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# Sudan

#### AT A GLANCE



### Country data (2006 figures, unless otherwise noted)

- 2007 Human Development Index: ranked 147th of 177 countries
- Population: 37.71 million
- GNI per capita (Atlas method, current US\$): US\$800
- Population living on less than US\$2 a day (1990–2005): NA
- Life expectancy (in years): 58
- Infant mortality rate: 61 per 1,000 live births
- Under five infant mortality rate: 90 per 1,000
- Population undernourished (2002–2004): 26 percent
- Population with sustainable access to improved water source: 70 percent
- Adult literacy rate (over 15 yrs of age): NA
- Primary education completion rate: 47 percent
- Gender-related development index (2005): ranked 130th of 177 countries
- Official development assistance (ODA): US\$2.058 billion
- 2007 Corruption Perception Index: ranked 172nd out of 179 countries

Sources: Transparency International (TI); 2007; UNDP, 2007a and 2007b; World Bank, 2008.

### The crisis

- 5.8 million displaced in Darfur, Khartoum, and South Sudan;
- Since 2003, 90,000 killed and over 200,000 died from conflict-related causes;
- 4.2 million people in Darfur rely on humanitarian aid, over 2 million of whom are in IDP camps;
- Almost 250,000 displaced between January and August 2007, some for third or fourth time; more than 400 died in clashes; 300,000 displaced in 2007, many repeatedly;
- 1,3 million displaced people reported to have returned to their homes;
- August 2007 floods affected over 625,000; crops and basic infrastructure damaged; population exposed to disease, whooping cough, meningitis and diarrhoea;

Sources: International Organization for Migration; Amnesty International; AfricaFocus; IDMC; OHCHR.

# The humanitarian response

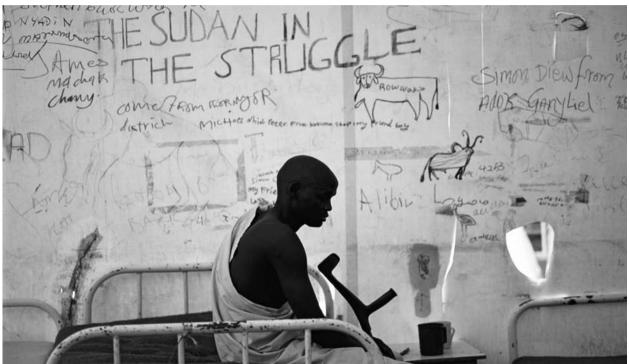
- 2007 UN Work Plan for Sudan most extensive humanitarian operation in the world assisting
  5.5 million people; despite overall increase in 2007 funding, only US\$290 million secured,
  leading to shortfalls:
- UN and partners more than doubled recovery and development component from US\$212 million in 2006 to US\$563 million in 2007;
- Largest DAC donors unchanged from 2006: U.S., US\$536.3 million; EC/ECHO, US\$173.5 million plus US\$27.2 million; UK, US\$107.3 million; Netherlands, US\$70.3 million; Canada US\$58.2 million; almost US\$30 million from CERF.

Sources: OCHA, UN and Partners.

# Sudan

# A Tragedy of Epic Proportions

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### Interlinking conflicts: Dynamics in 2007<sup>1</sup>

As in 2006, the 2007 humanitarian operation in Sudan was the most extensive in the world, coping with the aftermath of interrelated conflicts mainly in the west and south of the country. Circumstances have not improved. On the contrary, the humanitarian situation deteriorated dramatically, with violence, brutality, gross human rights violations, and mass civilian displacements increasing throughout the country. According to Amnesty International (AI), torture was widespread and systematic in some areas, including Darfur; human rights defenders and foreign aid organisations were harassed and freedom of expression curtailed.<sup>2</sup> In addition to man-made atrocities, floods in July and August intensified suffering for the already vulnerable population.

Humanitarian access shrank drastically due to insecurity, government restrictions, and an inability to act effectively and swiftly in the field.

