

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

WHORM Subject File Code: CO148 (Countries -
Sudan, Republic of)

Case File Number(s): 300000-309999

Box: 178

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

1324

ID# 301564

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

CO148

INCOMING

8512929

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 22, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. JAMES E. ANDREWS

SUBJECT: FORWARDS GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH STATEMENT ON THE RIGHTS OF THE
SUDANESE PEOPLE

ACTION DISPOSITION

ROUTE TO: ACT DATE TYPE C COMPLETED
OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME) CODE YY/MM/DD RESP D YY/MM/DD

DOUG FOLLADAY ORG 85/04/22 C 85/04/23

99005 REFERRAL NOTE: _____
✓ Chester Crocker REFERRAL NOTE: ATTN: Chester Crocker A 85/04/23 08512929 17

AB

REFERRAL NOTE: _____
REFERRAL NOTE: _____
REFERRAL NOTE: _____
REFERRAL NOTE: _____

COMMENTS: _____

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

PL MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

*ACTION CODES: *DISPOSITION CODES: *OUTGOING *
* * * CORRESPONDENCE: *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION *A-ANSWERED *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL * OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE *C-COMPLETED * CODE = A *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET *S-SUSPENDED *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC * * OUTGOING *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * * *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE * * *
*X-INTERIM REPLY * * *

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

S/S # 8512929

Date May 17, 1985

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

OR: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan FROM: Mr. James E. Andrews
DATE: April 2, 1985 SUBJECT: Forwards General Assembly of
Statement on the Rights of the Sudanese People
the Presbyterian Church

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: April 25, 1985 NSC # 301564
(if any)

___ THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY
___ TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- ___ A draft reply is attached.
___ A draft reply will be forwarded.
___ A translation is attached.
X An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
___ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
___ Other.

REMARKS:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Andrews:

On behalf of the President, I am responding to your letter dated April 2 concerning our policy toward Sudan, particularly with regard to the human rights situation and the insurgency in the south.

We in the Department fully share your concerns. Since the inception of the insurgency in the southern Sudan two years ago, we and other interested governments have worked for dialogue and peaceful settlement of the conflict. We have sought to moderate former President Nimeiri's policies on the application of Islamic law or "Shari'a" to non-Muslims, as well as his policies toward the southern provinces. Several times, we spoke out against limb amputations and other traditional "Shari'a" punishments as clear violations of human rights. Church leaders, both in and outside Sudan, also communicated their concerns to the Sudanese government. Several months before his overthrow on April 6, 1985, President Nimeiri announced that "Shari'a" would not be applied in the south. The new military government has pledged to respect the rights of religious minorities and not to apply those provisions of the "Shari'a" offensive to human rights. We note that the new military government has rescinded the 1983 decree dividing the south into three regions - a major southern grievance. We are hopeful that this along with other appropriate signals will help bring about negotiations and an end to the fighting.

Our assistance programs to Sudan emphasize the country's critical economic needs. In recognition of the serious drought afflicting the country, our food assistance programs this year have increased more than four-fold to more than \$200 million. The U.S. will continue to take the leading role in providing humanitarian aid to address the drought and refugee crisis in Sudan.

Mr. James E. Andrews,
Stated Clerk,
Office of the General Assembly,
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.),
Room 1201,
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, New York.

Once security conditions permit, USAID is prepared to fully reactivate its development project activity centered in Juba. We hope that this assistance will be part of an overall program to revive this neglected and war-torn region.

The Church has played a vital humanitarian role in Sudan. In recognition of this historic mission, the Department's Bureau of Refugee programs has worked closely with the Sudan Council of Churches and overseas affiliated groups to reach not only the people of the southern provinces but other groups in need in the north.

Given the weight of this experience, we attach great importance to your insights and judgments on the situation in Sudan. I hope that I have been able to address most of your concerns in a way that reassures you that we are working toward the same objectives in Sudan.

Sincerely,

Chester A. Crocker

8512929

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

APRIL 25, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ATTN: CHESTER CROCKER

ACTION REQUESTED:
APPROPRIATE ACTION

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 301564

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED APRIL 2, 1985

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. JAMES E. ANDREWS
STATED CLERK
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.)
ROOM 1201
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK NY 10115

SUBJECT: FORWARDS GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH STATEMENT ON THE RIGHTS OF THE
SUDANESE PEOPLE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

301564

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.)
Office of the General Assembly
James E. Andrews, *Stated Clerk*

37

341 Ponce de Leon Ave. NE
Atlanta, GA 30365
404-873-1531

475 Riverside Drive
Room 1201
New York, NY 10115
212-870-2005



Atlanta Office

Lucille S. Hicks, Assistant Stated Clerk
Catherine M. Shipley, Assistant Stated Clerk
Eugene D. Witherspoon, Jr. Assistant Stated Clerk

New York Office

Otto K. Finkbeiner, Associate Stated Clerk and Treasurer
Robert T. Newbold, Jr., Associate Stated Clerk
Robert F. Stevenson, Associate Stated Clerk
Mildred L. Wager, Assistant Stated Clerk

April 2, 1985

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Doug Holladay

8512929

Dear Mr. President:

The 196th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) adopted a Statement on the Rights of the Sudanese People. I have been directed to share the resolution and its concern with you. A copy of the full text is enclosed. The Presbyterian Church and its predecessors have worked directly and ecumenically in the Sudan since 1903.

The attention of our church has been drawn, not only to the conflict that has brought untold suffering to the people of that land, but also to what we believe to be the abridgement of the autonomous rights of the people in the southern provinces. Evidence of this has been seen in the curtailment of economic rights, and in the imposition of Sharia Law on non-Muslim populations.

The General Assembly specifically called upon the United States government:

- ... to increase its nonmilitary economic assistance under conditions to aid in the development needs of all parts of Sudan;
- ... to increase its support for international care of refugees;
- ... to desist from attitudes or patterns that would identify Nimieri as the protector of western democratic interests, and those seeking justice for the southern Sudanese as communist-inspired or led; and
- ... to work for a negotiated end to the fighting, restricting further shipments of arms, and an open political process to bring stability to the present crisis situation.

It is our hope that United States policy toward the Sudan will operate in such a way as to guarantee tolerance and justice for all its citizens, and to enable Muslims and Christians to live at peace with each other.

Thank you for your attention to this deep concern for justice and peace in Sudan.

Sincerely,

James E. Andrews

James E. Andrews

JEA/esa
Encl.

