In SUDAN

Tea for daily bread

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18 January: A Human Rights Forum was held in Ed Damazin by UNMIS Human Rights section in collaboration with the Human Rights Committee of Blue Nile State Legislative Council. The Forum, attended by government, UN and civil society representatives, aimed to create a space for dialogue on human rights issues.

21 January: Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) for Sudan Ashraf Qazi visited Malakal during a two-day trip in Upper Nile State. The SRSG was briefed by government and UN officials on the January tribal clashes between the Shilluk and Dinka and on progress in implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in the area.

25 January: UNMIS denied Khartoum media reports that it intended to evacuate staff members and stated it would continue to perform its mandated functions to support implementation of the CPA. The media reports were linked to a possible decision from the International Criminal Court to indict Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir.

26 January: The UNMIS Indian Battalion in Malakal completed a six-week mentoring and guidance "Training of Trainers" programme in Unit Administration for 55 members of the Malakal Joint Integrated Unit. Topics included camp establishment and administration, storekeeping and accounting, maintenance of weapons, health and hygiene, fire fighting, the CPA and role of UNMIS in Sudan.

27 January: UNMIS organized a one-day workshop for Sudanese media at UNMIS Headquarters, attended by representatives of major newspapers and other media. Journalists were briefed on the role of the UNMIS Public Information Office.

1 February: A donors’ conference was held in Abyei at the Abyei Area Administration (AAA). Representatives from the European Commission, United Kingdom, Canada, Norway and the Netherlands shared their views with the UN Development Programme and the Assessment and Evaluation Commission, agreeing to review their priorities on supporting the AAA.

5 February: The UN Secretary-General’s report on the Sudan was presented to the UN Security Council. In the report, Ban Ki-moon notes that the CPA has reached a critical juncture with daunting challenges ahead. He called on the parties to the CPA to explore all options available to make unity attractive in the remaining two years of the interim period.

10 February: The demobilization phase of adult combatants under the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programme in Sudan kicked off in Ed Damazin. About 5,000 combatants from the north-south war will be demobilized in Blue Nile State alone over a period of one year. Under a multi-year scheme, the target figure for the DDR programme in Sudan is 180,000 combatants.
Progress has been made in implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), but daunting challenges still remain, according to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's latest report on Sudan.

“With little over two years of the interim period remaining, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement has reached a critical juncture where any action or inaction on its provisions will have a profound impact on the future of the Sudan,” says the report, released on 4 February.

Mr. Ban cites the overriding need for “a tangible peace dividend”, such as providing basic public services, especially for people in the south and in border areas, to convince them of the benefits of remaining united.

“The parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement are yet to present a convincing case for unity to the people of Southern Sudan. I call upon the parties to use the remaining two years to explore all options available to make unity attractive,” he writes, pledging UN support, including to the electoral process.

The Secretary-General stresses that key benchmarks, including census results, border demarcation, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and referendum preparations now need to be achieved “within a tight time frame with very little flexibility for further delays”.

While the report focuses mainly on UNMIS, it points out that lack of progress in resolving the Darfur conflict will complicate Sudan’s political and military dynamics, creating a difficult environment for CPA implementation.

Mr. Ban notes that insecurity continues to plague parts of the country, where banditry, tribal clashes and militia activities remain a grave concern. Stating that momentum in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration must be maintained, it urges the parties to begin discussions about the proportional downsizing of forces on both sides.

The report highlights volatility in the oil-rich Abyei area of central Sudan, contested by north and south, where some 50,000 people fled violence last May. The Secretary-General voices concern over a renewed flare-up there in December, calling on the parties to expedite demarcation of the north-south border.

However, he welcomes progress in implementation of the Abyei Roadmap Agreement, calling on parties to demonstrate leadership in addressing difficult issues they face and on CPA parties to provide needed financial and political support.

Mr. Ban notes that the Joint Integrated Units (JIUs) are a key pillar of security in Sudan, but are still not fully functional, facing political, logistical and operational hurdles. Many lack appropriate communications equipment, transportation, accommodation, water, sanitation and weapons.

The 12 December incidents in Abyei exposed JIU fragility and the need for quick improvements, the Secretary-General states. “I call upon the parties to renew their commitment to the success of the Joint Integrated Units and encourage donors to consider further options for immediate support.”

The report commends positive developments in Southern Kordofan, such as progress to integrate former Sudan People’s Liberation Movement-controlled areas into the state administration. It also notes improvements in inter-tribal relations, including agreements reached with the Misseriya on migration.

But the Secretary-General also points to an abundance of arms, local dissatisfaction with the lack of a peace dividend, and fluid tribal and political affiliations, which make Southern Kordofan prone to conflict. “Recurrent low-scale conflicts are of concern in the light of the sizeable presence of troops of both parties in or near the state.”

On human rights, Mr. Ban commends the announced intention by the National Assembly to pass legislation creating a Human Rights Commission and the Government of Southern Sudan for adopting several laws related to human rights.

However, arbitrary arrests by the National Security Intelligence Services continue to be a major concern in the north and restrictions on freedom of expression and the media, including daily press censorship, continue unabated, the report states. Meanwhile, in Southern Sudan, people are detained for prolonged periods without having access to legal assistance, including those facing the death penalty.

Addressing wealth-sharing, the report notes that Sudan earned total oil revenues of $347.79 million for November 2008, of which the Government of National Unity received $171.05 million and the Government of Southern Sudan $150.74 million. But it adds that the recent decline in global oil prices will inevitably cut sharply into the country’s oil revenues as well as governmental budgets, particularly in the south.

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I n August 2004, hundreds of Dinka tribesmen attended a three-day peace conference in the Lakes State capital of Rumbek. During one of the workshops an issue of pressing concern in the region was posed to the gathering. What constituted appropriate punishment for the all too common crime of cattle rustling?

Male participants unanimously advocated death by firing squad. But the 20 women on hand that day favored a different approach. A reformatory prison should be built to house convicted cattle thieves, they argued, and inmates should be taught new labor skills enabling them to make a positive contribution to their communities and become law-abiding citizens upon release.