During this period, a major political crisis took place in the south, due to the withdrawal of southerners from the unity government. Clashes continued between the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and government supported militias, and among rival ethnic groups. In Darfur, destructive policies were pursued to create a chaotic environment. Civilians were under constant attack by Janjaweed militia, air attacks by the Government of Sudan (GoS) or armed groups. With guns easily available, fighting has continued within and among ethnic groups, and between clans,<sup>3</sup> resulting in more than 400 deaths by August 2007.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout 2007, the GoS narrowed its position with respect to international intervention in the conflict. Despite the deteriorating humanitarian situation, Sudan received less attention from the international media than in previous years, and no longer seemed a priority for the international community. There was a complete failure by the international community to protect humanitarian space. The upcoming 2009 elections are already intensifying existing struggles for power and control of resources.

# Humanitarian impact of the crisis: Greater need, less access

The humanitarian situation became even more catastrophic in 2007, with ongoing violence, obstruction of aid, the weakened state of displaced people, and the lack of a comprehensive humanitarian strategic plan. As a consequence of pervasive poverty and continuous conflict, Sudan ranks 147th out of 170 countries.<sup>6</sup> Key indicators demonstrate that a significant percentage of population is vulnerable to man-made and natural disasters. Optimistic estimates indicate that the under-five mortality rate is 90 per 1000 live births; 26 percent of the population is undernourished, and 30 percent do not have access to safe drinking water.<sup>7</sup>

Although life in South Sudan is more peaceful, social and economic marginalisation is still the rule. People struggle to find alternative ways to survive, as basic services such as health, education, access to safe water, infrastructure, and transportation are scarce or nonexistent. While a total of 600,000 people were expected to return to their homes, half in organised returns and the rest spontaneously, UN sources report actual numbers of spontaneous returnees during the year at 185,319.8

Food security remains one of the major humanitarian problems, with only 30 percent of the conflict-affected population considered food self-sufficient, leaving over 3 million people in need of assistance. The price of cereals increased fivefold in some areas and preharvest studies of Darfur suggest a hunger gap of 70 to 78 percent for many sectors. Despite the serious risk of local famine, the World Food Programme (WFP) is underfunded and pressuring NGOs to lower distribution amounts.<sup>9</sup>

Due to the refusal of the government's Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC) to allow the gathering and dissemination of data, data are lacking concerning malnutrition. Nevertheless, figures from September 2007 indicate that Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM) passed the threshold of 15 percent in a number of camps in Darfur. Middle Upper Arm Circumference (MUAC) surveys recently conducted in April 2008 by the UN found one third of children under five to be acutely malnourished.<sup>10</sup>

As insecurity prevents distribution of food, water, and primary health care services, people will soon be at mortal risk of the usual rainy season diseases, such as cholera, dysentery, and malaria. There have already been more than 140 cases of whooping cough in west Darfur where medical personnel have difficulty reaching the affected population.

Systematic murder, rape, abduction, and displacement make the Darfur conflict one of the worst imaginable. It has been documented that since 2003, 90,000 people have been killed outright and over 200,000 have died from conflict-related causes. 11 As reported by Amnesty International (USA), the UN estimates that 4.2 million people in Darfur rely on humanitarian aid, over 2 million people of those in IDP camps. 12 Among the 4 million affected by the conflict, roughly 1.8 million are younger than 18, of whom some 1 million are in IDP camps. 13 According to UN figures, between January and August 2007, almost 250,000 fled their homes, some for the third or fourth time, and more than 400 died in clashes. 14 Overall, in 2007, some 300,000 were displaced, many of them repeatedly.<sup>15</sup> According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Aid (OCHA), 100,000 more were added early in 2008.

Of the more than 65 IDP camps in Sudan and 12 in Chad, most are already overcrowded, with 130,000 in the Gereida<sup>16</sup> and 90,000 in the Kalma camps, respectively. Chad has more than 240,000 Darfur refugees. The UN estimates 5.8 million displaced people in

Darfur, Khartoum, and South Sudan.<sup>17</sup> By mid-2007 1,325,535 displaced people were reported to have returned to their homes, especially people from South Sudan,<sup>18</sup> the same number benefiting from UNHCR protection and assistance.

