

SAVE THE CHILDREN UK

REPORT OF THE

TRADE CONSULTANCY CONDUCTED IN

NORTHERN BAHR EL GHAZAL

March – April 2002

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND APPRECIATION

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Peter Adwok Nyaba
Nairobi, July 2002.

ACRONYMS USED IN THE TEXT

| | |
|---------|--|
| BYDA | Bahr el Ghazal Youth Development Agency |
| CRS | Catholic Relief Services |
| CSK | Community Survival Kits |
| FAO | Food Agricultural Organisation |
| HARD | Hope Agency for Relief and Development |
| IDP | Internally displaced people |
| IGAD | Inter-governmental Authority on Development |
| PDF | Popular Defence Forces |
| NSCC | New Sudan Council of Churches |
| SINGOs | Sudanese Indigenous NGOs |
| SPDF | Sudan people's Democratic Front |
| SPLM | Sudan people's Liberation Movement |
| SRRA | Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association |
| SUPRAID | Sudan Production Aid |
| UN/OLS | United Nations Operation Lifeline Sudan |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |
| VSF | Veterinerie Sans Frontiers |
| WFP TSU | World Food programme Technical Support Unit. |

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Save the Children [SC] UK runs an integrated programme of household food security, preventive medicine and child protection in northern Bahr el Ghazal. Its main goal is to '*realise and uphold the children's rights*' and creates lasting benefits to them by supporting the survival and economic rehabilitation of the families and the wider communities they live in. In its implementation of the above goals, SC (UK) provides and distributes free aid inputs: seeds, tools, fishing equipment, CSKs, etc., to the targeted 'poor' and 'poorer' households in northern Bahr el Ghazal.

The provision of free aid inputs was justified on account that the war had disrupted the traditional trade routes through which these goods and people's needs were brought in. The repeated Baggara raids had stripped people of their assets [livestock], displaced them and heightened their vulnerability to food insecurity making them 'too poor' to purchase their needs even if they were available in the market. The international community responded generously to alleviate the immense suffering and traumatisation.

While the general situation of war still hangs over the whole southern Sudan and northern Bahr el Ghazal in particular e.g. aerial bombardment of civil targets, etc., which reinforces the *rationale* for free distribution of aid inputs, nevertheless, certain important political developments have over the last four years intervened to ameliorate and reduce the insecurity and vulnerability in northern Bahr el Ghazal.

- The SPLA's liberation of Lakes and parts of northern Bahr el Ghazal resulted in increased security. The international humanitarian and development aid have created conditions for economic recovery. In some places in Bahr el Ghazal people have become self-reliant and food production attained reasonable levels that surpluses have been recorded. Monetised economic activities replaced 'bartering'. As a result markets and trading centres have sprouted in many parts of northern Bahr el Ghazal.
- The local peace treaties e.g. Wunlit Nuer-Dinka Peace Covenant [1999] and the Dinka-Messeriya treaty [2000] have created relative stability enabling the people to return to their homes to engage in food production.
- The shift to motorised transportation between northern Bahr el Ghazal and East Africa [Uganda] is accelerating the increase in the volume of trade and movement of goods and people. The peace treaty sealed in April 2000 between the Dinka and Baggara created stability in northern Bahr el Ghazal. Peace Markets were established as a result of this peace treaty in Manyiel [Aweil West], Warawar [Aweil East County] and Abin Dau [Twic County]. A number of smaller trading centres also sprouted as more goods, particularly those which used to be distributed free by the humanitarian agencies, arrived from northern Sudan through camel caravans or by trucks from the south.

In this changed political environment, Save the Children UK commissioned the study to investigate whether or not there is still justification for it or other agencies operating in Bahr el Ghazal to continue providing free aid inputs. The study kicks off from the assumption that changes in the external environment influences and therefore must prompt changes in its programme and project implementation.

The main thrust of the study was to establish the following: -

- that goods, which otherwise used to be provided freely by the SC UK and other agencies were available in the emerging markets;
- that the recipient households [poor and poorest] have a purchasing power that enables them to procure these goods;
- that also the goods provided free in no way harm the market and the economy of southern Sudan in general; and
- if that can be satisfactorily proven then there would be *no justification*, except in emergency situation, for SC UK and other agencies to continue providing free aid inputs in Bahr el Ghazal.

The entry point of the study was, therefore, to establish:

- the existence in northern Bahr el Ghazal of markets in which the people can purchase their necessities;
- the trading activities and linkages [routes] between northern Bahr el Ghazal and Equatoria/Uganda on the one hand, and northern Sudan on the other hand; and
- the volume and sustainability of trade in the context of war in particular the money supply, the household purchasing power and the dynamics of agricultural commodity and livestock production.

The study examined the various elements of the SC UK projects. The provision and distribution of free aid inputs recorded improvement in food security situation of some vulnerable households. Surplus production of sorghum, groundnuts, simsim and rice linked to free distribution of seeds and tools have been registered in Aweil and Wau counties.

The provision of preventive health materials: mosquito nets, blankets, tarpaulins and the digging of water wells that provide potable clean water reduced the occurrence of water-borne diseases and malaria.

The fisheries equipment distributed freely in Aweil East, Gogrial and Wau Counties contributed to improving the nutritional status of the communities. However, the study confirms that the abundance of fish [fresh and dry] in the markets in Warawar, Madhol,

Milo, Akon, Mayen Rual and other smaller markets and trading centres in northern Bahr el Ghazal is attributed to traditional Dinka fishing methods [rok and spear fishing].

The study questioned the rationale behind certain decisions e.g. the decision to terminate the 'cost-recovery' scheme of livestock drugs and medicines [Gogrial and Aweil Counties] and the 'bush shop' project [Wau County]. The problem of financial mismanagement upon which SC UK, FAO, and UNICEF based their verdict did not spring from the livestock owners failing to pay for the services. It was an administrative problem that should have been addressed the SPLM county authorities. The privatisation of the livestock services is the recommended way out the present crisis.

The child protection programme was examined. The study found that it can best be realised in a condition of peace in northern Bahr el Ghazal. However, the local Baggara-Dinka peace treaty has enabled reunification of families separated by abduction and slavery. SC UK is in a strong position, given that it operates on both sides of the conflict, to promote this peace treaty as indeed it is in the forefront of advocacy for peace.

The positive impact of the aid inputs in Bahr el Ghazal can't be over emphasised. However, the study maintains that provision of free goods can be addictive. Not only that but also distribution of goods, even when they are procured locally is administratively and logistically cumbersome for SC UK in Nairobi, Lokichoggio and in the field, as this involved bulk purchase, transportation over long distances and distribution.

The study argues that SC UK provides cash instead of goods. It is more cost effective and leads to empowerment of the recipients, allows them to negotiate and bargain prices and be able to influence the market. However, if local purchases of seeds have to undertaken the harvest is best time for it.

Monetised trading has replaced 'bartering' as a means of wealth distribution and exchange. The whole of Bahr el Ghazal, except in Rumbek County the 'old' Sudan pound notes circulate, trade in the Sudanese Dinar constantly supplied from northern Sudan and the government garrisons of Wau, Awiel and Raga. Other currencies namely Uganda shilling, Kenyan shilling and US dollars are also accepted. The issue of money and its supply therefore has ceased to be problem in Bahr el Ghazal.

The sources of money in Bahr el Ghazal are multiple. Livestock trading, purchases of local seeds and tools undertaken by SC UK and other agencies, employment [either self or with agencies], petty trading and remittance from relatives, and others are the source of income for most [poor and middle] households in northern Bahr el Ghazal. Another, but rather controversial, source of income [better off households] in Aweil, Twic and Gogrial has been the 'slave redemption' exercises undertaken since 1995 by Christian Solidarity International [CSI] and other anti-slavery organisations.

The study concludes that: -

- while the economy in northern Bahr el Ghazal is still fledgling and conditions for vulnerability to food insecurity [due to war and other natural calamities] persists then SC UK and other agencies will have to continue providing free aid inputs to the 'poor' households.
- this provision, however, should be undertaken on a basis that enhances the empowerment of the recipients through strong in-built exit strategy to prevent induction of *dependency syndrome* or addiction on the part of the recipients to free goods.
- provision of free aid inputs have no observable negative effects on the goods brought independently by the merchants in northern Bahr el Ghazal, or the economy in general. In fact some of these inputs contribute to economic recovery.

The study therefore makes the following recommendations: -

- SC UK and other agencies shall in the immediate future continue providing free aid inputs to the vulnerable groups. However, this should be done with a very well *defined exist strategy* and *strict monitoring of the recipients of the aid inputs* given that relief can be addictive and could become an end in itself. This means that *aid* should be distributed on the understanding *that it tops what* the people already have in terms of other resources and services otherwise it may enhance dependency syndrome in the community.
- SC UK should engage the community with the assistance of the community leaders, local NGOs, CBOs and the local administrative authorities by conducting periodical *disaster mitigation and preparedness workshops* as a means of weaning them from relief aid. In this respect SC UK may want to encourage the growth the civil society elements as partners in the implementation of its programme.
- Aid inputs *should lead to empowerment and preservation of dignity* of the recipients by building local capacities towards self-reliance and self-sufficiency. In this respect, SC UK and its partners should encourage dialogue with the community groups [women, youth, traders, farmers, etc.] to build their organisational capacities for effective service delivery, change of attitudes and perceptions about their reality and the construction of accountable relationships that will ensure the successful implementation of the projects.
- *A shift to cash instead of goods is highly recommended.* This is to cut down on administrative and logistical burden SC UK has to face each year to purchase and distribute goods. Cash injection will avail money to the local economy and stimulate trading activities in northern Bahr el Ghazal. It empowers the targeted 'poorer' households and enables them to influence the market prices.

- SC UK and its partners in the livestock sector should assist the Community Animal Health Workers and the indigenous NGOs involved in the livestock sector, in the process of privatisation of the veterinary services to the population in Bahr el Ghazal and other parts of southern Sudan as a means of resolving the *impasse* created by the financial management of the cost-recovery scheme.
- At the policy and institutional level, SC UK and its partners to engage the SPLM both at the local and strategic levels to help formulation of policies and establishment of accountable institutions and instruments of good governance.
- SC UK and other agencies operating on both sides of the conflict in the Sudan are in a strong position to influence, stimulate and accelerate the efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the Sudan, through advocacy, lobby with donor governments and the UN agencies.
- SC UK and other agencies operating on both sides of the political divide to assist the elements of the civil society particularly the grassroots peace committees in the transition zone between north and south Sudan in peaceful transformation of the conflict in the transition zone between northern Bahr el Ghazal and Southern Dar Fur/Kordofan.

CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Remarks

Southern Sudan is endowed with a huge natural resource potential in agriculture, forestry, livestock, fisheries, water, minerals and fossil fuels [oil & gas] deposits and hydroelectric power. These have remained untapped for a very long time largely due to conflicts and war and partly due to deliberate neglect on the part of the central authorities in Khartoum. The physical infrastructure is undeveloped. There are few roads and as a result the region is completely isolated from the rest of the world.

The economy is dominated by household subsistence food crops and livestock production. Fishing, hunting, harvesting of undomesticated plant foods, bee honey collection, bartering, petty trading, etc., are other important socio-economic activities in most parts of southern Sudan. This mode of production is highly insecure and is easily susceptible to disruption by the combination of environmental and other natural calamities. It has rendered vulnerable to food insecurity many communities, particularly among the agro-pastoralists and pastoralist in Bahr el Ghazal, eastern Equatoria and Upper Nile.

Over the last nineteen years the environmental factors combined with the insecurity caused by north-south war and inter-tribal conflicts with serious consequence for the household and community food and livelihood security. Indeed, household vulnerability to food insecurity in parts of Lakes and northern Bahr el Ghazal has been attributed to war, assets stripping raids, repeated drought, floods, epizootics and pests.

The war destroyed the physical, economic, administrative and social infrastructure that existed in the Southern Region before 1983. Lives have also been lost with conservative estimates put at two and half million and additional four to five million have reportedly been displaced internally or across the international borders. Many more specially in northern Bahr el Ghazal counties of Aweil, Gogrial, Twic and Wau have been abducted into slavery in southern Kordofan and Dar Fur.

The political divisions and splits within the SPLM/A leadership and the internecine fighting that ensued exacerbated the situation in Bahr el Ghazal. This translated into Nuer-Dinka conflicts in which mutual raids, abduction of women and children and arson was rampant affecting the population in Yirol, Rumbek, Tonj, Gogrial and Twic Counties in Bahr el Ghazal and in Nyuong, Leer and Bul in western Upper Nile. Indeed, the internal divisions and fractionations in the political movements transformed into ethnic conflicts dominated the political, military and humanitarian landscape throughout southern Sudan for the last eleven [1991 – 2002] years.

The Wunlit Dinka – Nuer Covenant 1999 and the ‘people to people peace process’ it spurred under the auspices of the New Sudan Council of Churches [NSCC] halted some of these conflicts. This considerably eased tensions between the Dinka and Nuer in Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile and was followed by a thawing of relations between the political factions leading eventually to the merger in January 2002 of the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement [SPLM] and Sudan People’s Democratic Front [SPDF].

A new political situation was created in southern Sudan that had political implications for the war and the quest for peace in the country. Unity in the political movement placed the South in a better position *vis a vis* the north to either negotiate a just peace or present a united front to fight the war that started to escalate in western Upper Nile as a result of the development of the oil fields. The GoS developed cold feet on the IGAD peace process for resolving the conflict. The enormous sums of money from the oil revenues [approximately US \$ 500 Million annually] enabled it to purchase sophisticated military equipment and raised its prospects of winning the war.

The terrorist attack of September 11th, 2001, and the US led war on terrorism have forced internal changes in the Sudan. The NIF regime had been linked to international terrorism. Its cooperation in the war against terrorism and other internal issues was driven by fear of western military action. Its agreement to Nuba Mountains’ cease-fire, the Danforth four point’s confidence building measures particularly on the protection of the civil population against military actions, etc., all came against this background. The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development [IGAD] Peace Process has been invigorated pushing the peaceful resolution of the conflict to the top of the political agenda. The GoS and SPLM signed the Machakos Protocol on July 20th sealing the agreement on the two contentious issues in the IGAD’s Declaration of Principles [DoPs].

1.2. The northern Bahr el Ghazal context

The situation in Bahr el Ghazal especially in its northern counties was worst than any other place in southern Sudan. The civil population was exposed not only to war but also to intermittent popular defence forces [PDF], *Murahalieen* raids and latter Kerubino and his Nuer militia stripped the Dinka population In Aweil, Gogrial and Twic of their cattle, and abducted into slavery women and children. Natural calamities of droughts and floods caused crop failures heightened communities’ vulnerability to food insecurity leading to immense suffering and massive displacements. The famine of 1998 in Bahr el Ghazal came against a this background of weakened socio-economic base of the Dinka people.

Although the international humanitarian intervention started off formally in South Sudan with the establishment United Nations Operations Lifeline Sudan [UN/OLS] in April 1989, it was not until 1998/99 that it reached its peak at the height of famine in Bahr el Ghazal. This response saved lives and restored livelihoods to communities devastated by war and natural calamities. Relief assistance however also created problems for the recipient communities. Indeed some of its unintended negative manifestations of this humanitarian intervention include: induction of ‘*dependency syndrome*’ particularly among the internally displaced persons [IDPs] in eastern Equatoria. The use of relief as a

weapons of war especially in the wake of the split within the SPLM/A leading to prolongation of the war. Relief and the asymmetric relations between the recipients and providers led to the erosion of traditional social values and coping mechanism.

Linked to relief and humanitarian assistance was the emergence of the elements of the civil society. The establishment of indigenous NGOs, CBOs, Church-based organisations, Professional Associations, Traders and Farmers Unions, Youth and Women Groups has led to the development of social capital in south Sudan necessary for its socio-economic revitalisation and recovery.

The civil society groups participate in the social and political engineering processes and the transformation of social reality in Bahr el Ghazal, characterised by economic underdevelopment and low level of social and political awareness, through service delivery and change agency. This includes participation in conflict transformation and resolution particularly at the grassroots levels. The NSCC and Bahr el Ghazal Youth Development Agency [BYDA] jointly engineered and facilitated the Wunlit Nuer-Dinka Peace Covenant 1999, which brought peace and stability in Lakes and parts of northern Bahr el Ghazal between the Nuer and the Dinka.

Peace, particularly at the grassroots level, is crucial and necessary to reduced people's vulnerability to food insecurity. Thus the Wunlit Nuer - Dinka Peace Covenant [1999] has had a positive impact on the political environment in Bahr el Ghazal. It not only halted the blood letting between the Nuer and Dinka, but it also stabilised the communities enabling them to recreate their lives.

The Baggara – Dinka peace treaty April 2000 transformed the social landscape in northern Bahr el Ghazal. It influenced the political and military environment with the following manifestations: -

- There has not been any serious conflict between Dinka and Baggara since 2000. It is believed that the Murahaleen did not participate in the GoS military offensive that resulted in its recapture of Gogrial in July 2002;
- Increased and free movement of people between southern Kordofan and Dar Fur and northern Bahr el Ghazal. Many of the Dinka women and children abducted or displaced to the north are returning in large numbers to their homes in Aweil, Twic and Gogrial Counties;
- The Baggara have unimpeded access to Kiir Kou for water and pastures. This is the most important outcome of the peace treaty because unlike in the past access to these resources came through constant conflict with the Dinka;
- Increased trading activities in northern Bahr el Ghazal. Northern merchants bring goods in camel caravans and that adds to confidence building reinforcing the peace in the area.

- With increased trading activities come the advantage of money supply, mainly Dinar, to northern Bahr el Ghazal.