“That’s how women look at things,” says Awut Deng Acuil, one of the organizers of the reconciliation parley and now a cabinet minister in the regional Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS). The women’s group said, “No, we have shed enough blood and we don’t want more people killed. If we had more women in government, we’d have fewer wars.”

An internationally acclaimed peace activist and mother of seven, Ms. Deng is an outspoken advocate of women’s rights who has fought hard for greater representation of her gender within her own party, the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM), and across all levels of government in Southern Sudan.

The 45-year-old GoSS Minister of Labour, Public Service and Human Resource Development is also a representative example of a select group of Southern Sudanese women who came of age during the country’s long civil war and made important breakthroughs in politics and business, despite extraordinary hardship and outmoded attitudes about a woman’s proper place in society.

“Anything having to do with families is done mostly by women, especially in Southern Sudan, where we have lost so many people and so many households are headed by women,” said Ms. Deng during an interview at her home in the Southern Sudanese capital of Juba.

Married at the age of 15 to a man in his late twenties, Ms. Deng bore the couple’s first daughter within a year of her wedding. But she continued with high school studies in her hometown of Tonj in Warrap State and obtained a degree before joining her husband Dhol Deng in exile in 1984.

Ms. Deng and her family settled in Nairobi, where Dhol Deng headed the SPLM’s humanitarian wing, the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association. Twenty of Ms. Deng’s relatives lost their lives during the war, and she later applied her considerable energies to conflict resolution efforts as a staff member of the New Sudan Council of Churches.

Widowed in 2000 shortly before the birth of her youngest child, Ms. Deng was one of six women named to the SPLM delegation that opened peace talks with the Sudanese government in 2002.

Ms. Deng was given an InterAction Humanitarian Peace Award in 2002 for her pioneering work in the area of conflict resolution, and five years later she was honored with the Vital Voices Fern Holland Global Leadership Award.

The labour minister entered government service in 2005 when she was appointed a presidential adviser for gender and human rights issues in the then fledgling GoSS. Since her appointment as Labour Minister in July 2007, she has lobbied senior SPLM officials to meet the party’s self-imposed 25 percent quota for female representation within the SPLM and at the regional, state and local levels of government.

She has also ruffled feathers. Ms. Deng is a vocal supporter of a GoSS campaign to curb corruption in the public sector, and last year she accused one of her cabinet colleagues, Legal Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Michael Makuei Lueth, of introducing an enhanced salary scale for certain categories of his staff employees without obtaining prior authorization from her ministry. (Makuei has dismissed the allegations as “unfounded”)

Attired in a full-length maroon satin dress and green flip-flops, the soft-spoken cabinet minister hopes that Sudanese girls and young women can draw lessons from her own experience. “Being a mother doesn’t prevent you from getting an education, and being a mother or wife doesn’t prevent you from participating in national issues and the development of your country,” says Ms. Deng.

That said, she is pleased that her eldest daughter Angong, a 29-year-old official at the Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Khartoum, did not follow her own footsteps to the bridal altar while still in her teens. And the minister fully expects Angong’s four sisters to heed one of their mother’s golden rules: “Finish your studies before you start a family.”

Joseph Contreras
HELPING EACH OTHER
Women in Southern Sudan are standing on their own through self-help groups

The long civil war that killed an estimated two million Sudanese and displaced another four million people also took a heavy toll on the many women who stayed at home while their husbands and partners were off in the bush fighting.

Untold numbers of Southern Sudanese women were left to fend for themselves and raise young children on their own without any steady income or outside help.

Their plight led Mama Lucy Akello to launch Juba’s Women Self Help Development Organization (WSHDO) in 1992 to offer women training in micro-business activities and safe birth practices, promote awareness about gender rights issues and carry out literacy programs.

“Women were suffering during the war and children were dying of malnutrition. We founded this organization so that we can work together as women to help each other,” said the 63-year-old executive director of WSHDO. “As a result, we fed other,” said the 63-year-old executive director. “We founded this organization so that we can work together as women to help each other.”

But obstacles facing the vast majority of Southern Sudanese women are still daunting. Estimates of illiteracy rates go as high as 98 per cent. Lucy Akello noted that three of every five households in the region are headed by women who lack a formal education. Many must make ends meet by collecting firewood and brewing alcohol to sell in local markets.

Women from foreign countries have come to Southern Sudan to express their solidarity. Female members of parliament from Uganda and South Africa have huddled with their counterparts in the Southern Sudanese Legislative Assembly.

During a visit to the country last summer, Nobel peace laureates Wangari Maathai and Jody Williams and UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador Mia Farrow met with 30 Sudanese women’s groups to draw attention to their efforts for peace and justice. “We are women who separately in our countries have a voice,” said Farrow. “We want to use it for women who don’t have a voice.”

One of the more noteworthy success stories among women’s self-help groups is a soap-making cooperative in the Southern Sudanese town of Yei.

Five women who fled the town during the civil war and lived together at a refugee camp inside the Democratic Republic of the Congo decided to open a business upon their return to Southern Sudan in 2007. The women obtained a $1,000 grant from UNHCR and used the money to acquire the caustic soda needed to make soap.

The original group of women has since expanded to 19, producing 200 large bars of soap on a daily basis that are later sold in their villages for two Sudanese pounds each (about $.90).

“The project has changed the life of many people in the area,” said UNHCR community services assistant Kiden Joyce Abraham. “It has improved hygiene and sanitation at the domestic level and reduced the spread of cholera and diarrhea in the community.”

A group of women in the town of Kajo Keji also produces soap made from the oil of lulu trees. The Norwegian People’s Aid (NPA) organization purchased a machine that squeezes oil from the seeds of the tree’s fruit for the venture.

Proceeds from the sale of oil and soap bars derived from it have enabled the women to purchase sewing machines to equip a recently opened training center. “When the training center is well established, we will look into other activities,” says the group’s leader, Margaret Meling.

Story and photos by Emmanuel Kenyi
Women are working long hours selling tea on Khartoum streets, many to feed their fatherless children.