Assault and robbery are daily occurrences, with rape and other violence a constant threat for women, most cases unreported, with the attackers acting with total impunity. During the second half of 2007, 57 rapes were documented by UN experts.<sup>19</sup>

Social life in the IDP camps, already complex because of the diversity, shows signs of unheard of degradation, with people begging in the markets or eating leftover garbage. Unemployed youth with few prospects for employment are recruited by or join armed groups, or become part of camp gangs. The UN documented 10 incidents of fighting between vigilante groups based on ethnic origin in only six days in October 2007.

The African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) failed to stop killings, displacement of civilians, or looting. No international treaty protects the rights of the displaced, and often the entity in charge of their protection is the same one which forced them to abandon their homes.

#### Returnees and forced resettlement

Since the onset of the crisis, local administrators have pressured displaced people to return to their homes but many have refused because of insecurity. The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed between the IOM and the GoS in 2004 to ensure that returns are strictly voluntary has been violated on occasions. <sup>20</sup> In some camps, there has been actual repression; in others, economic persuasion. <sup>21</sup>

Unverified official data claim that thousands of people have returned to their home lands. Reports show otherwise. <sup>22</sup> According to UNHCR, land abandoned by the displaced from 2003 to 2005 has subsequently been occupied by Arab groups – in some cases by Chadian refugees – creating land tenure struggles.

Reports have emerged of agreements between local Arab or other armed groups with IDPs in some regions to create safe enclaves where they can work in agriculture. This has given farmers hope, but they must still live under control of the Arab or armed groups.

#### Natural disasters

Compounding the conflicts, floods in August 2007 affected over 625,000 people throughout Sudan, damaging large swathes of crops, destroying basic infrastruc-

ture, and exposing the population to disease – 140 cases of whooping cough in Darfur, 12,000 cases of meningitis and 8,300 of watery diarrhoea in South Sudan.<sup>23</sup>

# The humanitarian response: More funds, less quality

The deteriorating humanitarian and security situation of 2006 continued in 2007. Although there were some positive signs when the South Sudan Government (GoSS) resumed activities in Khartoum, the situation remained unstable. While the obstacles faced by humanitarian actors in 2007 changed little, logistical challenges increased, as access by land was restricted. Funding shortfalls were reported, but the principal problem was widespread violence and insecurity, targeting even humanitarian workers.

As a result, access to victims in Darfur decreased significantly and the quality of services suffered. Nevertheless, humanitarian agencies managed to continue supporting the affected population, although with diminished scope and quality. As in 2006, activities covered the full range of humanitarian assistance, in the face of floods and disease. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), humanitarian agencies were able to provide food and livelihood assistance for a total of 4 million people throughout Sudan, and support over 180,000 displaced people during the North–South return process. 24

Services included health, water, and sanitation, disaster preparedness, education, protection, and mine action. Various NGOs and UNICEF provided for high schools in all IDP camps serving 28 percent of school age children, 46 percent of whom are girls. Although coverage is still low – according to Save the Children about half (650,000) the children in Darfur do not receive *any* education – it is an improvement over the situation prior to the onset of the Darfur crisis. According to one *IRIN* report, 8 million square metres of road were demined in this period, but little has been done for communities directly.<sup>25</sup>

More than 13,000 humanitarian workers are deployed in Darfur alone, including staff of 13 UN agencies, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, and around 80 international NGOs. All these humanitarian actors have made enormous efforts to meet the needs of the most vulnerable, but efficiency has been sacrificed substantially to security concerns. Some reports indicate that circumstances allow for access to only 40 percent of the affected population.

Very few organisations stay in the field, but instead fly in and out for a few hours at a time.<sup>26</sup> Land transportation being extremely dangerous, most dare not drive, as attacks on vehicles and theft are rife. The UN recently reported that 28 percent of beneficiaries and 29 percent of destinations can only be reached by air.<sup>27</sup>

From January to November 2007, 128 UN and NGO vehicles were hijacked and 74 convoys attacked, causing some agencies to withdraw completely. This situation has not changed in 2008.

