



Christian
Solidarity Worldwide

Sudan

**Annual Report
2002**

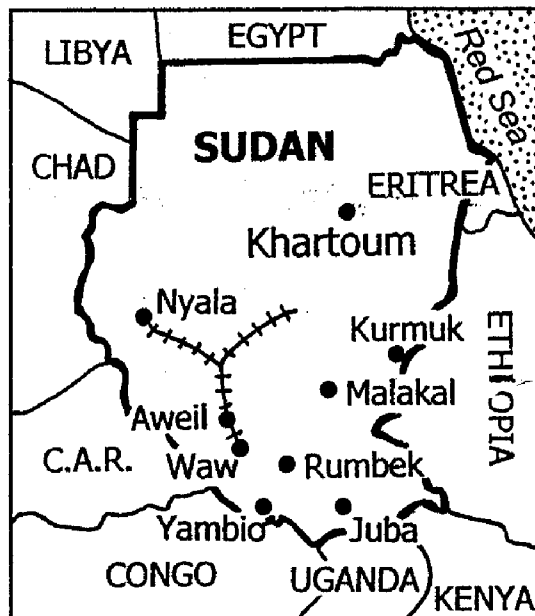
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1 COUNTRY PROFILE

1.1 MAP AND GENERAL PROFILE¹



Country Name

Republic of Sudan

Capital

Khartoum

Geography

Border countries

Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Uganda

Border waters

Red Sea

Area

2,376 million sq km

Terrain

A vast plain broken with mountain ranges in the east and west.

Climate

Tropical in the south, arid desert in the north, an area that experiences severe sand storms (haboob). Rainy season that usually lasts from July to September in the north, and from June to November in the south

People

Population

36,080,373²

Life expectancy

56.94 years

Ethnic Groups

There are over 300 ethnic groups. 39% are classified as Arab, including the Kababish, Jaalin, Danagla, Gaalien, and Shaigia 6% are from the Hamitic Beja tribe, and 52% are from such African Niolitic and Sudanic tribes as the Dinka, Nuer, Nuba, Shilluk, Azande, Bor, Acholi and the Lotuhu

Religions

60-70% Sunni Muslim, 35% Traditional Believers, 5-15%

¹ statistics according to The World Factbook, 2001

² July 2001 estimate

Christians (growing amongst southerners)³

Literacy⁴
Languages

46.1%⁵
Arabic (official), English, and over 100 tribal languages,
including Dinka, Nuer, Fur, Hausa, Zande, Nubian and Bedawi

1.1.1 Government

Sudan is currently a federal state divided into 26 states, each with its own governor.

In 1989 a radical Islamist military Junta headed by Lt. General Omar Hasan Ahmad el Bashir and dominated by members of the National Islamic Front (NIF, also known as the National Congress Party) seized power and has held it ever since.

General el Bashir held elections in December 2000. However, major procedural irregularities caused key opposition parties to boycott the ballot, stating that the result had been rigged by the regime. The NIF subsequently won the election with 86% of the vote, but immediately reinstated the state of emergency that had existed since it seized power in 1989.

Sudan's new Constitution came into force in 1998. The Constitution declares Sudan a Federal state and contains provisions for Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of government. The Executive consists of a chief of state, President el Bashir, who is elected for a 5-year term, and is also head of government. He is assisted in both capacities by a first and second vice president, namely, Ali Uthman Muhammad Taha, and Moses Machar. The cabinet is called the Council of Ministers and is appointed by the president. It is currently dominated by the National Congress Party.

The legislature comprises a uni-cameral National Assembly. There are 400 seats, 275 of which are elected by popular vote, while 125 are chosen by a national conference called the National Congress to represent specific interest groups within the Sudanese community. Important sources of legislation are listed as the Constitution itself, Shari'ah law, the results of referenda, social custom, public opinion, the opinion of thinkers, and public officials.

The judicial branch of government consists of several courts of general jurisdiction and Special Revolutionary Courts. Sudan's courts of general jurisdiction have three levels. The courts of first instance are either general (*`amm*) or summary (*juz'i*). There are four levels of courts for civil matters and five levels for criminal matters. The Town Benches are the lowest courts, and their decisions can be challenged at District Courts, which also have original jurisdiction in some cases. Decisions rendered by the District Courts may be appealed at the Provincial Courts, which are competent to hear cases concerning companies, trademarks, business names, bankruptcy, and personal status cases for non-Muslims.

The further tier consists of Courts of appeal (*isti'naf*). These are situated in provincial capitals. Finally, there is a Supreme Court (*al-mahkama al-`ulya*), which is the final court of appeal. The legal system is based chiefly on Islamic legal principles, with some

³ Figures from 'Raising the Stakes: Oil and Conflict in Sudan', Peter Verney, Sudan Update, 1999

⁴ age 15 and over can read and write

⁵ Age 15 and over who can read and write

influences from Common Law tradition and custom. The Sources of Judicial Decisions Act of 1983 states that all matters not explicitly governed by legal codifications ought to be subject to Shari'ah. Notable pieces of legislation include, the 1983 Civil Procedure Act, the Criminal Procedure Act of 1983, the Civil Transactions Act of 1984, and the 1991 Penal Code.

There is also a Constitutional Court that is separate from the judicial structure and is empowered to judge the constitutionality of laws presented by the President or National Assembly, rule on matters concerning the explanation or execution of the Constitution, hear petitions from individuals related to constitutionally guaranteed rights, and adjudicate in cases involving a conflict of jurisdiction between lower courts.

Although the Constitution emphasises the independence of the judiciary and allows for the creation of a High Council of the Judiciary to serve as the administrative authority of the judiciary, the state President, with the agreement of the National Assembly, appoints and removes all judges, including those of the Supreme Court.

1.1.2 Economy

Chronic civil war, political instability, adverse weather, economic mismanagement, weak world agricultural prices and a drop in remittances from abroad have adversely affected the Sudanese economy.

The 1990s were characterized by sluggish economic growth as the IMF suspended lending, and was on the verge of branding Sudan a non-cooperative state and expelling the country. However, from 1997 onwards Sudan began implementing IMF macroeconomic reforms and managed to stabilise inflation at 10% or less.

The agricultural sector employs 80% of the work force. The remainder is involved in trading and light industry (mostly the processing of agricultural goods). However, in 1999, Sudan began exporting oil and in 1999-2000 and recorded its first trade surpluses. Current oil production stands at 185,000 barrels per day, of which about 70% is exported and the rest refined for domestic consumption.

1.1.3 Military

The Sudanese defence forces consist of an army, navy, air force and militia groups known as the Popular Defence Force. The militia are also known as mujahadeen and are recruited to prosecute the civil war in the south alongside the army, which the government has termed a jihad. The government also arms militiamen from tribes bordering southern Sudan. The average age of the military is 18.

There has been an increase in military expenditure due to the new oil wealth. This increase is evident from the fact that the government has been able to purchase new military hardware. The government is not keen to disclose the percentage of income expended on armaments, but is thought to have at the very least doubled its military expenditure.

1.1.4 International Disputes

Sudan's administrative border with Kenya does not coincide with the international boundary, and Egypt lays claim to a barren area under partial Sudanese administration known as the Hala'ib Triangle.

1.2 HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The area now known as Sudan has existed in various forms throughout the centuries. Sudan is said to be the area referred to as Cush in the Old Testament.⁶ In addition, the New Testament term for Ethiopia is also thought to refer to Sudan, since the eunuch converted by the Apostle Philip in Chapter 8 of the book of Acts⁷ was courtier to a Queen Candace, and at that time the Nubian Kingdom of Cush was ruled by a series of Queens known by the title Kandake.