RESOLUTION ON SUPPORTING
THE RIGHTS OF THE SUDANESE PEOPLE

Approved by the 196th General Assembly (1984)
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)
June, 1984

Whereas the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) seeks in its witness to serve the Prince of Peace through ministries of peacemaking and reconciliation, seeking to protect the human rights of all, to insure justice, and to further economic development; and

Whereas the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has supported the mission and ministry of the Presbyterian Church in the Sudan and the ecumenical endeavors of the All Africa Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches; and

Whereas the 176th General Assembly (1964) of the United Presbyterian Church in the midst of earlier conflict had called for justice for those living in southern Sudan; and

Whereas the renewed civil conflict in the Sudan threatens to increase the sufferings and tragedy not only for the Sudanese but for its neighbors in the Middle East and Africa; and

Whereas the imposition of Sharia Law on non-Muslim population comes not only in violation of the rights of the Sudanese non-Muslims, but as a direct challenge to the principles adopted in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Intolerance Based on Religion and Belief;

Therefore the 196th General Assembly (1984) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.):

1. Calls upon the government of Sudan:

to reaffirm and assure the autonomous rights of the southern region as provided in the Addis Ababa Agreement and the Constitutions;

to seek an end to the current fighting through negotiation with the leaders of the liberation forces;

and those seeking justice for the southern Sudanese as communist-inspired or led;

to work for a negotiated end to the fighting, restricting further shipments of arms, and an open political process to bring stability to the present crisis situation.

3. Calls upon the church to express its support for the needs of the Sudanese people through its prayers, through its contributions for the work of the church in the Sudan, and for the refugees seeking help in that land.

4. Directs the Stated Clerk to communicate this resolution to the President of Sudan, the Sudanese Ambassador in the United States, the Secretary General of the World Council of Churches and of the All Africa Council of Churches, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Chairpersons of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

to reestablish constitutional law and end the imposition of Sharia Law on non-Muslim populations.

to insure the benefits of economic resources and development justly for all portions of the Sudanese population.

2. Calls on the United States government:

to increase its nonmilitary economic assistance under conditions to aid in the development needs of all parts of Sudan;

to increase its support for international care of refugees;

to desist from attitudes or patterns that would identify Nimeiri as the protector of western democratic interests,

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

CO148

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 24, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE GUY VANDER JAGT

SUBJECT: FORWARDS MATERIAL FROM JAMES E. FRANKS,
SPRING LAKE, MICHIGAN REGARDING RACISM AND
RELIGION PERSECUTION IN THE SUDAN

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RFS	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
M. B. OGLESBY	ORG	85/04/24	MD	AB 85/05/07
STATE REFERRAL NOTE:	R	85/05/10	A	85/05/24 AB
LA OGLE REFERRAL NOTE: Will BALL	A	85/05/30	C	85/05/31
REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /
REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /
REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /

COMMENTS: _____

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1240
MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

```

*****
*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION CODES:    *OUTGOING              *
*                       *                                     * CORRESPONDENCE:     *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED             *TYPE RESP=INITIALS   *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERPAL   *                       OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED           *                       CODE = A   *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED           *COMPLETED = DATE OF  *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                                     *                       OUTGOING *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                                     *                       *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                                     *                       *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                                     *                       *
*****

```

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8514460

Date May 24, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: M. B. Oglesby From: The Honorable Guy Vander Jagt
Date: April 22, 1985 Subject: Forwards material from James E. Franks,

Spring Lake, Michigan regarding racism and religious persecution in the Sudan


WH Referral Dated: May 10, 1985 NSC ID # 301783
(if any)

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

Action Taken:

- _____ A draft reply is attached.
_____ A draft reply will be forwarded.
_____ A translation is attached.
XXX An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
_____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
_____ The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
_____ Other.

Remarks:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

MAY 23 1985

Dear Mr. Vander Jagt:

Mr. Oglesby has asked the Department to respond to your recent letter to him, in which you forwarded a paper sent by Mr. James E. Franks, Sr. on "Racism and Religious Persecution in the Sudan." Since the writing of the paper, as you know, the government of President Nimeiri was overthrown on April 6. The new Sudanese military government has pledged to respect the rights of religious minorities and not to apply those provisions of the Islamic law offensive to human rights, which were cited in the paper from Mr. Franks. I note that the new government also has rescinded a 1983 decree dividing the south into three regions - a major grievance of southern Sudan which felt discriminated against.

The Church in Sudan has played an important humanitarian role historically. In recognition of that fact, the Department's Bureau for Refugee Programs has worked closely with the Sudan Council of Churches and overseas affiliated groups to provide humanitarian aid in combatting the current drought and refugee crisis in Sudan.

Despite the recent changes in government in Sudan, I am sure that the paper sent by Mr. Franks will, nevertheless, be useful to those in the Department who follow events in that country. We appreciate the efforts of informed individuals like Mr. Franks to make us aware of significant happenings in less well-known parts of the world.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

WLB
William L. Ball, III
Assistant Secretary
Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

Enclosure:
Correspondence returned.

The Honorable
Guy Vander Jagt,
House of Representatives.

8514460

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MAY 10, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ATTN: WILL BALL

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 301783

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED APRIL 22, 1985

TO: M. B. OGLESBY

FROM: THE HONORABLE GUY VANDER JAGT
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC 20515

SUBJECT: FORWARDS MATERIAL FROM JAMES E. FRANKS,
SPRING LAKE, MICHIGAN REGARDING RACISM AND
RELIGION PERSECUTION IN THE SUDAN

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

8514460

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MAY 10, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ATTN: WILL BALL

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 301783

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED APRIL 22, 1985

TO: M. B. OGLESBY

FROM: THE HONORABLE GUY VANDER JAGT
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC 20515

SUBJECT: FORWARDS MATERIAL FROM JAMES E. FRANKS,
SPRING LAKE, MICHIGAN REGARDING RACISM AND
RELIGION PERSECUTION IN THE SUDAN

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

May 7, 1985

Dear Guy:

Thank you for your April 22 letter on behalf of Mr. James E. Franks, Sr., who has forwarded a paper on "Racism and Religious Persecution in the Sudan."

Your interest in bringing this information to our attention is appreciated, and please be assured that it has been brought to the attention of the appropriate Administration officials.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

M. B. Oglesby, Jr.
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Guy Vander Jagt
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MBO:KRJ:MDB:mdb

cc: w/copy of inc to Will Ball, Legis Affairs, Dept of
State - for DIRECT response

WH RECORDS MANAGEMENT HAS RETAINED ORIGINAL INCOMING

301783

DISTRICT OFFICES:
ROOSEVELT PARK
950 WEST NORTON AVENUE
MUSKEGON, MI 49441
(616) 733-3131

31 WEST 8TH STREET
HOLLAND, MI 49423
(616) 396-3849

124 NORTH DIVISION STREET
TRAVERSE CITY, MI 49684
(616) 946-3832

GUY VANDER JAGT
DISTRICT, MICHIGAN
CAMP WAREHOUSE - HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-2511
COMMITTEE:
WAYS AND MEANS
SUBCOMMITTEES:
TRADE
SELECT REVENUE MEASURES
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JAMES M. SPARLING, JR.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

April 22, 1985

Honorable M. B. Oglesby
Assistant to the President for
Legislative Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

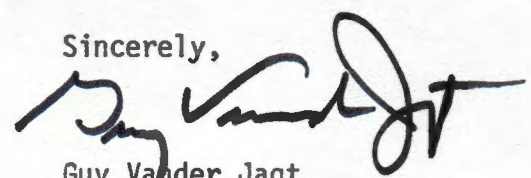
Dear "B":

In recent days, I received a letter from one of my constituents, James E. Franks, Sr., Board Chairman, International Aid, Inc., Spring Lake, Michigan. Mr. Franks came across the enclosed material on "Racism and Religious Persecution in the Sudan", and asked that I pass it along to the Administration for comment.

