

FASID

Development Assistance Survey Unit (DASU) Study Group Meeting

1. Date : December, 19th, 2008, 12:00-14:00
2. Venue: FASID Seminar Room (4th Floor)
3. Presenter: Mr. Allan E. Reed (Development Counselor, US Embassy/Tokyo)
4. Theme: Conflict in Sudan, USAID program in Sudan and USAID policy towards Sub-Saharan Africa

5.1 Today's presentation

In Today's presentation, Mr, Allan E. Reed, USAID Development Counselor at the US Embassy/Tokyo, gave a lecture covering an overview of USAID assistance in Africa, and a history of conflict in Sudan, including his own personal experiences in Sudan.

Overview of USAID in Africa.

The U.S. government provides assistance to 47 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Angola, Benin, Burundi, Djibouti, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia) and USAID operates in 23 bilateral missions on that continent. The annual USAID budget for Africa is around 2 billion dollars.

US foreign assistance goals include helping to sustain well-governed states that respond needs of their people, reduce wide-spread poverty, and conduct themselves responsibly in the international system. Overall US Government priorities in Africa include strengthening regional and sub-regional organizations, strengthening regional security capacity, and strengthening African counter terrorism cooperation capacity.

There are four primary objectives of USAID in assistance to Africa.

- The first is Governing Justly and Democratically

To enhance stability and increase capacity of governments to govern justly, the US provides support to strengthen Africa's democratic institutions, to professionalize security forces, and to promote key reforms.

Resources are also provided to fight corruption, and to work closely with civil society organizations as emerging constituencies for reform, helping African citizens to hold their governments accountable. Resources also improve the administration of justice.

- The second objective is Investing in People

USAID provides support to Africa in meeting health and educational needs so that people are productive members of society, contributing to economic growth, and engaging in sustainable livelihoods.

In terms of education, USAID promotes the African Education Initiative which supports training of new teachers, provides more textbooks and new materials, increases scholarships, especially for girls, and increases the capacity of African education systems to manage the impact of HIV/AIDS on teachers and students.

In terms of health, the Malaria Initiative and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) are promoted. PEPFAR focuses on HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment and care. Two million HIV/AIDS infected people receive treatment under PEPFAR, there is support for the prevention of 7 million new infections, and support for the care of 10 million people affected by HIV/AIDS is provided..

-The third objective is Economic growth

To promote Africa's economic growth, USAID focuses on stimulating private sector development, increasing African trade competitiveness, and integrating African nations into the global economy.

Towards those objectives, the African Global Competitive Initiative (AGCI) is promoted. The AGCI promotes African enterprises by providing technical assistance to advance export competitiveness. AGCI also improves the agricultural business environment by removing trade and investment barriers and encouraging public/private partnerships.

In addition, science and technology are key to increasing agricultural productivity. USAID assists government and regional organizations to improve markets, to increase the capacity of private sector organizations to develop agricultural markets, and helps build physical infrastructure, such as roads for market access.

In terms of sustainable livelihood, the Congo Basin Forest Partnership, which deals with forest degradation and loss of bio diversity by increasing local and regional natural resource management capacity, is promoted.

- The fourth objective is Humanitarian Assistance

USAID works both to prevent and respond to humanitarian crises across the African continent. The U.S. seeks to raise awareness and support for improved disaster preparedness, mitigation, and response capacity. Through USAID, significant emergency humanitarian assistance is provided through the delivery of supplies of food, medical, shelter, and other emergency relief commodities, as well as the services of disaster response professionals.