After taking two buses from Khartoum's Soba area, Nora arrives near the offices of an international organization before six o'clock every morning, sets up her small stove on the pebbled road and begins making tea.

Nora is one of the city's tea ladies, who work an average of twelve hours a day, often being the only breadwinners of extended families.

The 35-year-old Soba resident came to Khartoum with her four children on a lorry when fighting in Darfur reached a peak in 2003. She has lost touch with her husband since she fled, supporting her family as a single mother.

Nora sells a cup of tea for half a Sudanese pound, making about 10-15 pounds a day. Rent for her family costs 50 pounds per month and she is also seeking to send her children to school. “If I can pay the fees, they go to school, but if I don’t have the money that month, they cannot.”

One busy street in Khartoum’s Amarat area is dotted with women in colourful tobes (body robes) sitting on their small stools with customers gathered around them. But they collect their equipment together after spotting a government patrol vehicle.

Local authorities can fine vendors up to 100 pounds if they have no licenses and fail to pay taxes. In addition, they may confiscate their equipment, which can deny tea sellers their only means of making a living for months, as they must buy everything anew.

Waiting for the patrol to leave, Sarra says she previously worked at a biscuit factory and sold beans on the street, before joining Khartoum’s several thousand tea ladies. The 33-year-old woman has been financially supporting the three children of her late sister, along with three of her own siblings.

“I was not making enough money at the factory, and they paid me monthly, but I need money daily,” says Sarra. Now she makes an average of 33-35 pounds a day, more than many street vendors can claim. But she must leave her house at 4 a.m. to reach Amarat by 6 a.m. every day to sell tea until 6 p.m.

Despite tension over licenses and taxes, the government has also been trying to support tea ladies. The Ministry of Social Affairs set up the Sudanese Social Development Corporation in 1997 to focus on capacity building, micro-finance, community building and mobilization as well as research and development.

The corporation’s deputy director, Jaafar Ferrah, says its micro-finance programme, in collaboration with the Central Bank of Sudan, targets the economically active poor – those who run small businesses with financial limitations.

“We give them small loans to buy equipment, organize them in small groups and provide training and advocacy,” Jaafar says. Services include “Start your business”, “Improve your business” and communication skills training.

The developmental corporation has also supported and trained some women’s groups under the non-governmental organization Sudanese Development Association (SDA), established in 1990.

“Our initial support was directed at organizing and mobilizing women, so that they form a legal group,” says SDA Programme Director Rugaia Salih. The corporation set up the Tea and Food Sellers Cooperative in Souq (market) El Shabe in 1993 with the help of Oxfam, offering legal protection, training in simple calculus and management and microfinance activities for its members.

Toma, a widow from Gedaref with five children, says the members have formed groups of 10 and collect two pounds from everyone each day, giving the total to one person at the end of the day. “Some buy food for their families, and some buy more tea and equipment for their business.”

In addition to license and tax hassles from authorities, many vendors are negatively judged by their communities. Rugaia says tea ladies lacked respect a few decades ago because working on the street among men was not culturally accepted.

“The tea lady has to be respected ... she works 12 hours to help her family,” Toma believes.

Tea, sugar and spice. PHOTO: UNMIS/Eszter Farkas

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The civil war brought an influx of women into Khartoum, however, and many had no other choice but to fill their teapots, the SDA director says. “There were many problems. Some people looked at them as inferior,” she adds.

The general public still seems to believe that many tea ladies are engaged in more clandestine activities. “God forgive them,” Nora says of people who assume that prostitution proliferates among tea vendors.

“The tea lady has to be respected ... she works 12 hours to help her family,” Toma believes.

Eszter Farkas, with inputs from Nuha Sanhouri
Relaxing on a leather couch in the conference room at her Khartoum headquarters, petroleum magnate Widad Ibrahim said men ridiculed her early efforts to enter the male-dominated construction field.

“They laughed at me and didn’t trust me. Tradition doesn’t accept women in that kind of business,” said the 47-year-old mother of six, who began building her business empire in 1985.

Ms. Ibrahim forged on to become a name in residential building, even lobbying to have a law changed that prohibited the sale of apartments without land. She then branched into her business’ current mainstay, LPG (liquid petroleum gas), opening her first gas station in 1995.

Now, Ms. Ibrahim runs a business conglomerate employing 800 people, with three petroleum depots, 41 gas stations, a fleet of tanker trucks, a development and housing company and car dealership. “Men know me now and want to deal with me," she said with a smile.

But while she herself cracked the culture barrier, Ms. Ibrahim noted that over 90 per cent of Sudanese companies were still owned by men. Women were hampered by a lack of confidence as well as the traditional separation of men and women at many social functions, she said. “This makes it difficult for women to make contacts, especially potential investors.”

To ease the way for women, she and several others tried seven years ago to set up a trade union, but found it would bar them from membership in the influential Sudanese Businessmen and Employers Federation. So they opened a chamber at the federation instead, establishing the Sudanese Businesswomen Secretariat in 2002 and electing Ms. Ibrahim as its first chairperson.

The 50-women chamber listed among its members Zeinab Hassan, who runs a 200-employee clothing factory selling tobes, jallabiyas, safari suits and western-style clothing throughout Sudan, noted Secretariat Reporter Shadia Elamin. It also included Azhar Morad, whose 75-employee firm imports agricultural equipment. Another prominent member was Hayat Abdoun, who employs 50 people at her tannery, which exports to several European and Arab countries.

Sudanese women also owned travel agencies, schools, accounting firms and hospitals, said Ms. Elamin. The women’s secretariat, with offices in Khartoum, Red Sea and Northern Kordofan states, helped them strike investor contacts and agricultural deals outside Sudan, import machinery, sell raw materials and travel to economic conferences.

The secretariat also strove to support women just entering the market. “It has a small industries and crafts chamber, which helps women start up small businesses or advertise and market their products,” Ms. Elamin said.

One of the secretariat’s biggest feats was to put two women on the traditionally male federation board -- Ms. Ibrahim and clothing manufacturer Zeinab Hassan.