These facts indicate that in a wider context it is possible to engineer sustainable peace between the Dinka and their Baggara neighbours through access to and equitable sharing of scarce resources negotiated from equal position of strength. Maintaining the momentum of such a peace process poses a challenge to the international agencies, particularly those operating on both sides of the political divide, to rise over and above their perfunctory relief programmes to engage both the Dinka and the Baggara Arab tribes of southern Kordofan and Dar Fur in peace and conflict transformation exercises.

The current programme of resource and services could be used to build local capacities for conflict transformation and peace through awareness raising, trade, equitable sharing livestock and veterinary services, etc., to enhance peaceful communication between these groups. At last the Dinka and the Baggara have to recognise that their mutual interests for survival in an increasingly deteriorating physical environment resulting from ecological changes and erratic weather and precipitation patterns lie more in peace and harmony among themselves. This would enable to share amicably the natural resources of water and pastures. They have hitherto viewed their conflict through zero-sum lenses [the advantage for one translates into disadvantage for the other]. Indeed long-term peaceful interactions e.g. trading activities, intermarriages, equitable sharing of material resources and services may ensure greater benefits to both the Baggara and the Dinka much more than either could secure through conflict or zero-sum approaches. This will enhance their mutual economic and social empowerment.

Peace and stability creates conditions conducive to economic rehabilitation and recovery and to reduce people's vulnerability in northern Bahr el Ghazal. This blends with the SPLM policy document '*peace through development*' programme. In this respect, therefore, the agencies may want to engage and encourage the local SPLM civil and military authorities to continue observing the terms of this local peace by giving protection to all the people whether they are Dinka or Baggara. Save the Children UK may want to engage the local SPLM authorities to enable the community receive maximum benefit from its child protection project.

1.3 The Trade Consultancy

Over the last four to five years there was considerable changes in the political and military situation in northern Bahr el Ghazal that have remarkably improved the physical security of the people. This has helped some communities to recreate their lives and attain self-sufficiency particularly in food production, which is likely to influence the decision to distribute free aid inputs. The positive factors *inter alia* include: -

- In 1977, the SPLA liberated central Equatoria, the whole of Lakes Region. Yirol, Rumbek, Tonj and Warrap garrisons were captured opening up roads to Aweil East & South, Gogrial and Twic Counties and linked up to the Kaya – Yei – Maridi – Rumbek – Tonj – Akon road, enabling easy access of goods and people

to the Ugandan borders and the rest of East Africa. The roads have been rehabilitated and a shift to motorised transport has increased the volume of trade between Bahr el Ghazal and the Ugandan borders;

- In February 1998, Kerubino Kuanyin Bol defected back to the SPLA. His militia group had been a factor in the destruction of the social and economic base of the people in Twic, Aweil, Wau and Gogrial Counties. Indeed, this was a major relief for the people and they started to return to rebuild their homes;
- The Wunlit Nuer – Dinka Peace Covenant sealed in February 1999 terminated the state of war between the Nuer [Western Upper Nile] and Dinka sections of Bahr el Ghazal [Yirol, Rumbek and Tonj counties]. This brought peace and stability in the border areas between Bahr el Ghazal and western Upper Nile. It was a positive development that later made it easier for the Nuer displaced by war in the oil fields to settle in Dinka land in Bahr el Ghazal. It eventually led to the merger of the SPLA and SPDF in January 2002;
- The *Murahaleen* concluded a peace treaty with the Dinka¹ on April 16th, 2000. This was a very important development that improved the security situation in northern Bahr el Ghazal. This peace treaty enabled the abducted and displaced Dinka people to return to their homes in Aweil, Twic and Gogrial. It also enabled the reopening the trade routes to the north. The free movement of goods and people permitted the establishment of markets and an increase in trading activities between the Dinka and the Baggara merchants.
- The recent US sponsored agreement between the government of Sudan and the SPLM for the protection of the civilians, which has minimised the use of Antenovcs and helicopter gunship bombing of villages, cattle camps, etc., has created a condition of relative stability and peace within the communities in Bahr el Ghazal.

These facts mirror an improved physical security situation which presumably impacts on the SC UK food and livelihood security programme in northern Bahr el Ghazal. Against this changing socio-economic, political and military situation SC (UK) commissioned this study to undertake the following: -

- Investigate whether or not it is *still* justifiable for Save the Children UK and other agencies to continue providing free aid inputs [seeds, agricultural hand tools, fishing equipment preventive medicine materials, and household utensils];

¹ In 1998, and in response to the frequent Baggara Arab raids and abduction of Dinka children and women, the SPLA launched a counter attack. The Rezeighat and Messeriya suffered heavy casualties, lost large herds to the SPLA and were forced far away from the water sources of Kiir Kou. As a result, they lost large herds to drought. The Arab tribes were then forced to seek peace with the Dinka, thus enabling them to gain access to water and pastures along Kiir (Bahr el Arab) River.

- Bring out a full picture of the current trading activities in south Sudan identifying possible harmful or beneficial effects of free aid inputs on trade and southern Sudan economy.
- Challenge the *rationale* behind free distribution of goods; and
- Make recommendations, within the constraints of the SC UK mandate, to address the identified beneficial or harmful effects of free goods.

1.3.1 Objectives of the study

In order to determine whether or not there is still justification, or challenge the *rationale*, for provision of free aid inputs the study set the following objectives: -

- 1.3.1.1 To analytically review relevant data and reports on trading and market activities in northern Bahr el Ghazal;
- 1.3.1.2 To investigate and document the flow of aid inputs, and the products of aid inputs and interventions into and out of southern and northern Sudan, identifying and describing the major markets on these routes;
- 1.3.1.3 To describe any changes in market activity and availability of goods over the last four years in Bahr el Ghazal, suggesting reasons for these changes and predicting further changes over the next four years, stating the assumptions made in making these predictions. Analyse the changes in Equatoria and northern Sudan that have affected Bahr el Ghazal;
- 1.3.1.4 To describe the links between labour and market activity and the household purchasing power in the markets;
- 1.3.1.5 To establish the extent to which the free distribution of aid inputs impact on the price and availability of goods brought to northern Bahr el Ghazal and traded independently;
- 1.3.1.6 Make an analysis of the possible inhibition or promotion of trading activities resulting from free distribution;
- 1.3.1.7 Make estimates of quantities of freely distributed goods that end up in local markets: any positive or negative effects of this on the market, estimate the effect that an increase in trade and trading activity would have on different groups within southern Sudan: Who would benefit or be harmed by these developments;
- 1.3.1.8 To also establish and document current barriers to trade and factors, which are likely to limit trade expansion in future; and

1.3.1.9 To recommend modifications or additions to current SC UK project activities to address any of the identified opportunities or threats to the southern Sudanese economy from the free distribution of aid inputs, ensuring that any recommendations for modifications or additions to project activities fall within the constraints of SC UK mandate or identify potential partners, indigenous NGOs, alternative agencies, local structures and community groups who may be able to engage in this work.

The thrust of the study, therefore, was to establish availability in the emerging markets of the goods now distributed freely by Save the Children UK and other agencies; prove that trading activities affect or influence the 'poor' and 'poorer' households who are objects of the aid inputs; look at the purchasing power of the recipient communities, whether or not there is enough supply of money and how this money change hands through labour relations and the operation of the market forces.

1.3.2 Geographical scope of the study

The study focus was on the counties where Save the Children (UK) operates a food security programme, covering provision of seeds & tools, fisheries equipment, Livestock drugs and medicines; preventive health, education, water well project, and a child protection programme in Wau, Gogrial, Aweil East & South Counties [map 1 & 2]. The fieldwork, however, covered Rumbek, Tonj and Twic Counties. This was to establish trade linkages and relationships between northern Bahr el Ghazal and Equatoria and East Africa on the one hand, and northern Sudan on the other hand.

1.3.3 Methodology

The study was carried out in ten weeks divided as follows: -

A week of preparation in Nairobi, Lokichoggio involved collection and analysis of the wealth of data and information provided in agencies reports. The WFP TSU annual needs assessment reports for all the counties [1999/2000 & 2001/2001] were perused. Interviews were conducted with officials of SRRA, CRS, FAO, USAID, SUPRAID and many other agencies both in the field and in Nairobi. SRRA seconded a data base officer to the study.

A period of 5 weeks was spent in the field during which structured and semi-structured interviews and group discussion were undertaken with recipients, community leaders, local authorities, traders [chamber of commerce], county development committees, farmers, fishermen, and women groups. Save the Children UK field staff were also interviewed. A period of three weeks of further discussion with Save the Children Loki and Nairobi staff, report writing and submission of drafts followed.

The study benefited through discussion, comparison of notes and other communications from the findings and results of the separate on-going studies by FAO and Oxfam [GB] in respect to livestock marketing in south Sudan. UNICEF/OLS has commissioned a

consultancy on rural trade in southern Sudan and the results of that study informed the analysis on prices. In Mapel, the consultant participated in the Disaster Mitigation and Preparedness Workshop conducted by Oxfam GB and HARD.

1.3.4 Constraints

The study was conducted in a very friendly and cooperative environment. At no time did the consultant or his assistant face any difficulty in their work whether in the field, Lokichoggio or Nairobi. However, the study faced the following constraints: -

- The fieldwork was undertaken at a time the SC UK field staff were busy with seed procurement. Having to share the same transport facility was a small constraint. We missed only one scheduled visit as a result;
- Data collection and acquisition was not easy with some agencies and county authorities. The team was not able to meet the SPLM County Secretaries of Rumbek, Tonj, Wau, Twic, and Aweil South. The SRRA Data Base was helpful only in Rumbek County. It was not possible to get any data on aid inputs from Tonj and Gogrial Counties. In Rumbek, it took the team four days to trek down the SRRA slaughterhouse clerk. While in most of the counties visited the Traders, Farmers, Women and Youth groups were more than ready to discuss with us, some civil authorities were reluctant, at best and hostile at worst, to the team;
- Insecurity in Gogrial County in the wake of the GoS military offensive [third week of April] led to our relocation from Luanyaker before we could finish our investigation. We could not look at the fisheries sector in Toich Payam of Gogrial because of insecurity.

CHAPTER 2

THE HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN SOUTHERN SUDAN – A REVIEW

2.1. The general international response

The international humanitarian intervention in the war-torn Southern Sudan began in earnest in April 1989 with the formal signing of the United Nations Operations Lifeline Sudan [UN/OLS]. The political conditions and factors that permitted such a unique understanding have since waned. However, over a period of thirteen years the OLS consortium expanded to strength that at a certain point in time stage more than fifty relief and humanitarian agencies serving more than two hundred relief locations [counting the airstrips] were registered in southern Sudan. It is estimated that the international community spent more than one billion US dollars in humanitarian assistance.

The political situation in southern Sudan falls within what has been characterised as a 'complex emergency'². The international response endured partly because of the changing political military scenarios occasioned by shifts in political alliances on the part of the liberation movements. This sometimes was triggered by the manner in which relief, especially food relief was involved in bolstering the political and military positions of the opposing factions. The 'starvation triangle' in central Upper Nile became a classic example of how relief food pushed the shifting fronts with serious consequences for civil Nuer and Dinka population.

Relief is not an end in itself. It is a means to restoring lives and livelihood and for mitigating the effects of a humanitarian disruption. The manner in which relief assistance was delivered and managed was criticised for many of its flaws. Indeed it produced a lot of negative [intended or unintended] consequences that have left marks on the communities in southern Sudan. Some agencies operated on principles and standards not in line with the recognised international standards, that instead of mitigating the effects of war and natural calamities in some parts of southern Sudan, relief assistance perpetuated, prolonged and escalated the war in southern Sudan making it a '*permanent political emergency*' [Duffield, 1993].

The dynamics of SPLM/A internal political and military contradictions which became ethnicised [tribalised] as Nuer- Dinka conflict in Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile was an important factor in the evolution of this permanent political emergency.

The renegotiation of the UN/OLS Tripartite Agreement of December 12th, 1992 involving more factions created a new dimension that not only weakened the principles of the humanitarian operations in Southern Sudan but also led to outrageous abuse by the

² Defined internationally as a crisis which may involved armed conflict and which may be exacerbated by natural disasters.

parties to the conflict in what amounted to using humanitarian assistance as a weapon of war. It was in this context that some agencies bent the humanitarian principles and law.

The UN/OLS remained subservient to the GoS' manipulation of the principle of sovereignty. It banned, at will sometimes to suite its military strategy, relief flights to some relief centres that heightened people's vulnerability. The GoS used the negotiated corridors of tranquillity e.g. air, river and river routes for military purposes. It placed armed military personnel and intelligence officers on relief transport railways and boats that seriously compromised the SPLA positions.

Relief assistance paralysed and eventually eroded the traditional value systems, customs and indigenous disaster coping and mitigation mechanisms e.g. kinship relations of 'helping' and 'sharing' of resources in times of extreme community stress [conflicts, droughts or flood triggered famine]. The issues of re-distribution or diversion of relief items were not sufficiently addressed in order to find a permanent solution. As a token of protest to the SPLA or other armed groups the agencies withdrew from the centre to the disadvantage of the recipients.

The asymmetrical relations that evolved between the recipients [communities] and the providers [NGOs] in the relief aid interactions reduced the people to helplessness only with raised expectations that solutions to their every problem depended on external resources provided by the agencies. This was pushed by the agencies' lack of exit strategies in the implementation of their emergency programme.

The international humanitarian intervention in southern Sudan nevertheless saved lives, restored household and community livelihoods and started a measure of social and economic recovery and reduced vulnerability to food insecurity particularly where relative peace prevailed. The humanitarian and development assistance [led by USAID and EU] generated employment of the south Sudanese, availed loans and grants and has led to social and economic empowerment of the 'poor' and 'middle' category households in northern Bahr el Ghazal. It is also creating conditions for local community peace by encouraging dialogues and sharing of services.

2.2 The SC UK Southern Sudan Programme

The SC UK operates an integrated programme in Aweil East & South, Gogrial and Wau Counties of northern Bahr el Ghazal focused on provision of basic household food security needs and livelihood restoration: -

- *Food security* and livelihood project to enhance household and community food security and increasing the options for responding to stress [war, displacement and drought]. To alleviate vulnerability SC UK distributes seeds: sorghum, groundnuts, simsim, maize and rice; agricultural hand tools: [local and imported] melodas, jembes, axes and ox-plough, livestock medicines, drugs and vaccines, fishing equipment: hooks and twine of different sizes; training in indigenous fish

preservations and storage techniques and secondment of staff to the Technical Support Unit (TSU) of the World Food Programme;

- *The preventive health* project focuses on provision of safe and potable water for communities and hygienic education in school. SC UK distributes freely preventive health care materials: Blankets, Mosquito nets, tarpaulins to the displaced and resident vulnerable households;
- *Education project.* SC UK supports *primary teachers training*, in particular in areas that addressed the *needs of demobilised child soldiers*, and provides *material support to selected schools* in Gogrial County;
- The *Child protection* project started in 2001 focused on re-integration into their home communities of the demobilised child soldiers. SC UK hopes to extend this to *preventing recruitment or conscription* into the army, and to *tracing, return and re-integration* of those children who have been abducted to the north, *monitoring of abduction* both within southern Sudan and between north and South; and
- Save the Children UK supports *SRRA water team* that drills community bore holes, provides and installs hand pumps and spare parts at a costs.

In its implementation of the above projects Save the Children (UK) provides and distributes to the vulnerable households these aid inputs free. The *rationale* for providing free aid inputs is grounded in the following assumptions: -

- That the prevailing conditions of war and disruption of traditional trade routes between the towns and countryside in northern Bahr el Ghazal extremely limited trade activities and flow of liquidity hence the communities could not otherwise have access to these goods now provided by SC UK and other agencies; and
- That, because of the above reason, the people are too poor and could not afford to purchase these items. This underpinned the rejection, by the livestock owners considered the 'better off' households in the communities, of the idea of cost recovery of the livestock drugs and medicines.

The *rationale* for free distribution of goods was strongly grounded particularly in Twic, Aweil and Wau Counties where the communities had been stripped of their assets. Indeed loss of livestock is one single calamity from which a Dinka household could hardly recover unless it is restocked through kinship and other re-distributory mechanisms e.g. marriage, etc. It represents a total destruction of their socio-cultural world and a collapse of community economic base leading to impoverishment and heightened household's vulnerability to food insecurity. It was therefore deemed necessary to support their livelihood recovery by providing the households with aid inputs that enabled them to produce their own food needs.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY FINDINGS

3.1 General Remarks

The study aimed initially to focus on four counties namely Aweil East & South, Gogrial and Wau where SC UK operates household food security and related community livelihood project. Rumbek and Tonj counties were included in the study to establish the emerging southbound ‘trade linkages’ between northern Bahr el Ghazal, Lakes, Equatoria and Uganda/DR Congo [East Africa].

It is known that northern Bahr el Ghazal has historical trade links with southern Kordofan and Dar Fur [map 2]. Indeed most of the agricultural and livestock products of this region [simsim, groundnuts, hides and skins] used to be processed in Khartoum. When the war erupted these trade routes were interrupted and disrupted. However, in the last four years major markets have emerged in Warawar, Abin Dau and Manyiel in which trading have flourished as a result of the improved security situation in the area.

SC UK has no project in Twic County but it was visited to in an effort to establish the trading routes that link it westwards with both Aweil and Gogrial, northwards with Abyei Muglad, Dhain in Dar Fur and Kordofan, and eastwards with western Upper Nile.