The Historical Background to Conflict in Sudan:

There are many factors involved in the long conflict between Northern and Southern Sudan. It is the largest country in Africa and geography has separated North and South, although the River Nile flows through the country. The North is mostly arid and desert, and the South is savanna grasslands and forests. There is the largest swamp in the world, the Sudd, that long made it challenging for the North to enter the South. Ethnically, the North is a mixture of Arabs and Africans, and the Southern Sudanese are Africans. The North has been mostly Muslim, while the Southerners are Christian or practice traditional religions. The North is far more developed economically than the South, although there is now oil found in the South. Historically, the two were administered as completely different entities under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, and it was only after World War Two that the British patched the two parts together to become Sudan. Southern Sudanese felt like second-class citizens who were discriminated against by the Arabs, and when they saw independence coming for Sudan without their rights as African Sudanese being respected, they rebelled and wanted their own independent country. The government in Khartoum dealt harshly with Southern Sudanese and hundreds of thousands of people fled as refugees when conflict began in 1955. The first war lasted until 1972 and between one and two million people died during that war.

My Experiences in Southern Sudan:

In 1966, I went to Gambela, a small village in Western Ethiopia, as a Peace Corps Volunteer teacher. I found there were 20,000 Southern Sudanese refugees from the war in Sudan in that district and most of them did not have a place to live and attend school. To deal with this situation, I started a refugee hostel in Gambela in an old abandoned coffee warehouse. Ethiopia used to export its coffee through Gambela to Sudan, but when the Anya-Nya movement began, Ethiopia stopped exporting coffee that way and the coffee warehouses became empty, so I opened one for Sudanese refugees. 125 Southern Sudanese refugees came to the hostel and I lived there with them.

After three years, I was approached by a member of the Southern Sudanese Anya-Nya Liberation Movement and I was asked to come into the bush with them and witness what going on and then to try to get publicity and humanitarian assistance. Nobody outside Sudan could see what was going on because the Sudanese Government had closed off the Southern Sudan to outside observers. So in 1969, I walked with a group of Anya-Nya rebels and ventured into Southern Sudan. I took pictures of the Anya-Nya Liberation army, the destruction civilians suffered from due to attacks by the

Government of Sudan's Army, and what life was like for them in their villages and cattle camps. After I left Southern Sudan, I traveled to Europe to share my experiences and to see if organizations like the Red Cross would be interested in helping. The World Council of Churches (WCC) became interested because they were getting emergency humanitarian aid into Eastern Nigeria (Biafra) during Nigeria's civil war and they recognized the civilian suffering in Southern Sudan was equally serious. They asked me to do research in Southern Sudan to help start a humanitarian relief effort. A medical supply program was launched through Uganda. At the same time, I also got the American television company, NBC-TV, interested in making a film about the war. They asked me to make the film, and so I spent ten months walking with the Anya-Nya over 3000 miles in the bush to make the film. That is the film you will see here today.

In 1972, the Addis Ababa peace agreement was signed and the first civil war ended. Because of my work with refugees in Ethiopia and the uniqueness of experiences I had with the Anya-Nya movement, the WCC asked me to help refugees return to Southern Sudan and to organize the reconstruction of schools and clinics which were destroyed by the war. So I worked for the Sudan Council of Churches in Sudan after the war, from 1972-1974, and that is where I met my wife, Ayo, who was the Director of Nurses for Southern Sudan. .

However, in 1983, conflict returned. In the late 1970's, oil was discovered in Southern Sudan near Bentiu. President Nimeri, under whose government the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement had been signed which established the semi-autonomous Government of Southern Sudan, decided to redraw the border between North and South so that the oil would be considered to be part of the North. The Government of Southern Sudan objected, because it said the people in Bentiu were Nuers and Dinkas, Southern Sudanese Africans, not northern Arabs. In response, President Nimeri broke the Addis Ababa Agreement, abolished the Government of Southern Sudan, and redrew the border. When Southern Sudanese protested, the Government introduced Islamic Law and Southern Sudanese further objected to this policy. By 1983, the former Anya-Nya forces were united under John Garang to create the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) which had as its objective a secular government in Sudan which would recognize the rights of all Sudanese, Africans, Arabs, Christians, Moslems, and those who followed traditional religions. The second civil war lasted until 2005, when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed.