For 1000 years Christianity predominated in Northern Sudan, and from the sixth century to the fifteenth century it was the official religion of the three Sudanese kingdoms of Nubia, Alwa, and Makuria (later Dotawo).

For 900 years the Christian Kingdoms resisted the southward expansion of Muslim forces, which saw the Kingdoms as gateways to a rich source of slaves in southern Africa. Eventually the Kingdoms co-existed with Muslim neighbours under an agreement known as the Baqt, which involved supplying a requisite number of slaves per year in exchange for peace. However, the end of the Middle Ages saw the decline of the Christian Kingdoms and the emergence of Islamic Sultanates such as those of Funj and Darfur.

Sudan continued to be a collection of small independent states until 1821, when a Turco-Egyptian force conquered and unified the north. Egypt then laid claim to southern Sudan, but was unable to establish effective control of the south, where the diverse, fragmented tribes continued to suffer slave raiding.

During the scramble for Africa, the British, French and Belgians competed for southern Sudan. In 1892, the French occupied Bahr el-Ghazal and Western Upper Nile up to Fashoda (Kodok), and by 1896 they had established an administration there. France's attempt to link southern Sudan to its West African territory of Soudan (Mali, Senegal, Niger, Chad Cameroon etc.) floundered as a result of the Fashoda Incident. The Belgians occupied Western Equatoria up to Mongalla and established the "Lado Enclave" but eventually handed the area over to Britain in 1910.

In 1881 a northern Sudanese religious leader rose up against the Turco-Egyptian rulers, who had themselves become subject to British rule. Declaring himself Mahdi (the expected one), Mohammed Ahmed ibn Abdullah led an insurrection that eventually culminated in the fall of Khartoum to his forces (Al Ansar) and the death of General Gordon. The Mahdi died 6 months later, but his state survived until it was overrun by an Anglo-Egyptian force led by General Kitchener in 1899. The following year Sudan was proclaimed a Condominium under joint Anglo-Egyptian administration.

In 1905 the colonial government divided the country into zones of religious influence. The area north of the 10th parallel was put under Islamic influence Islam while in the southern area British Missionary Societies, the "Austrian" Catholic Mission, and the American Mission were each given a zone of influence.

From 1900 and throughout the 1920s the new regime embarked on a policy of pacification during which the people of southern Sudan and the Nuba were subjected to

⁶ Isaiah Chapter 18 is often cited as one of the earliest historical references to Sudan

⁷ 35-36 AD, Reese Chronological Bible, Bethany House Publishers Minneapolis, Minnesota, Authorised Edition, 1982

extreme brutality. Following pacification, the colonial administration introduced the Southern Sudan Policy, partly in an attempt to put an end to the slave trade, which was by then outlawed in Britain. While the North was administered under the colonial pattern developed for West Asia (Egypt and the Middle East), the South was ruled in accordance with the policy of Indirect Rule developed by Lord Henry Lugard for the northern emirates of Nigeria, and the area was isolated culturally, educationally and linguistically from the North.

Several southern region governors sought to incorporate southern Sudan with black Africa and, particularly, Uganda. The administration introduced the Closed District Ordinance in the South, the Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile. Travel between north and south was regulated by the 1922 Passports and Permits Ordinance, while the 1925 Permits to Trade Order limited Arab trading in the south. Moreover, the Rejaf Language Conference established English rather than Arabic as the official language of southern Sudan, and designated Dinka, Shilluk, Nuer, Bari, Latuka and Zande as lingua franca.

In the north of the country Britain embarked on a policy of economic and social development, introducing railways and a modern civil service to the area. During the 1920s the head of the Ansar sect, Abd ar Rahman al Mahdi, and Ali al Mirghani, head of the Khatmiyya sect were encouraged to turn their religious movements into quasi-political parties. As a result, during the 30's and 40's a political culture and nationalistic fervour developed rapidly in the north of the country.

In 1942 a quasi-nationalist movement formed by educated Sudanese called the Graduates' General Conference presented the British government with a memorandum demanding a pledge of self-determination after World War 2, preceded by the abolition of the Closed District ordinances, an end to the separate curriculum in southern schools, and an increase in the number of Sudanese in the civil service. The governor general refused to accept the memorandum but agreed to a government-supervised transformation modernisation of the system of Indirect Rule.

By the time of the convening of a Conference in Juba in 1947 to decide the composition of a future Sudan, the Civil Secretary in Khartoum and the government of Anthony Eden had decided on the unification of northern and southern Sudan. At the Juba conference northern nationalists prevailed upon southern chiefs to agree to a north-south merger in order to end colonial rule, and as a consequence the Southern Sudan Policy was abandoned in favour of a programme of rapid integration. In 1953 self-rule was introduced to Sudan and since they had benefited from better educational opportunities under the colonial regime, northern Sudanese filled the administrative posts vacated by the British under a policy known as Sudanisation.

Under the provisional constitution the south was marginalized even further, as the new Prime Minister, Ismail al-Ahazari, allocated only 4 posts to southerners. Moreover, southerners were excluded from a subsequent conference on self-rule held in Cairo on the grounds that they did not possess a political organisation. Southerners became increasingly hostile towards northerners, and in August 1955 southern army units in Equatoria mutinied in protest at orders to transfer to garrisons under northern officers. Several hundred northerners were killed, including government officials, army officers, and merchants. The revolt was quickly suppressed and seventy southerners were executed. However, some rebels managed to escape to remote areas and began to

organise the armed resistance that was to become known as the Anya-Nya movement that lasted 17 years.

Sudan gained full independence in 1956 and Ismail al-Azhari of the National Unionist Party (NUP) became the country's first prime minister. Two years later his conservative government was overthrown in a bloodless military coup led by General Abboud, who suspended democracy, instituted a state of emergency, and launched a major military offensive against rebels in Equatoria.

In 1964 a popular uprising brought down the Abboud regime after it failed to keep its promise to restore civilian rule, and it was replaced by a provisional civilian government led by Sirr al-Khatim Khalifa. During that year missionaries were expelled from southern Sudan, and all non-Arabic religious literature was burned. The following year elections brought the Umma party to power, led by Mohammed Ahmed Mahjoub. However, a leadership challenge within the Umma party meant that from 1966-7 Sadiq al Mahdi, leader of Ansar, became prime minister.

A second military coup in 1969 brought Col. Gaafar Mohammed Numeiry to power. Numeiry proceeded to outlaw all political parties and abolish parliament. Although he was backed by communists and other left wing elements, disputes within his regime led to a briefly successful coup in July 1971. Numeiry was restored to power by anti-Communists and went on to purge the army and government of leftists, executing 9 officers while 38 others died in suspicious circumstances.

The signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972 by Numeiry and Joseph Lagu of the South Sudan Liberation Movement signalled an end to the first civil war. The Agreement provided for regional autonomy for the south and an end to discrimination.

An attempted coup in 1975 by military elements linked to the Umma party and the Muslim brotherhood Ansar was quickly suppressed and several rebel officers were executed. However, Numeiry barely survived a serious coup attempt in 1976 mounted this time by Ansar and the Democratic Unionist Party. Several thousand people lost their lives during the fighting. Over 90 people were executed and 800 disappeared after facing special tribunals convened in the aftermath of the coup.