The study has revealed that rehabilitation and reconstruction of the physical and administrative infrastructure have started in earnest in some parts of Bahr el Ghazal with the assistance of the international humanitarian agencies. Development aid is gradually being extended to northern Bahr el Ghazal. Social services in health, education, water and sanitation have reduced people’s vulnerability to food insecurity and health hazards. Agricultural production generates surpluses in food and cash crop which are a factor in the growth of the market. Livestock trading remains the major foreign as well as local currency earner and the source of commercial capital in Bahr el Ghazal

3.2 Flow of Aid inputs

The study defines as ‘aid inputs’ all the humanitarian assistance, its delivery and management, employment of Sudanese it triggers, procurement of local goods and services and development initiatives undertaken by international and indigenous agencies. The amount and timeliness of delivery of ‘aid inputs’ affect the household as well as community vulnerability indices as they also influenced the local economy.

Other ‘Aid inputs’, apart from relief inputs, came in the context of ‘capacity building’ of the local communities and agencies for effective service and resource deliveries. In western Equatoria, CRS initiated Umbrella Grant Programme. This programme availed soft loans to the community based groups to boost agricultural commodity production and assist the local transporters. This was replaced with the USAID STAR funded Grant

Making – Capacity Building [GM/CB] programme that covered Kajo-Keji, Yei, Yambio, Maridi, Mundri, Rumbek, Yirol and Tonj Counties.

The World Food Programme, Lutheran World Federation, Care International, CEAS/LWF, CRS, and others undertook [airdropped or trucked] of relief food delivery. This included cereals [sorghum, wheat flour & grains, maize, millet, etc.] pulses, oil, salt, dried skimmed milk, high protein biscuits, etc. and the amount of relief food delivered was estimated at tens of thousand of metric tons per year [WFP annual reports].

3.2.1 Seeds and tools

Falling within the ‘food security’ docket of relief intervention, the provision of seeds and tools was undertaken to stimulate the rehabilitation of agriculture and food crop production in Bahr el Ghazal. Save the Children UK continues to provide seeds as part of its food security programme. The flow of seeds and tools in Bahr el Ghazal, like other aid inputs, are tabulated under the title ‘*flow of aid inputs*’ of every county.

The seeds provided included different varieties of sorghum [long and short staple], groundnuts, simsim, maize, millet, rice [Aweil, Gogrial and Twic], cowpeas, assorted vegetables, cassava cuttings, and fruit trees [Twic County]. The seeds were either imported or were purchased locally from the farmers or their middlemen.

The seed distribution is direct. The farmers received according to the land they had prepared for cultivation. The study revealed that the ‘poorer’ and the ‘poor’ households cultivated small gardens ranging between 0.5 – 1.5 feddans in Aweil South and Gogrial Counties, while in Aweil East County the ‘poorer’ households cultivated up to 3 feddans. The lack of cash to hire labour has been cited as a factor but more importantly the poor spend most of their time labouring in the fields of the rich and hence have very little to work on their fields.

The tools provided by the agencies included hoes, melodas, jembes, axes, pangas, sickles, racks and ox-ploughs. Most of these tools were purchased from markets in Kenya. The study has not received complaints about the axes, pangas, jembes and racks imported from Kenya. There were complaints about the hoes imported from Kenya. They were so massive and heavy that they had to be reshaped locally to enable people use them. As a result the agencies: SC UK, TearFund and others initially decided to purchase the local hoes or ‘*melodas*’, which were smaller in size and could be used without difficulties.

The production of *melodas* locally however is conditioned by the availability of scrap iron and the ability of the artisan to meet the needs of the population. According to SC UK field staff interviewed there was a big problem with the procurement of the local melodas. For one reason or the other, the artisan’s production could not meet the local demand for *melodas*. It was assumed that the local *melodas* were expensive compared to the ones imported even after including the cost of reshaping them. As a result SC UK decided to import melodas from Kenya.

However, the situation of obtaining scrap metal for tools production seemed to have improved. The study reveals that production of local melodas has increased in Aweil East County, where the rail planks now are being turned into melodas and other household implements. Some agencies, e.g. TearFund procured 10, 000 melodas from Warawar market in March 2002.

On comparison with the imported melodas the study found that the *melodas* produced in Warawar cost Sudanese Dinar 250 to 300 in Aweil East County and about 300 to 350 in Gogrial County. The melodas brought from Abyei and sold in Abin Dau and in Mayen Rual cost almost the same prices in spite of transport [foot or bicycle] involved. The melodas [before reshaping] imported from Kenya costs about eighty Kenyan shillings apiece. At the rate of 3.5 Dinars to a shilling, this would mean 280 Dinars per *meloda*.

The difference margin is not very great considering the cost of reshaping to fit local use, and the fact that local procurement would inject cash into market and economic recovery of the sub-region. Indeed the iron mongers in Warawar informed the study that the demand by the local people for melodas was on the increased. Their customers included even the poorer category in the county. This was partly because the melodas were found to be affordable.

The introduction of ox-plough, whether provided free as in Wau [HARD], Tonj [WVI, BYDA], Twic [SUPRAID] and Aweil East [SC UK, UNICEF, TearFund] Counties, or on a cost recovery scheme, as in Rumbek [ANV, CRS], Gogrial [SC UK, World Relief, Wuonda] Counties, has revolutionised agriculture and food production in Bahr el Ghazal. A farmer in Rumbek had this to say: *'with the introduction of ox-plough, hunger-gap as become a thing of the past'*. This is because they are able to produce surplus food crop.

As the old adage goes *"experience is a form of knowledge acquired in only two ways – by doing it and by being done"*, the repeated famines in Bahr el Ghazal caused by crop failures have taught the Dinka people to change the means and methods of food production. The cow is now considered more of an economic asset and can be employed in agricultural production. So apart from selling their livestock the Dinka now tolerate the use of their bulls in pulling the plough³. This is a big transformation that may pave the way to socio-economic transformation and development.

The demand for ox-plough is very high in Rumbek, Gogrial, Twic and Aweil Counties and many people are striving to acquire at least one. The 'better off' are acquiring even more than three pieces per household. Linked to this development, a transformation is occurring in the kinship relation among the Dinka people, particularly among the Agar and Twic. People who are unable to purchase ox-plough or who don't have bulls to train now offer to work in the farms of the better off groups or they borrow or hire the plough and the bulls and pay either in kind or cash during harvest time – crop sharing. In the

³ The cow is the medium for local saving and all wealth of a household or an individual and social classification is based on or expressed in terms of the number of cattle owned. It used to be shame to be seen selling for whatever purpose a first class bull.

past, a relative would use the bulls or the ox without having to pay back – monetisation of relationships.

The impact of seeds and tools provided by the agencies can't be over emphasised. This boosted agricultural production and surplus production of sorghum, groundnuts, simsim, and rice have been registered. The study recognises that the introduction of ox-plough reflected in the increased area of cultivation and the local procurement of seeds and food as important factors that have pushed the increased food crops production.

In Aweil East County, for instance, a surplus totalling to about ten thousand metric tons of sorghum, groundnuts, simsim, rice put together have been registered. This was direct impact of the local procurement of seeds by SC UK and TearFund. The farmers were encouraged by the initial purchases of their crops that the rich ones hired farm labourers or bought ox-plough that doubled their area under cultivation. The procurement now, however, does not match the production and many farmers are disappointed that they are not finding market for their agricultural commodities and may cause a backlash in the coming season.

The increased crop production is also reflected in the restocking observed among the 'poor' and 'poorer' households in Rumbek and Aweil Counties. Most of the households impoverished as a result of losing their livestock have now through surplus production of food crops were able to restock.

3.2.2 *Livestock sector and veterinary intervention.*

Bahr el Ghazal is a bigger producer of livestock in southern Sudan. There is an estimated three to four million heads concentrated in Lakes [Rumbek, Yirol, Cueibut and Tonj] and northern Bahr el Ghazal [Gogrial and parts of Twic and Aweil East]. These numbers can be attributed to the continuous provision by the agencies, including SC UK, of veterinary services. Although most households in Aweil, Gogrial and Twic have lost their livestock, nevertheless, the region now teems with herds of livestock thanks to the veterinary drugs and medicines provided by the agencies.

The veterinary services in Bahr el Ghazal started off as far back in time as early nineties. The VSF Switzerland [Gogrial, Twic, and Tonj Counties] SC UK [Gogrial County], Networks [Yirol, Tonj Counties], Oxfam GB, UNICEF, FAO and other agencies provide *Veterinary vaccines and drugs* [livestock sector] either freely or on cost sharing scheme. The agencies vaccinated tens of thousands of livestock in the last years against Rinderpest, Anthrax and other epizootics.

The study revealed that in only a period of six months [October 2001 and March 2002], 2100 heads of cattle were licensed in Rumbek alone to be driven southwards to Equatoria, Uganda and Congo [Table 4.5]. Mayen Rual [Gogrial County] market registered 1400 heads of cattle were licensed to be driven to Wau town in that period [Table 3.4]. In addition to these figures the study has registered that in Mayen Rual

market 600 and in Rumbek 1450 heads of cattle were slaughtered in the period between October 2001 and March 2002.

Save the Children UK, FAO and other agencies involved in livestock sector on cost recovery of the services provided. They however suspended the services. The study reveals that the decision to terminate the cost-recovery scheme was prompted by financial mismanagement of the money recovered in Rumbek, Tonj and Gogrial Counties.

Interviews carried out with the cattle owners and some administrative personnel however contest the decision. Their response to the decision was that they were not consulted. They preferred that the programme continued on the basis of direct dealing with the livestock owners while the investigation of the officials continued. They believe the administrative and financial deficiency of the local authorities should not be used to punish them.

Livestock medicines and drugs is a successful business in Warawar, where the northern merchants have made huge profits from the sale of medicines they bring from north.

3.2.3 Fisheries project and provision of fishing equipment

Fishing is an important off farm food security activity in which nearly all households participate. It is ubiquitous in northern Bahr el Ghazal and Lakes particularly along the perennial streams and the swamps. The communities use traditional as well as modern fishing techniques and equipment. These methods range from traditional nets, hooks, spears, baskets and 'channel blocking'⁴ to the modern equipments of twine and hook lines.

The agencies: SC UK [Wau and Aweil East Counties], TearFund [Aweil East], FAO [Aweil East], UNICEF, World Relief [Gogrial], and others provide fishing equipments, *twine and hooks* of different sizes and types. The distribution of the fishing equipment covers the vulnerable groups namely the 'poor' and 'poorer' households.

Interviews with the fishermen in Madhol, Akon and Wunrok, the study has revealed that fishing lines [nets and hooks] are effective only when the water levels are high in Lol, Alal and Jur rivers. The time of high waters coincides with the raining season, which is the fish breeding period and hence are not accessible. During the dry season the water levels drop and the bigger fish migrate down stream, where only fishing lines are effective. This may be the reason why some recipients bartered their spools and twine for other necessities.

However, some fish species [cat fish, black fish and others] remain trapped in the toich and the only effective means of catching them are the traditional spear [men] and 'rok'

⁴ Applies to seasonal streams and this involves planting wooden poles from one side to the other side of the stream when the water level is high and when most of the fish is upstream. The community as a whole undertakes this.

[women]. It is worth mentioning that traditional fishing methods of rok and spear are the most appropriate in Aweil East and Gogrial Counties [Kujok and Toich payams].

The quantity of fish, both fresh and dry, the study group found in Warawar, Malual Kon and Madhol markets is small and don't reflect what could have been the catch given the amount of fishing gear inputs tabulated for Aweil East County. Moreover the quality [types and sizes of fish catch] were those found not in open river channels but among the reeds and could have been caught using rok attesting to the unsuitability of the modern fishing equipment provided, and hence in Aweil East, parts of Gogrial and Wau Counties where the streams are shallow the communities prefer traditional fishing methods [rok and spear fishing].

Correlating the above fact with an information divulged by a northern merchant in Warawar regarding spools and twines, it is obvious that most of the spools and twine freely distributed by Save the Children UK, UNICEF, FAO and other agencies to the vulnerable households end up being sold to the merchants in Warawar market. Some of the merchants interviewed admitted making profits in Kordofan and Dar Fur selling CSKs, twines and spools [relief items] to nomadic Baggara⁵.

The abundance, size and type of fish in the markets [fresh or dry] directly reflect the type of equipment and methodology employed to catch it. The presence of large fish [Nile perch, 'rieck chol', 'leek' and other species] usually found in large water bodies e.g. lakes, Nile, etc., in the markets in Rumbek, Thiet and Abin Dau means that twine [fishing net line] and hooks [hook line] have been used and there is no doubt that these could have been supplied and distributed by the humanitarian agencies.

In Warawar, Gogrial, Milo and Mayen Rual markets the study team found only 'small' fish. The bulk of the fish whether fresh, dried or in pounded form consisted mainly of the 'mud-fish' and '*Tilapia Nilotica*' varieties, which because of their respective habitats must have been caught using either traditional rok [for mud fish] or throwing net [for tilapia and other species].

The impact of Fish gear provided by humanitarian agencies is felt more in Lakes and western Upper Nile. This is reflected in the presence of large quantity of fish in Rumbek, Thiet, markets and trading centres. Thus in order to commercialise the enormous fish potential in the Nile and its tributaries, it is necessary to inject modern fishing gears [twines and hooks, boats, etc.] to eastern Lakes and western Upper Nile, which are the mains source of fish in Lakes, western and Equatoria.

3.2.3 *Preventive Health*

Imbedded in the household food and livelihood security is the provision clean and potable water resulting in considerable reduction in water-borne diseases. In Gogrial

⁵ The plastic containers are used for carrying water or packaging utensils during movements; the tarpaulins are used for tent making, while the spools and twines are used for making sleeping beds [angareeb] and chairs.

County, Save the Children UK assists the SRRA water team to drill community bore holes and provides hand pumps and spare parts. The community contributed one bull and 60, 000 Dinars for the construction and fitting one bore hole with a hand pump.

SC UK provides and distributes preventive health materials namely mosquito nets, blankets, tarpaulins, community survival kits and cooking utensils to the displaced as well as vulnerable resident households in Wau, Gogrial and Aweil East Counties. The provision of mosquito nets and blankets has been effective in reducing the occurrence of malaria particularly in the '*toiches*'.

In the interview with the merchants in Warawar referred to above, the study was informed that a large portion of the CSKs, particularly the plastic container, distributed by SC UK and other agencies in Aweil East were sold or exchanged for other household necessities by the recipients.

3.3 Labour relations, employment & social mobility in Bahr el Ghazal.

In the beginning of humanitarian intervention, South Sudanese were not permitted to seek employment with the agencies. Those who by virtue of their roles and responsibility had to work with the agencies were allowed to receive only material incentives. This is how paying Sudanese relief workers in bars of soap, kilograms of salt or sugar, 'second hand clothes', *sufarias*, etc., became current with the agencies and how 'bartering' crept back into the social relations in many parts of southern Sudan. The monetisation of remunerations was a later development.

The employment of Sudanese in relief work was triggered by the surge of the Sudanese indigenous NGOs [SINGOs], which began to proliferate following the SPLM First National Convention 1994. Many southern Sudanese benefited from the employment opportunities in the agencies. Certain positions e.g. drivers, cooks, watchmen, etc., hitherto occupied by expatriates [Kenyans or Ugandans] were localised [nationalised]. The professional Sudanese were able to get medium to senior positions in the projects⁶.

The study has revealed that there is a link between aid inputs, their delivery and management and the monetary employment of southern Sudanese, some of them in senior positions in the humanitarian agencies. At the agencies level, SC UK and the Norwegian People's Aid lead the international community in the number of Sudanese employees in senior positions in their head offices or in the field. In Rumbek, where a large number of agencies' run projects [table 4.1] the number of southern Sudanese employed is approximately five hundred. This is followed by Aweil East County [table 1.1]. This employment opportunity is a source of income for the different social groups and foreign currency earner.

There is a direct link between labour, market activities and household purchasing power in the counties covered by the study. Save the Children and other agencies employ local.

⁶ In the health care programmes of certain NGOs, southern Sudanese medical doctor worked under the administration and supervision of a Nurse, without any credible criteria.

In Malual Kon, Madhol, Akon, Mapel SC UK employs casual labourers, watchmen, cooks and drivers. Most of them hail from poor or medium category households. These monetised opportunities have had profound impact on the primordial kinship relationship in the Dinka society. The individuals in the 'poor' category have to work for their livelihood - instead of the traditional way of 'hanging' on employed relatives.

Employment on the farms or with agencies or individual self-employment e.g. cutting, collecting and selling firewood, building materials [poles, grass, ropes etc.], charcoal, brewing of sorghum beer and alcohol, running food and tea stalls, etc., in markets and trading centres is a major source of income for the 'poor' and 'medium' category households.

In Aweil East and Twic Counties young women and girls from 'poor' categories household engage in portaging of merchant wares between the markets and trading centres. In Warawar, women carry water and manage public 'bathing' booths and an interview with two revealed that at the end of the day each went home with a minimum of 25, 000 – 30, 000 Dinars. With the income from this informal employment, the 'poor' category are able to transform their social status. They purchase heifers, ox-plough, clothes, food stuff and medical services or pay school fees for their children.

The approximate income of the various groups is given in Table (3) of each county in chapter five below. For instance the average income per household in Aweil East County is about 60, 000 Dinars [very poor - poor], 80 – 120, 000 Dinar [middle] and > 140, 000 Dinar [better off]. In Aweil South County the figure is much lower reflecting the extreme vulnerability of the community. In Rumbek, the figures are higher. The 'poor' category households have an average of LS 75 - 100, 000 [400, 000 Dinar] while the 'better off' have an average of LS 105, 700 – 250, 000.