Another of its proud accomplishments was opening Khartoum’s Family Bank six months ago, after collecting an initial $40 million from investors. The bank, which offers microfinance of up to $5,000 for start-up businesses, has been a roaring success. To date, it has financed over 4,000 people. 70 per cent of whom were women, and has a 98.5 per cent payback rate.

“The bank is a gift for women … a wonderful thing,” said tannery owner Hayat Abdoun. She should know, having started a business from scratch when her husband died in 1985, leaving her with five children to support.

Recalling her tough beginning in the raw skins trade, Ms. Abdoun said, “It was my first time working. I had to make contacts and had no idea how to run a business.” But she persisted, opening a tannery in 1997 and also becoming an importer of industrial machines and parts.

In future, the 59-year-old factory owner wants to open a leather factory, using the tannery’s products to make her own coats, shoes and handbags.

Ms. Abdoun scoffs at women’s difficulties entering business. “Of course it is difficult, but if you decide to take on the challenge, you can succeed.” She advises aspiring businesswomen to choose a project, study it and plunge into the market.

“Don’t be afraid … say to the men – we are here and can succeed just like you,” she said.
Since violent clashes broke out between the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) in Abyei last May, relative peace has returned. But several issues remain unresolved, including security, the budget and troop redeployment.

To learn more about these issues, In Sudan spoke with Abyei Head of Office Chris Johnson.

**In Sudan:** What should the priorities of the international community be in resolving remaining issues in Abyei?

**Chris Johnson:** The critical priority for the international community is to get some resources into the area, so that people on the ground can begin to see improvements in their lives. It can do this in two ways. First it can exert political influence on the parties to release a budget for Abyei’s administration. Secondly donors can develop a coherent support programme for the area — for both the administration and projects at the community level.

**What role should UNMIS play?**

For UNMIS, I think the absolute priority is security. We need to complete that final last couple of percentage points of redeployment. The fact that we still have remnants of the SAF (Sudan Armed Forces) up in Diffra and SPLA (Sudan People’s Liberation Army) down in Agok is a big problem. We’re talking about a handful of people in each location, but they take up hours of AJMC (Area Joint Military Committee) time and stop us from moving on.

We also need to strengthen the JIU (Joint Integrated Unit – combined SAF/SPLA force) and complete its deployment. It’s already deployed to the south in Manyang and the north in Todach, Balom and Banjadeed. But in the south it needs to deploy down to Agok, and also to Ariek to protect the migration route.

The final contingent of the northern forces for the JIPU (Joint Integrated Police Unit) has arrived, but haven’t deployed out of town yet, except for a small contingent in Agok. When you talk to communities, the one thing they always say is that they need the police back. We really need to support the JIPU, especially in obtaining transport and communications. Both forces (JIU and JIPU) still have no communications capacity and very little transport, and neither can be effective without those two things.

**Is UNMIS helping with equipment for the JIU and JIPU?**

Virtually all the support the JIU and JIPU have received so far has come from UNMIS, although the British are providing communications equipment for the JIPU. The Germans are also bringing in a few vehicles for the JIPU, but these are nowhere near enough. Of course, fundamentally it is the responsibility of the government to provide these vehicles, but in their absence we really need donor support.

The critical time here will be May, when the (Misseriya) migration comes back up north. That’s when tensions flare. If those two institutions (JIU and JIPU) can’t do their work, I think we risk seeing conflicts spiral out of control the same way they did last May.

**How should lingering tensions between the Dinka and Misseriya communities be addressed?**

The Dinka and Misseriya have always been extraordinarily good at resolving their own differences over migration. When they actually sit in a room, they are always able to do this and come up with an agreement. That remains as something incredibly positive.

But I think the problem is — and communities always say this — when local relations between Dinka and Misseriya get entangled in politics, politics between the SPLM (Sudan People’s Liberation Movement) and NCP (National Congress Party) in particular.
TEN MONTHS LATER

Are there other factors that could increase tensions?
There are a number of factors. One is the lack a budget for the administration. This is not just increasing NCP/SPLM tensions, but is beginning to come down to the Dinka/Misseriya level as well, and that is worrying.

Another factor is the arbitration decision when it comes out. The Misseriya, or groups of them, have made it very clear they will not accept any arbitration decision they don’t like. They say they were not involved in agreeing to the Roadmap (Agreement), that it was negotiated by two political parties, not the Misseriya. So that again will raise tensions and give cause for concern.

But at the end of the day, I think both groups of people (Dinka and Misseriya) know they must find some accommodation with each other to maintain peace. I think there is still a strong chance that their traditional mechanisms might manage to make that happen, and our role is just to give whatever support we can.

The new civil administration has had little success in securing funding for Abyei. What has UNMIS done to assist?
Politically, we have been trying to free up the budget. The SRSG (Special Representative for the Secretary-General Ashraf Qazi) has been very active in trying to raise that question with the authorities to see what we can do to help unlock it. We’ve also been talking to the AEC (Assessment and Evaluation Commission) about their support to unlock funding.

Also, we are trying to find a way - despite the lack of budget - of moving things forward so people will see that the Roadmap is worth having, that there is some improvement in their lives and a kind of peace dividend. As part of this, we had a joint donor visit here on 1 and 2 February. The big problem is that the dry season is very short. We’re already halfway through it and it’s critical that we move very fast.

The local (Abyei) community has criticized the role UNMIS played when conflict broke out last May. If another clash occurred, should UNMIS do more to stop it and/or protect civilians?
The key problem with the clashes in May was the “restrictions”. Basically, we were not allowed to move out of town in either direction. So what we knew during the early stages was very limited, and our ability to intervene simply wasn’t there. At least now we have freedom of movement within the Roadmap area, although we still don’t have full freedom throughout the sector.

UNMOs (UN Military Observers) are now patrolling very actively in the (Roadmap) area, which they were not able to do before. My hope would be that we could intervene in the early stages of a conflict and stop it spiraling out of control. I think we showed in December when there were problems between the JIU and JIPU that it was possible to take effective action in stopping a conflict if one got in quickly enough.