I would greatly appreciate hearing from you on this matter.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,



Guy Vander Jagt
Member of Congress

GVJ:kpb
Enclosure

INTERNATIONAL AID INC.

17011 W. Hickory, Spring Lake, Michigan 49456

PHONE (616) 846-7490

April 1985

BOARD MEMBERS

James E. Franks, Sr., Ph. D.
Chairman

Charles Rycenga, Jr.
President

David F. Folkert,
Secretary - Attorney

James F. Williams
Treasurer

Walter J. Nelson

Nan VanAndel

Rev. Benjamin Ypma

James E. Franks, Jr.
*Vice-President,
General Manager*

Gladys Nelson
Office Manager

BOARD OF REFERENCE

Rev. William Adams

Irene M. Auberlin

Dr. Helen Barnard, M.D.

Dr. James Cato, M.D.

Dr. Jerome DeJong

Dr. Ted W. E. ...

Maia ...

William E. ...

Dr. Joe ...

Rev. Eud ...

Rev. Harold V. ...

The Honorable Guy VanderJagt
Congressman
Park Row Mall
Muskegon, MI 49441

Dear Guy:

The writer of this article I am enclosing was on the plane with me from Addis Ababa to Nairobi. He had escaped Sudan in a private car to Ethiopia. In Ethiopia he was under house arrest at a hotel in Addis. He managed to contact the Kenyan Ambassador after nine and a half months, and the Ambassador put the pressure on the Ethiopian government to let him go.

He told me that, while he was in Ethiopia, the Government tried to enlist him in Marxist thinking with the idea of going back to persuade the Southern-Sudan people to go communist. This he refused to do.

This gentleman was most anxious that this material get into the hands of our policy makers in Washington. I trust it may prove informative for you.

Sincerely,

INTERNATIONAL AID INC.


James E. Franks, Sr.
Board Chairman

JEF/j11
Enclosure

NATIONAL ACTION MOVEMENT

ON

RACISM AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE SUDAN.

Sponsored by: Matthew Obur Ayang,
Provisional Chairman of NAM and formerly,

- i- Minister of Education,
- ii- Speaker of 4th People's Assembly,
Southern Region, Juba.

18 January, 1985

(I)

I N T R O D U C T I O N :

To the discerning and vigilant eye of the enlightened Southern Sudanese, the desecrated and deceased Addis Ababa Agreement was a forced political abortion. It came out fickle and ailing, and nursing it was therefore bound to be problematic especially when it became quite clear that Nimeiri and his team had intended to use this agreement as a temporary prop and a convenient rear-guard brigade to his tottering regime. In that respect it served its purpose perfectly well in that it gave Nimeiri the stability and the confidence he badly needed, and he had therefore to dispose of it with such vehemence, arrogance and violence.

The main substance of the so-called agreement was drafted in Khartoum under the constant eye of Jaafer Nimeiri, and with his approval the draft copy was sent to the Southern Sudanese liberation movement (SSLM) in East Africa via London. Before we had time to study or scrutinize that draft, the conference was already underway in Addis Ababa. There was no time to consult with other Anyanya commanders like Joseph Otea and Immanuel Abur both of whom were far in the fields in their respective provinces of Upper Nile and Bahr El Ghazal, quite unaware of what was happening. The Southern political leaders in exile could not be allowed to gather together and to consult amongst themselves over those grave matters that affected the future well-being of the people. Along with those hasty arrangements an international pressure was being built up to specifically bulldoze the South into accepting a thing they did not have time even to study. Dissenters and doubters like Gordon Muortat, Dominic Muorwell Malou, Aggrey Jaden, Wanji Barri and several others with them were threatened with physical liquidation. Some were even denied asylum in some African countries. The press radio and television in much of the world were mobilized and employed to build up a world opinion in favour of the Addis Ababa arrangements and

(II)

(II)

against Southern sceptics. All this and much more unmentioned and unmentionable gave us to think and say that the agreement was a forced abortion especially when it was rushed through at a time when the Anyanya were getting better organised, better trained officers and men, acquiring more and better weapons. All this was short-circuited and we had this stop-gap arrangement thrust down our throats. Nevertheless it has to be mentioned that a vast majority of our people were tired in exile and they needed peace at any price, they were homesick and therefore wanted to go back home. They were willing and ready to be deceived into thinking that they had gotten the best possible despite the enormous sacrifices they had made, which sacrifices quite outweigh the mere chaff which was the agreement they got in Addis Ababa in February 1972.

As mentioned above the agreement was not meant to solve the problem of the South but rather to solve the problems of Jaafer Nimeiri and his regime. This was soon to become clear to the trusting Southern public through a series of sinister and tragic instances which gradually surfaced, and all traceable to the government in Khartoum. We shall herein quote only a few such instances, viz.

(i) The Jonglei Canal Project.

The purpose is to drain the sudd region of its water, and to take that water to the Northern Sudan and Egypt, leaving the sudd dry. The enormous ecological, the environmental and human disasters that would arise or result from the drainage are utterly ignored. It is considered more important to drain this water to the Northern Sudan and to Egypt. This tells terribly against the scale of values used in Khartoum and Cairo. It was also known that there were plans to bring and settle a total of three million Egyptian farmers in the heartland of the Southern Sudan along the Jonglei Canal in Upper Nile Province. This would be more than the entire population of the province, and about the exact half of the entire population of

(III)

the Southern Sudan. The enlightened elite of the Southern Sudan, spear-headed by NAM, saw the canal as a Trojan horse and therefore regarded its implementation with a heavy heart. This fact was further aggravated by the merger between Egypt and the Sudan, and the joint military pact between the two countries. This merger gave the Egyptians easy entry into the Sudan, and equally easy acquisition of Sudanese citizenship. The digging of the canal was therefore rejected by the vast majority of our people to the extent that the massive protest demonstrations staged in the Southern Provincial Towns against this excavation resulted in numerous deaths of our youth and detentions of their leaders in 1973.


(ii) The Bentiu Oil finds.