It has been established that the income accruing to the household are used for purchasing goods, services, which otherwise used to be provided by the relief agencies. Some people saved part of this income in reproductive assets i.e. restocking their herds.

The study interestingly revealed that most of the individuals in the 'poor' category prefer employment as casual labourers, watchmen, etc., with the humanitarian agencies to traditional farming in the villages. This may be attributed to perpetual crop failures and other factors, which make employment even for a merger salary more attractive than uncertainties associated with the traditional subsistence farming.

As mentioned above, SINGOs emerged in the context of reception and redistribution of humanitarian aid. Their interests and existence depend on the continuation of humanitarian assistance but their impact created conditions for emergence of a vibrant civil society and for democratic transformation of the political environment in southern Sudan.

The study recognises the role played by the SINGOs, professional associations, community based organisations, youth and women groups – elements of the civil society

as very pivotal and critical to the establishment of civil order and accountable public institutions in southern Sudan. They have contributed to raising the general political and social awareness among the people imperative for the democratic process in the social, political and the economic spheres in southern Sudan.

3.4 Markets and trading activities in Bahr el Ghazal.

The growing insecurity the garrison towns experienced in the early eighties prompted the civil population to relocate to the rural areas. In Bahr el Ghazal, the civil population vacate towns like Aweil, Tonj, Rumbek, etc., and established themselves in their villages.

It was in the course of this movement that small trading centres were established in Mapurdit, Agany [Yirol County], Makuragar, Akot, Barpakeny, Karic [Rumbek County], Thiet, Marial Lou, Akop [Tonj County], Mapel, Barurud, Acumcum [Wau County], Mayen Rual, Alek, Panliet, Liethom [Gogrial County], Warawar, Malual Kon, Madhol, [Aweil East], Malual Agag, Wunrok, Mayen Abun, Turalei, Abin Dau [Twic County]. These trading centres have since evolved in markets. The larger markets: Rumbek, Yirol, Tonj, Gogrial and others emerged only after their liberation in 1997.

There is a direct link between the markets, the trading activities, money supply, the growing people purchasing power and the household food and livelihood security in Bahr el Ghazal. The study established that motorised transport has replaced petty or foot traders resulting in increased volume of goods traded. The 'Bush shops' started in the early eighties have now become well established trading centres. The increase in demand for manufactured and consumer goods is reflected in the increased livestock trading between Lakes and Equatoria and Uganda.

The trade routes [see map 1] between Bahr el Ghazal and Equatoria established by livestock and foot traders flying between Yirol, Rumbek, and Tonj; and Maridi, Yambio [Tambura] and Yei became secure with the liberation in 1997 of central Equatoria and Lakes. It now takes about two weeks for a trader to travel to Koboko in Uganda to purchase goods and to Rumbek or Yirol.

Livestock trading connected Lakes [production area] Equatoria and Uganda [Livestock consumption] from whence came the 'old Sudanese Pounds' notes currently in circulation in Rumbek. It is worth mentioning that when Yambio fell to the SPLA in 1990 the Dinar had not yet been introduced into circulation. Lots of these notes found their way to Lakes through livestock trading. Livestock trading therefore remains the source of money that sustained the trade between the livestock production areas in Lakes region and the consumption markets in Uganda. The number of cattle sold in Arua in three years [1996 – 1998] has been put at 25, 530 bulls according to a survey carried out by Cesar Guvele on behalf of CRS.

Northern Bahr el Ghazal is linked to southern Kordofan and Dar Fur and markets in northern Sudan through livestock trading, labour exchanges and other activities. Livestock and agricultural commodities [simsim, groundnuts and gum] have traditionally

been drawn from northern Bahr el Ghazal and transported by trucks train to industries in Khartoum. These were disrupted by war except the livestock trading, which continued albeit through PDF and *Murahaleen* raiding to feed the livestock export to Middle East and the Arab Gulf states.

The trading activities within northern Bahr el Ghazal and between it and parts of Lakes [Tonj and Yirol], western Bahr el Ghazal [Wau and Raga] and northern Sudan are conducted in Dinar. In Rumbek and western Equatoria the 'old Sudanese Pounds' notes circulate as the legal tender notes, although there is no regular supply. This creates difficulties of not only uniting the market but also different rates of exchanges create artificial price differentials.

Livestock and agricultural commodities are definitely important source of money in Bahr el Ghazal. Humanitarian agencies and their projects have also injected money into the local economy through employment of local human resources, purchases of local goods and services. The markets in Rumbek, Thiet, Mapel, Malual Kon, Warawar and Abin Dau thrived at one time or the other on the cash injections from the agencies' operations.

Another source of money in northern Bahr el Ghazal has been the slave redemption exercises undertaken by Christian Solidarity International (CSI), Christian Solidarity Worldwide and many other anti-slavery organisations in North America. CSI has since 1995 been involved in slave redemption of Dinka women and children abducted and enslaved by *Murahaleen* of southern Dar Fur and southern Kordofan. Indeed large sums of money running into millions of US dollars filtered into northern Bahr el Ghazal through the slave redemption exercises.

The presence of large amounts of US dollar notes in markets in Aweil East, Twic and Gogrial Counties attracted northern merchants, who brought goods and Dinar to these markets, traders from Lakes [Tonj and Rumbek], who brought in livestock, as well as traders from Equatoria who brought manufactured goods from Uganda. These traders took back dollar notes in order to purchase more goods.

3.4.1 Major Markets in Bahr el Ghazal

Relative peace and stability due to improved security is a factor in the sprouting and mushrooming of markets and trading activities in Bahr el Ghazal. The study has confirmed [map 2] the existence of trade links and markets in Bahr el Ghazal. These include: -

Rumbek town

Is a booming market in Lakes and indeed Rumbek is the largest in the SPLM administered Bahr el Ghazal. It teems with all kinds of businesses and services as illustrated in table 4 (4) mirroring socio-economic recovery in the county.

Rumbek has grown as a result of factors linked to humanitarian intervention. First, as a result of the shift to motorised transport of commodities and the formation of cooperative trading organisations. The CRS programme GM/CB is a factor in the growth of the market through cash injection.

In Rumbek, there are more than twenty-four agencies and these organisations purchase goods and services from this market leading eventually to the growth of the market.

Another important factor is that Rumbek lies *en route* between Uganda and the rest of Bahr el Ghazal and commodity traffic passes through it. Besides, it has the largest livestock auction in Lakes and that means a lot of money accruing to the local authorities. Linked to Rumbek are smaller markets in Pachong, War Chol, Alor Dior, Barpakeny and Cueibut.

Thiet town

The market in Thiet [Tonj County] is linked to Rumbek, Mapel [Wau], Mayen Rual [Gogrial] and other markets in Bahr el Ghazal. It is much smaller in size. It gets its goods from Rumbek [Equatoria – Uganda trade axis], Wau County [Mapel – Wau town trade axis or Mapel – Tambura trade axis] or Mayen Rual [Gogrial County], which in turn is linked, to Warawar or Abin Dau. Thiet market is linked to smaller markets in Tonj, Marial Lou, Warrap, Akop, etc., in Tonj County, Maper in Rumbek County and to Ganyliel and other smaller markets in Western Upper Nile. Trading is mostly in livestock, agricultural commodities and fish in exchange for manufactured goods from Uganda and northern Sudan.

Mapel

The market in Mapel was vibrant and indeed attracted business as far as Mayen Rual, Rumbek, Wau town and Thiet. It started to decline when the humanitarian agencies withdrew in 2000. However, the market is linked to Tambura, which in turn is linked to Central African Republic through livestock trading. It is also linked to Thiet and Tonj and Rumbek markets which are livestock producing areas. Mapel is also linked to Wau market notwithstanding the security risks involved. The agricultural commodities traded in Mapel include: sorghum, groundnuts, simsim, lulu oil and honey. The lulu oil project now produces edible oil and soap increasing the economic potentiality in Wau County.

Mayen Rual

This is the largest market in Gogrial County that links it with Tonj, Wau, Twic and Aweil [East and South] Counties. Mayen Rual has been described as the boiling pot of trading activities between northern Bahr el Ghazal, Lakes and Equatoria, where all kinds of goods from northern Sudan, Lakes, Equatoria and Uganda/Kenya are traded.

The trade is booming in livestock between Mayen Rual and Wau town. Traders prefer to spend one day walking to Wau with their cattle in spite of the risks involved than spend

two months on the way to Uganda. The issue is both the long distance to the borders and the unfair terms of trade in the Ugandan markets.

Warawar [Aweil East County] and Abin Dau [Twic County] markets –

Situated in the transition zone, Warawar and Abin Dau markets have been designated as peace markets. The trading in these markets is predicated and depends on the local peace treaty between the Dinka and the Baggara. It is this peace that drives the trading activities and allows the free movement of people and goods.

The northern traders bring manufactured goods: clothes, salt, household utensils, soap, simsim cake, etc. In the past they would take back to livestock and livestock products [hides and skins], grains, and relief items e.g. tarpaulins, spools, community survival kits, and goods from Uganda e.g. slippers, tea, coffee and animal drugs and vaccines.

These days, the northern traders don't purchase to take to the north the Dinka cattle. First, Sudan had stopped exporting livestock and livestock products [beef] to Arab Gulf states. Secondly, the Dinka breed of cattle hardly survive under extremely arid conditions in southern Dar Fur and Kordofan. Thirdly, trading activities with the SPLM/A controlled areas have been prescribed by the NIF government. Northern traders, therefore, have to smuggle out of the garrison towns in the north at their own risks. The goods are brought in small amounts on camel and donkey's backs, thus making them slightly expensive than those brought in from Uganda. The same difficult situation exists in Abin Dau.

In Warawar, a big group of ironmongers [plate 4 (1)] produce local melodas in large quantities from the rail planks brought down from the destroyed railway line about forty miles to the west. The study has found out that TearFund still purchases melodas from this production centre. The prices of the local melodas are a bit higher than the imported ones nevertheless the people prefer them to the imported ones. Procurement of these melodas definitely benefits the local industry.

3.5 Major constraints to economic recovery in Bahr el Ghazal

The characteristics of the emerging market, whatsoever, in Bahr el Ghazal are indicators of its economic recovery and revitalisation. Once the market elements are threatened by insecurity due to GoS military activities or otherwise, as recently in Gogrial the economic recovery is in jeopardy.

The present political context of southern Sudan contains two contrasting aspects. It can be a source of hope representing opportunities and strength of the emerging order. But it is as well as a fountain of despair representing the frustrations, weakness and threats with the deficiencies of the established administrative and judicial order. The most serious constraints to trade and economic recovery in general are as follows: -

3.5.1 War and Insecurity

The most serious threat to the emerging markets and trading activities is insecurity on the road and in the market. In northern Bahr el Ghazal insecurity stemmed from the GoS and its allied militias. It still poses a serious threat to community stability and peace. Its intention and recent moves to recapture Gogrial was a destabilising factor in the whole northern Bahr el Ghazal, disrupted the trading routes at a time the civil population was beginning to resettle in their homes. The recapture of Gogrial is serious a threat to stability and growth of trade negatively affecting the economic recovery. The most serious threat comes from the wanton and indiscriminate aerial bombardment of civilian targets, which the Sudan Air Forces carries out from time to time. It destabilises and paralyse all economic activities.

Warawar and Abin Dau markets were stabilised now because of the peace treaty between the Dinka and Messeriya/Rezeighat. Peace, harmony and individual security are important factors not only for the traders and their goods but also for the civil population.

3.5.2 Good governance and the rule of law

Good governance - as represented by the rule of law, justice and equality - is pivotal for the markets and the stability of trading links. Absence of accountable public civil order has permitted the emergence of local strongmen who impose on the civil population their highly personalised authority with serious consequence for civil order.

The study has revealed that the traders flying between certain locations inside the same county or between counties e.g. Tonj – Rumbek have been harassed and forced to pay taxes over and above the official taxation as come in the SPLM Tax Schedule published in 2000.

However, taxing or collecting fees on every imported item, whether or not they are for development purposes, is a disincentive and a threat to investment and growth of trade and commerce and economic recovery and revitalisation in southern Sudan. In fact, the state of the economy in southern Sudan is such that the SPLM should encourage investment by cutting down on taxes through well-defined tax exemption and tax holidays.

On the other hand, a clamp must match this economic measure down on corruption in the civil and public service. The SPLM rules and guides should draw a clear line between personal domain and public spheres. Authority, civil or military, and public institutions have to be emancipated from this patrimonialism.

3.5.3 Bad roads, transport and communications

Communications and exchange of commodity information in general, transport, particularly motorised transportation of goods, are critical for the growth of markets in southern Sudan. There is no tarmac road in southern Sudan. The distances between the

livestock and agricultural commodity production and consumption centres are astronomical.

The bad un-rehabilitated roads, the long distances between Bahr el Ghazal, particularly its northern counties, and Uganda and Kenya is a factor in the high prices of the goods trucked in from Uganda, while the same is not true for the livestock driven to Uganda for the purchase of these manufactured goods. A first class bull cost about US \$ 150 in Koboko, far less than what that amount can purchase in terms of manufactured goods in Uganda. This unfair term of exchange in favour of the manufacturing industries is a threat and a constraint to livestock and agriculture based economy in southern Sudan and in Bahr el Ghazal in particular.

3.5.4 'Unidirectional' Trading harms the economy of Bahr el Ghazal

Linked to this unfair livestock trade between southern Sudan and Uganda is the *unidirectional trading itself* i.e. the movement of manufactured goods in one direction and of cash money in the opposite direction [between southern Sudan and Uganda, or between northern Bahr el Ghazal and northern Sudan].

The volume of goods in the market in northern Bahr el Ghazal is very small compared to the amount of money sometimes available in this markets. Manufactured goods e.g. sugar, tea, soap, beers, cigarettes, etc., from Uganda are sold all over southern Sudan as far as Warawar. However, there is not a single agricultural commodity local produced in southern Sudan finds its way into the Ugandan market. The traders who import goods from Uganda don't take agricultural commodities in export. They carry cash money, usually US dollars, Kenyan and Ugandan shillings which circulate freely inside southern Sudan. Similarly, the traders from northern Sudan carry back cash US dollars and the Dinar.

There comes a time when all the liquidity in Warawar, Mayen Rual [Dinars and Dollars] and Rumbek [old Sudanese pound], have been depleted and trading comes to a stand still simply because the liquidity has been transported away from the markets. The cash money, particularly the dollars that come into Bahr el Ghazal are used only to chase expensive perishable and consumable foreign goods manufactured outside southern Sudan end up promoting industries in Kenya, Uganda and northern Sudan from where these goods originate.

Linked and related to the unidirectional trading is the issue of repatriation back to Kenya, Uganda and possibly overseas of foreign currency earning accruing from the sources mentioned above. Except for the poorer groups, most of the middle level and senior agencies southern Sudanese staff, many senior SPLA commanders, the Secretaries in the SPLM Commissions, some traders and farmers have their families residing in cities and towns in Kenya and Uganda. They maintain these families through remittances from southern Sudan or from relatives working and residing abroad in USA, Europe and Australia.

The study has revealed also that this remittance has been a factor behind underhand activities by some local authorities. They raise large numbers of bulls, usually as tax from the civil population, to be sold either in the local markets or trekked to Uganda. This means that a large portion of their monthly remunerations is repatriated back to east Africa and very little remains to circulate in the local markets.

While remittance may look normal and justified, it has serious bearings on the dynamics of trading and overall foreign currency earnings of southern Sudan. The study has revealed that a sizeable portion of the GM/CB loans availed to the traders and farmers groups in Rumbek ended up being frozen in the form of livestock – restocking, or has been repatriated to East Africa. This explains why many of those who received the loans in Rumbek and other places are unable to repay.

Repatriation of cash money does more harm to the market and hence the study considers it a threat to economic recovery. This situation is exacerbated by the absence of banking and other financial institutions. The lack of a legal tender in southern Sudan is a major constraint to economy recovery and revitalisation. The circulation of different currencies, notably the Ugandan and Kenyan Shillings and the US Dollar is a factor in the non-unification and consequently the shrinking of the market activities.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY FINDINGS

The conditions for humanitarian intervention and hence justification for provision of free aid inputs still exist throughout southern Sudan although to varying degrees and intensity. In some parts the frontlines are active while in other the GoS has been relentless in bombing civil targets. For instance, the GoS recapture of Gogrial garrison town recreated the scenario ten years ago of population displacement, heightened household vulnerability to food and livelihood insecurity and need for humanitarian intervention in Kuajok, Alek and Gogrial payams after nearly two years of relative quiet. Such is the nature of the 'complex emergency' in southern Sudan that the cycle of destruction, intervention and disruption has become vicious in some parts that people have been on perpetual strait and move for the last ten years.

The study main task was to prove that the goods otherwise provided free by Save the Children UK are available in the emerging markets in northern Bahr el Ghazal, and that the people particularly the 'poor' and 'middle' categories are capable of purchasing them. The second thrust line was to determine whether or not the non-food relief items provided by Save the Children UK and other agencies operating in northern Bahr el Ghazal did no harm to the emerging markets.

Once the study established these facts there would then be no justification for SC UK and other agencies to continue providing these goods free, since the people can obtain them from the local markets.

Security was the most important single factor upon which all others factors hinged. The study recognised that the security situation in northern Bahr el Ghazal has considerably improved since 2000 as a result of several factors. The growth of SPLA military prowess in northern Bahr el Ghazal that witnessed the liberation of garrison towns and the arming of the Dinka was an important factor. It became a deterrent to *Murahalieen* raids forcing them to seek peace with the Dinka to enable them access water and pastures in Kiir Kuo.