From 1982 onwards, northern Sudan began to experience wide spread unrest as a result of increasing discontentment with the Numeiry regime. Numeiry attempted to win popular support by inserting Shari'ah penalties into the national penal code. However, this merely served to further alienate an already restive southern population, leading to the creation of the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and a re-igniting of the civil war. Numeiry brooked no opposition, and in 1985 he engineered the execution of a leading Islamic scholar, Ustadh Mahmoud Mohamed Taha, for opposing the forcible imposition of Shari'ah law.

Numeiry was finally overthrown in April 1985 following a popular uprising (Intifada) led by the National Alliance for National Salvation. This in turn occasioned a military coup led this time by General Suwar al Dahab, who set up a 15 member ruling Transnational Military Council (TMC). Al Dahab refused to revoke Shari'ah law, but suspended some of its penalties.

In 1985 the TMC began a policy of arming Arab tribal groups after 100 Baggara Arabs were killed when the SPLA began to make inroads into the Nuba Mountain area.

However, in March 1986 the TMC entered into negotiations with the SPLA (which was and remains under the leadership of John Garang de Mabior) and the result was the Koka Dam Declaration, which contained provisions for the abolition of Shari'ah Law and the convening of a constitutional conference.

The following year al Dahab handed over power to an elected civilian coalition government comprising the Umma party and the DUP, and headed by Sadiq al Mahdi.⁸

The new regime embarked on peace overtures almost immediately. However, in 1986 al Mahdi abandoned the Koka Dam Agreement after having received arms from Libya and Iraq. He then proceeded to arm Baggara militias (known as Murahaleen) and to forcibly expel war displaced southerners from Khartoum.

In 1987 more than a thousand Dinka men, women and children were murdered in Ad-Da'ein, western Sudan. Some had been burned alive. Two lecturers from the University of Khartoum, went to the area to investigate the massacre and uncovered evidence that the militias armed by the al Mahdi government were raiding Dinka villages in northern Bahr al Ghazal and enslaving women and children⁹. Further investigation of the massacre at Ad-Da'ein was blocked by the government, and the two investigators began to experience harassment and detentions.

Over a quarter of a million southern Sudanese died during the period 1985-1988 as a result of a famine that was exacerbated by drought, flooding, government scorched earth policies and relief denial, and SPLA diversion of food aid to military purposes. Following an international outcry the al Mahdi government agreed with the United Nations and donor countries on the creation of Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), a scheme whereby food was transported to famine stricken areas throughout the country, averting an even greater calamity.

In November 1988 the DUP leader signed an agreement in Addis Ababa that included provisions for a cease-fire, the freezing of the Shari'ah, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the abolition of all foreign political and military pacts. Although al Mirghani received a hero's welcome on his return from Addis, al Mahdi rejected the November Accord and instead formed a government with the Islamist Party, the National Islamic Front (NIF), which opposed this agreement because of provisions regarding Shari'ah.

In February 1989 Lieutenant General Fathi Ahmad Ali, the armed forces commander in chief, issued an ultimatum to Sadiq al Mahdi signed by 150 senior military officers demanding the creation of a more representative coalition government, the disbandment of militia groups and greater progress towards peace. The NIF resigned from the government in protest as al Mahdi resumed peace talks with the SPLA. By April 1989 Shari'ah laws had been frozen, and a date had been set for the convening of a constitutional conference. However, in June 1989, and on the eve of a key cabinet meeting, an Islamist military junta aligned with the NIF and headed by General al Bashir overthrew the al Mahdi government.

⁸ Al Dahab went on to become leader of Al Dawa Al Islamiyya, an NGO later associated with tying aid for famine victims to conversion to Islam.

⁹ 'The Dein Massacre: Slavery in the Sudan' Ushari Ahmed Mahmoud and Suleiman Ali Baldo, English Translation, Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association.

The al Bashir regime initially held meetings with the SPLA and extended the ceasefire. This broke down when the NIF received a shipment of arms ordered by al Mahdi from China, and was paid for by Iran, and launched an offensive against the south. The regime then proceeded to create the Popular Defence Forces, another para-military group composed of southern and western militias and charged with training civilians in warfare.

In October 1989 the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was formed. This was and is essentially a coalition of northern and southern groups opposed to the new regime and linking the SPLA and eight Muslim-based parties: the DUP, the Umma party, Legitimate Command, the Beja Congress, the Alliance of Trade Unions, the Alliance of Forces, the Federal Party and the Communist Party. Through the NDA the SPLA is aligned with such northern forces as the Sudan Alliance Forces (SAF), the Beja Congress and other armed anti-government groups operating in the country.

Since seizing power the regime has proved far more willing than previous regimes to use extreme methods of oppression against all whose political views, ethnic origins or religious affiliation are at variance with the NIF. In the north the government of General Omar el Bashir has detained without trial, and often tortured, hundreds of doctors, journalists, academics, lawyers, teachers, students, politicians and civil servants. Moreover, prior to his seizure of power, the Sudanese president, Omar el Bashir played a key role in the military assault on southern Sudan, and as president he continued this policy.

Conditions deteriorated further in the early 1990s. The el Bashir regime was one of the few governments to give fulsome support to Iraq during the 1990 Gulf Crisis. At home the regime continued to suppress political opposition and stepped up the war against non-Muslim rebels in the south. In 1991 the government closed off the Nuba Mountains and unleashed a scorched earth operation that caused the population to eventually dwindle to fewer than 500,000 from over 1 million in 1985. Following a failed SPLA attempt to take the town of Juba in 1992 more than 200 civilians were killed or executed, 232 more were arrested and 'disappeared', and camps for over a quarter of a million homeless people were razed to the ground. The regime also continued and intensified the policies of previous regimes involving the arming of Baggara militia groups, the manipulation of aid delivery, and attacks on southern civilian targets. During January 1994 about 1000 refugees a day fled to Uganda to escape a ferocious bombing offensive against the SPLA.

In March 1995 former United States president Jimmy Carter negotiated a two-month cease-fire so as to allow relief workers to treat cases of river blindness and guinea worm disease that had broken out in the south. The ceasefire was ended in July when the SPLA resumed operations. However, also in 1995 the regime declared the war in the south to be a Jihad, thereby freeing its troops and militia groups to indulge in the massacre and enslavement of civilians with impunity.

In April 1996 Sudan faced international condemnation after evidence surfaced linking the al Bashir government to the attempted assassination in Ethiopia of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in June of 1995. In May 1996 the UN imposed sanctions on Sudan for refusing to extradite three suspects in the assassination attempt. This, coupled with increasing evidence of human rights abuses perpetrated by the Bashir regime against peoples in the south, isolated Sudan even further. This isolation was compounded by the fact that for a time the country played host to Osama bin Laden, whose operatives bombed US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on 7 August 1998. The US responded to

these attacks two weeks later by launching cruise missiles against the Al Shifa chemical and pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum.

By the mid-1990s the SPLA controlled most of southern Sudan and a number of important towns despite divisions within rebel ranks and the fact that several ex SPLA commanders had sided with the government. However, the government maintained control over Juba, a large city in the far south, and several key southern towns along the Nile and the main roads.

In December 1999 underlying tensions within the NIF exploded to the surface when an ongoing power struggle between al Bashir and Turabi finally came to a head. Al Bashir ousted Turabi, declared a state of emergency, dissolved the National Assembly and suspended parts of the constitution. Turabi was later detained, and then placed under house arrest after his party signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the SPLA. Since then Al Bashir has made successful overtures to Western nations, which have been more amenable to these approaches since Sudanese oil came on line. The regime even succeeded in overturning the 1996 Security Council sanctions by securing American abstention from the vote. In the meantime, the regime has continued to suppress dissent in the north of the country and to prosecute a war in the south where civilians are regularly subjected to air and ground assaults.