The discovery of mineral oil in the Bentiu district in the Southern Sudan seems to have brought more problems to the South. Jaafer Nimeiri considered the carving out and away of a Unity Province out of the oil district of Bentiu, and to be administered directly by him from the Republican palace in Khartoum. This would physically and effectively cut-off the oil district of Bentiu from Upper Nile Province and from the Southern Sudan thereby effectively annexing it to the Northern Sudan. He also toyed with the idea of annexing the rich agricultural lands of Renk, Northern Kodok, Bentiu and Aweil to the Northern parts of the Sudan. These were all rejected and vehemently opposed by the Southern masses in massive public demonstrations throughout the South. Failing this, Nimeiri came out with yet another sinister design which required that the crude oil from the oil fields in the South should be shipped to the North in Nile barges and pipelines to the refineries in port Sudan. This was also opposed that the refineries bring job opportunities and development as a whole to the land. In that regard the refineries should therefore be located where the oil is brought to the surface. Currently, Nimeiri is agitating, on Islamic grounds, the Northern tribemen bordering

(IV)

Bentiu to the North. He is arming and training them with the specific purpose to invade, massacre and depopulate the oil district of Bentiu, and resettling the Northern tribemen therein, thereby effectively turning Bentiu into a Northern province populated by Northerners. This process is currently underway. Large armies and people's militias from the Northern Sudan are systematically killing and driving away the local populations in Bentiu. Where on earth would a responsible government of the people embark upon such wicked designs against its citizens! If we say this is racism it would be a serious understatement of the gravity of the matter.

All this and several more which cannot be included in this short work caused some of us to sit together and think together about the impending disasters planned against our public. From those small and secret meetings some of us realised and decided that we had an obligation towards the Southern public. A decision was therefore definitely taken in August 1979 to inform the people, to enlighten them and to raise their level of alertness and make them vigilant. That was the date of the birth of NAM- National Action Movement. Its mission and terms of reference were as mentioned above. NAM was therefore the gadfly that gave the Southern public the pricks and the kicks that kept them awake and watchful, and when Nimeiri decided to blast the fragile constitutional safeguards, the Southern masses were found ready to respond in a revolutionary challenge to his crazy and evil decrees. That was NAM's work. It was initially formed as an underground task force. It effectively and efficiently carried through its task as the harbinger and gadfly to the Southern masses. As far back as 1980, NAM had a ready programme, a constitution and a manifesto, published and circulated to the zealots. Justice through just laws, freedom and democracy make up the linch-pin and the mainstay of our struggle.


Matthew Obur Ayang
National Action Movement.

N O M E N C L A T U R E

We are a National Action Movement. We say- "a national"- to indicate that we take full cognizance of the legitimate existance of other revolutionary and democratic forces which are equally and fully pledged to bring about the full realisation of justice, freedom, liberty and democracy in the multi-racial, multi-national, and multi-ecclesiastical Sudan. While in this we proclaim the unique component multiplicity and diversity of the Sudanese nationhood, we solemnly prouounce the unquestioned reality and totality of the Sudanese nation. In yet an additional sense, the adjective "national" is chosen and used to convey the nationalistic message that our mission is designed to encompass every single inch of the Sudanese national territory as defined by its present international boundaries, and to strive for the establishment and advancement of the equal and inalienable rights, and the inherent dignity of every single Sudanese citizen and community.

We are an action group. We say "action" in order to mark a difference; a difference from what we propose to be our role and what has been prevalent over the last thirty years during which our people have suffered immeasurable physical, psychological, economic, social and vlcultural injuries and drawbacks. It has been observed and deplored that our people suffer more as a result of indecision and inaction on their part, and less as a result of any substantive action they had taken against the obvious root-causes of their miseries. It is the pledge and the task of the action group to draw the clear line of difference and to take concrete actions to transform pious and patriotic aspirations into tangible and heroic fulfillments; to translate hollow pledges into practical performances; to wake up and rise up from, and steer clear of the dream-world of mirages and fantasies, and plunge deep into and grapple with the realities of our situation as we encounter them; to slough off that sorry habit of thinking a job as good as done when it has only been well talked about. This is the message and the pledge in our name- NATIONAL ACTION MOVEMENT. It spells a pointer and proclaims a mission.

II.

MISSION PROCLAIMED.

Some two hundred and ten years ago, the American people assembled in congress had this to say, "-When a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evidences a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." It is interesting to note that those same revolutionary beliefs for which those distant Americans fought so hard are still alive and very much at issue in several places around the world including the Sudan. There is however a tragic blur and twist in these noble beliefs arising from the fact that whenever any dragon or monster of a leader cries wolf and raises a communist scare-crow, like Nimeiri frequently does, such monstrous dictators get uncritical American support. In this we see the American people perhaps unwittingly ganging up with the dragon against a saint George and against their cherished political traditions.

NAM is a revolutionary task force in the service of the oppressed masses of the Sudan, consecrated and commissioned to throw off Nimeiri's racist, heretical and dictatorial government and to thoroughly reform and re-structure the social, political and economic relationship of the free and equal citizens in the free Sudan in such manner and form as would bring about a more balanced equation of power-sharing and equitable pattern of participation in the process of decision-making. NAM is further commissioned to involve the less privileged communities in planning, in taking initiatives in the formulation and changing of public policies, and in directing the implementation of such policies.

The racist military totalitarian dictatorship of Jaafer Nimeiri has dragged the country into such intolerable situation-which situation threatens to destroy the national equilibrium; the racist and despotic policies promulgated by

the racist clique in Khartoum have thrown the whole country into political, military, and spiritual crises and malaise; as a result of his intolerant policies and decrees Nimeiri has plunged the entire Sudanese people into a bloody and senseless civil war which nobody ever wanted. And naturally, as Dorothy L. Sayers put it, "war is a judgement that overtakes societies when they have been living upon ideas that conflict too violently with the laws governing the universe ... Never think that wars are irrational catastrophes: They happen when wrong ways of thinking and living bring about intolerable situations." But perhaps it is incumbent upon us to expose to the world and to Nimeiri himself those intolerable situations, and the intricate ways in which injustice is practised and concealed. We will expose them so that you may appreciate the magnitude of the grievances that have caused us to oppose and engage Nimeiri's regime in the only language they know and speak - the Language of force and violence, violence to oppose and topple oppression and injustice.