Expatriates are disappearing from the field as a consequence of continuing attacks, with most organisations delegating responsibility for implementation to local employees who face fewer risks. The ICRC is one of very few organisations with expatriate personnel on the ground.<sup>28</sup>

Alarming signs of reduced access appeared with the increasing numbers of malnourished people and a rise in outbreaks of disease.<sup>29</sup> WFP reported the slowing of food delivery – due to the hijacking of 56 trucks, 36 of which are missing, along with 29 drivers - threatening timely assistance to more than 2 million people. WFP estimates the current shortfall in food in transit to Darfur at approximately 50 percent. 30 UNICEF reported that the March 2008 kidnapping of the state water corporation staff – along with all drilling equipment – threatened to deprive 180,000 of clean water this year. The loss could affect up to 400,000 people.<sup>31</sup>

According to one interviewee from an INGO, humanitarian workers actually contributed to the social chaos in the affected areas of Sudan, explaining that poor coordination, competition among NGOs for scarce human resources, and the inability of UN agencies and INGOs to come up with standard criteria in the course of field activities have created more problems than solutions, and led to even greater confusion among people in the IDP camps.

# **International donor response**

# Funding and coverage

In 2007, the UN work plan for Sudan constituted the most extensive humanitarian operation in the world in funding and coverage. Approximately 5.5 million people were assisted, at a total cost of some US\$1.33 billion for humanitarian assistance, and US\$560 million for recovery and development. By the end of 2007, the UN reported 82 percent receipt of all funds pledged or committed. The 2007 Appeal for Sudan represented 30

percent of the total call for US\$3.9 billion to support assistance for 27 million people in 29 countries.<sup>32</sup>

Flexible funding mechanisms, such as the Common Humanitarian Fund (CHF) and the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) were thought to be successful tools in allocating funds for humanitarian efforts during this period. However, these funding mechanisms were less effective than expected, because they did not release funds in a timely manner, due to conflicts of interest NGOs faced in accessing and participating in decisionmaking processes and coordination.

The UN and its partners more than doubled the recovery development component from US\$212 million in 2006 to US\$563 million in 2007. This shift was particularly pronounced in the South Sudan programme, where development and recovery (US\$356 million) exceeds humanitarian assistance (US\$280 million). The United Nations and Partners announced that the work plan for 2008 would focus on governance, strengthening basic services, and capacity building for the government of Southern Sudan.<sup>33</sup> However, figures and statements from interviewees showed clearly that humanitarian assistance is still the priority in Sudan, mainly, but not only, because of Darfur. Most funds (80 percent) were given to the UN agencies, with around 19 percent going to INGOs, and the remainder to national NGOs. The same distribution pattern was followed for recovery and development funds.34

The real total of humanitarian assistance received for Sudan in 2007 increased by almost US\$1.5 billion, including the Appeal and other donations, as well as Sudan's internal contribution of 3.8 percent of the total. At end-2007, 1.3 percent was registered in uncommitted pledges, with an additional US\$18 million in response to the August floods. Of the 23 OECD/DAC members, 19 contributors were registered by OCHA's Financial Tracking Service (FTS), excluding Austria, Portugal, Luxembourg, and New Zealand, although the latter was mentioned in the survey.

The largest DAC donors remained unchanged from 2006, with the United States contributing US\$536.3 million (36.7 percent of the total, smaller than 2006), EC/ECHO US\$173.5 million plus US\$27.2 million, respectively (13.8 percent), the UK US\$107.3 million (7.3 percent), the Netherlands US\$70.3 million (4.8 percent), and Canada US\$58.2 million (4 percent). The carry-over from 2006 represented 2.4 percent of 2007 funding, with almost US\$30 million coming from CERF and the majority of donations from the DAC donors except the EC and the United States.<sup>35</sup> Many of the organisations interviewed in Sudan during the survey in March mentioned that some 80 percent of their funds came mainly from the CHF and CERF, and the rest from bilateral support.

UN agencies received far more funding than NGOs or the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, with each UN agency supported by an average of at least five donors. Local NGOs received the least bilateral funding from DAC donors. The distribution of funding among regions changed: the South received 38.3 percent from the CHF, and Darfur 26.2 percent.<sup>36</sup> The remaining regions received significantly less funding: Abyei (1.8 percent) and North Sudan (0.8 percent) received the least.