USAID in Sudan

Since the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) officially ended the North-South civil war, The U.S. Government has been the leading international donor to Sudan, providing more than \$4 billion in assistance.

As part of the United States' commitment to support the peace process, save lives, increase capacity, and safeguard human rights, USAID programs promote stability, recovery, and democratic reform and provide basic health and education services to the Sudanese people.

5.2 Q & A Session

USAID engagement in governance issues in Sudan:

USAID works to support the return and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced people and the transition of the Southern Sudanese people from a generation of war to peace and to democratic government. To realize this, USAID supports new Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) institutions to function effectively and provides significant technical support and training opportunities.

Media program:

USAID has a strong media program in order to help people participate in the democratic process. USAID supported the Sudan Radio Services in the South so that radio broadcasts inform people what peace is and what their government is doing. USAID also distributes tens of thousands of solar-powered and wind-up radios in rural areas. Because of the high rate of illiteracy, this enables more people in Southern Sudan to have access to information.

Civil Society:

Civil society organizations are a key part of the democratic process. USAID provides support to civil society organizations so that they can play an advocacy role with the government and to provide services to people. Local peace building efforts and conflict resolution are also needed because when several million people, refugees and internally displaced people, come back to re-settle in areas they left many years ago, conflicts may arise with people who had stayed there over water rights, natural resources, and pastoral land.

Experience in North and South and issues in Darfur

In May 2004, seven months before the CPA in January 2005, I traveled with John Garang to SPLM controlled areas in Southern Sudan where he explained to large numbers of people in the South what was going on in the peace negotiations. In each place, he spent hours to describe in great detail all aspects of every protocol that became part of the CPA. When asked by people why there should be 6 years after the peace is

signed before the Southern Sudan could vote in a Referendum of self-determination on unity with the North or independence for the South, John Garang explained that it will take time after the end of the conflict for the situation to cool down and for people to understand if unity is attractive. John Garang told the Southern Sudanese that it is the responsibility of the Northern Sudanese to demonstrate that they can make unity attractive, because for 50 years of Sudanese history they had made unity so unattractive to the Southerners. John Garang told people that there would be a test to see if the North understood that responsibility: it was to watch and see what they do in Darfur. John Garang's remarks from nearly five years ago clearly showed that he understood the relationship between the conflicts in Darfur and Southern Sudan. Darfur continues to have serious problems; maybe the CPA would be a good model to apply there.

How the American government responds to the corruption issue:

Southern Sudan is in transition to democratic government and the GOSS is grappling with how they can be held accountable. John Garang knew there would be a wealth-sharing protocol in the CPA that provides nearly a half-billion dollars a year in oil revenues for the GOSS. He wanted to see that these resources are not only used for salaries, but also used for a trust fund for rural government, agriculture, and livestock development so that more Southern Sudanese benefit. He said that it is very important to use institutions such as a transparent banking system to manage such issues. That is a difficult challenge for the Southern Sudanese because they have fought a war for more than twenty years without resources and there was no banking system then. USAID is helping the new GOSS to establish the Bank of Southern Sudan, to train and staff the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, and to support the Anti-Corruption Commission so that the GOSS can be accountable.

Partnership with donors:

USAID knows the benefit of partnerships and how they can work. When I was in Zambia as Mission Director, USAID and JICA developed an excellent partnership that helped us fight effectively together against HIV/AIDS and malaria. Together, Japan and the United States were able to do more than either of us could do alone. In Sudan, USAID does support multi-donor efforts, such as the Multi-donor Trust Fund, through sharing experiences and lessons learned.

Partnership with China:

US priority is for partnerships and democratic transformation. China gives significant aid to Africa, including to Sudan as well where they have also invested

heavily in oil resources. Recently, the US established a new position in our embassy in China, a position like my own as Development Counselor here, to engage with China and to see how and where we can collaborate with them on development assistance issues..

Information in USAID HP

Sub Saharan Africa: http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/index.html

Sudan: http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/countries/sudan/index.html