The peace treaty [April 2000] between the Baggara and Dinka has paid off in the form of free movement of people and goods between northern Sudan and northern Bahr el Ghazal. The Dinka were able to settled in their villages and engaged in agricultural and restock their livestock. Markets started to mushroom and trading activities boomed in Aweil East, Twic, and Gogrial Counties.

On the other hand, the improved security of the trade routes witnessed a shift to motorised transportation of goods from the Ugandan borders. This increased the volume of goods reaching the markets in Rumbek, Thiet, Mayen Rual and from there to Warawar and Abin Dau in northern Bahr el Ghazal.

The study has also established that with improved security in northern Bahr el Ghazal the supply of money [Dinars] became steady partly because of increased movement of people and goods from and to northern Sudan and the garrison town like Wau and Aweil. Cash also accrued to all the social groups from trading and other income-generating activities e.g.

- sale of agricultural commodities: sorghum, groundnuts, simsim either as food or seeds, lulu oil and honey [Wau, Aweil East and Gogrial Counties]; both men and women [poor households] engaged in sale of local building materials [poles, ropes, grass, etc.], burning of charcoal, running food and tea stalls in markets and trading centres; brewing of sorghum and simsim beers, portaging of merchandise; Livestock trading is a major source of income for the 'middle' and 'rich' category households;
- Local purchases undertaken by humanitarian agencies of goods [local seeds and tools], services and employment of all social groups, and the soft credits under the STAR CB/GM injected cash into the local economy [farmers, traders and women groups] in Rumbek and Thiet.
- In northern Bahr el Ghazal the CSI slave redemptions exercises availed US dollars which assisted the local economy in Aweil, Twic and Gogrial.

Different currencies: Sudanese Dinar [Yirol, Tonj, Wau, Gogrial, Aweil and Twic Counties], 'old' Sudan pound notes [Rumbek], US Dollar, Kenyan and Ugandan Shilling circulate in Bahr el Ghazal. Each currency establishes its level of exchange according to demand and supply in the market. Except for the 'old' Sudanese pound notes, all other currencies have regular money supply and that ceases to be problem.

The study therefore contests the assumption that that there was no cash in Bahr el Ghazal or that the people are poor and could not afford to purchase the goods, underlying the rationale for provision and distribution of free aid inputs. This may have been true in the early nineties when the situation was still in flux and people had no confidence in trading activities. The rationale may have also been based on false assumption corroborated from superficial and empirical observations on people arriving at the relief centres in terrible conditions.

Whatever the case, the assumption completely ignored the fact that Southern Sudan villages had no banking facilities before the war. But even if there were such facilities the people preferred to save their money in form of livestock or to keep it as cash money in their homes. In the stampede to assist and save lives the relief agencies missed the fact that the poor people they were assisting could have been keeping money in their huts. This explains the existence in western Ekuatoria and Rumbek of 'old' Sudanese pound notes withdrawn from circulation in the rest of Sudan as early as 1990s.

After establishing that trade routes and trading activities At present there is enough supply in Bahr el Ghazal of cash money where in US dollars or Sudanese Dinar. The

people exchange their commodities through the different currencies available in the market. This brings us to *challenging the rationale behind free distribution of goods* in Bahr el Ghazal. We start from the following assumptions that: -

- dependence on relief aid was deliberately *induced* as part of a strategy that factored 'relief food' into the prosecution of the war.
- there is inadequate understanding of the communities in southern Sudan on the part of the agencies. Put in another way there is a failure of two cultures [of the providers and recipients of aid] to communicate and this bred the initial erroneous perception that the people were poor and that is how the *rationale* for free goods emerged.
- witnessing such abject poverty and desperate situation for the first time relief workers operated perfunctorily in a manner that actually induced in the people the 'dependency syndrome'. Most of the unintended negative consequences are attributed to the manner relief aid was delivered and managed.
- That relief aid in southern Sudan endured fifteen years on, underwrites the fact that relief aid ignored the local traditions and cultures and imposed values that paralysed the indigenous responses to disasters. The '*kinship*' relation, now current in humanitarian literature of the agencies in southern Sudan [WFP & TSU reports] is not a new thing⁷. Had the local cultures not been ignored or neglected, the western relief workers would have discovered that there are traditions of '*helping*' and '*resource-sharing*' embedded in the traditional practices of the people. It is obligatory to *help* or *share resources* with blood relatives and 'in-laws' particularly during times of stress. This is what underpins kinship. The study now believe that a fuller understanding of the local social and cultural context will assist the SC UK and other agencies to respond appropriately to emergencies in southern Sudan and elsewhere in the world.

The economy of South Sudan is still dominated by household subsistence agricultural and livestock production. As the security improved in Bahr el Ghazal and life returned to normal, the people needs rise above survival limits. The demand for necessities of life apart from food generates the need for their supply. That is how the demand for clothes, medicines, household utensils, etc., in Bahr el Ghazal prompted the petty traders to trek with their livestock all the way to Uganda markets. They brought back limited volume of supplies as they carried them on their heads or on bicycles. This situation has now improved with the shift to motorised transport between Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Uganda.

As economic recovery gained pace, the market forces began to take the central stage pushing relief and free aid inputs to the areas where insecurity remained a serious threat

⁷ The renowned British Anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard wrote about this relationship among the Nuer and by extension the Dinka and one basic thing about working among people – particularly as a relief worker when trying to assist them - it is imperative to be sensitive to their beliefs and practices.

to household food and livelihood security [parts of northern Bahr el Ghazal and western Upper Nile]. This is true of the situation in western Equatoria and Lakes region of Bahr el Ghazal. This explains the booming trade and growth of market in Rumbek, Mayen Rual, Warawar and Abin Dau. Goods from northern Sudan and from East Africa [clothes, food stuff, household utensils, tools, medicines] are available at reasonable prices that even the 'poor' category households can afford to purchase.

In Aweil East [two payams], Gogrial and Wau SC UK and other agencies distribute free items e.g. melodas, mosquito nets, blankets, household utensils, etc., that traders now bring in from northern Sudan and Uganda. The study investigated whether or not the distribution of free goods did distort the prices of these items in market or whether or not these had harmful or beneficial effects on the economy of southern Sudan in general. The distribution of free goods did not affect the market prices of the same commodities and there is no noticeable harm to the economy. On the country the injection of free goods stimulated the growth of the economy through increased production particularly of the food crops.

In fact, a small proportion of the population is targeted by the humanitarian agencies. In Aweil East County, for instance, only two out of seven payams benefit from the SC UK projects. The targeted groups in the two Payams can't constitute even 2% of the total population. Thus 98% of the population is assumed to purchase from the market their needs for tools, seeds [if ever at all], fishing gear, household utensils, etc. In this respect, there is no way that goods brought in free for only 2% of the community can harmfully disturb the market by distorting the prices.

Not only by statistical calculations and consideration is the figure negligible but the merchants themselves in Warawar confirmed that there was a quick turn over from goods they bring in due to high demand not only in Warawar but also in the neighbouring markets, which because of the large population served the market can't be saturated. The harmful effects of the free aid items could be recognised if they were to swarm the market. But this was not the case anywhere in the counties covered by the study.

To illustrate this point, the study found out that the demand for local *melodas* remained high in Aweil East despite the supplies made by Save the Children UK and TearFund. The pressure to produce more melodas is still high on the ironmongers in Warawar in spite of the imports from Kenya made by SC UK. In view of the above, the study has not registered any noticeable harm done on the market in northern Bahr el Ghazal by the relief aid inputs.

The benefit to the economy is grounded in the fact that these goods contribute positively to the general production process in the counties. The population of the Aweil, Twic and Gogrial and Wau combine to about three million. This is a big market for anything by Sudanese standards and it is not easy to saturate given the available primeval mode transport. A caravan [plate 1.1] of fifty camels arriving every other day to bring goods to Warawar market does not wait even to a day before the goods have been fully sold.

We maintain that availability of free aid inputs distributed to targeted households will not distort the market. Taking the case of *melodas* we argue that distribution of free *melodas* will not affect the demand for purchase of melodas brought in independently by the merchants. It is a fact that not everybody in the targeted household receives a meloda although there may be three to four adults per household [UN/OLS counts a household as made of six persons]. This means that the need for melodas remain in each and every targeted household. The remaining adults will have to purchase *melodas* from the market. In our opinion, what the intervening agency e.g. Save the Children UK, can do in this respect is to assist in building the capacity and capability of the trader to stock their shops with melodas making them accessible and affordable to people.

Under the conditions obtaining in northern Bahr el Ghazal: Long distances and bad roads from Ugandan borders, the study views the transport of these goods over long distances pose serious logistical and administrative constraint for SC UK. This raises another important point. SC UK may still identify vulnerable groups particularly those returning from the north and who genuinely will need assistance until they stand on their own. Instead of providing the vulnerable household with goods it may be appropriate for SC UK to provide cash money such that the targeted households do their own purchasing of the items. Notwithstanding the problems and difficulties that accompany it, cash injection is viewed to be cost effective than the practice of purchasing, transporting and distributing these goods undertaken annually by Save the Children UK.

In this respect, the SC UK field officer will only carry handy cash *directly* to target households saving funds on trucking of bulk goods over long distances⁸. We underline 'directly to the target household' to defeat the middlemen who tend intervene in order to profit from such transactions.

We believe that cash injection into places like Aweil East, Wau will trigger economic dynamism in the market. First, this cash injection will avail more money to the market. Secondly, it will increase the people's purchasing power with which they can influence the market. Thirdly, the recipients will be empowered as to independently negotiate and bargain reasonable prices for these goods in the market. Fourthly, SC UK will move away from the habit of 'spoon-feeding' the recipients of aid inputs – providing them with ready goods. Fifthly, the vulnerable households can make choices of how best they want to benefit from the aid input. This act of making choices is part of empowerment and taking responsibility of own life.

This presupposes that the issue of legal tendency for the South Sudan should be addressed immediately. The circulation of several currencies not only hampers the integration of the market throughout South Sudan – a political imperative, but also the 'old' Sudanese pound notes in circulation in western Equatoria and Rumbek are fast wearing out without replacement. This lead to shrinkage and lack of growth in the market. The continued lack of legal tender condemn to perpetual informal nature the

⁸ It took a convoy of five trucks and almost a month on the way taking tools and seeds to Bahr el Ghazal. The logistics of this operation will not match a cash injection operation.

economic activities in South Sudan and the use of Kenyan or Ugandan shillings in commercial transactions pawns the South Sudan economy to these economies.

Sooner than later the market in Rumbek will face a choice of either to adopt the Dinar in order to link it to markets in the rest of Bahr el Ghazal or to link itself permanently to Western Equatoria. The second option is the likely scenario because Rumbek receives more goods from Uganda than from northern Sudan. The traders in Rumbek therefore will try to accumulate US dollars and Kenya shillings, which they can easily exchange in Ugandan markets.

The situation in northern Bahr el Ghazal poses a separate and different scenario. There is sufficient supply of the Dinars from markets in southern Dar Fur and Kordofan. The long distance traversed by goods to the Ugandan borders coupled with the bad condition of roads makes trading expensive due to heavy charges on haulage to cover for the breakdowns and the profit margins for the traders. This therefore dictates on markets in northern Bahr el Ghazal to maintain stronger links with the northern Sudan markets.

This circulation of Dinar and trade with the north is feasible as long as the peace treaty between the Dinka and the Messeriya/Rezeighat endures. The GoS is decidedly against any easing of tension between the Dinka and the Baggara and that limited the volume of trade. Goods had to be smuggled out of the town in Kordofan and Dar Fur at the risk of the trader's own life or losing goods. The goods are also carried on camel or donkeys back, which limits the volume of good that could be carried creating a real supply problem and an artificial price rise. The GoS inhibition is therefore a threat to trade and growth of the market in northern Bahr el Ghazal.

In view of the above and for continuous supply of the Dinar northern Bahr el Ghazal could remain linked to northern Sudan through the markets in the Aweil Counties [Manyiel and Warawar] and Twic [Abin Dau, Mayen Abun and Turalei] on the one hand to benefit from the Dinar market, or to Equatoria and then to Uganda [Yei - Kaya], DR Congo [Ezzo] and Central African Republic through Tambura [Source Ebba] in order to benefit from the shilling market. This will increase the variety and quantities of goods that can be availed in its market.

The informal character of the South Sudan economy is mirrored by what we has characterised as *repatriation of cash money* from southern Sudan through the agency of southern Sudanese who reside in East Africa, and the *unidirectional trading activities*, in which traders carry cash money instead of exporting agricultural commodities to East Africa. The repatriation of cash and the unidirectional trade are conducted informally. It prevents *national saving* as a means of capital formation in south Sudan, which as result is now at risk of dire impoverishment and economic colonisation. Its gross domestic income is used to chase perishable consumer goods manufactured outside southern Sudan.

From the preceding pages we conclude that the rationale for provision of free aid inputs into food production and preventive health predicated on lack of money or that these

items are not available in markets needs revision. The security and economic situation in northern Bahr el Ghazal has considerably improved compared to four or five years ago that there is no blanket justification for free goods in northern Bahr el Ghazal.

The terrorist attack on America on September 2001 and the US led war on terrorism has forced internal changes in the Sudan and the NIF moderation allowing for the Nuba ceasefire agreement and Danforth's four points confidence building measures particularly the agreement to protect the civilians against military actions e.g. aerial bombardment, abduction and slavery. These raised the peace process to the top of political agenda. The involvement of US, Great Britain, Norway in addition to the IGAD countries rejuvenated the IGAD Peace Process.

The political and military landscape in South Sudan is fast changing. Coupled with increased food security, rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructure, re-opening of trade routes and trading activities these have led to a measure of recovery that ameliorates household vulnerability to food insecurity particularly of the 'poor' category households who are targets of SC UK and other agencies.

This changing scenarios affect SC UK's food security and related projects that force modifications to its programme in southern Sudan. Any modification however should be within the constraints of the SC UK mandate. Save the Children UK already has taken lead in building local capacities – employment of Sudanese medium and senior project officers. This however needs to translate into constructive engagement of local community groups, associations, unions, etc., in positive dialogue about the project, its perceptions, planning, implementation and monitoring, and to discuss the social and cultural issues of the recipient community that affect the implementation of the project. This will require community's intimate knowledge of their respective roles and responsibilities in the projects.

Once people knew that the project was theirs and that it benefits in the final analysis they will enthusiastically participate in the realisation of its objective. This was sounded by the SPLM County Secretary of Gogrial when he said *"if the community was ready to participate in the construction and maintenance of water wells, if they were informed in time about their role i.e. contributing a bull and 60,000 Dinars"*. A similar impression was expressed in a meeting with traders in Milo market [near Akon] when they said, *"it was the first time people came to talk to them about the issues of trade... this should continue... please give us ideas and we will think better"*.

Dialogue with the people is the key to the transformation of their reality and the study is of the opinion that SC UK should forge partnership with appropriate local and community groups and organisation and the local civil authority to promote the programme that uphold the right and welfare of children at the same time build household assets and livelihood security. In this way the partnership will lead to the development of social capital and a better understanding of their reality.

The SC UK intervention must of necessity lead to people's social and economic empowerment. The targeted groups will only feel empowered if they can make choices on matters that affect their lives. Providing them with seeds and tools, even if purchased locally in their environment is different from if they were to have the money in their hands and make the purchases themselves.

It in fact, providing the people with cash money such that *they buy by themselves* their own *melodas*, seeds, twine, hooks from the market is by far better indeed honourable than when Save the Children UK field staff do the physical distribution. Further, cash injection into the local market and helps the economy. The purpose of dialogue with the recipients will be to prevent misuse or diversion of the resources they receive e.g. instead of purchasing a meloda the recipient goes to drink alcohol, or pays debt or buys a goat, etc.

This may be supported with the programme of giving incentives at the end of the cultivation season. As a measure or indicator of personal success the recipients of aid inputs who have topped a certain threshold in food production be rewarded. The reward or rather appreciation could be in the form of presentation of certificates, medals, bulls [e.g. the commissioner of Aweil East recently distributed bulls to successful rice farmers] in a what could be called annual harvest celebrations.

The advantage of cash instead of goods can't be over emphasised. Save the Children UK will not have to worry about seed fairs and its logistics. The targeted households will go and buy from whoever will give them the best deal. The presence of the agencies in between the recipients of seeds and the farmers selling them through the current project design complicates the matter, as it creates among the farmers an opportunity for profiteering. The farmers assume that the agencies have more money and are likely to ask for more money than what normally they would have charged. It will be different if a relative, an acquaintance or fellow tribesman went to purchase – there will be no cheating.

Linked to encouraging increased agricultural production on the part of the farmers is the purchase of these agricultural commodities: sorghum, simsim, grounds, etc, not as seeds but as food. In Rumbek, Wau and Aweil the introduction of ox-plough has transformed the agricultural practice making it favourable for surplus production. In Rumbek there are three cooperative trading groups and a number of wholesalers with storage facilities and capital through the GM/CB programme, who are capable of buying and storing surplus food crops. In Aweil East the farmers have no such facilities. They counted on the pledges of Save the Children UK and other agencies to purchase their crops. But the purchases were by far less than the farmers' expectation. The inability to sell off their produce impacts negatively on the farmers. It occurred in western Equatoria [Yambio and Tambura] when Care International failed to buy the surplus production.

Increased production particularly of food crops must be promoted. However, since for the time being there is no external market where the farmers can sell their agricultural produces in a manner that promotes production, it may have to process them locally particularly, simsim and groundnuts. Edible oil, simsim cake [very popular] and soap can

be produced in huge quantities in Aweil, Gognial, Twic, and Wau. Already there is commercial production of *shea* oil and soap in Mapel [Wau County]. Value could be added by food processing technology. Indeed Aweil used to supply oil and soap industries in Khartoum with groundnuts and simsim. The huge production can be processed locally for the production of edible oil, soap and simsim cake (*thania*).