If something builds up to become a major fight between two armies, there is very little we can do. We have neither the mandate nor the military capability to step in between two armies that seriously decide to fight it out. But I think there is a lot we can do to stop it from getting to that stage.

How do remaining restrictions affect UNMIS patrols?
It remains a problem that we cannot patrol north of the Roadmap area. At the end of the day we still only have 80 kilometres between the two armies with Abyei town in the middle. Both the SAF and SPLA can build up forces just outside the Roadmap area. In the south -- because it’s still part of the mission area -- we can monitor what’s going on. In the north, we can’t. That’s been a long-standing problem because basically the SAF do not accept the boundaries of (UNMIS) Sector VI. They have been quite clear about that.

Could more could have been done to protect civilians during the May conflict?
One always feels on some level more could have been done. But I think we actually protected everyone that came here, certainly when I was still in Abyei. The truth is that many people were safer fleeing south to Agok than they were staying in UNMIS. The mission was caught in the middle of the fighting. On two occasions, we had opposing armies on either side of us.

What have your biggest accomplishments been over the last two years as Head of Office in Abyei?
Few accomplishments are solely mine, accomplishments are a team thing. One accomplishment is building a team here. We’ve got a really strong team, which is very important. As a mission, our biggest accomplishment was achieving basic implementation of the Roadmap, getting the two forces redeployed -the SAF 31st Brigade out of Abyei town, the SPLA out of Manyang and the JIU and JIPU into Abyei.

What would you advise a new Head of Office to Abyei?
I would say value the team here and keep it together. It’s a hard place to work, a remote place, and people need to feel positive about working here. There are some amazing people to work with in Abyei.

There are many problems, but you can find special people to work with at all levels in the community and in official structures. I would say go and find them, make those relationships work, move things forward. One achieves nothing without networking here – locally, with Khartoum, with Juba. Everybody needs to pull together if it’s going to work. You must get the system as a whole to work for you.
Yei market has become one of the busiest in Southern Sudan, second only to Kony-Kony in Juba. In Sudan spoke with some of its traders to see how their businesses were faring.

**Victoria Faija, grocer**

Victoria said she started her business to meet the growing needs of seven children. Working from dawn until late evening, her profits cover school fees, clothes, food, shelter and medical care.

The 35-year-old grocer opened her stall in 2000, selling only tomatoes. But as people poured into the county following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, her business grew rapidly.

Having dropped out of primary five in 1989 due to the war, Victoria is now thinking of returning to school. “If there is an opportunity for sponsorship, I will join adult literacy education so that I can learn how to read and write.”

**Cecilia Nyoka, fish-seller**

Sixty-year-old Cecilia, mother of six, sells fish imported mainly from Panyamur trading centre in Uganda’s West Nile region, close to the southern border.

“To support my children, I have undertaken this business, although the profit is inadequate to meet all their basic requirements,” said Cecilia. “But something ... is better than nothing at all.”

Cecilia began trading during an 18-year wartime stint in northern Uganda at Rahino Camp, where she sold daggers (small fish). She switched to larger fish after returning to Sudan in August 2007, as they were in higher demand.

**James Wani, vegetable-oil trader**

James said he makes a profit selling vegetable oil during the dry season, when his business draws customers from different parts of the country.

“When all the roads are dry, my customers come from ... Yambio, Maridi, Mundri and Rumbek, increasing my stock turn over,” James said. “But when the heavy rains come, the number of customers drops dramatically due to road inaccessibility.”

Checkpoints demanding money from traders en route from Uganda and theft also cut into profits, James said. “There are very many thieves in the market ... They aim at shops dealing in valuable items like electronics, computers and phones.”

**Alex Lubang, bookseller**

Bad roads and the desire to minimize competition led 21-year-old Alex, who has a secondary certificate in business, to open a bookshop in January 2008. He said he had gone into business after failing to obtain a white-collar job.

Alex appealed to the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) to rehabilitate roads and reduce taxes so that prices of goods would come down. He also urged the GoSS to grant farmers loans so that they could produce locally based textile and agricultural products. This would help encourage exports and reduce the region’s overdependence on imports.

**Moses Amos, motorcycle trader**

Previously, Moses traded in motorcycles between Yei and Juba, but three of his bikes were stolen in Juba. He now survives by selling for fellow traders and translating local languages into English for foreign customers.

He noted that motorcycles sales had dropped sharply this year. “We used to sell a motorbike or two per day, but today it takes three or more days to sell one. I think it is because the salaries of southerners are also reduced.”

Moses called on the Government of Southern Sudan to create community based organizations where people could mobilize their own resources or apply for loans.

**Joseph Juma, boda-boda driver**

No market would be complete without its motorcycle boda-boda drivers to ferry customers around. Joseph Juma, 45, a driver for two years, said his education was interrupted by war and then he had dropped out of primary seven to get married.

“The business I have undertaken can support my family and meet our main pressing needs like food and medical care. I wake up at 6.00 a.m. and return home at midnight every day ... hard work pays.”

Story and photos by James Sokiri
WORKING TOWARDS PRESS FREEDOM

In the absence of media laws or a government press policy in Southern Sudan, journalists have been facing sporadic crackdowns by security agents. Juba Post Managing Editor Isaac Billy was arrested and detained for eight hours on 12 January, after publishing a press release condemning irregular land handouts in the Eastern Equatoria town of Nimule.

The release, sent to the paper by representatives of Nimule’s Madi community, accused a Sudan People’s Liberation Army brigadier of being an agent behind the scheme. Citizen Managing Editor Nhial Bol has been arrested twice for articles published in his paper. In October 2008, he was charged with defamation for an article criticizing salaries paid by the Ministry of Legal Affairs and Constitutional Development. He was jailed overnight and released on bail, but charges are still pending.