1.3 GENERAL HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS

1.3.1 Thematic concerns

Regarding northern Sudan, international human rights organisations continue to voice their concerns about the continuing and systematic abuse by the government of the civil and political rights of the population. These abuses include arbitrary arrest and detention without trial, the routine use of torture, inhumane punishments imposed under Shari'ah law, the harassment of political opponents, journalists and human rights defenders, infringements on the rights of women and children, restrictions imposed on Christians and moderate Muslims, and the harassment of converts to Christianity.

With regard to the south of the country, human rights organisations have expressed grave concerns about the ethnic cleansing of people groups traditionally inhabiting the areas surrounding the oil fields, mass killing, abduction, rape and enslavement of civilians, the aerial bombardment of civilian targets, and the manipulation of aid and closing off of vast suffering areas to the OLS.

1.3.2 Sudan and the United Nations

Sudan has acceded to the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)¹⁰, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)¹¹, and the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination against Women (CERD)¹². The country has also adheres to the Convention on the Rights of the

¹⁰ 18 March 1986

¹¹ 18 March 1976

¹² 21 March 1977

Child (CRC),¹³ and has signed but not ratified the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT).¹⁴

Sudan is also a state party to the Convention on the Status of Refugees and its Optional Protocol,¹⁵ to the 1949 Geneva Conventions,¹⁶ and to the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights¹⁷

Sudan has signed up to several International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions. These are the Convention on Forced Labour,¹⁸ the Convention on the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining,¹⁹ the Equal Remuneration Convention, the Convention on the Abolition of Forced Labour, and the Convention on Discrimination.²⁰

The Sudanese government has signed but not ratified the Ottawa Treaty against landmine use, while in October 2001 the SPLA/M signed an agreement on a total ban on antipersonnel landmines throughout territories under its control.

1.4 RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

1.4.1 Northern Sudan

Islam predominates in the north of the country. Although many Sudanese are Sunni, Sufi brotherhoods have historically had a strong presence in the country, the most popular and best known being the Ansar and the Khatmiyya.

The ruling NIF represents an altogether different type of Islam. The party is in reality the political expression of the Muslim Brotherhood (Al Ikhwan al Muslimin). This movement, founded by Hassan al Banna in Egypt in the 1920s, spread widely in Sudan during the 1960s, and initially responded to efforts to secularise Islamic society by calling for a return to the fundamentals of Islam, but in a manner that would be compatible with technological innovations introduced from the West. The Muslim Brotherhood is Islamist in ideology and advocates the use of state power for coercive purposes.

Islamism does not tolerate divergence of opinion, and, having gained power, the NIF sought to homogenise Sudanese religious life. In the north of the country Muslims who do not subscribe to the NIF brand of Islam have suffered at the hands of the regime. After the coup in 1989, leaders of traditional Islamic orders suffered harassment, arbitrary arrest, torture, or enforced exile. For example, in 1993 the Grand Mahdi's mosque containing the Mahdi's tomb and the Ansar headquarters were confiscated and in 1995 over 200 prominent members of the Umma party and religious leaders were arrested and many were ill treated whilst in detention.

There is a Christian minority in northern Sudan whose numbers have been swelled by the influx of over a million war-displaced southerners. This minority includes adherents of a

¹³ 3 August 1990

¹⁴ signed on 4 June 1986

¹⁵ 1974

¹⁶ 1957

¹⁷

¹⁸ 1957

¹⁹ 1957

²⁰ All 3 signed during 1970

variety of denominations ranging from the long established Greek Orthodox, Ethiopian and other and Coptic churches, to Evangelical and Pentecostal churches. The population of Traditional believers in northern Sudan has also increased as a result of war displacement. Such religions are practised overwhelmingly by southerners, and religious rites are observed in a manner unique to each specific ethnic group.

The NIF has made use of several pieces of legislation to curtail the activities of Christian churches and traditional believers in the north of the country, despite a declaration of freedom of religion contained in the country's 1998 Constitution.

In 1991 the regime passed the Criminal Act, which incorporated Shari'ah law into Sudanese criminal law and made apostasy on the part of a Muslim punishable by death. However, non-Muslims are free to convert to Islam. The government went on to repeal the 1962 Missionary Act, which regulated the activities of missionary societies by means of a system of licences, and replace it with the 1994 Societies Registration Act. This Act labels Churches as non-governmental organisations and obliges them to be registered in order to be recognised legally, to be allowed to assemble legally and to be exempted from taxation. The registration process is notoriously difficult. Other restrictions on Christian activity include a ban on proselytising, the refusal, summary withdrawal or unnecessary delaying of visas for foreign missionaries, the refusal of permission to build new churches and the demolition of churches and other Christian or Traditional facilities in squatter camps on the outskirts of Khartoum. In the past the government has been known to seize church property.

Discriminatory practices also exist in the area of family law. A Muslim man can marry a non-Muslim woman as long as she is a Jew or a Christian, but a Muslim woman can only marry a non-Muslim if he converts. Moreover, all abandoned children are considered Muslim, regardless of their ethnic origins, and can only be adopted by Muslims.

1.4.2 Southern Sudan

Southern Sudan is mostly non-Arabic and, with very few exceptions, non-Muslim. The majority of people are Christians or Traditional believers.

In the South education was provided by Christian missions, thus most educated people, including the political elite, were at the very least nominally Christians. Moreover, several Roman Catholic priests figured in southern leadership, and the churches played a significant role in bringing the south's plight to international attention. Consequently, successive Sudanese governments considered the church an obstacle to the full Arabisation and Islamisation of the South. The NIF was no exception, and as a result the restrictive and discriminatory policies operating in the North were extended to the areas in the South that are still under government control. In addition there have been reports in the past of non-Muslim civil servants losing their jobs, of non-Muslim businessmen suffering discrimination, of non-Muslim graduates experiencing difficulty in finding employment in government and of non-Muslim judges being moved to such low-level assignments as traffic courts, while their places are taken by pro-NIF replacements, some of whom only possess a cursory knowledge of the law²¹.

²¹ International Religious Freedom Report, U.S. State Department, 200; Handbook on Religious Liberty Around the World, The Rutherford Institute, 1996

Freedom of worship is generally observed in areas controlled by the SPLA. However, government aircraft routinely bombs churches and church facilities in these areas and government militias have attacked some church amenities.

2 REVIEW OF 2001

2.1 SUMMARY

With regard to northern Sudan Christian Solidarity Worldwide has received detailed reports regarding the abuse of civil and political rights, the continuing restrictions on churches, the subjection of non-Muslims to Shari'ah law, the abuse of the rights of the child, and the plight of Muslim converts to Christianity.

In the south comprehensive reports continued to emerge detailing the relentless aerial bombardment and militias attacks on civilian targets, the raiding of African villages and the abduction into slavery of women and children, scorched earth policies ethnic cleansing occurring in areas surrounding the oilfields, and the denial of humanitarian flight access to vulnerable locations in southern Sudan and the Nuba mountains.

2.2 DETAILS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

2.2.1 Violations of Civil and Political Rights in Northern-Controlled Areas

In the north of the country, the regime has sought to maintain power by constant extensions of the state of emergency, and, perhaps in an effort forestall a potential Intifada, the Sudanese government routinely harasses students, trade unionists, human rights defenders and all other political adversaries. Opponents are subject to arbitrary arrest and detention, and several have been tortured in specifically designated centres known locally as 'Ghost Houses'.