Another significant areas of SC UK involvement outside its relief intervention, and which indeed it is already involved in collaboration with other agencies is peace advocacy. It operates on both side of the political divide in the Sudan and is well place to play a pivotal role in the peace process in particular the peace initiatives at the grassroots level. The study believes that there is an opportunity in Aweil East, and other parts of the transition zone where SC UK and its partners can play an active role in peace making and conflict transformation. One area is the cash injection to promote trade and exchange of goods between the Baggara Arabs and the Dinka, which increases space for peaceful contacts to consolidate the local peace treaty. The child protection, tracing and reunion with families provide an excellent opportunity for invigorating the Dinka – Messeriya Peace Committee, which is already active in helping the abductees and the displaced Dinka to return to their homes in northern Bahr el Ghazal.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In summary the study couldn't have been at an opportune time given the changing political, military situation and the growing international attention on the peace process in southern Sudan. Northern Bahr el Ghazal has been the epicentre of major humanitarian disasters in Southern Sudan. Thousands of dear lives have been lost to war and war related causes; people have been displaced, abducted into slavery and have lost their assets leading to heightened household and community vulnerability to food and livelihood insecurity.

International humanitarian assistance and injection of aid inputs saved lives, restored household and community livelihoods and has triggered economic recovery. There are pockets of peace, stability and economic rehabilitation with an emerging vibrant market. Trading is peaking up in earnest and goods that hitherto used to be provided by the humanitarian agencies are now available in these markets and people can purchase them. The impact of the aid inputs is measurable in terms of thousands of metric tons of surplus grains, the large population of livestock, the amount of fish in the markets, etc., indeed the improved nutrition levels and increased income of the people.

5.1 CONCLUSION

In view of the above, the study makes the following conclusions: -

There is still justification for Save the Children UK and other agencies operating in Bahr el Ghazal to continue providing aid inputs to the vulnerable groups. Many households have lost their reproductive assets [livestock] particularly the women or disabled headed households remain vulnerable and require assistants. Among the displaced and abducted persons returning from the north there are many who come and find no member(s) of their family (ies) alive. They therefore remain destitute and need to be assisted until a time they are able to stand on their own.

However, intervention and criteria for its continuation must be guided against abuse that perpetuates dependency syndrome in the recipients. An inbuilt exit strategy should accompany the intervention, which should aim at social and economic empowerment of the people.

No harmful effects as a result of the provision of free goods were observed on the market in the seven counties covered by the study. The prices of goods e.g. the local *melodas* in Warawar, Malual Kon, Abin Dau or Mayen Rual markets have not been affected by the free distribution of these items to the vulnerable households in the vicinity.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The changing political environment requires modification of the South Sudan Programme for the Save the Children UK to keep abreast with the changing scenarios at the humanitarian as well as at the political levels. We therefore make the following recommendations:

6.2.1 Provision of aid inputs

- The emergency in southern Sudan has prolonged and has indeed induced *dependency syndrome* in some places. This is partly because of the manner it was delivered and managed. Provision of goods can also become addictive. We recommend that instead of providing seeds, melodas, twine, hooks etc., Save the Children UK transfer cash to the vulnerable households for them to purchase in the local market. It is more cost effective, quicker for it beats delays that due logistics and other transportation constraints. The recipients can negotiate fair prices on their own. This is a process of empowerment.
- If becomes absolutely necessary for SC UK to provide seeds instead of cash as recommended above, then the local purchases should be undertaken at harvest time and not just before the cultivation season. It will be easy for the field officer to determine the best seeds from the crop still on the stalk.
- The harvest time will be an effective evaluation of the impact of the aid inputs rather than the PDRs, and the field officers in collaboration with the farmers' groups and local authorities could now determine the prospective seed or food aid recipients in the next cultivation season.
- Since provision of seeds will continue, and in view of the above, we recommend Save the Children UK, TearFund, and others consider setting up a seed bank in each county in northern Bahr el Ghazal, to which the successful farmers contribute either against payment of cash or other emoluments.
- There aid inputs should be monitored and indicators of impact established before hand such that others could appreciate those who have succeeded and benefited from the injection in a manner that will encourage emulation. We recommend that SC UK in collaboration with the civil authority is the best farmer [who have produced a certain tonnage of food or cash crop], fisherman/women, trader, etc., with colourful certificates, or a trophy be handed out in a yearly harvest day.
- The impact of aid inputs is the presence of surplus crops: sorghum, groundnuts, and simsim. The market is still small for these crops in Aweil and Gogrial Counties. We recommend that Save the Children UK, its partners and other agencies involved in food security and economic recovery of southern Sudan should consider introducing simple *food processing technology* into Aweil East and Gogrial where there is surplus of groundnuts and simsim and provide the

farmers' group with oil pressing machines. We further recommend that WFP, and others involved in providing food relief to purchase the surplus crops [sorghum, maize, rice], oil edible oil, simsim cake and soap for distribution in food deficit areas in Upper Nile and/or eastern Equatoria.

6.2.2 Livestock Project

The cost-recovery scheme for animal drugs and medicines has been terminated due to financial mismanagement and other factors. Given that livestock is an important social as well as an economic assets in Bahr el Ghazal it is necessary to revise the decision and review the project with the aim of improving the previous management. The study recommends that SC UK, FAO, SRRA, Vetworks and others:

- To work out appropriate methods for privatising the livestock programme and veterinary services in southern Sudan;
- In order to improve livestock production, the Community Animal Health Workers already trained by SC UK and other agencies be facilitated through loans and grants in order to become livestock drugs vendors;
- As an important economic potential, the SPLM authorities are called upon to formulate laws, regulations and procedures for development of the livestock sector in southern Sudan.

6.2.3 Fisheries Project

The study recognises the significance of the fishery project in northern Bahr el Ghazal and a factor in improving the household food security. However, in view of the hydrology of the region, except for the eastern parts of Gogrial and Twic Counties, exploitation of fish potential can only be undertaken on household level using traditional fishing methods.

- It therefore recommends that the communities in Aweil East, Aweil South, the eastern Payams of Gogrial and Wau Counties be encouraged to develop the traditional fishing equipment.
- Save the Children UK and other partners can then concentrate on high fish potential in Upper Nile and East Lakes and invest in the commercialisation of the fish industry.

6.2.4 Child protection and related issues.

The only threat to child welfare in southern Sudan upon which hinges other abuses and neglect is war. In northern Bahr el Ghazal abduction and slavery extensively affected the lives of communities, and children in particular. This has scaled down as a result of the local peace treaty between the Dinka and the Baggara Arabs. The study recommends that

Save the Children UK, its partners and other agencies [UNICEF] engaged in children welfare projects Assist in the consolidation of the local peace through activities that increase peaceful contacts between the Dinka and Baggara Arabs in the transition zone between northern Bahr el Ghazal and southern Kordofan and Dar Fur. These activities include: -

- Facilitate the movement of people and goods in trade and exchange of goods by encouraging local procurements that inject cash money into the economy;
- Promote sharing of scarce medical and veterinary services between all the communities in the transition zone;
- Assist in awareness raising among the Dinka and the Baggara, having been marginalized and neglected for along time by the governments in Khartoum, to enable them see their mutual interest in peace and harmony;
- Assist in building the capacity of the Baggara-Dinka Peace Committees in Warawar and Abin Dau in the areas of peace building, conflict transformation and providing them with minimum stationery and other requirements for the running of their work;
- Upgrade the assistance to the schools to include training in skills and arts particularly for the adolescent boys to engage them in in-come generating activities;

6.2.5 Legal and Institutional development

Child protection, economic recovery and all other social, political and economic activities in southern Sudan depend on the positive transformation of present legal and institutional environment to become participatory, responsive, transparent and accountable. We recommend that SC UK and its partner agencies to:-

- Engage the SPLM at its highest and strategic level in a manner that will encourage the evolution of a democratic political culture, establishment of accountable public authority that is responsive to the aspiration and concerns of the people of southern Sudan to allow popular participation in social and political engineering; the promulgation of laws, rules, guidelines and procedures to guide social, political and economic interactions in southern Sudan; and
- Play an active role in the social and economic empowerment of the elements of the civil society: women groups, youth groups, community based groups and indigenous NGOs in northern Bahr el Ghazal as the guarantee for the good governance.

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1. AWEIL EAST COUNTY

1.1. General

Comprising seven Payams, Aweil East County borders Aweil West County to the west, Southern Kordofan in the north, Abyei, Gogrial and Twic counties in the east and Aweil South County in the south. Physiographically, the landscape of the county can be divided into three elevation characteristics viz: low lands '*toich*', the middle ground '*gok chel*' and the high round '*gok*'. The low lands are prone to perennial floods, while the middle and high grounds sometimes suffer drought.

The Dinka '*Rek*', who predominantly are agro-pastoralists populate the county. The livestock flourish well in the middle and lowlands where there is enough pasture and water. However, due to Baggara raids most people have lost their livestock herds or have driven then southwards to Gogrial and Twic. They engage in subsistence agriculture with the main crops cultivated being sorghum, simsim, groundnuts and tobacco in the '*gok chel*' and '*gok*' areas, while rice flourishes in the flood plains. Sorghum is successful in the middle and gok areas, while rice is planted in the flood plains. Fishing, off-season activities by nearly all the groups, is carried out in swamps and streams Lol, Pongo, Jur, Kuem and Kiir, which drain from the Nile-Congo water divide in the south – west.

The Aweil counties are linked to northern Sudan by a railway line that runs along the western margins of Aweil East County. A seasonal road links it eastwards to Gogrial and southwards to Tonj, Rumbek, different parts of Equatoria and Uganda and/or Congo via Luanyaker and Thiet. Another road links Aweil to Mairam in north. The roads to the south and east became passable only recently after the liberation of Lakes region and Gogrial and the insecurity posed by the Murahaliien overcome. Trucks now fly these roads and bring goods and essential commodities from markets in Equatoria, and Uganda. However, transport of goods from the north is smuggled into the county on camels, donkeys and/or bicycles due to GOS restrictions. According to the traders themselves they risk their lives bring goods out of Mairam.

The proximity of the three Aweil counties to northern Sudan, and neighbouring the hostile Baggara tribes of Messeriya and Rezeighat have been the source of insecurity and hence the humanitarian disruption since 1986. The Murahaliien and the Popular Defence Forces (PDF) continue to carry out frequent raids in Aweil counties, razing villages to the ground, destroying crops, killing people, abduction women and children into slavery in the north and stealing livestock⁹. The areas near the railway line carried the brunt of this mindless destruction, as the PDF made a security zone of twenty kilometres on both sides of the railway line to protect every train travelling from and to Wau, leaving a trail of destruction including the burning of relief centres [Barurud, Bau, Acumcum, etc.] that fall within that security zone.

⁹ The Baggara tribesmen used the Dinka cattle for re-stocking their herds or they sold them for export to the Arab Middle east.

The Dinka and Messeriya concluded a peace agreement in 1991. This agreement was broken several times partly due to the GoS policy of using the some Messeriya tribes against the Dinka as a proxy-war against the SPLA. However, it had to be renewed on yearly basis. The liberation of Rumbek, Tonj (1997), the defection of Kerubino (1998) and the liberation later of Gogrial (2000) increased the SPLA power in northern Bahr el Ghazal bringing relative stability to Aweil, Gogrial and Twic counties, which have hitherto borne the brunt of Kerubino and PDF's raids. The GoS, PDF and Murahalieen military offensive of 1999 was defeated and the Messeriya lost large numbers of their fighters. The SPLA and the 'tit weng' prevented the Baggara livestock from accessing the pastures and water of Kiir Kou. This resulted in lost of large herds to drought, forcing the Baggara Arabs [Messeriya and Rezeighat] to seek some permanent settlement with the Dinka. The present Dinka – Messeriya/Rezeighat peace agreement was sealed in Warapec in April 2000 and it is still holding. There are Peace Committees in Warawar and Abyei Dau.

The Dinka – Messeriya/Rezeighat Peace Committee in Warawar made up of thirty Messeriya and five Dinka oversees the free and secured movement of people and commodities between north and south. As a dividend of this peace there is now increase in the volume of trade in Warawar coming from northern Sudan as well as from southern Sudan. It has also facilitated the return to the south of ten of thousands of Dinka women, men and children who were abducted into slavery or displaced to northern Sudan by war and famine. The local peace serves the Dinka and the Messeriya and both communities have an interest in its consolidation.

1.2. Humanitarian Intervention

The situation of war and related raids of Dinka villages by the Baggara Arab tribesmen and the combined effects of the natural disasters [famine, floods and droughts] prompted international humanitarian intervention in the area. The primary objective was to save lives and restore livelihoods. There are presently twelve international agencies running different relief and development programmes in the county.

Table 1 (I) Humanitarian Agencies and their programmes in Aweil East

| Serial Number | Humanitarian Agency | Programme | Locals Employed | Currency of Remuneration |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------|
| 01 | Save the Children (UK) | Food Security; Protection; Preventive health; Education | Mobile Teams & 3 local watchmen and two water carriers and a cook. | Kenyan shillings |
| 02 | International Rescue Committee (IRC) | | 9 | Kenyan shillings |
| 03 | TearFund | Food Security | 10 | Kenyan shillings |
| 04 | AMURT | | 5 | Kenyan |

| | | | | |
|----|--|-----------|-----|------------------|
| | | | | shillings |
| 05 | MSF (F) | Health | 58 | Sudanese Dinar |
| 06 | International Aid Sweden (IAS) [Akuem] | Education | 8 | Kenyan shillings |
| 07 | Church Ecumenical Action in Sudan [CEAS] | | 11 | Kenyan shillings |
| 08 | VSF (Switzerland) | | 4 | Kenyan shillings |
| 09 | Save the Children (Sweden) | | 4 | Kenyan shillings |
| 10 | Diocese of Rumbek (DoR) | | 11 | US \$ & Ksh. |
| 11 | UNICEF | | Nil | |
| 12 | Food Agriculture Organisation (FAO) | | 1 | US dollars |
| 13 | WFP | | Nil | |
| 14 | World Health Organisation (WHO) | | 8 | US dollars |

Source: Mr. Yel Deng - SRRA County Secretary Aweil East

The presence of international agencies has had an impact on and influenced the emergence of indigenous and community-based organisations and unions. Aweil Agency for Relief and Development [AWARD], Abiem East Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society, the Farmers Union, the Chamber of Commerce serving different social groups in the county have sprouted as a result of the humanitarian intervention.

It could be said with confidence that relief aid inputs have resulted in the considerable improvement of food security in the area. Save the Children UK, TearFund, FAO, IAS, distribute seeds, tools and fishing gear that has impacted positively on food production to the extent that some households, particularly the middle and the better off, have produced surplus crops [sorghum, groundnuts and rice]. This is reflected in the amounts of food crops available in the local markets and the metric tons of seeds purchased from some farmers by SC UK, TearFund and FAO.

The agencies employ local workers and pay them in Sudanese Dinars, Kenyan shillings, and US dollars. The injection of foreign currency into the economy has greatly impacted on the trading activities in Warawar, attracting traders from the north and south who bring in manufactured goods from markets in northern Sudan and East Africa.

1.2.1 Relief Aid inputs into Aweil East County

The humanitarian intervention in Aweil started to restore livelihoods shattered by war and Arab Baggara raids. In 1999 the agencies embarked on food security programme and brought agricultural tools and seeds, fishing equipment and household kits along side the food relief for the most vulnerable groups. Table 1.2 shows the amounts of the non-food items brought in the county.

The repeated periods of famines [1988, 1992/3, 1996 and 1998/9] and because the relief flown into the area was not sufficient and would not the food needs of the population forced the Dinka to devise other survival strategies. The provision of seeds and tools by the agencies enabled the people to produce food crops and some surpluses have been

recorded in the county¹⁰. Purchases of local seeds and tools [*melodas*] by SC UK and TearFund has encouraged the people to produce more food ensuring to large extent food security for the average household in the county. This stabilised the situation and prevented the northwards exodus of the people.

The fledgling local peace between the Dinka and Messeriya/Rezeighat sealed in 2000 has stabilised the security in the area. As a result trade activities sprouted and Warawar market was established. Northern traders brought in essential commodities, mostly manufactured goods: clothes, sugar, salt, etc., from the markets in the north. The Dinka trade livestock, tobacco, fresh and dried fish and relief aid items e.g., the community survival kits (CSKs), tarpaulins sheets and sorghum, spools and twine, which are needed in Dar Fur and Kordofan.