Regarding actual coverage, Darfur heads the list with 71 percent, followed by South Sudan (66 percent), and Abyei and Kordofan each with 64 percent. Khartoum received only 18 percent.<sup>37</sup> Actual coverage figures show that fund distribution was not based exclusively on needs, despite the intention of donors to follow this principle.

Most stakeholders and analysts are convinced that decisions are still politically based. For example, the funds allocated to the Cross-Sector Support for Return which received 11.5 percent of the CHF, when both North and South governments pressured the displaced to return for the elections.

The sector distribution list is headed by Health/Nutrition (19.3 percent), followed by Food (17.8 percent), and Water and Sanitation (15.7 percent). Least funded were Basic infrastructure and Settlement Development with only 1.2 percent.<sup>38</sup> The distribution of funds by sector gives a clear picture of how donors prioritised humanitarian activities, regardless of work plans, allowing them to demonstrate results faster, and increase their visibility. Nevertheless, as coverage was partial everywhere, it remains questionable if all needs were covered sufficiently and proportionately.

The UN reports that, despite the overall increase in funding in 2007, only US\$290 million was secured for the work plan. This led to shortfalls.<sup>39</sup> The trend in 2008 seems to continue in the same direction, as funding provided at the beginning of the year covers only 36 percent of the amount needed for humanitarian operations, particularly in transport, essential for the security of humanitarian efforts.

In March 2008, Poverty News Blog issued a press alert in which 14 international NGOs, among them Oxfam and Care, warned that vital assistance to millions of people across Sudan would be jeopardised without a

renewed commitment to provide long-term funding for humanitarian flights. 40 UN Humanitarian Air Services warned that flights could close within weeks due to the shortfall.<sup>41</sup> According to this source, donors pledged to maintain the service during April but, as of this writing (June 2008), nothing further had been confirmed. WFP also expressed concerns about the real risk of not meeting their goals due to the combination of funding shortfalls, the rainy season, and security concerns.

# **Donor performance in light of the Good Humanitarian Donorship (GHD)**

#### Principles

The programmed humanitarian priorities for 2007 were in line with the GHD Principles and clearly advocated protection of and humanitarian assistance to all in need (especially the most vulnerable), strengthening of community coping mechanisms, promotion of self reliance, and enhancement of humanitarian access to affected populations. To achieve recovery and development, the work plan and programmed priorities aimed to enhance local capacity governance and sustainability - significant undertakings, given the context in Sudan. Partial progress having been achieved in 2007, they remain priorities for 2008.

With respect to the donor commitments to provide funding based on needs assessments (Principles 2 and 6), the 2007 work plan proposed that the UN and partners would assess all regions in Sudan and place equal emphasis on humanitarian and development requirements. However, information from the field confirmed that decisions were based not only on needs, but on factors of visibility and politics regarding which regions to work in. Some local NGO interviewees described cases in which donors pushed a particular NGO to work in a certain region, even when they had neither presence in the region nor experience in the specific field. Other interviewees expressed the view that there were overlapping needs assessments, and no sharing of information. Some INGOs stated that communities were tired of people coming to assess needs, making empty promises, and not following up with action.

With regard to Principles 5, 7, 8, 9, and 13, linking relief and development and flexible funding, most stakeholders recognised that some progress has been made. The work plans of the UN and partners focused more on early recovery. Many UN agencies and NGOs are currently working in this sector, especially in South

Sudan. However, most of the interviewees expressed the acute need for more flexible funding and an increase in long-term arrangements which will permit them to actually achieve the planned objectives. But some indicated their perception that the majority of donors are not prepared to invest in what they call "software," meaning the time-consuming work of partnering with communities and beneficiaries to increase awareness and active participation. INGO interviewees reported that most donors are not yet ready to fund this component, because, in their view, it does not yield measurable results.