In another incident in 2007, Mr. Bol was arrested for a piece denouncing a transaction the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) Ministry of Finance had made in acquiring vehicles. “There is no absolute press freedom in South Sudan,” Juba Post editor Billy told In Sudan. “My arrest and similar arrests in the past are ... aimed at silencing the media.” He added, however, that press suppression in the south was exercised by individuals offended by particular stories, rather than deliberate government acts. Acknowledging that southern journalists had been harassed, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Director General Mustafa Biong said arrests were usually isolated cases occurring without his ministry’s knowledge.

Most arrests were sparked by disputes between journalists and security agents, especially during coverage of government functions, the Director General said. “The harassment of journalists is not a deliberate policy of the government to muzzle the press ... the government is very supportive of freedom of the press.”

Jacob Akol, Chairman of the Association of Media in Southern Sudan (AMDISS) and Manager of Gurtong Peace Trust, believed that media was less restricted in the south than in the north due to continuous dialogue between the government and press on media challenges. Talks between the two parties actually began in October 2003 in Nairobi before the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005.

A post-CPA meeting in Rumbek in 2005, attended by GoSS Vice-President Riek Machar, mandated the press to lay down recommendations for the nascent government on media legislation. But although most of the meeting’s recommendations have been incorporated into draft media bills, the laws are still pending. According to Mr. Akol, the lack of media laws is one of the most pressing challenges facing the southern press.

“It is not enough to say there is press freedom in the absence of media laws,” he said. “The media in the south is currently operating in a vacuum and this is a threat to press freedom.” Pending drafts include the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Organization, Right to Information, Public Service Broadcasting and Independent Broadcasting Authority bills.

During a meeting with media owners in Juba last November, GoSS Minister for Information Gabriel Changson said the government would prioritize the media laws in 2008. But the bills are still awaiting passage.

At the same meeting, Mr. Changson called for responsible journalism, while also recognizing the need to lobby for press freedom. Mr. Akol agreed on the need for greater media responsibility, noting that AMDISS had been developing the Southern Sudan Media Ethics guide to sensitize journalists on their responsibilities.

The AMDISS chairman also lamented prohibitive registration requirements journalists faced. Registration by the National Press Council requires a university degree or five years experience, which he considered harsh in a region emerging from prolonged conflict. Another roadblock was the lack of a centralized registration system for journalists, where they can obtain legitimate identification for press coverage, said Mr. Akol. Without this, they were frequently harassed, intimidated and sometimes detained, barring them from covering important public events.

“The Ministry of Information is working with concerned government departments to come up with a system that will ensure a more centralized registration system,” Director General Biong said.

He added that the ministry was organizing a meeting for later this year to bring together media representatives and security agents to address press coverage challenges.

Antonette Miday
WHEN ORIENTALISTS WRITE HISTORY!

History books only attempt to record the truth of what has actually occurred. But unknown to authors, they are driven by cultural and academic influences. They are also coloured by political, social and economic interests.

This can clearly be seen in the writings of British colonial officers about South Asia or Sudan or any other part of what was once the British Empire.

On Sudan, the most famous and earliest of these writings is a book written by a 24-year-old British soldier named Winston Churchill, who was to become one of the most prominent British politicians in the 20th century.

In 1899, Mr. Churchill published "The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan". The book recounts his experiences during the British military expedition into Sudan, when British forces led by Lord Kitchener fought the far less-equipped Sudanese forces led by Khalifa Abaddlah ibn Mohmmed al-Ta’aishi.

In a vivid style, but from a purely British perspective, Mr. Churchill’s book describes the background to the war, the relationship of Sudan and Egypt, the murder of General Gordon at the end of the siege of Khartoum by Al-Mahdi, political reaction in England, and Kitchener’s elaborate preparations for the war.

But amazingly, or perhaps to be expected, the book is a testament to how commentators on what was happening in reality were constricted by their backgrounds in the late 19th century (and with some writers, unfortunately, still are today). Mr. Churchill’s views of Islam and national cultures are at best laughable.

"Improvident habits, slovenly systems of agriculture, sluggish methods of commerce, and insecurity of property exist wherever" Muslims live, he writes. Such a quote exposes Mr. Churchill’s inability to see the negative impact of imperialism in predominantly Muslim countries in the 19th century. It also shows his ignorance of the fact that different cultures adopt different ways and attach varying values to commerce and property.

Communal property, for example, was the norm for centuries in many cultures and still is. That commercialized agriculture and individual property rights were the norm and seen as more productive in capitalist cultures at the time did not necessarily mean these practices were best suited for all societies.

Moreover, to link such social systems to a religion without reference to other aspects that shape a culture suggests a certain condescension typical of the time’s prevailing orientalist attitudes. Obviously, the same could be said of orientalist writers ascribing certain social phenomena solely to Christianity or Judaism.

The first insightful critique of what became known as the orientalist approach was performed by renowned scholar Edward Said, who argued that orientalists, both academics and artists, belonged to a tradition of hostile and deprecating views of the East by the Western mindset, shaped by the attitudes of the era of European imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries.

On the other hand, Mr. Churchill admits that the colonial attitude of portraying the natives as dispensable sub-humans who could be disposed of or moved about in the name of a presumptuous project to "civilize" such nations was "unjust as it is dangerous".

Churchill warned against vilification of the other, saying that Sudanic followers of Al-Mahdi "have been loaded with every variety of abuse and charged with all conceivable crimes". However comforting this might be to "philanthropic persons at home", he also pointed out that "when an army in the field becomes imbued with the idea that the enemy are vermin who cumber the earth, instances of barbarity may easily be the outcome".

Churchill’s book remains a great insight into the thinking and motivations of a colonial power. Many books by British colonial administrators over the following 60 years provide a wealth of anthropological, administrative, political and historical information. However, they still suffer from some of the problems associated with the orientalist approach.

Topping this long list of books are the writings of Reginald Wingate (1861-1953) and James Robertson (1899-1983), including their letters and archives, which are kept at the Sudan Archives of Durham University (see http://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/theme/sudan-resources.htm/).

Mr. Wingate is a typical example of the British military-civilian administrator whose service spanned from India to Sudan. He also served in Yemen and Egypt. An accomplished Arabist, whose first job in Sudan was in the department of intelligence, Wingate published Mahdist and the Egyptian Sudan in 1891, on the history of the Mahdi movement.