Table 1 (2) *Flow of Aid inputs in Aweil East County*

| Particulars/Year | | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | Agencies |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|---------|----------|-----------------------------------|
| Preventive Health | Mosquito Nets | | 786 | 500 | SC UK |
| | Blankets | | 565 | 1000 | SC UK |
| | Tarpaulins | | 786 | 500 | SC UK |
| | CSKs | 180 | | | SC UK |
| | Cooking Pots | | 786 | | SC UK |
| | Household Kits | | | 11, 569 | |
| Fish gear | Hooks #7 + # 8 | 138, 877 | | 364, 000 | SC UK, TearFund, FAO |
| | Twine of different sizes # 12 & # 18 | 5, 992 | | 7, 068 | |
| Seeds (MT). | Sorghum | 170.7 | 80.1 | 45.3 | SC UK, TearFund, IAS, UNICEF, |
| | Groundnuts | 91.4 | 114.6 | | |
| | Simsim | 3.0 | 2.1 | 7.25 | |
| | Rice | | 7.0 | 8.95 | |
| | Maize | 18.8 | 13.5 | 4.16 | |
| | Cow Peas | 0.6 | | | |
| | Ass. Vegetables | .01 | 1.248 | | |
| | Cassava Cuttings | 4.98 | 6.2 | 3.0 | |
| Tools (Pieces) | Melodas | 13, 480 | 16, 708 | 225 | SC UK, TearFund, IAS UNICEF AMURT |
| | Jembas | 1,740 | 1000 | 1995 | |
| | Pangas | 580 | | | |
| | Axes | 10, 000 | | | |
| | Sickles | 13, 480 | 4, 800 | 2, 373 | |
| | Spade/Shackle | | 1, 000 | | |
| | Racks | 1160 | | | |
| | Ox-Plough | 56 | 110 | 20 | |

¹⁰ The SPLM County Secretary of Aweil East, Mr. Victor Akok Anai, presented bulls to successful rice farmers on Wednesday April 10th, 2002 in a ceremony deliberately conducted to encourage food production in the county.

1.2.2 Impact of Aid inputs and their products

The impact of humanitarian intervention can't be overemphasised. Apart from saving lives and restoring livelihoods, the aid inputs have stimulated food production and trade and commercial activities in the county and beyond. It has discernible impact on the different groups in the community.

The fishing gear: The amount of fishing gear [hooks and twine of different sizes] distributed in the county by SC UK, TearFund and FAO since 1999, as illustrated in the table A.1.2 above. Fishing is an important source of proteins. It is usually an off cultivation season activity in, which nearly all the household, with the exception of the children, participate. Each household has at least fishing equipment. This explains the reason why there are only few professional or commercial fishermen.

According to Mr. Moses Akok Kuol, the FAO Field Assistant in Malualkon, there is large fish catch for both household consumption and market [fresh and dried fish] particularly during the months of January – March when the floodwaters recede. The catch has been estimated at 250 - 500 kilogramme per day per household in Aweil East County during this period. The dried fish is sold in Warawar and other smaller markets and is exported to markets southern Dar Fur and Kordofan.

The seeds and tools: The impact of seeds and tools is mirrored in the increased production of sorghum, groundnuts and rice in the county. The use of ox-plough increased the production of sorghum and groundnuts in the gok areas of the county. One farmer, Mr. Ajou Amau, produced about 2800 sacks of groundnuts in 2001 season using ox-plough and hired hands. The county registered a production of 120 MT of rice this year. This was celebrated in the county on Tuesday April 9th 2002 in which the SPLM County Secretary distributed gifts [bulls] to the successful farmers as incentives to encourage and promote food production in the county.

1.2.3 Economic Stratification and Social Mobility

The wealth status of Aweil East County is among the lowest economic indices in Bahr el Ghazal region. This could be attributed to several factors chief among them are: the perpetual expropriation of the county of its productive assets to the Messeriya/Rezeighat and the Popular Defence forces. The multiple displacements to which the people have been subjected in the last ten years led to their impoverishment and pauperisation. Statistically, Aweil has the largest population in south Sudan before the war.

Table 1 (3) below illustrates that the majority [about 70%] of the population falls within the very poor to poor group. While the middle constitutes about twenty percent and the better off are about 10 percent of the population. The poor and the very poor category include those who have lost their productive assets; those who have been displaced, abducted into slavery and have just returned as a result of the peace and have lost their parents. This group forms the casual labour work force in the county. Through their labour: selling firewood, charcoal, carrying water [Warawar] grass, or making bricks they

are able to purchase livestock and change their status in the community. The small percentage of the middle and better off groups comprises mainly the traders and farmers and the salaried agencies' staff.

Kinship support has been a major source of livelihood for the poor and those returnees who arrived the county from northern Sudan.

Table 1 (3) Socio-economic groups

| Status/property | Very poor - poor | Middle | Better off |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|--|
| % Population | 60 – 70% | 20 – 25% | 10 – 15% |
| Total annual income per household | Dinar 60, 000 | Dinar 80 –120,000 | Dinar > 140, 000 |
| Livestock | 0 - 5 | 5 – 10 | 30 – 50> |
| Shoats | 0 – 10 | 15 – 40 | 25 - 60 |
| Land cultivated | < 1 – 3 feddans | 3 - 4 feddans | > 5 feddans |
| Labour relation | Are hired in farms, with agencies, or self-employed selling building materials, etc. | Hire labourers in farms, shops, herding, etc. | Hire labourers and workers |
| Composition | Returnees from the north, internally displaced from towns [Aweil, Wau, etc.] female headed households, SPLA soldiers, and people who lost productive assets | Farmers, Traders, Chiefs, Officials working in the county and with agencies, SPLA officers, | Head Chiefs, SPLA Commanders, Farmers, Traders, Commissioner, etc. |

Source: TSU ANA and information from the SRRA Data Base

1.4 Markets and trading activities in Aweil East County

Since 1999, there has been improved security situation in the county as a result of the local peace between the Dinka and the Messeriya and Rezeighat Baggara Arabs. The cumulative impact of the humanitarian intervention has resulted in increased agricultural production and upsurge in markets and trading activities in the county. There are at present about eight markets and trading centres in Aweil East County. These are: Madhol, Warawar, Malual Kon, Wanjok, Pariak, Malual Bai, Ameth and Peth in addition to numerous tea shops and vendors situated along the major roads.

Warawar Market

Warawar is the biggest and transacts the largest volume of trade activities in the whole of northern Bahr el Ghazal. Indeed it is the melting point of the trade between northern and southern Sudan, whereby commodities, mainly manufactured goods from northern Sudan and from East African markets are traded.

Northern Sudanese traders [Messeriya, Rezeighat, Zaghawa, and Fur] bring their wares mainly clothes, sugar, salt, shoes, household utensils, on camel and donkey backs [plate1

1] or by bicycles. According to the northern traders interviewed, it is not easy, indeed dangerous bringing these goods/commodities to the south because the government is against any kind of commercial transactions with the SPLM/A controlled areas.

They have to smuggle these goods out of Mairam, Muglad, and Nyala and other towns in southern Kordofan. This usually is carried out by night and at one own risk. For is arrested the trader could easily lose his goods or life at the hands of the military intelligence. The long distance these goods traverse to Warawar from Port Sudan, the dangers involved on the way and the small volume carried by the camels and donkeys make the trade very expensive and this is reflected in the prices of goods compared to those brought in from east Africa.

Plate 1 .1 A Caravan of Camels bringing goods to Warawar Market



Photo: P. A. Nyaba

The manufactured goods from East Africa [Uganda, Kenya and Dr Congo] are trucked to Aweil and other parts of northern Bahr el Ghazal only during the dry season when the roads are passable. This means that during the rainy season the trade with Lakes, Equatoria Regions and Uganda come to stand still. It makes it difficult for the small and petty traders who don't have enough capital to buy goods to store for the rainy season.

The local produce traded in Warawar and the adjoining smaller markets include food grains [sorghum, groundnuts, maize and rice] fish, firewood, charcoal and building materials [grass, poles, ropes, bricks, etc.]

1.4.1 Source of cash money

The Sudanese Dinar is the medium of trade and exchange in Aweil East County, which links it economically to northern Sudan and the rest of northern Bahr el Ghazal. The source of money for trading activities has been local employment by the humanitarian agencies [table 3.4.1] and purchases of local seeds [sorghum, groundnuts, rice and simsim], and tools [melodas] by SC UK and TearFund, FAO and other agencies [table 3.4.5] avail foreign currency [US \$ and KSh.] and inject cash into the economy leading to increased volume of trade in the county.

In Warawar market the following goods/commodities are traded:

Manufactured goods: A variety of manufactured goods/commodities brought from northern Sudan to Warawar include clothes, sugar, salt, shoes, mosquito nets [damoriya], soap, and household utensils of different types both metallic and plastic. A group of artisans and blacksmiths produce local melodas, knives, sickles, etc., from rail flanks brought in from the railway line about forty kms away. The prices of these commodities are slightly higher compared to their prices in Rumbek and Mayen Rual markets and than those brought in from Uganda and east Africa.

Livestock and livestock products: [skins and hides], goats, sheep are traded in Warawar. Most of the cattle come from Gogrial and Tonj Counties. The trade in livestock was at its peaks when the Sudan used to export livestock and beef to the Middle East and the Arab Gulf countries. However, in the recent times, Sudan has stopped that export causing a backlash in the livestock trade in northern Bahr el Ghazal.

Agricultural produce: 'kerkede', dry and fresh fish, sorghum, groundnuts, maize, rice and millet, edible oil pressed locally from groundnuts and simsim, honey, firewood, charcoal, thatching grass, poles, etc.

Relief aid inputs: Some relief food and non-food items [tarpaulins, community survival kits, spools & twine, hooks and mosquito nets] are occasionally found in the market as a result of diversions or because the recipients sell them in order to purchase other goods.

1.4.2 Relief Aid inputs, Market activities and Labour relations.

There is a strong link between the aid inputs, trading activities and labour in Aweil East County. Even though relief aid inputs target only a very small percentage of the population, nevertheless, it was possible to spread the impact as at least many more people benefited through kinship relations and redistribution of the aid inputs. Indeed the post distribution review and surveys (PDRs) carried out in the county in 2001 confirms this fact.

The recipients of some freely distributed aid inputs: tarpaulins, csks, twine etc., sold them to the market either to enable them purchase food or other necessary commodities e.g.

clothes, salt or sugar, etc. In some rumoured cases some local strong men use their authority to confiscate and sell items for their personal benefits.

The humanitarian agencies provide the relief aid inputs and employment for the local human resource. The poor and middle category sell their labour as casual workers on the farms or engage in self-employment cutting firewood, building poles and thatching grass, making ropes, burning charcoal which they bring to the market. Girls and young women employ as porters ferrying goods to other markets, or brew sorghum beer, alcohol or carry water [drinking and bath¹¹] or engage in fishing.

Fishing is a kind of self-employment and many people engage in fishing. Increased demand for dry and fresh fish, particularly in Dar Fur and Kordofan and even locally as a means of improving the nutritional status of the community, results in high demand for fishing equipment: hooks, twine etc., and the traders in these items are likely to benefit from this demand resulting in secured income for the fishermen¹². This will lead to building their stocks of productive assets and a change in the status of most of the fishermen.

The purchase of local seeds and tools by SC UK, TearFund, and FAO is a source of income and benefits both the farmers and the local ironmongers. The farmers definitely use part of this income to hire farm workers or purchase ox-plough that will increase his land acreage and hence increased crop production. The surplus in most cases is used for restocking their herds.

The agencies operating in the county, self-employment, purchases of seeds and tools from the local producers, and the slave redemption exercises carried out from time to time by the Christian Solidarity International and Christian Solidarity Worldwide inject enormous amount of cash into the economy making Aweil East County one of the foreign currency richest county in Bahr el Ghazal. The market in Warawar is vibrant and teems with goods and commodities from northern markets because of the presence of large amounts of US dollars in the hands of some people in Aweil County. Traders from Tonj and Gogrial are also attracted and come to buy dollars to take to purchase goods from East Africa.

1.7. Constraints and Potentialities for trading in Aweil County.

There are prospects for increased volume of trade and commercial activities and social and economic rehabilitation in northern Bahr el Ghazal in general; nevertheless, serious constraints exist occasioned by the long running civil war. It will take time to build the confidence between the Dinka and Baggara Arab tribes bordering them. The constraints and opportunities for trade are as follows: -

¹¹ In Warawar market, some entrepreneurs have constructed shades or temporary bathrooms used by the traders and visitors to the market. A tin of water [20 litres] costs twenty five Sudanese Dinars and a women can make up to three hundred to five hundred Dinars per day selling water.

¹² This is a misnomer because women, particularly those heading households, are also involved in fishing exercises. Many of them have also received fishing gears and are counted as 'fishermen'.

Insecurity: The proximity of Aweil East County to northern Sudan and hence its proneness to Baggara raids has made it difficult for economic and social rehabilitation. The main threat comes from the GoS, which for obvious reasons discourages any kind of peaceful contact between the Messeriya and Rezeighat and the Dinka.

The *repproachma* between the Dinka and the Messeriya/Rezeighat and the sealing of peace treaty between them has slightly relaxed the tension in the transition zone. However, a serious threat, which is usually instigated and exploited by the NIF government, is posed by the competition between the Messeriya and Rezeighat, which translates into disturbing the peace treaty with the Dinka¹³.

Northern traders use camel, donkeys and bicycles and have to virtually smuggle their wares into and out of the market centres in southern Kordofan and Dar Fur to the markets in Warawar, Manyiel [Aweil West County] and others. This does not allow huge volumes of goods/commodities to be traded between the north and south. The threat of the Murahaliyen and PDF remains and until the SPLA is strong enough to thwart any attack, trading in Aweil could be easily disrupted by upsurge in hostilities as a result of the breakdown in the local peace between the Dinka and the Messeriya/Rezeighat.

Transport is another important factor that hinders the growth of commerce and trade in Aweil and northern Bahr el Ghazal in general. While the goods from the north are carried on animal backs, those from the other parts of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Uganda are trucked. However, this is only during the dry season when the roads are passable. During the rainy seasons floods make the roads impassable and hence goods can only be transported during the dry season. The number of trucks reaching Aweil is also limited.

Currency: It is easy for traders in Aweil to buy goods directly from northern Sudan markets because Dinar is the currency in use. However, for the goods/commodities from southern markets, the trader has to collect US dollars, Ugandan or Kenyan Shillings in order to import. Even within the south Sudan market there is no unified currency. Aweil and the rest of northern Bahr el Ghazal deal in Sudanese Dinar, Rumbek and western Equatoria deal in old Sudanese Pounds. The exchange rates vary and are sometimes subject to abuse. This therefore poses a serious threat to expansion of trade and market activities.

Most of the Dinka traders in Aweil County or northern Bahr el Ghazal in general lack capital and experience in commercial transactions, leave the fact that they don't possess the necessary capital to engage in high risks adventures. This explains the high profit margins they demand when engaging in trade deals. The few old merchants present in the market have lost their assets due war. It is worth mentioning that most of the traders started of as livestock traders or as farmers. Their engagement in trade is driven only by the urge and need to restock their herds and marry many wives.

¹³ Manyiel Market [Aweil West] was established in the border of Dinka – Rezeighat. Trade boomed therein before the Messeriya came and razed it to the ground because they feared it would diminish the importance of Warawar market which is situated near their borders with the Dinka

Plate 1.2 Section of Warawar Market



Photo: P. A. Nyaba

The Local Dinka – Messeriya/Rezeighat Peace: The current stability and harmony between the Dinka and the Baggara Arabs was ushered by the local peace treaty they sealed in April 2000.

A committee made up of thirty-five members supervises this peace treaty and all the social and economic transactions in Aweil County. This committee comprises five Dinka members and thirty Messeriya clan members. The peace between the Dinka and Messeriya was and remains a big boost for trade not only in Aweil County but also in northern Bahr el Ghazal.

Plate 1.3 Part of the Dinka Messeriya Peace Committee in Warawar



Photo: P. A. Nyaba

Plate 1.4 Ironmongers shop in Warawar



Photo: P. A. Nyaba

2. AWEIL SOUTH COUNTY

2.1. General

Aweil South County was curbed out of Aweil East in 2000 on account of its population. Bordering Wau County to the west and south, Aweil East and Gogrial to the north and northeast, and comprising four administrative units: Mangar Gier, Wathmouk, Gakrol and Bar Mayen Payams, most of the land territory that make up Aweil South County is flat and low-lying. This makes its susceptible to flooding during the rainy season when Kuem and Kuom rivers overflow their banks. The major towns in the county are Teraltet and Panthau.

Rek Dinka, predominantly agro-pastoralists, and the Luo, who are sedentary agro-community, populate Aweil South County. The agriculture is subsistent at the household level. Sorghum, maize, millet, groundnuts and rice are the main food crops, while tobacco is grown as a cash crop. A large section of the population engage in fishing in Kuem, Kuom Rivers and adjoining swamps and flood plains using traditional methods – rok for women and spears for men.

Like the rest of northern Bahr el Ghazal, Aweil South has been affected seriously by insecurity with resultant massive humanitarian disruption. The railway line passes through the middle of the county. Every train arrival and departure from Wau leaves in its wake a trail of destruction. The PDF and the Murahalieen, who protect the trains, get their remuneration from the pillage and destruction they commit in their path; abduction of Dinka women and children into slavery, stripping of them of their reproductive assets. This combined with the terror and destruction of villages, stealing of livestock and abduction, which Kerubino and his militias wrecked on the people of Aweil, Gogrial and Twic Counties.

While the people of Lakes benefited from peace and stability that followed the liberation of Rumbek, Yirol, Tonj and Warrap in 1997; and the Wunlit Dinka –Nuer Peace Covenant [1999], Aweil South remained an island of insecurity even after the defection of Kerubino in 1998. The PDF and the Murahalieen continued to pillage the area until they were finally defeated in 2000 following the liberation of Gogrial. The increased SPLA military power in northern Bahr el Ghazal spurred the peace treaty between the Dinka and the Messeriya/Rezeighat [April 2000].

The Dinka – Baggara Arab treaty improved the security situation in the county. There is a measure of stability and the people have started to return to their villages even from northern Sudan. Indeed large numbers of displaced and abducted people are daily returning to Aweil South County, although the county still houses a large population of displaced people from Aweil West and Wau Counties.

The peace and stability around the railway line has been strengthened by the destruction and the removal of a long stretch of the railway line between Aweil and Kiir Kuo¹⁴. The train now stopped flying between Aweil and Muglad in the north.