Press freedom is routinely and severely curtailed. The government uses the provisions of the 1991 Criminal Code and the Press and Publications Act to subject journalists to harassment, arbitrary arrest, detention, and cruel, inhumane and degrading treatments. Chairman of the Board of the English Language Khartoum Monitor and BBC and Reuters correspondent, Alfred Taban underwent a series of arrests, detentions and interrogations during 2001 and was at one stage being investigated on possible charges of 'inciting religious and racial conflict'. During one stint in detention Taban was not allowed to change his clothes for 7 days. State security forces also arrested the Editor in Chief of the Khartoum Monitor Albino Okeny and interrogated him about fellow employees, and in January 2001 detained and fined Managing Editor Nhial Bol,.

On 20 November 2000, 22 journalists from the independent daily, Al Watan were detained for peacefully protesting on a ban on an article about corruption. Three female journalists were forced to sit in a chair for hours, while male journalists were obliged to stand in the sun for hours. All were later charged, amongst other things, with disturbance of the peace, waging war against the state. Throughout the journalists have been interrogated, fined, charged with offences under the 1991 Criminal Code, and newspaper editions and articles have been censored and banned.²²

²² Sudan Organisation Against Torture (SOAT), Annual Report on Human Rights Situation in Sudan, March 2001-March 2002, pp 9-12

Students and women have also suffered at the hands of the NIF security apparatus. Students have suffered arbitrary detention and torture. In one of the worst cases two students at Gezira University were shot dead and 16 seriously injured in August 2001 during a protest provoked by the activities of pro-National Congress student group. In another, student from Bakht Al Ruda University in White Nile Province was arrested in September 2001 and tortured, sustaining severe swelling to the head and right ear, cuts to the left elbow and bruises to both thighs. In yet another 5 students from Nilain University in Khartoum were arrested on 10th November and beaten with plastic hoses. The group included three female students, who were in addition threatened with rape. According to SOAT the harassment of female students appears to have developed into a systematic policy on the part of the security and Community Police, and may in fact be underreported since women are afraid to complain about it openly²³.

During 2001 several opposition leaders were arrested and detained without trial. On the evening of the 10th to 11th May, 5 members of the NDA who had previously been arrested in December 2000 while meeting an American diplomat, were rearrested and charged once more with conspiracy to incite popular uprising and disrupt national security. Members of the Sudanese Communist Party have also suffered bouts of detention, as have members of the government's erstwhile ally, the Popular national Congress (PNC),.

Under Shari'ah law the government has meted out punishment that are in violation of its international obligations as a signatory to the ICCPR and CAT. One such punishment is that of cross amputation, which involves the loss of the right hand and left leg. On 27th December 2001 Adam Ibrahim Osman and AbdAllaha Ismail Ibrahim, both from Alfashir City, were convicted of armed robbery and possession of unlicensed weapons and sentenced by a Special Emergency Tribunal to cross amputation. Two days earlier, the Special Court in Alfahir City had convicted Mohammed Adam Yahya and Ahmed Suleiman Mohammed of armed robbery despite insufficient evidence and sentenced them to both amputation of the right hand and death by hanging.

2.2.2 Religious Intolerance in Northern Controlled Areas

Christian leaders and church employees face restrictions regarding their freedom of movement and are subjected to a lengthy and cumbersome screening process before being allowed to travel abroad. What is more the government is in the habit of seizing church property without compensation, as was the case with the Catholic Club and the ECS church building in el Obeid, which was initially transformed into a museum and then became a mosque. The regime also laid claim to the El Sahafa Christian Cemetery, occupied half of the Omdurman headquarters of the Episcopalian Church and on 15th February 2001 Sudanese police in combat gear and armed with grenades and automatic rifles broke into the Sudan Catholic Secretariat in Ryad, Khartoum and took away 6 cars belonging to the relief agency Sudanaid and the Health Training Institute (HTI).

Over the Easter period the government reneged at the last minute on an agreement for an ecumenical service at Green Square, Khartoum, and used riot police with tear gas to disperse those who had assembled in the area unaware of the cancellation of the event.

²³ IBID., p.14

Police also attacked a prayer gathering at All Saints Cathedral destroying the church, arresting 105 people. A Public Order Court judge then summarily sentenced 57 of them, including women and young boys, to flogging. In a letter to President el Bashir commenting on these incidents, church leaders stated that Constitutional provisions for religious freedom now appear to be 'nothing other than a political gesture meant to mislead others that in Sudan there is freedom of religion'.

In the aftermath of this incident Christians and their faith were constantly attacked on Sudanese national radio, television and newspapers. On a daily television programme run by Dr Adel Hai Yousif, the lecturer who instigated the burning of a Christian Bible exhibition at the University of Khartoum in 1999, Christians and their leaders were described as blasphemers, liars and witches. In a separate incident an African Inland Church (AIC) Bishop, John Kongi, was accused in an Arabic newspaper of converting Muslims, thereby endangering his life.

The thaw in Sudanese-US relations and a change in the governorship of Khartoum caused the al Bashir government to permit another joint church outreach, this time featuring American evangelist Sammy Tippet. This too was cancelled after the initial meeting proved too successful. However, the evangelist was allowed to continue closed meetings that were attended by church workers only.

According to local sources, the Sudanese government has adopted a policy of rounding up street children in the Greater Khartoum area. The majority of these children are Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), some of whom were separated from their families while fleeing their tribal areas in order to escape government scorched earth tactics. Once rounded up, the children are taken to rehabilitation camps where their names are changed and they are forced to convert to Islam. Parents searching for their children find it impossible to locate them, as inmates of rehabilitation centres are listed under their Islamic names.

Such incidents occur despite the fact that the Sudanese government has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, a document that emphasises the primacy of the family's role in children's lives. The Convention specifically refers to the family as the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of its members, particularly children. Under the Convention States are obliged to respect parents' primary responsibility for providing care and guidance for their children, and to support parents in this regard. States are also obliged to prevent children from being separated from their families unless separation is judged to be in the child's best interests. What is more, the Sudanese Constitution contains provisions allowing members of minority groups and sects to maintain their own culture, language and religion, and to bring up their children according to their traditions. It also prohibits the forced imposition of traditions on children.

In Sudan Shari'ah is applicable to all, regardless of their religious affiliation. In a recent case highlighted by the non governmental organisations (NGOs) the Sudanese Victims of

Torture Group (SVTG)²⁴ and the World Organisation against Torture (OMCT), a Christian woman, Abok Alfa Akok, was sentenced to death by stoning following a flawed judicial process in the criminal court in Nyala City, Southern Darfur for having committed adultery. The entire court proceedings were conducted in Arabic. Abok does not speak Arabic, was not provided with an interpreter or a lawyer, and was never made aware of the consequences of her admission of guilt, which she later retracted. Her co-accused, a Muslim man who she insisted had raped her, denied the charges and was released after Abok failed to produce 4 male witnesses to corroborate her version of events. An appeal court overturned Abok's sentence following an international outcry and recommended that she receive a 'rebuke' sentence instead. It later transpired that on 12th February the Nyala Criminal Court sentenced Abok to 75 lashes. The sentence was carried out immediately, making it impossible for Abok to seek legal counsel or exercise any right of appeal.

A second case involving the imposition of Shari'ah punishments on a non Muslim that of Anthony James Wani Ladou, a Christian whose right hand was amputated in late January after he was found guilty of stealing car parts. James too was denied legal representation during his trial. His co-accused, a Muslim, was found not guilty. Two other Christians, Abdou Ismail Tong from Guinea and Yousif Yaow Mombai from Zaire are currently in jail awaiting amputation after being found guilty of stealing 3 million Sudanese pounds. Both men are said to have admitted to the crime while in police custody, but later retracted these admissions. Neither was allowed legal representation during their trial.