In accordance with Principles 10 and 14 (working with humanitarian partners), the 2007 work plan placed greater emphasis on state-level planning, giving priority to consultation with government and partners. It has been reported that collaboration with and inclusion of the Sudanese counterparts increased in 2007, and that the UN and partners were better able to deliver basic services and address emergencies and to transfer knowledge and capacity to others. According to the UN 2008 Humanitarian Appeal, 2007 saw greater collaboration between governments and UN/Partners, in such areas as joint assessments, response, and policy development. The outcomes include a successful response to the flooding, disease outbreaks, progress in demining, and the signature of the Joint Communiqué for Darfur to facilitate humanitarian activities and administrative procedures.

However, not all stakeholders share this perception. According to some local NGO representatives, these statements represent wishful thinking. In practice, they say, local counterparts are dealing with problems in the field, with very few resources and little or no support.<sup>42</sup> There were cases describing wasteful use of resources and a disrespectful attitude on the part of UN personnel.

On the other hand, some funding mechanisms were put in place to promote better coordination between UN and NGOs. Despite high funding for Darfur and the shift in the work plan focus, the CHF was widely supported and was expected to facilitate a flexible response to humanitarian needs. However, some INGO interviewees expressed dissatisfaction concerning the discretionary and ineffective way these funds were managed. According to some INGOs,<sup>43</sup> the system works poorly because of administrative regulations, restrictions, and inefficiency within the UN Secretariat. Another reported reason for failure was the General Assembly members' suspicion concerning the internal political dynamics of the INGOs. Yet other sources mentioned secrecy in the allocation process and the risk of losing

political neutrality by association with the UN in the humanitarian and political arenas.

UN sources highlight the benefits of greater structure and more power for the Humanitarian Coordinator. UN agencies expressed discontent with the overwhelming amount of time spent in planning, having less direct access to donors to make a case when needed, and violations of the allocation process.

#### Political involvement and commitment

Judging by funds received, Sudan is attracting the attention of the international community, even though media coverage has decreased significantly. In 2007, the Security Council passed four resolutions (1755, 1769, 1779, and 1784), concerning peacekeeping forces and the full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). However, some analysts and experts in African studies<sup>44</sup> contend that there are reasons why Sudan – and Darfur in particular – are receiving so much attention from the international community. Professor Mamdani<sup>45</sup> stated that other conflicts in Africa which involve extreme humanitarian atrocities – viz. Somalia – receive even less attention than Darfur, and are sometimes not even addressed.

According to other analysts, <sup>46</sup> Darfur's strategic geo-political location has political and economical implications for powerful countries, and thus for the War on Terror and the oil industry. They state further that the role of the international community has been weak and paradoxical. Although DAC donors committed troops for the African (peacekeeping) Mission in Sudan (AMIS) to improve security and protect civilians and humanitarian workers, the soldiers were not paid by the European Commission for seven months. Canada assigned civilian helicopter pilots to the mission, but their refusal to go to dangerous locations jeopardized the operation <sup>47</sup>

Under these circumstances, it is understandable why this mission failed and had to be replaced by the UN hybrid force (UNAMID) – still not fully deployed. The international community has been weak in responding to the repeated GoS defiance of Security Council resolutions. This weakness calls into question the extent to which donors are committed to GHD Principle 16, calling for the implementation of international guidelines and respect for humanitarian law.

Moreover, the international community's fragmented understanding of the conflict in Sudan has contributed to their inability to deal with the real causes of the conflict and to find lasting solutions for one of the most severe humanitarian crises the world has yet faced. For this reason, some analysts believe that international guarantors and the UN remain disengaged from implementation of the CPA, not only because of the overwhelming situation in Darfur, but also because there is no consensus on the way forward in the political arena.<sup>48</sup>

#### Conclusion

The situation in Sudan does not show signs of quick resolution. As elections loom, violence and fighting may increase. Despite progress in CPA implementation and with UNAMID barely begun, many yet unsolved issues could trigger resumed hostilities between North and South. Civilians and humanitarian actors are increasingly targeted in a lawless land, which shows no respect for basic human rights and dignity.