When Kitchener left for another imperial adventure in South Africa in 1899, Mr. Wingate became Governor General of Sudan. He departed Sudan in 1917 to become the British proconsul in Egypt, a position he held for two years, until the public uprisings of 1919 forced him out of service and into retirement.

Mr. Robertson, on the other hand, served for 31 years in Sudan. He ended up as the last Civil Secretary (1947-1953) before moving on to Nigeria, where he helped lower the British flag and administered the transition of Nigeria into independence a few years later. Graham Thomas digested a good part of Robertson’s letters and archives to produce an interesting book in 1994 called “The Last of the Proconsuls: Letters of Sir James Robertson”.

Reading such history books is not primarily a search for what actually took place. Instead, they afford the reader an insight into how the author’s view of prevailing reality was ultimately conditioned by dominant discourses of the time. And at that time, the imperial discourse was about the white man’s burden and his civilizing mission.

The heyday of imperialism is long gone, but sadly enough this orientalist attitude (not only by westerners) is still in evidence when people look at other cultures and when they write about the “other”.

Khaled Mansour
15-year dispute between the Jikany and Lou Nuer in Upper Nile State was resolved in a historic ceremony on 21 January, following a 5-day conference between the two communities.

The conflict between the two clans mainly revolved around Wanding payam’s abundant water resources and rich pasture land. During the ceremony, administration of Wanding was officially handed over from Akobo to Nasser County.

The two clans had peacefully shared Wanding land along the Gilo and Sobat rivers from 1950 until the early 1990s. But when war came, tribal tensions increased, with leaders from both communities using their influence to claim water and grazing land for their livestock.

The dispute heated up in 1993, leading to violent conflict and the loss of over 1,000 lives. Despite efforts by the New Sudan Council of Churches and donors to hold reconciliation conferences bringing community leaders together, the conflict continued to escalate, displacing more than 10,000 people to Nasser or Ethiopia.

When the north-south war finally ended in 2005, people began seeking a peaceful end to the Wanding conflict. In early January this year, Lou and Jikany Nuer leaders agreed during a five-day peace and reconciliation conference to transfer administrative control of Wanding payam to Nasser County.

During the conference, organized by the Southern Sudan Peace Commission in Malakal for Greater Upper Nile (Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile States), citizens of Nasser and Akobo counties resolved to put aside differences for the sake of their communities.

The payam’s handover took place on the same day in two meetings – one in Nasser and the other in Akobo County. Chaired by the two country commissioners -- Brig. Doyak Chol for Akobo and Maj. Gen. Gatlookh Gatouth for Nasser – the meetings were attended by county authorities, chiefs, SPLA as well as Southern Sudan Police Service (SSPS) officers and members of the local communities.

“Without peace we cannot do anything. We cannot deliver services to our people and we cannot develop,” said Akobo Commissioner Chol. “Now is the right time for us to unite our people ... which will lead us to a road that will take us to referendum.”

During the handover ceremony, the two commissioners agreed that the two executive directors of Nasser and Akobo counties should sit down and work out a formula to handle disputes that might arise during cattle grazing.

Authorities of both counties urged Jikany-Nuer who had recently returned from areas of displacement to live peacefully with the Lou-Nuer, who could choose to remain under Nasser County administration or move to Akobo.

The authorities urged the SPLA to assist the SSPS in maintaining security for all community members. A joint committee of administrators, chiefs and police from both counties would be set up to monitor and settle any disputes that might arise.

Although the communities of Lou and Jikany Nuer had been previously disarmed, the commissioners noted with grave concern that some civilians were still carrying guns. “If we want to talk about peace, then we must talk of disarmament,” said Maj. Gen. Gatouth.

UNMIS Civil Affairs assisted by transporting the two delegations (three people from each county plus the commissioners) from Nasser and Akobo to the two meetings by special flight.

Story and photos by Francis Shuei Diu
Waiting with his wounded camel outside a makeshift veterinary camp in Kulba, Southern Kordofan State, nomad Omar Ali Ibrahim said his life depended on healthy animals. “Animals are everything to us. They’re food, wealth, transport, everything,” said Omar.

Similarly, Salim Kalam, bringing his donkey to the clinic for its six-month checkup, said, “If I want to buy a vehicle, I sell animals. If my sons or my daughters fall ill, I sell animals to buy medicine.”

One has only to glance down a street in any Southern Kordofan town, crowded with donkey carts, sheep and even cattle, to see the vital role animals play in the area’s economy.

Daily profits, however, depend on healthy animals. And until the UNMIS Indian Battalion opened up its free veterinary clinic last March in Kadugli, the state had few vet facilities.

The clinic, run by Lt. Col. Vishal Nanda and two nurses, has skyrocketed in popularity, treating some 21,000 animals from Kadugli and distant counties to date. “I haven’t treated so many animals in India as I’ve treated during a year in Sudan,” said Dr. Nanda.

So far, the veterinary team has held 22 free vet camps in Kadugli and environs, using its own equipment, medicine and vaccines. Ailments range from parasites, inflammations and ticks to difficult pregnancies and “revenge” stab wounds inflicted during family or tribal feuds.

One of oddest operations Dr. Nanda performed was on a goat that had ingested a vast number of plastic bags, which had to be removed from its stomach, the veterinarian said.

The Indians have also renovated and equipped Kadugli’s Civil Vet Hospital, which deteriorated dramatically during the civil war. Dr Nanda set up his first clinic in the newly vamped facility, which now treats about 50-60 sick animals per day.

The team also holds mobile vet camps at water points in Kadugli once or twice a week. In addition, it operates a mobile vet emergency clinic, handling an average of 10-15 per cases per month, along with vet aid camps once a week in surrounding villages.

Joining the Indian vet team in its various activities are doctors and nurses from the Department of Animal Resources of Southern Kordofan. “They assist us with drugs, instruments and doctors,” said Dr. Ali Fadil, the department’s director general.