In the North Muslim converts to Christianity have been singled out for particularly harsh treatment. Mohammed Saeed Mohammed Omer, a student who converted while studying in New Delhi, was arrested in Khartoum on September 22 at the instigation of his family. He was beaten and tortured, having three fingernails pulled out in order to make him recant. He was released but was subsequently hospitalized after having been beaten up in broad daylight on the streets of Khartoum.

Four days after Mr. Saeed's release, two other converts, Ala'ad-Din Umar Agabna and Nasir Hassan, disappeared in Khartoum. Both had been arrested, but were eventually released. The case of Mr. Agabna subsequently began to receive mounting international attention. Since converting to Christianity 11 years ago he has been subjected to continuous harassment and periodic incarcerations in notorious state torture facilities known locally as 'Ghost Houses'. The Christian News Agency Compass Direct reported that in the past he has had his right hand broken, has undergone torture with blocks of ice being melted on his chest, and has been beaten severely on several occasions. Church sources in Khartoum have reported that on at least three occasions in late January 2002 Mr Agabna was injected by security police with unknown substances that made him extremely drowsy.

Mr Agabna has recently been forced into hiding following severe ill treatment at the hands of the Sudanese state security police, who for the second time have barred him from leaving the country. He was verbally abused and severely beaten by four airport

²⁴ Now called the Sudan Organisation Against Torture

officials as he tried to board a plane to Uganda on 3 February. The officials confiscated his money, threatening to "eliminate" him if he told anyone what had happened to him. According to Compass Direct, Sudanese security police in Khartoum are now mounting a widening manhunt in an attempt to locate Mr Agabna.

According to local sources when the SPLA briefly occupied the town of Raga in southwestern Sudan, the NIF embarked on a campaign of arbitrary arrest, torture and lynching of the Christian community and members of the Kresh tribe in Western Bar el Ghazal. Sources also reported that rebel factions allied to the NIF, particularly those under the command of the war lord Paulinho Matiep, had on several occasions arrested and tortured any suspected opponents in the area of Kalakala which lies south of Khartoum.

2.3 GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY IN SOUTHERN SUDAN

2.3.1 Aerial Bombardment of Civilian Targets in SPLA-Held Areas

Throughout the year the government continued to bomb civilian targets southern Sudan, justifying this activity by stating that rebels use civilian populations for cover. However, attacks frequently occur where there has been little or no rebel activity, indicating that the purpose of such bombing raids is to terrorise and maim civilians. The bombings result in loss of life, livestock and infrastructure, thereby constituting a form of economic warfare against civilians in rebel-held territory and increasing food insecurity and population displacement. There are also elements of psychological warfare- the planes often disrupt the daily lives of Southerners by circling an area without actually dropping bombs.

During 2001 a confirmed 568 bombs were dropped on civilian targets, killing at least 101 people and destroying civilian facilities. Targets include hospitals, schools, market places and food distribution centres.

Symbols of Christianity appear to be singled out for particular attention. In the first week of January 2001 a health centre supported by ACROSS (Association of Christian Resource Organisations Serving Sudan) was destroyed when a Sudanese military aircraft dropped nine bombs on it.

On Sunday 2nd January a total of 46 bombs fell on 5 separate communities. Kotobi, Mundri, Jambo, Singo and Kediba were all bombed during Sunday morning worship services.

On 8th March a government militia group attacked the compound of the Adventist Development and Relief Agency International (ADRA) in Kiechkuon, killing a woman and young girl, and taking 4 members of staff to Khartoum as hostages. The hostages were released following high level lobbying. This incident occurred despite the fact that ADRA is a member of Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), a consortium of UN agencies and NGOs that has government permission to operate in that country. To date the Sudanese government has given no reason for this attack. During the same period government aircraft bombed an airstrip in the Nuba Mountains seriously injuring 2

civilians and narrowly missing a plane carrying Bishop Max Macram Gassis of El Obeid diocese.

For 3 days beginning July 22, government planes conducted bombing raids on the towns of Magwi, Ikotos, Hiyala, Parajok and Ngaluma, killing 5 people and injuring 8 others. Church and relief officials said that the attacks were unwarranted, since all the affected towns have no military installations. However, Ikotos is home to a number of humanitarian non-governmental organisations, including such church based organisations as the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), CRS and the Diocese Of Torit (DOT).

A teenage girl was hurt and four houses destroyed when the villages of Ngaluma, Ikotos and Hiyala in Eastern Equatoria Province were bombed on Sunday 26 August. According to information from DOT, the attacks on the three villages occurred at a time when the local Christian communities were attending morning church services. A diocesan spokesman said that at around 8:45 am (Sudan time), the first six bombs were dropped on a camp for the displaced in Ngaluma. Note that the camp is run by Catholic Relief Services (CRS). Then in September 2001 Julianna Waithera Muiruri, a nutritionist employed by the Lutheran World Federation, but on secondment to a relief centre in Aweil run by the Church Ecumenical Action Sudan (CEAS) in the southern diocese of Rumbek in Bahr el Ghazal was kidnapped by militia who had just raided the nearby town of Nyamlell, and briefly held in Khartoum until her release.

Many of the government attacks occurred on Sundays, or during Christian holidays. This would appear to indicate an overall government policy to harass, injure and intimidate southerners in general and Christians in particular. Fr. Maurice Loguti, a Pastoral Co-ordinator of the DOT made the following comment: "I am irked by the attitude of the government towards Christianity. ...This is persecution, which intends to deny the existence of Christianity in the Sudan."

Until recently the aerial bombardment of civilian targets did not attract sufficiently significant international attention despite the fact that international NGO and humanitarian facilities were not exempted from such aerial attacks. However, back-to-back attacks on NGO complexes during February 2002 and at a time when America was engaged in a peace effort in the country finally pushed the phenomena higher up the international agenda.

On Saturday 8th February at 1700 local time (1400 GMT) a Sudanese Antonov plane dropped six bombs on the WFP drop site in the town of Akeum in Bahr al Ghazal, killing two children and injuring 10-12 people, and eliciting an unprecedented apology from the Sudanese government. Next, the NGO Medecins Sans Frontiers reported that on 9th February James Koang Mar, a 20-year-old health worker, had been killed along with four other Sudanese civilians when three bombs were dropped on the village of Nimne in Western Upper Nile. Following this incident, on Wednesday 20 February Sudanese government helicopters attacked a World Food Programme (WFP) feeding operation in the village of Bieh in Western Upper Nile, killing 17 people and injuring many more. The incident occurred shortly after the WFP had delivered food aid for 10,000 civilians, including women and children. According to a WFP statement, a government Hind-24

helicopter 'hovered over the WFP compound and fired 5 rockets into the surrounding area'. Aid workers on the ground also reported that a soldier in the helicopter deliberately fired a machine gun at civilians, incinerating them as they hid in their tukuls (huts).

The NIF regime also manipulates aid delivery, denying access to areas that it has declared 'No Go'. Despite having agreed in 1999 to allow humanitarian aid to reach the Nuba, the government denied access to the area until the end of 2001 when, as part of an effort to improve relations with the United States, the government has agreed to a renewable, monitored ceasefire humanitarian access to the area.