(a) The "Kasha" Laws:

"Kasha" is a Sudanese colloquial Arabic. It came into Sudanese colloquialism from an Amharic "Kushasha" which means dirt or filth or garbage. At an earlier stage it was in common usage in the slums of Port Sudan, Gedaref, Kassala and the three Towns (Khartoum, Khartoum-North and Omdurman) where prostitution was institutionalised and brothel industry thrived. During the Turko-Egyptian rule and the Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule in the Sudan, certain areas of the slums in Khartoum were designated brothel areas and "andayas" where local liquors and other brews were produced and consumed in abundance. Those areas were crime areas and garbage areas. Criminals, riffraff, prostitutes, pimps, drunkards and garbage heaps were all very closely intermingled in those slums. The filthy "marisa" barrels and tins, the "mushuk" and "El munna" from the "andayas" were all very close-by in stinking garbage heaps. At certain unspecified and irregular intervals, the

local government councils together with the local public health authorities issued local orders authorising the police to raid these slum areas looking for criminals, illegal locally produced gin which is commonly known as "arragi", and other contrabands. The local order is usually carried out in an early morning police swoop upon a designated slum. Then criminals, prostitutes, riffraff, pimps, drunkards, barrels, tins, filth and all are hustled into the equally notorious police commer trucks. Such an operation or exercise was called "Kasha", which meant clearing the filth. It was, for all practical purposes, a clinical operation. But the current meaning, usage and application of "Kasha" in Khartoum is overladen with disagreeable racial abuses and injustices against the non-Arab African communities in Khartoum, Khartoum-North, Omdurman and Wad Medani.

On the 2nd July 1976, a group of heavily armed and apparently well trained men attacked the army barracks, military installations in the Three Towns and strategically important places like the airport, the radio broadcasting station in Omdurman and the bridges. That army was commanded by Brigadier Mohammed Nur Saad, a widely acknowledged brilliant officer of the Sudanese National army from the engineering Corps. They captured most of their targets and virtually held the capital for over forty eight hours. The overwhelming majority of those men were of purely African nationality groups from Western Sudan - Kordofan and Darfur, For tactical and political considerations, they were labelled foreign mercenaries in the service of Libya against the Sudan. As expected the Sudanese army and people were deceived. They rallied and those men were beaten and scattered and Nimeiri re-established his control on the capital. A witch-hunt was officially declared, ruthlessly and recklessly carried out against a people with a stereotyped physical descriptions of the Western Sudanese type. Many innocent Westerners and Southerners fell victims to this witch-hunt.

It has got to be pointed out, however, that those men were not mercenaries in the service of Libya as alleged. They were

discontented Sudanese nationals who were organised, financed, equipped, trained and politically lead by men from that group of Sudanese who generally call themselves "awlad el Beled", men from the tribes of Jaafer Nimeiri and Omer Mohammed El Tayed- the Danagela, the jaaliin, the Shaygiin and others of the Egyptian and Turkish abstractions. Distinguished Sudanese political personalities like the late Sheriff Hussein El Hindi and Sadiq Abdel Rahman El Mahdi could not be call mercenaries if they lead an armed fighting force of Sudanese against the violent dictator whose authority is firmly grounded in naked physical force. Yet these men were the real leaders of that army that attacked and took control of Khartoum in July 1976. There was nothing mercenary about that. Nimeiri himself used the force of armed men to take power in the Sudan in 1969. And it should not also be forgotten that Nimeiri himself used the services of Libya to regain power in the Sudan in 1971 against the Sudanese people. If to receive assistance from Libya is to become mercenary, then Nimeiri himself was the first Sudanese mercenary in the service of Libya. But the tragic thing about that July episode was that despite the unprecedented massive loss of human lives, in just about a year, a reconciliation of questionable merit was hatched between the "awlad el Beled" themselves, and an amnesty was proclaimed followed by extravagant sweet promises of involvement and participation in the process of national development. Sadiq came home and left the bulk of his armies of Westerners, non-Danagela Africans, in various camps inside and outside the Sudan.

In spite of the reconciliation made and the amnesty proclaimed subsequent upon the July events, frequent and widespread harrassment and murder in public and in private continued unmitigated. This distressing and lamentable state of affairs spilled over to endanger the lives and liberty of all and any of the black people in the Three Towns. It was said in all quarters that they (the black) made the capital dirty, they overcrowded the buses and taxis by their presence in big numbers;

they caused food shortages in the restaurants and market places, thereby causing sharp rises in food prices and other goods; they were thieves and criminals and prostitutes, riffraff and pimps. In other words, they constituted the real garbage and "Kushasha" in the capital city of their own country. Hence the cynical choice of the sinister word "Kasha" which literally means clearing the garbage or filth. Soon after, Omer Mohammed El Tayeb the first vice President and chief of the national security made a security law he called the "Kasha" law in 1980. That was to formalise and legalise the witch-hunt that had been in progress since July 1976. The security operations were specifically designed to "clean" the capital of the black people and to provide considerable comfort and ease for the other minority bastard race who would by choice rather be identified and labelled "Arabs" and not the mongrels they really are. Everywhere and anywhere in the Three Towns, every black person was a "Kushasha" whoever he was. Students, the sick in the hospitals, lawyers, medical doctors, members of parliament and even soldiers and policemen unless they were in uniforms. There were repeated instances when members of parliament were violently pulled out of their cars, had their identity cards torn and thrown into their faces, and then hustled into the police vans. Complaints were compiled before the speaker of the Assembly but nothing came of them. For these and many more disagreeable events and practices which cannot all be included in this short work, we think the Sudan like South Africa, has become racist under the regime and system of rule of Jaafer Nimeiri and his stooges and political thugs. Nowhere else in the world, except in Khartoum and Johannesburge, would a free and law-abiding citizen, because of his colour, be rounded up by the police and be locked in the prison or into unsheltered football stadium during scorching heat, or be packed in trains and taken to sugar plantations against his will. Others were packed in lorries, steamers or trains and dispatched to the South or to the Western Sudan leaving their wives and children and properties in the capital.

..../7

Nothing could be more beastly and racist, NAM is therefore vowed to bring down Nimeiri's racist system and unjust laws and redress the situation.

NB. Government planning Departments, especially with respect to the location of development projects, are most unfair. All development activities are concentrated in Khartoum and Gezira Provinces. This is done in total neglect of other areas particularly the Western Sudan. This explains why many people stream to Gezira and Khartoum to look for jobs because the government did not consider taking jobs to their Provinces.

(b) On Arabisation of Education.

Jaafer Nimeiri issued an order to the effect that all forms and levels of education in whole country should be in the Arabic language, that all educational planning should be done in Khartoum and, obviously, by the Arab educational experts. This is the Arabisation of education which is also the compulsory Islamisation of education in the Sudan.

We will tell Nimeiri and his praise-singers that we have not got the least quarrel with Arabic language per se. We have been learning it and learning in it over the past several years. Even in the tribal communities, Arabic is spoken as a lingua Franca amongst the different tribal groups. The problem lies in and arises from the fact that it is being unnecessarily super-imposed on the people by order, to the total exclusion of and no consideration for other native languages like the Bari, Zande, Taposa, Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk to mention only a few. Where there are no provisions for our children to acquire literacy and related proficiencies in our languages, we are left to conclude that there are sinister plans to kill our languages in a wholesale liquidation. But a language is a cultural vehicle. Whoever loses a language loses a culture, and whoever learns a language takes on a culture. In this respect we regard this order as an unconcealed, forced Arabisation and Islamisation of our people. In the clearest of terms we reject

this policy. And, in the words of Tony Benn, "we must shape our society by building upon what is best in our inheritance and adding to it a true vision of what we are capable of achieving." In this respect, amongst the best in our inheritance are our languages and religion. Any effort to devalarize and dispose of them, and alienate our children from their roots, shall be viewed as an attempt at deculturation and forced assimilation, and shall be vehemently opposed; for we are aware that life itself is rooted in values, and every value must be relentlessly fought for if it is to be preserved. So, we fight for justice, for decency and for dignity.