The Indian Battalion has also provided Kadugli’s Veterinary Research Laboratory for disease surveillance and diagnostic procedures with reagents and chemicals. Laboratory workers have travelled with the veterinary team to vet aid camps for on-the-spot disease diagnoses and collection of samples.

According to Dr. Nanda, Nuba Mountain cattle have been weakened by nomadic travelling, which has reduced milk production to only 0.5-1.5 litres a day per animal, compared to the 15-20 litres a strong, healthy animal would produce.

To boost milk as well as meat production, the Indians presented a concept paper on “Cross Breeding of Livestock in Sudan – A Pathway to Prosperity” to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and Director General Fadil.

As a sequel, the State Agricultural Ministry organized a state-level workshop on “Cross Breeding of Livestock in Sudan” in November 2008, funded by the FAO.

The Kadugli clinic has also tried to educate the public, holding awareness programmes on communicable diseases, meat hygiene and vaccination against rabies in May, August and September 2008.

As a bonus, three doctors and nurses of the Animal Resources Department were sent to India in January for several months training. Another three will follow.

Lt. Col. Nanda has recorded his experiences treating Southern Kordofan animals in a book called "Best veterinary practices in India: their relevance to Sudan". The book has been translated into Arabic and 500 copies presented free to authorities throughout Sudan.

Compiled with inputs from Lt. Col. Vishal Nanda
Novelist Al Tayeb Salih dies at 80

Sudanese people were shocked on 18 February by the death in London of 80-year old Sudanese novelist Al Tayeb Salih, who is considered one of the greatest figures in the country’s history.

Mr. Salih was born in 1929 in a small village in Northern Province. He graduated from Gordon College (University of Khartoum) and then traveled to the United Kingdom, where he received a degree in International Relations. He worked as a teacher and then occupied various high positions in the BBC Arabic Service, the Ministry of Information in Qatar and UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. He also wrote a weekly column in the London-based Arab magazine Al Majalla.

His masterpiece “Season of Migration to the North”, first published in 1966, was declared in 2001 by a panel of Arab writers as “the most important Arabic novel of the 20th century”. In 2002, a group of 100 writers from over 54 countries placed the novel among the best 100 in history. This year, Mr. Salih was nominated by the General Union for Sudanese Writers as the novelist to win the 2009 Noble Prize for Literature.

Al Tayeb Salih’s writing centers on people and their complex relationships and deals with dualities of reality and illusion, western and oriental cultures and values. Critics speculated that the novel “Season of Migration to the North” drew heavily from Mr. Salih’s life. When he traveled to England, the main character “Mustapha Saeed” had a similar experience to Mr. Salih of being torn between two different cultures, critics argue. However, he always denied this claim and maintained that it was only fiction.

Among his famous writings are “The Wedding of Zein”, which was made into an Arabic film and won an award at the Cannes Film Festival in 1976, and “The Doum Tree of Wad Hamid”. His works have been translated from Arabic into more than 20 languages.

South approves human rights law

In early February, the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly (SSLA) approved the Southern Sudan Human Rights Law that empowers an independent commission to defend and enforce the rights and freedoms enshrined in the region’s interim constitution.

Under the new legislation, the Southern Sudan Human Rights Commission (SSHRC), which has been functioning since 2006, is authorized to investigate any reported violation of human rights and punish suspected perpetrators.

“This is one of the critical and vital bills for any country, even more so than the anti-corruption bill,” commented SSLA Speaker James Wani Igga.

“(The SSHRC) will have incredible powers to visit any detention center and produce public reports,” noted UNMIS Senior Human Rights Officer Roxana Garmendia.

She added that UNMIS supported fact-finding trips that exposed SSHRC commissioners to the experiences of similar bodies in Uganda, Rwanda and South Africa.

The legislation has been submitted to the office of GoSS President Salva Kiir Mayardit, who is expected to sign it into law within a month of its passage.

UN increases assistance to refugees, IDPs fleeing LRA

Following the 7 February Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) attack on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) town of Awa, the international community has stepped up assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) in two Southern Sudanese states.

The Awa attack saw some 7,000 refugees cross into Southern Sudan, joining 10,000 that had previously moved into Central and Western Equatoria states. Attacks in the DRC have also led to the displacement of some 28,929 IDPs in 10 counties in Southern Sudan, according to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

By mid-February 2009, the World Food Programme had distributed a total of 181 metric tons of emergency food to 11,685 refugees and IDPs in the two states, thus assisting more than 16,000 people since last October.

In addition, items like kitchen sets and emergency shelter materials were distributed by UNICEF (donated by the European Commission’s Humanitarian Aid office). Oxfam, the International Organization for Migration, Danish Refugee Council, International Committee of the Red Cross and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to 20,230 individuals in the two Sudanese states.

“Since the outbreak of this crisis last year, the UN has supported the affected population with all the tools at its disposal,” said UN Deputy Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for Southern Sudan Lise Grande. “As the situation worsens, we have also doubled our efforts, but ... what is really needed is a long-term solution to this crisis.”

DDR launched in Damazin

Demobilization of adult combatants under the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programme kicked off on 10 February in Ed Damazin, Blue Nile State.

Fifteen combatants from the north-south war that ended with the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) were demobilized during an official ceremony attended by senior governmental officials, donor countries and UN representatives. The DDR programme in Blue Nile State alone aims at demobilizing about 5,000 out of 180,000 combatants country-wide.

Five of the fifteen demobilized combatants and up to 25 per cent of all DDR participants in Blue Nile State are female. The Joint Commission and integrated UN DDR unit expects to receive about 900 women from the Damazin area in the coming three months.

“This event marks the start of the largest DDR programme worldwide as well as a key milestone in the implementation of the CPA”, Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General (DSRSG), Humanitarian and Regional Coordinator for Sudan, Ameerah Haq noted.

“Preparations are underway to start demobilization in Southern Kordofan and we hope that we can build and sustain momentum in the programme”, she added.

During the demobilization process in Ed Damazin, ex-combatants from north and south symbolically handed over their weapons and then registered and received a DDR ID card, cash, non-food items and a coupon for World Food Programme rations.