2.3.2 Ethnic Cleansing of Oil Fields Area

The desire to exploit Sudan's significant oil deposits, located for the most part in southern Sudan, has added a new intensity to the civil war. In an attempt to de-populate the land surrounding the oilfields, the Government of Sudan (GoS) has adopted scorched earth tactics designed to terrorise its own people. It consistently flouts International Law, deliberately targeting civilians in the oil rich areas of southern Sudan in an incessant, indiscriminate campaign of bombing, helicopter gunship and militia raids. Villagers are initially attacked by Antonov aircraft, followed by gunships, and then by militiamen who kill anyone who has not fled the gunships and burn everything they cannot loot. Villagers are forced to move on in search of sustenance and safety, and the campaign achieves its desired aim of creating a cordon sanitaire in which oil companies can exploit the resource without fear of a rebel attack.

Several international oil companies, such as the China National Petroleum Corporation, Talisman Energy (Canada), OMV (Austria) and Lundin Oil (Sweden), have purchased oil concessions in Sudan despite being cognisant, or wilfully ignorant of the tactics employed by the Sudanese government in areas surrounding the oilfields. Southern Sudanese victims of oil production from the province of Western Upper Nile are currently being helped to sue Talisman Energy in a New York court on behalf of a larger group of plaintiffs for \$1 billion in relief under the Alien Tort Claims Act.

Reports indicate that raids continued unabated throughout 2001, particularly in Western Upper Nile. Moreover, an independent human rights assessment report by Georgette Gagnon (Canada) and John Ryle (UK) cites civilian victims of gunship attacks asserting that gunships had flown sorties from the Heglig facilities of Talisman Oil and other oil facilities to attack civilian settlements throughout 2000 and 2001.²⁵ There have also been consistent reports that Nuer villagers displaced from their traditional areas in the Upper Nile area have been replaced by ethnic Baggara groups.²⁶

Sudan has the highest number of internally displaced people in the world, and according to the US Committee for Refugees (USCR), an additional 150,000 people were

²⁵Gagnon, Georgette and John Ryle, 'Report of an Investigation into Oil Development and Displacement in Western Upper Nile, Sudan', October 2001

²⁶Commission on Human Rights, 56th Session, Agenda Item 9, Question of the Violation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in any part of the World, Situation of Human Rights in the Sudan, Note by the Secretariat, 19th April 2000

displaced during the first eight months of 2001. According to the USCR, included in this figure are 55,000 newly displaced people, who fled from 48 villages in oil region during late 2000 and early 2001; up to 50,000 people displaced an SPLA offensive in the Bahr al-Ghazal region during May/June of 2001, and approximately 40,000 residents of the Nuba Mountains region in central Sudan who fled government military attacks during the first 8 months of the 2001.

2.3.3 Abductions and Slavery

The type of slavery occurring in Sudan today is encouraged by the NIF as part of its Jihad against the southern black Africans. In the latter part of 1995, NIF leaders visited border areas such as Southern Kordofan and Darfur, mobilising local Arab tribesmen. The government armed them, encouraging them to attack the Africans in the South and to keep the bounty of war as their wages-including the human bounty.

Consequently, with the advent of the next dry seasons, beginning in January 1996, systematic attacks of unprecedented ferocity were unleashed against the African Dinka people living in Bahr-El-Ghazal. Dinka communities, armed only with spears, are unable to defend themselves against such well-organised raids by government soldiers, the Popular Defence Force militias (mujahedeen) and government-armed Arab tribesmen (murahaleen), all of whom are supplied by the government with automatic rifles and fast horses. Dinka villages are overrun and burnt, men and old people are killed, and women and children are abducted northwards, often into slavery.

Thus slavery is a formidable weapon in the NIF Jihad. The abduction of women and children destroys whole communities. Enslaved girls and women, are severely sexually exploited, subjected to gang rape. In several instances young boys have also suffered sexual assaults.

The Sudanese government agreed to the creation of a Committee for the Eradication of the Abduction of Women and Children (CEAWC), and recently expressed a commitment to control the actions of the murahaleen and to grant clearance to UNICEF flights used to reunite children with their families. However, there has so far been no concrete follow-up action. Despite the increase in revenue derived from oil sales, the government has failed to provide adequate financial support for the committee, which is funded primarily by the international community. It has also failed to validate the Dinka Committee, an organisation co-opted into the CEAWC process and assigned with tracing abductees, by its reluctance to provide high-level statements of support, for example from the President. The head of the Dinka Committee, James Aguer, has in the past been harassed and arrested, as have other members of the organisation. Finally, although several hundred abductees have been reunited with their families, there have been no prosecutions of abductors. The government recently promised to rectify this and to create special tribunals in the border regions separating the south and north of the country to try persons involved in enslaving women and children from the civil war zones.

In his January 2002 report to the Commission on Human Rights the Special Rapporteur noted a decrease in the number of abduction raids since March 2001. However, he

indicated that this was more indicative of an improvement in the SPLA's ability to defend villages than of government efforts to curtail such activities.²⁷

2.4 RELIGIOUS LIBERTIES IN SPLA/M CONTROLLED AREAS

Despite having limited resources the SPLA has attempted to set up civil structures in the areas under its control. The organisation has more or less permitted religious freedom in these areas, and recently appointed chaplains to its armed forces.

However, in the past there have been infrequent reports of religious persecution. In 1996 six missionaries were detained and a priest was beaten by an SPLA security operative for objecting to the recruitment of child soldiers.²⁸ Moreover, some SPLA soldiers have at times been accused of abuses of human rights, including rape and looting. The SPLA has also been criticised for curtailing freedom in areas under its control.

The SPLA appears aware of these failings and of the need to address them. In February 2001, the SPLA demobilised more than 2,500 former child soldiers aged between 8 and 18 in accordance with an agreement with UNICEF. However, it is generally acknowledged that there are more child soldiers in need of demobilisation. The SPLA also appointed a representative to the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights charged with securing international assistance for human rights training for soldiers and administrators of civil society. Recently the SPLA announced that in the interests of the liberation struggle the organisation had merged with its former rival, the Sudan Peoples Defence force (SPDF), under the name SPLM.

2.5 CSW ACTION

2.5.1 *Prayer*

CSW alerted prayer networks, soliciting prayer for Muslim converts to Christianity and other Christians, and children in northern Sudan, and for those suffering aerial bombardment and food shortages in southern Sudan. CSW also began to create links with the 10/40 Window prayer initiative with a view to cooperating in a prayer strategy for Sudan.

2.5.2 *Information sharing*

CSW briefed the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, European Commission and Council of the European Union. In the UK CSW worked with MPs and peers to table 10 Parliamentary Questions in the Commons and the Lords on Sudan during the period covered by this annual report. CSW briefed selected peers for three starred question

²⁷ Commission on Human Rights, 58th Session, Item 9 of the Provisional Agenda, Question of the Violation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in any part of the World, Situation of Human Rights in the Sudan, Report by Gerhart Baum, 23 January 2002

²⁸ 'Religious Freedom in the World: A Global Report on Freedom and Persecution' Paul Marshall, General Editor, Freedom House, Broadman and Holman Publishers, 2000, p.288

debates on Sudan, in February 2001, July 2001 and January 2002, instigated by CSW President Baroness Cox.

CSW also co-sponsored an Early Day Motion on Sudan with the Associate Parliamentary Group on Sudan. CSW representatives regularly attended meetings of the Associate Parliamentary Group on Sudan, and liaised closely during the year with the group's administrator.