On education, we have this to tell Nimeiri:- Education is the continuation of the process of socialisation which begins in the family, a slow and steady process of inculcation of the existing values and norms. In this way the young are instructed in the intricacies and complexities of kinship terminologies, kinship rights and duties, nature of marriage alliances, succession and other matters relating to descent, and the customs and ritual practices of the tribe. When they reach maturity they are instructed in the final mysteries of their religion and society, and the society's traditions and values. They too learn the skills necessary for life such as fishing, hunting, the art of animal husbandry and others. These make up the training aspect of our form of education which takes place within the framework of actual activities. In this respect, education of this type serves as an agency of system maintenance and as a transmission belt of traditions and related values. Over the past centuries, generations after generations of our ancestors had this type of education to peg or tether whole tribes and nations to the spiritual and the transcendental, to the biological and the psychological, to the social and the cultural dimensions of our ontology. This is the very essence and ethos of our people which Nimeiri decides to throw overboard by a presidential decree and he expects things to be normal thereafter. Islamic education is compulsory along with Arabisation. There are no considerations

nor provisions for other indigenous religions and languages. What could be more repressive, more racist or more unjust than this!

(c) On the Islamisation of the Laws:-

In September 1983 Nimeiri decreed the adoption of Sharia Laws as the sole legal system for the administration of justice in the country. This was done, so we are told, to decelerate what was considered an alarming escalation and near epidemic spread of crime as well as the sordid degeneration of morals during the fourteen(14) years of Nimeiri's dictatorial rule. The ostensible purpose for the whole exercise was therefore a weird attempt at moral or spiritual and political reforms. In any case, distinguished Sudanese Muslim religious and political leaders expressed horror and disapproval of the flatulent manner of flaunting the laws of Allah, nor have they in any way at all considered Nimeiri qualified even to talk about Sharia laws, however penitent he has come away from the widely known hooligan life he had lived not very long ago. Even the composition of his governments, especially with respect to the people closest to him in the palace, would loudly tell against him. None of them, Nimeiri included, would stand the test of even the most rudimentary of Sharia laws, the laws of Allah. The whole of this exercise is therefore regarded as a gigantic religious fraud, amounting to heresy, ingeniously intermingled with an unscrupulous political gimmickry. of cardinal importance in this whole array of gimmickry and humbuggery are the kudos for Nimeiri, Bokassa style, and the life presidency like the rest of them. This comes out clear when he demands Baia'a from every single Sudanese soldier, Muslim or not. But the Baia'a is an important Islamic oath of allegiance volunteered by Muslims to their leader who they had chosen strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Shura or the Koran. Here the Muslim vows his property, his life, his soul and his children to the service of Amir El

Muminiin and in the service of Islam. Those who vow allegiance by this oath would automatically become Islamic crusaders, and when Nimeiri moves from one brigade headquarters to the other, demanding, organizing and actually receiving the Baia'a, he has practically turned the entire Sudanese national army into Islamic crusaders and against who? And when they fight as they now do in the South, they fight in the name of Islam using Christian weapons provided by Christian Reagan of Christian America. For the predominantly non-Muslim and Christian South of the Sudan, the tragedy is complete: Arabisation and Islami-sation all by force of arms. This of course, NAM opposes, and we shall use all means available and from anybody, to frustrate and destroy this rude and crude interference with and violation of our liberties, our freedoms and our rights.

The practical application of Sharia laws in the Sudan severely discriminates against the non-muslims and savagely violates every single word or letter of their human rights as provided in the United Nations charter of human rights. for instance in the situation where the Sudan is an Islamic state as already decreed, no Christian or any other non-muslim may dream of becoming head of state, chief of staff of the Sudanese armed forces, or minister of education, of finance, of defence, Foreign Affairs, agriculture and or others. A permanent ceiling is hereby laid upon his capabilities and ambitions. He has no claim for an equality before the law because the law itself discriminates against him and his interests unless and until he becomes a Moslem. In law courts his testimony against a Moslem is that of a minor and therefore of no consequence. If he is a Christian his religion is regarded dangerous and he may not preach it publicly. Even his customary marriage stands nullified unless it is conducted in an Islamic court. All other marriages conducted in accordance with the traditions and customs of the tribes are therefore sheer prostitutions. An Arab Muslim therefore violates the sanctity of your family with impunity and you get no justice or redress for the damage suffered because the Islamic courts

do not recognise your traditional marriages. This constitutes a severe pressure for the people to turn Muslims or opt for arms against this system.

The introduction of Islamic laws as the sole system of administering justice in our country deals multiple fatal blows to the entire range of our traditional and cultural existence and ethos. It is calculated to bring about tragic cultural shock and dislocation, and the collateral moral metamorphosis. This is the wholesale destruction of a whole people. How does this compare with apartheid!

Collectivism characterises a very broad range of the economic, social and cultural activities of the African ethnic groups inhabiting the Southern and most of the Western parts of the Sudan. Land, for example is a collective asset. It belongs to the dead, the living and the yet to be born. The hunting grounds, the grazing grounds for domestic animals, the fishing streams and lakes and farm lands are all communally owned. The related activities such as fishing, hunting, clearing farm lands and actual cultivation are communal. And because money economy has not yet been adopted by the communities, local liquor or "marisa" plays a very fundamental and instrumental role in all these activities. For instance, family X want a few huts erected for them. The people are informed and the "marisa" made. They come and drink and the huts are up. Family Y want their farm lands cleared, the people are informed, the "marisa" is brewed, the people come and drink and the job is done. This process is repeated by many other families and for a variety of purposes, and life happily goes on, and it has been so over the past several hundred years.

Drinking "marisa" is therefore a very important social activity. It brings the people together not to get drunk but to discuss and tackle their problems. It is organised in such a way that real communion of people is actually practised.

They share the same pot or calabash which is passed from person to person. In this manner social discipline, community solidarity sentiment and social cohesiveness are developed and maintained. But overnight Nimeiri comes to say nobody should brew nor drink "marisa" else he or she gets fifty lashes in public. The substitute he offers is Arabism, Sharia and Islam. This is despotic intolerance as well as religious intolerance and persecution under which mankind has bled and suffered for so long. Nimeiri could have known better.

