demolished most of Kober Prison which was too much of a focal point of criticism. Prisons in El Fasher, Shalla, El-Duwaim, El Obeid, Suakin and elsewhere still house detainees, and many more are kept in the infamous and anonymous 'ghost houses' in Khartoum, Omdurman and other major cities in Sudan.

The government of Sudan has acted with clemency in relation to a number of death sentences passed for political acts, by commuting them. Some prisoners were condemned to death, and subsequently released following appeals - such was

the case of Dr Mamoun M. Hussein, who the Joint Assembly delegation was later able to visit in his doctor's surgery in Khartoum.

Since the release of a large number of political detainees a year ago, government policy has tended to concentrate more on short-term detention in 'ghost houses'. Many observers, including Amnesty International and Africa Watch, believe that the non-muslim population is becoming under increasing pressure and intimidation. (This coincides with the contents of a note passed to one of the members of the Joint Assembly delegation when in Khartoum).

The army and militia groups have concentrated repressive attacks on the Nuba peoples. Amnesty International considers the Nuba people to be victims of Sudanese government policies "designed to destroy them as a people", in other words, victims of genocide.

(The latest Amnesty International Report of April 1992 gives names and details of many individual victims of human rights violations)

The European Community policy towards Sudan.

The European Community has in the past been the main development partner in the Sudan. Both through Lomé support and direct Community financing for food aid and other humanitarian assistance, the European Community and the Sudan enjoyed close and harmonious relations until the coup d'état of June 1989.

The strengthening of the human rights provisions of the Fourth Lomé Convention and the evolution of a more coherent Community policy on human rights has coincided with a worsening of the situation in Sudan. These factors have combined and justified an embargo on Lomé IV programming dialogue between the Commission and the Sudanese authorities. In addition, in order to exert further pressure on the régime, agreement for the transfer of funds to Sudan under the Stabex scheme has been frozen. 31.7 million ECU await an improvement in human rights in the country.

The use of outstanding funds for Lomé II and Lomé III is also compromised and several programmes previously entered into by the Community have been halted because of security problems.

The relationship between the Community and the Sudan has not been helped by the Sudanese authorities, who have frequently mis-represented the position of the many donors who are providing humanitarian aid to Sudan. The forced relocation of displaced persons, mentioned above, goes against all the advice offered by the European Community.

In spite of all this the Community continues with its efforts to provide humanitarian aid, assisted directly by non-governmental organisations and the various international and U.N. agencies, which are specialised in the field. The Community considers that whatever political disagreements exist between the Sudanese authorities and the Community and its Member States, the population of Sudan should not be made to suffer additional hardship. Notwithstanding this principle, enormous logistical problems result from the lack of proper coordination and understanding between the donors and the local and national authorities. Undertakings given to provide safe passage for humanitarian convoys have frequently been broken both by government and militia forces as well as by the SPLA.

Political relations with the Sudan are therefore very strained and many have voiced the opinion that diplomatic relations should be broken. Were this to happen an extremely dangerous precedent would have been created amongst the Member States of the Lomé Convention. It would also probably force the Sudanese government into even more extreme positions, creating a very unpredictable environment in the region as a whole.

It would be more constructive to try to maintain dialogue with the Sudanese authorities. The Joint Assembly and the European Parliament has endeavoured to do this as far as the responsibilities of these institutions are concerned. The hope remains that the relationship of Europe with the people of Sudan will transcend any political dispute or disagreement with the existing government of the country.

Conclusions

The Development Committee considers the following points to be particularly important in relation to Community policy with Sudan:

1. Considers that the main obstacle to the restoration of harmonious relations between the European Community and its Member States with Sudan is the persistent and frequent violation of human rights. Even though many political prisoners and detainees have been released by the Sudanese authorities, a correspondingly greater use has been made of short-term measures of detention in 'ghost houses' and other detention centres where torture and other forms of ill-treatment are perpetrated by internal security forces. Until this practice is stopped, political relations with the Sudan will necessarily remain strained and full resumption of cooperation between the EEC and Sudan will not be possible;
2. Considers that the European Community and its Member States which have maintained their diplomatic representations in the Sudan should continue to pursue a critical but, as far as possible, constructive relationship with the political authorities;
3. Remains pre-occupied by the seriousness of the situation resulting from years of conflict in the South and by successive years of famine and food shortages. Believes that the attitude of the authorities in Sudan who appear to fail to recognise the gravity of the situation in relation to food security, creates long delays in the establishment of the necessary infrastructure which is required to deal with this problem;
4. Fully supports the Community's special emergency food aid and medical assistance programme for the Sudan which is coordinated with the United Nations' second aid plan (SEPHA II). Believes nevertheless, that the quantities agreed may prove to be inadequate particularly if the war continues. In the light of this, expresses its amazement at reports that the Sudanese authorities have been selling cereals produced within Sudan to neighbouring countries in order to earn foreign exchange for arms purchases, and further believes that such practices considerably undermine the willingness of donor countries to provide continued support for the Sudanese population;
- V. While not seeking to question the individual beliefs and religious practices which exist in the Sudan, considers that greater tolerance should be manifested particularly by religious leaders. Expresses particular

concern that the Sharia is extensively used against non-muslim Sudanese, especially women, and that this exacerbates tensions within Sudanese society. Urges the government of Sudan to fully recognise the rights of other non-muslim religious denominations and their freedom of speech and association;

6. Encourages efforts for peace between the SPLA and the Sudanese government and urges an immediate cease fire to be negotiated and welcomes the continued efforts of the O.A.U. to achieve a resolution of the conflict. Believes that the European Parliament or the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly could be called upon to assist in the peace process. Believes also that negotiations between the SPLA and the government alone will not resolve the political problems experienced by Sudan and that therefore other political forces should be associated with the peace process;
7. Condemns the attacks perpetrated against refugees and populations fleeing the war in the South which were conducted by the forces under the authority of the government of Sudan;
8. Remains deeply critical of the forced evacuation of displaced persons from their camps around Khartoum and Omdurman which led to great distress and further suffering for people already traumatised by deprivation and war. Considers that greater priority should be given to assisting these displaced persons by the international donor community and non-governmental organisations;
9. Expresses deep concern at reports that the Sudanese authorities are increasingly moving towards a policy of excluding NGOs that are not prepared from the outset to give priority to Islamic sections of the population in distributing aid;
10. Having been informed that Makoi Wuol Manuer, head of the Sudanese Council of Churches' resettlement programme, was detained in Khartoum on 9 February 1992 and is at present probably being held in solitary confinement, calls on the President of the Islamic Republic of Sudan to order the immediate release of Makoi Wuol Manuer unless he is charged with a crime specified in the penal code and is given a fair trial without delay;
11. Reiterates its call for sustained assistance to be provided for the large refugee populations currently living in different parts of Sudan;
12. Commends the work of the staff of the Commission Delegation in Khartoum who have had to work under difficult political and material conditions in order to pursue the humanitarian objectives set by the European Community to provide support and relief to the Sudanese population who require assistance. Commends also the courageous work of the several non-governmental organisations who continue to operate in different parts of the Sudan and pays homage to those who have lost their life in the course of such activity.

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