Delivery of the 2008 programme is linked to CPA benchmarks, mainly resolution of the boundary demarcation process, the census, and other election preparations. But fulfilment of the CPA depends on humanitarian access, which, in turn, is at the mercy of both the rainy season and the political and security environment in sensitive areas. Under these circumstances, the international community's commitment to Sudan must be not only robust but more effective, as results so far show that, despite ample funding, lasting solutions to the conflicts have not been achieved.

Alleviating the suffering of the civilian population is paramount. The international community should begin by obtaining unrestricted access to the victims and a firm respect for humanitarian space by all belligerents. Political and military means must be used to achieve this objective as quickly and efficiently as possible, as called for in the GHD *Principles*, in particular, the respect of the international humanitarian law and human rights.

Effective delivery of humanitarian assistance calls for donors to evaluate whether the funding pool is implemented properly, whether funds are being released in a timely manner, and whether the various stakeholders are actually working together and supporting each other in responding to the desperate needs. Donors must become more flexible, support long-term investments with longer-term funding and make administrative procedures more accessible and simpler for all stakeholders. Greater effort must be made to allocate funds according to need, irrespective of political considerations.

Humanitarian agencies should also be willing to revise their own performance and make necessary adjustments to improve coordination and services, using well defined and common criteria. Beyond plans and statements, INGOs should ensure that local actors are able to take over before leaving the country.

If peace is to come to Sudan, the underlying causes of the conflicts must be addressed with clear and unified strategies. The international community must reinforce its commitment to the affected population by funding humanitarian, recovery, and development needs sufficiently. At the same time, the international community must clarify its political approach, and exert pressure on all parties of the conflict to end hostilities by fully engaging in negotiations for a win-win outcome. This includes critically revising their political and economic interests, which tend to fuel the conflagration instead of solving it. Strict observance of all GHD *Principles* is essential to these goals.

#### **Notes**

- 1 The HRI team, composed of Philippe Benassi, Judith Herrera, and Bosario Palacio visited the Sudan in March 2008. The opinions expressed here are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of DARA.
- 2 AI (USA), 2007a.
- 3 AI (USA), 2007b.
- 4 Ibid
- 5 Al. 2008c.
- 6 United Nations Development Programme, 2007–2008.
- 7 Ibid
- 8 IOM 2008 p. 3
- 9 Reeves 2008
- 10 Ibid
- 11 AI (USA), 2008.
- 12 AI (USA), 2007b.
- 13 Al (Canada) 2008
- 14 Ibid
- 15 AI (USA), 2007a.
- 16 International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 2008b.
- 17 AfricaFocus, 2008.
- 18 IDMC, 2007.
- 19 Al, 2008a, p. 10.
- 20 United Nations Mission in Sudan, 2007, p. 3.
- 21 Al. 2008a, p. 21
- 22 Al, 2008a, p. 20.
- 23 OHCHR, 2008, p. 34.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 IRIN, 2008b.
- 26 Briefing with Patrick Vial, Head of Delegation, ICRC Sudan, 25 March, 2008.
- 27 Reeves, 2008
- 28 ICRC, 2008a.
- UNICEF, 2008a.
- 30 World Food Programme. 2008
- 31 UNICEF, 2008b
- 32 OCHA, 2007.
- 33 United Nations and Partners, 2007b.
- 34 OCHA, Financial Tracking Service (FTS).
- 35 Ibid.
- United Nations and Partners, 2007a and 2007b.
- 37 OCHA (FTS), 2008a.
- OCHA (FTS), 2008b and United Nations, 2007.
- 39 UN and Partners, 2007b.

- 40 Poverty News Blog, 2008.
- Reeves 2008
- 42 Professor Mahmoud Mamdani, Director of the Institute of African Studies at Columbia University, mentioned that during his visit to the region during the Darfur-Darfur dialogue, the NGOs complained that they were dismissed by INGOs, including UN agencies.
- 43 Porter, 2007.
- 44 Mahmood Mamdani, from an address during Barcelona Conference, April 2008
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Al, 2008b; ICG, 2008; IRIN, 2008a.
- 47 Amnesty International, 2007.
- 48 ICG, 2008.

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