CSW also ran parliamentary campaigns on the bombing of civilians (Summer 2001), the cases of Muslim converts to Christianity (Mohammed Saeed in December 2001 and Aladin Mohammed in February 2002), and a Christian woman sentenced to death by stoning (Abok Alfa Akok, January-February 2002). In each case selected MPs were asked to write to the Sudanese embassy. Selected MEPs were also briefed on these cases, resulting in questions being submitted to HMG and directly to the Sudanese government via visiting MEPs on behalf of Christians and others suffering repression in Sudan.

CSW passed on information to other human rights organisations where appropriate.

2.5.3 Publicity

Where appropriate²⁹, CSW issued press releases to the Christian, regional, national and international press and ran features in *Response*, its bi-monthly magazine.

2.5.4 Campaigning initiatives

In response either to requests for advocacy and events on the ground, CSW initiated several letter-writing campaigns. Supporters were asked to write to the Sudanese government regarding events in Khartoum during Easter 2001, access to the Nuba and other famine affected areas for humanitarian agencies, the plight of street children in Khartoum, the bombing of civilian targets and the problems faced by Muslim converts to Christianity. CSW also asked for letters to be written to HMG requesting a tougher line on such issues as the bombing of civilians and calling for emergency humanitarian relief for areas on the verge of famine in Southern Sudan and the Nuba mountains. In more sensitive cases, MPs and other dignitaries were asked to intervene directly on behalf of an individual or individuals.

In January 2001 CSW's International Advocate held meetings on Sudan with the Special Rapporteur on Sudan and with UN human rights officers mandated to work on issues concerning food, housing, women, internally displaced persons and child soldiers. The International Advocate also discussed Sudan with the Discrimination and Implementation Division of the ILO and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

In March CSW lobbied at the Commission on Human Rights for the inclusion in the UN resolution of issues such as slavery and the impact of oil on the civil war in Sudan. CSW also conducted a Special Briefing Session for Members of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

²⁹ In some sensitive cases quiet, high level advocacy or simply prayer has been requested, as sources felt that publicity would jeopardise the plight of an individual or a community

In July CSW briefed human rights officers of the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights and raised concerns about displacement in the Nuba Mountains and other humanitarian issues with officers concerned with Internally Displaced Persons. Finally, in May CSW participated in an ILO Conference endeavouring to secure a special examination of Sudan.

CSW joined in the creation of the Sudanese British Human Rights Forum, a coalition of British residents and nationals, and groups from both northern and southern Sudan in a unique direct action initiative. On 5th April the SBHRF organised a march in London for peace and justice in Sudan. During the march letters of protest was delivered to the Sudanese Embassy and the Department of Trade and Industry, and an 18,000-signature petition was handed in at Downing Street. Then on 16th October the SBHRF held a peaceful protest outside the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St James' Square where Dr Jim Buckee, President and Chief Executive of Talisman Energy Inc., had been invited to deliver a keynote speech on 'The Benefits of Being Socially Responsible'.

CSW also became a member of the European Coalition on Oil in Sudan (ECOS), a coalition of agencies seeking a suspension of investment in the Sudanese oil industry until there is a just and lasting peace in the country.

2.6 RESPONSES FROM THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT

To date CSW has received no copies of written response from the Sudanese government. However, in some advocacy cases, such as that of the ADRA employees, the Kenyan relief worker and a Muslim convert, CSW did see some positive results.

2.7 CONCLUSIONS

CSW supports and endorses all genuine negotiations aimed at securing a just and lasting peace in Sudan. To this end CSW welcomes the ceasefire brokered in the Nuba by the US Special Representative to Sudan and the enthusiasm of the Secretary of State for International Development, Clare Short for brokering in Sudan. Alan Gouly, an Arabist former head of the FCO Middle East Command and twice Ambassador to Sudan has become Britain's Special Envoy to Sudan. It is hoped that British efforts will take account the aspirations of all the Sudanese people, resulting in an effective, even handed policy that will contribute towards ending this long running war and the concomitant human suffering.

CSW continues to be disturbed by the continuing state of emergency and harassment of students, journalists, human rights defenders opposition politicians, Christians and other non-Muslims in northern Sudan. There is also deep concern that aerial attacks on civilians, the destruction of villages, population displacement in the oil fields, the abduction of women and children, and the denial of humanitarian access continue unabated.

2.8 RECOMMENDATIONS

With regard to Southern Sudan, CSW

- ~~///~~ Calls for the extension of the monitored ceasefire in the Nuba Mountains to the rest of Sudan.
- ~~///~~ Calls for an end to the aerial bombardment of civilian targets, and for the government to take concrete steps to put an end to the abduction and enslavement of Sudanese women and children. CSW also urges Sudanese government to honour its declared intention to try all those responsible for abductions, and to give high level affirmation for CEAWC in general and the Dinka Committee in particular. This ought to include an increase in the government's financial contribution to CEAWC as a sign of its commitment.
- ~~///~~ Calls on oil companies to suspend oil exploitation until there is a just and lasting peace in the country, so that the resource could be used for developing the nation as opposed to prolonging the civil war and the suffering of the people of Sudan. CSW also calls for greater transparency on the part of the government regarding the use of oil revenues that have already been accrued, and for a greater share of these profits to be spent on improving conditions for the people of southern Sudan.

With regard to northern-controlled Sudan, CSW

- ~~///~~ Calls for an end to the state of emergency, and for the government to honour its international obligations to respect and uphold the civil and political rights and fundamental freedoms of its citizens. This would include ending such practices as arbitrary arrest and detention and torture, and allowing press freedom. It would also include a review of certain punishments under Shari'ah law that constitute a violation of Sudan's obligations under the ICCPR.
- ~~///~~ Calls on the government to allow Christians to fully enjoy Freedom of Religion as provided for by the Sudanese Constitution, and by Article 18 of the ICCPR. CSW urges an end to the practice whereby religious minorities are subject to Shari'ah law, and a resolution of the discriminatory legal anomaly whereby Muslims are promised freedom of religion, yet are subject to charges of apostasy upon conversion to other religions. CSW also calls for the government to respect the primacy of the family in ensuring the religious and moral education of children, as provided for in the Sudanese Constitution, the CRC, and the ICCPR.
- ~~///~~ Calls for Sudan to ratify the Convention Against Torture as a guarantee of the government's commitment to improve its human rights record. CSW also urges the government to ratify the Ottawa agreement on landmines.

CSW calls on the International Community to

- ~~✍~~ Encourage the establishment of an internationally monitored and comprehensive ceasefire throughout Sudan as a prelude to a just and lasting peace based on the IGAD Declaration of Principles, a document containing provisions on which all major warring parties have agreed. It would be unwise for members of the international community acquiesce in the Sudanese government's attempts to renege on the DOP by downplaying the importance self determination for the people of southern Sudan and other marginalised areas

- ~~✍~~ Ensure that the Sudanese government takes concrete steps to end the abduction and enslavement of southern African tribes, and to strengthen the capacity of CEAWC by increasing its financial input into the organisation as a sign of its commitment, ensuring the prosecution of perpetrators of slavery, providing adequate help and protection for Dinka tracers, and ensuring the release of women and girls as well as boys.

- ~~✍~~ Promote the necessity for greater transparency on the part of the government with regard to oil revenue, and for a greater share of this revenue to be spent on improving conditions in the south of the country.

- ~~✍~~ Press for an early Sudanese ratification of the Convention Against Torture and, in the intervening period, urge the GoS to adhere to the spirit of CAT, as is incumbent on all signatories to international treaties.

- ~~✍~~ Strengthen the capacity of civil society in SPLM/A controlled areas, providing educational opportunities for all, and training military personnel and civilians in, amongst other things, human rights, democratic practice and accountability.

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