The Sudan wriggles in an agony of misgovernment and abject poverty, and Jaafer Nimeiri mismanages state affairs with such relish and glee you would think it was his right and even in his interest to render the citizens miserable. A few men out of the majority poor steal a few pounds here and there because they are in such oppressive need. They get caught and taken to Kobar central prison in Khartoum-North. After a hasty trial after which they are often found guilty, a Friday is chosen, the muslim holy day of worship. It is then announced to the public through radio and television that on that Friday the hands and legs of Mr. X and Mrs. Y shall be amputated after the Friday prayers. The general public are therefore invited to attend and witness. On the day fixed the hands and or the legs are chopped off with a huge heavy and sharp sword. When the hand or the leg falls off it is tied on the neck of him who suffers such punishment and hangs there like the albatross in the rhyme of the "Ancient Mariner". This, we are told, is sharia, the laws of Allah. What more terrible heresy could there be than this! Is it not therefore mandatory upon all God-fearing Sudanese to throw off this sadism, tyranny, corruption and injustice? NAM is inspired by a legitimate desire for a different and better kind of community from this anathema into which Nimeiri has plunged our country.

(d) On Unity and Tribalism.

We said earlier that the Sudan is a massive conglomerate of clear and distinct diversities. From the thirsty and hungry deserts in the extreme Northern regions of the country, down South through all the varied shades of Savannah lands, to the thick tropical forests in the South-West of the country, and to the temperate climate in South-eastern part of the country in the high Imatong mountain ranges- through all these lands from North to South, and from East to West, you find an assortment of nationality groups, many of them as different from one another as a Chinese is different from a Greek in all imaginable respects. Along with all these distinctive geographical and racial differences, or even conflicts, of languages, of cultures and temperaments, of religious multiplicities and their conflicts, of social and political outlook, the Sudanese people suffer from a severe crisis of identity. They are not sure whether they are Africans or Arabs or both and in what blend. A casual look at the recent as well as the distant history of these lands will reveal nothing to be happy or proud of. It is all about slavery and slave-trade, about violence exploitation, oppression and dominations. The only two things they ever seem to have in common are (i) the name Sudan which is an Arabic label meaning black man's country, and it is a recent concoction; (ii) the other one is made up of international boundaries which give the land a shape where the name fits in, and these lines were drawn without the consent nor even the knowledge of those peoples. But of course, this is true of the rest of Africa. And the African countries, organised in a peculiar political union of African lands who seem to have entangled themselves in a covenant endorsing and sanctifying these colonial boundaries and pledging their support thereof for all eternity. From this apparent sacrosanct covenant, it looks as if the Sudanese nationality groups, for better or for worse, are destined or damned, like many of them in Africa, to remain bound together so that the name "Sudan" may always

remain on the map of Africa irrespective of whether the people therein are happy or miserable. It is perhaps in reverence for an irreverent over-consideration for a non-objective reality that we may talk of the "Unity" of the Sudan.

We will say it loud that in our opinion, political unity of the Sudan, or of any other state for that matter, is not a substantive issue any where within the domain of human values, nor is it an objective reality in any substantive sense. To us, it is more a resultant, a necessary and desired consequence, a derivative rather than an antecedence. It hinges on and results from the more fundamental and essential values like love, liberty, freedom in all its forms, justice, democracy and others. Its value could only be instrumental and no more. "Unity" as such cannot therefore be emphasised over and above, and in absolute disregard of the fundamentals and essentials. This would be like giving substance and undue attention to shadows of elephants while effectively and lamentably not giving heed to the physical presence and importance of real elephants. But this is precisely what they do in Khartoum. They talk more about the unity of the Sudan, about the unity bank, unity garden, Unity Avenue, Unity Oil wells, Unity X, Unity Y et cetera et cetera. Nobody talks about just laws and justice, about equal participation in the conduct of state affairs and the process of decision-making, about the fundamental human rights, about the freedom of conscience and of worship. These are not heard of while the racist clique in Khartoum are always over-loud about the mere adjective "Unity" to such an extent that you would think that they are conscious of the obvious absence of the fundamentals from which "Unity" would be an inevitable consequence. One would even think they are also scared of their own un-unitary policies and behaviour.

Given the Sudanese heterogenous jumble of nationalities and races, cultures, religions and even of geography, the obvious task of the Sudanese leadership would consist in an intricate

and delicate exercise in balancing and conscientiously administering to the needs and demands of the Sudanese multitudes in order to bring about that harmony which would merit the happy name of "Unity". Unity in our context would therefore be synonymous with harmony. It is therefore the opinion of NAM that another more appropriate name for Sudanese unity shall be "harmony" - and harmony in its practical applications.

Rebellion started in the Southern Sudan in August 1955, several Months before the inaugural day of independence in January 1956. A state of emergency was declared along with martial law in all the three Southern Provinces in September 1955. The South therefore got into independence in January 1956 under the martial and military laws, and had never known nor enjoyed freedom and all its blessings till after February 1972. That was the date of the Addis Ababa peace agreement which ended the seventeen years of civil wars against the governments in Khartoum. The promises of peace, security and material prosperity were extravagantly made by Nimeiri and his team. Hopes of liberty, freedom, justice and material progress were equally extravagantly high. It was not long before the people realised that they had misplaced their confidence and hopes in an untrustworthy, self-serving, megalomaniac. Funds for development activities were not forthcoming. Development projects located in the South like the Tonj Kenaf, the Mongala Textile, Melut Sugar factory and the Jur River Brewery in Wau, all without exception, never took off. Some remained at the foundation stones. People suffered untold neglect and economic miseries. They began to demand an improvement in their living conditions. This growing economic disillusionment and genuine demand for better living conditions had to be deflected, and a scapegoat found. An accusing finger was therefore pointed at some tribe who he alleged had taken everything to themselves without considerations for others. Their greed, more imaginary than real, was loudly and widely published. Nimeiri had human loud-speakers who had palace facilities and funds at their

disposal to deflect the people's anger from himself to themselves. This was effectively done, sponsored at the palace. Then he posed as the protector of the smaller and the weaker ones from an imaginary danger. Of course, his ultimate aim was to cultivate discord amongst the people, which discord he later used to fragment and to weaken the South for his own calculated objectives, which objectives were later to appear as Arabisation and Islamisation of the South. Tribalism in the South was therefore a deflection and a subterfuge both the creation of Jaafer Nimeiri to further his racist designs against the South. The South decided to resist and to frustrate all these mischievous designs.

It is Racism, Naked and Repulsive.

Racism is a cultural phenomenon and, to some considerable degree, it is an economic phenomenon as well. Its object is a definite form of life-style - a life-style which is derived from a given set of separate and different intrinsic and instrumental values. Racism is thus a formidable instrument or agency for the exploitation, the oppression and subjugation of an entire race of people.

It is in the character and practice of racism to devalorise the traditions and denigrate the values of an ethnically different lot of people, especially those considered backward and inferior:-

- it is racism that seeks to destroy the cultures and life-style of a people- their languages, their style of dress, marriage customs and marriage relations, food habits, and their style of enjoying and entertaining themselves;
- it is racism that seeks to break down a people's cultural and spiritual systems of reference and smash the epicentre of the entire constellations of their values;

- it is racism that seeks to destroy and destructure the cultural patterns and the entire social panorama of an entire people;
- it is racism that seeks to impose new and alien systems of values over a people, especially after mortifying and mummifying their time-honoured indigenous and pre-existing cultures;
- it is racism that seeks to restrict the freedom, the liberties, the rights and the opportunities of an ethnically different set of people and denies them full and free access to any public office even in their own country, and further denies them full, free and unrestricted participation in the entire process of decision-making in the conduct of their affairs;
- the citizenship of a free and sovereign state is seriously compromised if civil and political rights have come to depend on religious opinions; for, to proscribe any citizen as unworthy of any public office unless and until he professes this form of religious opinion, and renounces that religious opinion, is to incapacitate and deprive him of those privileges and advantages which give meaning and substance to free and full citizenship. Furthermore, it should be noted and even emphasised that such practices would amount to bribing and corrupting the citizens with an abundance of worldly honours and material conditions, which material conditions would induce the people to abandon their concern for dignity and decency, thereby pressuring or tempting them to profess and conform, even externally, as demanded by the dominant and dominating racial and religious group. However, in some real sense, such manner of profession of, and conformity to faith would obviously corrupt the very principles of that very religion which they are designed and intended to encourage and promote. It therefore follows that

- both the corrupted and the corruptor would stand condemned as sinners and criminals before God and man;
- - in yet another not less catastrophic sense, such a policy would effectively restrain the profession and propagation of other faiths. This ungodly trend would flagrantly destroy all traces of religious liberties along with other civil and political liberties;
 - the deliberate programming, implementation and perpetuation of these monstrosities would make up the main barrage of a systematised oppression and subjugation of our people. May we also mention here that a people oppressed and dominated through the execution of these policies are evidently an inferiorised people and a corrupted people;
 - ladies and gentlemen, it is to the mainstream of this lamentable torrent of policies that the diabolical decrees of the misguided president of the Sudan were intended to squeeze and bulldoze the totality of our existence to domination. We were thus inexorably and deplorably entangled in this bedlam of a situation; and regretfully squeezed to a very tight corner where we were definitely obliged to decide and proceed on some definite course of action to salvage and rehabilitate, where necessary, the legacy, gallantry and glory of our African ancestry and heritage;
 - we had an option to yield and submit to these policies and programmes of total cultural liquidation, to accept under duress to be alienated from ourselves and allow them to divest and disembowel us of our traditions, our cultures, our spiritual systems and to leave us hollow and phantom-like. It was on the brink of this impending cultural disaster that we stood. The artilleries of these unjust and diabolical policies were directed and fired at our cultural existence, our decency and sovereign entity;

- through the implementation of these racist policies we could see our manhood wounded and bleeding; we could see our humanity wounded and bleeding; we could see our immortality wounded and bleeding;
- through the implementation of these racist policies we could see the manhood and humanity of our entire people wounded and bleeding to an eternal death. We could see ourselves downgraded and diminished to mere midgets or mummies. It was after careful consideration of these tragic policies that it became frightfully clear to us that life of this kind could be terribly frightening; that in balance the fear of such a life could actually be more terrible than the fear of that inevitable physical death- that natural and always expected disembodiment of the human soul;
- we denounce and reject these Nimeiri's racist and savage policies camouflaged in Islamic Sharia law. If he belonged to another faith, he should have already been declared a perverter of faith and therefore a heretic. A holy war or a "jihad" should have already been declared against this obvious heretic by the true believers in Islam; and it is not he who should hang believers: like uztaz Mahmud Tah- may Allah bless and rest his soul in peace.
- religions and cultures, like currencies in a free and competitive world market, should be allowed to freely float and each should find its own level and power in the hearts and minds of men. True faith from God does not require a decree from Nimeiri of the Sudan. The truth of the religion of God is sufficiently great and will prevail over the hearts of men without the brutal decrees from heretic Nimeiri of the Sudan. True religion from God has nothing to fear if it is in conflict with error, except when faulty human interposition conspires to throw unfavourable light on its glamour thereby

discrediting it and disarming it of its natural gospel and glory and might;

- we believe that gradual and peaceful fusion of cultures is possible in the Sudan. It may safely be said that such a process has actually been under way in the Sudan for nearly eight centuries. But to forcefully order the liquidation of other religions and cultures in favour of one is to invite a reaction and a conflict, and this is precisely what it is when we say we denounce and reject this approach;
- we will let it be known that we are not against any creed or any people or any race or any nation or any system- communist, capitalist or otherwise- except inasmuch as it is actively hostile and detrimental to our very existence as a people. We could be muslims without being Arabs much as we could also be Christians without being Italians or Germans. We could also be communists without being Russian or Chinese. But to embark upon a programme of wholesale liquidation of our African cultures and traditions and re-Christen us black Arabs is to negate our negritude and to tag upon our chests epithets of our humiliation and assimilation. It is within the "darkness" of this kind of situation that peace could be said to be more destructive of the manhood of living man than war is destructive of his material body; that chains could be worse than bayonets; that the fear of life could be more terrible than the fear of death.
- peace and love are amongst the highest of Christian values. But as long as racism and violent injustice dominate the whole scene of inter-human relationships in the Sudan, peace and love become anachronistic. This kind of peace, which is another name for smooth and uneventful destruction of our cultures and subjugation of our people, we categorically and unequivocally reject and reluctantly opt for bayonets as the lesser of the

two evils. We therefore organise and mobilise in a revolutionary challenge to this abominable structure of injustices; we organise and mobilise with the people, through the people and for the people in a manner by which we intend to manifest to friend and foe alike, our self-affirmation and self-differentiation. We further pronounce that we plan to proceed along a clearly African path unmistakably leading on to a comprehensive African self-actualisation in the African Sudan.

We in NAM (National Action Movement) strongly believe that there could be neither harmony nor justice in the Sudan unless and until the following conditions are recognised, accepted and adopted:-

- (i) A secular national constitution where the civil and political rights of citizens have no dependence on their religious opinions;
- (ii) A broad-based and just constitution which gives clear recognition and protection to all cultures, languages and religions whereby every single ethnic or religious group shall have the liberty and the equal state facilities to develop their cultures and languages, and to worship God in accordance with the tenets or dictates of their religious traditions or canons;
- (iii) A democratic constitution whereby a democratic system of government is possible, and a government by discussion becomes the established political culture of the country;

All these, and even more, would be absolutely necessary to harmonise the relationships between the nationality and cultural groups in the Sudan.

*
*
* * * * *
* * * * *