2.2. *Humanitarian Intervention*

The immense human suffering due to war, the frequent PDF and Murahaliien asset stripping raids, abduction of Dinka women and children, massive displacement and crop failures due to droughts, floods and pests prompted the response from the international community. Table 2 (1) below indicates the number of humanitarian agencies and their programmes in Aweil South.

Table 2 (1) List of Humanitarian agencies in Aweil South

| Agency | Programme area | Remarks |
|--|--|------------------------|
| Save the Children UK | Food security: Livestock, agriculture (seeds & tools) and fisheries; Education and Water | Operate from Akon base |
| Norwegian Church Aid [NCA] | Health, Education | |
| TearFund | Agriculture, Relief and Education | |
| International Rescue Committee [IRC] | Primary Health | |
| Bahr el Ghazal Youth Development Agency [BYDA] | Food security, Adult education | |
| Anglican Christ of Christ | A group of indigenous NGOs and Community groups are emerging and are getting involved. | |

Source: SRRRA

However, the proximity of the Aweil South County to the railway line, indeed the rail line runs through the length of the county, in essence meant a perpetual disruption of delivery of humanitarian services to the targeted population and increased their vulnerability. The PDF and Murahaliien raids usually accompanied every train arrival to and departure from Wau. As a result the humanitarian agencies are forced to evacuate or stop their operations. This is how operations in Baau, Barurud and Acumcum in Wau County were closed down.

The situation has now improved as the people have started recreating their lives, rebuilding their homesteads, engaging in agriculture and trading activities are picking up in the small markets that are mushrooming in the area. The arrival of the returnees from the north remains a humanitarian concern. They come barely with any thing and most are likely to find north in their former homes.

¹⁴ The iron is now being recycled into local melodas and others implements

2.2.1 *Humanitarian aid inputs*

The humanitarian agencies provided food relief, and food airdrops continue because a section of the population remains 'food insecure'. Assistance for livelihoods restoration and food security in the form of preventative health items [blankets, mosquito nets, tarpaulins, community survival kits, etc.], agricultural hand tools [melodas, jembes, axes, ox-ploughs, etc.], seeds [sorghum, simsim, groundnuts, rice, etc.], livestock drugs and vaccines¹⁵, fishing equipment [twine and hooks] have been provided as illustrated in table 2 (2) below.

Table 2 (2) *Flow of Aid inputs*

| Particulars/Year | | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | Agencies |
|-------------------|----------------|---------|--------|---------|------------------|
| Preventive Health | Mosquito Nets | | 979 | 2,000 | SC UK |
| | Blankets | | 1,468 | 4,000 | SC UK |
| | Tarpaulins | | 839 | 2,000 | SC UK |
| | CSKs | 220 | | 1,600 | SC UK, NCA, HARD |
| | Cooking Pots | | | | |
| | Household Kits | | 979 | | SC UK |
| Fishing Gear | Hooks # 7 | | | | SC UK |
| | Hooks # 8 | 198,470 | | 581,500 | |
| | Twine # 12 | | | | SC UK |
| | Twine # 18 | 6,760 | | 11,258 | |
| Seeds (MT) | Sorghum | | 48,415 | 21.3 | SC UK |
| | Groundnuts | | 26,552 | 6.025 | SC UK |
| | Simsim | | 3,350 | 4.89 | SC UK |
| | Rice | | 4,300 | 3.6 | SC UK |
| | Maize | | 0.200 | | SC UK |
| Tools (Pieces) | Melodas | | 6,636 | 1,982 | SC UK |
| | Jembas | | 2,213 | 530 | SC UK |
| | Axes | | 1,328 | | SC UK |
| | Sickles | | | 1,623 | |
| | Racks | | 2,213 | 1,660 | SC UK |
| | Ox-Plough | | 10 | | SC UK |

Source: SC UK Reports, WFP TSU ANA 2001/2002

2.2.2 *Impact of aid inputs*

The aid inputs in Aweil South like other areas in war-torn southern Sudan averted the disaster, which wrecked the county, saved lives and in a way restored livelihoods to the many left in destitute by raids, droughts, floods famine and other ailments. Although only a small proportion of the population was targeted, nevertheless, through kinship relations, redistribution of the aid impacted on the other groups.

Food aid led to considerable improvement in the nutrition status of the vulnerable households, particularly among the children [ANA 2001/2002], who have received supplementary feeding provided by NCA. This provided the people with energy that

¹⁵ The veterinary drugs have been provided on cost recovery scheme

enabled them to cultivate, etc. Provision of seeds and tools has increased the acreage [ox-plough] per household and some surpluses were registered.

The provision of modern fishing equipment [twines and hooks] supplementing the traditional methods had the impact in the increased fish catch as reflected in its abundance in the market. The PDF and Murahaliien raids targeted livestock thus the county has suffered as a result of this asset stripping. However the provision of veterinary drugs reduced the occurrence of animal diseases and the result is growth in the animal population.

2.2.3 *Economic Stratification and Social Mobility*

Insecurity and reproductive asset transfer in PDF and Murahaliien raids led to pauperisation of large numbers of household in Aweil South. The number of Livestock and hence wives among the Dinka is a measure of wealth, while among the Luo who populate Barmayen Payam, it is the number of bee hives, shoats and chicken which make the distinction. Table 2 (3) illustrates the characteristics of the social groups in the county.

Table 2 (3) Socio-economic stratification in Aweil South

| Socio-economic group/status | Poor Households | Medium Households | Better off Households |
|-----------------------------|---|--|---|
| %age of the population | 70 - 50 | 20 - 30 | 10 - 20 |
| Land cultivated in feddans | 1 - 1.5 | 3 - 4 | > 5 |
| Livestock | 0 - 5 | 5 - 15 | 20 - 30 > |
| Shoats | 2 - 5 | 10 - 20 | 20 - 30 > |
| Social networks | Broken | Variable | Intact |
| Approximate Income | LS 180, 000 | LS 364, 000 | LS 364, 000 |
| Approximate expenditure | LS 171, 5000 | LS 364, 000 | LS 364, 000 |
| Composition | IDPs, Returnees, female headed households, ordinary citizens SPLA soldiers. | Chiefs, SPLA Cdrs agencies staff, farmers traders, fishermen, iron mongers, etc. | County Secretary, Head Chief, SPLA Cdr., farmers, traders, agencies staff, etc. |

Labour and wealth distribution are the sources of social mobility in Aweil South County. The poor group [according to livestock owned] constitutes the largest percentage of the population. However, this is why there is a lot of dynamism. According to the estimate they earn about Sudanese Pounds one hundred eighty. This income is mainly from selling grass, poles, firewood, charcoal, tobacco, fish, brewing sorghum, alcohol, honey bear [duma] and lulu oil or employment as a casual labourer with the agencies or on the farms. Large percent of this income is used to purchase necessities of life including sorghum, clothes, and even restocking – purchase of heifers [reproductive assets].

The income of the 'middle' and 'better off' accrue from the labour of those whom they employ e.g. on their farms, or from employment with agencies or from other social linkages [magicians] providing services. Most of the traders and farmers fall within this category and therefore the market for the luxury goods brought in from northern Sudan or East Africa.

2.3. Markets and Trading activities in Aweil South

In times of extreme stress people find peaceful means of acquiring goods or other needs. Barter of goods e.g. exchanging sorghum with livestock or shoats with tobacco, etc. was the manner by which hard working people among the Nilotics acquired bride price and made families. People in Aweil South and the rest of northern Bahr el Ghazal resorted to bartering but as soon as there was money, petty trading mushroomed everywhere.

The supply of cash money [Dinars] are the garrison towns or from northern Sudan coming with the returnees. The humanitarian agencies through employment of local staff or purchase of services [labour] and procurement of local seeds inject cash money into the economy. The slave redemption exercise of the CSI also is source of hard currency in the county.

The main markets are in Panthou and Tieraliet and the manufactured goods traded come from Warawar [Aweil East], Manyiel [Aweil West] and Mayen Rual [Gogrial County]. These include salt, sugar, clothes, tea-leaves, soap, rubber shoes, etc. The local agricultural commodities include: sorghum, simsim, groundnuts, tobacco, dry and fresh fish, etc.

The growth of the market and trading activities in Aweil South County depends on the general security in the area. The movement of goods/commodities to and from the major markets also depend on the security situation. With improved security situation as a result of the Dinka – Messeriya/Rezeighat peace, it is possible that there will be increased movement and volume of trade.

Except for some relief food items e.g. edible oil and wheat grains, it was very rare to get aid items in the markets. The people prefer local melodas to those brought in from Kenya, and are therefore ready to travel to Warawar to purchase them. In case of wheat grain and edible oil, the recipients took them to the market because they wanted other necessities and partly because wheat grain is not very popular.

The resistance to the cost recovery, as in the livestock sector, came mostly from some local leaders who perhaps were used to abusing the relief system by confiscating and hoarding items such that they sold them when prices went up due to scarcity.

2.4. Constraints to trade in Aweil South

Like all other counties in northern Bahr el Ghazal, insecurity is the major constraint to not only trade and economic activities but also to individual and community livelihoods. Persistence of insecurity e.g. like the recent attempts by the government of Sudan to recapture Gogrial destabilised the whole area neighbouring Gogrial. Although the ferocity of attacks have scaled down due to non-participation this year of the PDF and Murahaliien, still without addressing it finally through the resolution of the Sudanese conflict, it will continue to nag the people of northern Bahr el Ghazal and prevent their efforts and those of the international community to restore normality.

Linked to insecurity in general is the lack of good governance and the rule of law and gives the military dominance in everything. There are no unified procedures, rules, guidelines and no policy framework in the county regarding the development of trade and other social services.

The access to Aweil South County is difficult due to bad roads. The distance to the borders with Uganda is long and hazardous. Thus large haulage of goods and commodities from Uganda is near to impossible especially during the rainy season. This therefore is a major constraint to the evolution of a vibrant market not only in Aweil South County but also in the whole of northern Bahr el Ghazal. Most of the goods traded in Aweil South are carried on heads or bicycles. The remains petty and prices unpredictable as the traders try to increase their profit margins.

The present political context in northern Bahr el Ghazal characterised by détente between the Dinka and the Messeriya/Rezeighat has potentials for trading activities.

3 GOGRIAL COUNTY

3.1 General

Gogrial County is bounded to the west and southwest by Wau and Aweil South Counties, Tonj County to the south, Aweil East and Twic Counties to the north and Western Upper Nile to the east. It is flat lying with the toich or flood plains making most of its land area. Rivers Jur, Kuom and Lol drain the county.

Gogrial county is divided into seven administrative units viz: Akon, Alek, Gogrial, Kuajok, Pathuon, Riau and Toic Payams¹⁶. The county is linked up with seasonal dirt roads to Twic, Aweil and South, Tonj and Wau Counties and with western Upper Nile. The main towns are Gogrial town, Kuajok, Alek, Panliet, Liethom and Luanyaker.

The Awan and Apuk sections of the Rek Dinka and a small Luo group – *Jur Mananger* make up the population of Gogrial County, which runs into about seven hundred thousand. The economy is livestock and subsistence agriculture based with the main crops being sorghum, groundnuts, maize, simsim, millet and rice recently introduced in the flood plains. Tobacco is grown as a cash crop. Fishing is another vocation undertaken by every group in the rivers and toich in the county. The most popular method of fishing is basket fishing performed mostly by women while men use spears, hooks and nets.

War, floods, drought and general insecurity occasioned by the frequent GoS, PDF and *Murahalieen* raids have then the source of humanitarian disruption in Gogrial County. Kuajok, Pathuon and Gogrial were the most affected payams. Kerubino Kuanyin Bol [1995 – 1997] and his Nuer army fighting against the SPLM/A chipped in to exacerbate this situation, terrorising the population in Gogrial, Twic and Aweil Counties, razing down the homesteads, burning crops and stealing their livestock in repeated waves that heightened people's vulnerability. The resultant humanitarian disruption was unprecedented, the population was displaced further into the toich areas.

The SPLA attack and subsequent liberation of Gogrial garrison in June 2000 spurred a change in the balance of military forces in the northern Bahr el Ghazal. This was consolidated by the defeat of the large PDF attack on Kuajok. This strength was a factor in the sealing of the Dinka – Messeriya/Rezeighat Peace Treaty, which has now transformed the relations in the 'transition zone' between the Dinka and Baggara Arab tribes of Messeriya and Rezeighat.

Until the recent GoS attempts to recapture Gogrial town, the county has been peaceful; the civil population had started to return and rebuild their villages; in fact many of the displaced and the abducted have been arriving back from the northern Sudan into the county daily in their hundreds; the new SPLM County Secretary had ordered the survey of the town and the rehabilitation of the buildings. The county civil administration has

¹⁶ Twic County, which used to be part of Gogrial District before the war, was curbed off and made a separate county in 1994.

since settled down in the town. Gogrial was on the way of becoming what it used to be in the past.

3.2 *Humanitarian Intervention*

The international response to the humanitarian situation in Gogrial County began in earnest after the defection of Kerubino Kuanyin Bol back to the SPLA and more in response to the famine that wrecked Bahr el Ghazal in 1998. Although, the factor of insecurity in the county eased, nevertheless, the natural calamities of annual drought and floods plagued the county.

Table 3 (1) *List of Humanitarian agencies operating in Gogrial County*

| Agency | Programme area | Remarks |
|------------------------|---|--|
| Save the Children [UK] | Food Security, Protection, Water and Education | Livestock programme within the food security programme |
| Norwegian Church Aid | Education, Health, Agriculture and Water | |
| World Relief | Relief, Fisheries | |
| MSF (B) | Health | |
| UNICEF | | The RPO has been moved from Akon to Malual Kon in Aweil County |
| WHO | Polio Eradication, | |
| VSF (Germany) | Livestock | |
| Wounda | Agriculture | |
| BYDA | Food security | |
| SRRA | General administration, security of humanitarian operations | |

3.2.1 *Relief Aid Inputs into Gogrial County*

Since 1999, Gogrial County received international response in terms of food relief, seeds, and agricultural hand tools, and fishery equipment, yet it could not attain self-sufficiency and a certain degree of food security because of the erratic weather and precipitation regimes. Table 3 (2) gives the amounts of relief aid inputs that have been distributed in Gogrial County but does not include (in quantities) the amounts of livestock vaccines and drugs, which have been dispensed on cost recovery scheme by SC UK and VSF (Germany).

Table 3 (2) *Relief Aid Inputs*

| Particulars/Year | | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | Agencies |
|----------------------|----------------|----------|---------|-----------|----------------------------|
| Health Preventive | Mosquito Nets | | 668 | 681 | SC UK |
| | Blankets | | 1, 003 | 1, 136 | SC UK |
| | Tarpaulins | | 573 | 1, 128 | SC UK |
| | CSKs | 443 | 210 | 200 | SC UK |
| | Cooking Pots | | | | |
| | Household Kits | | 668 | 821 | SC UK |
| Gear Fishing | Hooks # 7 | | | | |
| | Hooks # 8 | 287, 358 | | 1,001,000 | SC UK |
| | Twine #12 | | | | SC UK, NCA |
| | Twine #18 | 12, 854 | | 108, 800 | |
| (MT). Seeds | Sorghum | | 84.750 | 17.50 | SC UK |
| | Groundnuts | | 48.025 | 7.78 | SC UK |
| | Simsim | | 5.970 | 1.01 | SC UK |
| | Rice | | | 2.05 | SC UK |
| | Maize | | 6.100 | | SC UK |
| Tools (Pieces) | Melodas | | 11, 684 | | SC UK |
| | Jembas | | 3, 895 | | SC UK |
| | Pangas | | | | |
| | Axes | | 2, 337 | | SC UK |
| | Sickles | | | 3, 480 | SC UK |
| | Racks | | 2, 912 | | |
| | Ox-Plough | 30 | 70 | 105 | Wuonda, WR, TF, SC UK, NCA |

Sources: SC UK, TF, WR and WOUNDA

3.2.2 *Impact of aid inputs*

According to the SRRA County Secretary, Gogrial County has suffered repeated disasters of drought and floods, depressing the yields and makes it difficult to assess the impact of the 'enormous amount'¹⁷ of seeds and tools that have been distributed in the county. Nevertheless, certain areas have registered surpluses in grains [sorghum, maize and rice] and oil seeds [groundnuts and simsim] Although, inputs are targeted on the vulnerable groups in the community, usually a section of the population, this does not prevent the impact reaching far and wide through the kinship redistribution system widespread among the Dinka people.

Perhaps, the most likely impact of aid inputs to be observed, in qualitative terms, is the livestock drugs and vaccines. Although the Dinka will not admit to a specific numerical heads of cattle he/she has, the fact is that a large population of livestock can be seen in Gogrial County, particularly after the easing of the assets stripping raids of the Murahaliien and the agreement with the Nuer of western Upper Nile and improved security situation, which gave them confidence to keep their herds in their homes.

¹⁷ On account of its large population and the fact that the county has devastated by the PDF and Kerubino's militias and therefore drew the attention of the international community following the devastating famine of 1998.

The amount of fish [fresh or dry] in the markets in the county point to the impact of the injected fishing gear [Twine and Hooks], although most of the fish catch is attributed to traditional methods of fishing [rok and spears].

The purchase of local seeds and tools made by agencies [SC UK] is a source of income for the well to do households. This has a direct impact on trade in Milo, Mayen Rual and other smaller markets in the county. Linked to the humanitarian agencies operating in the county is the employment it generated for the local elite or casual labourers and the purchases of local goods [food staff, firewood, charcoal, etc.] and services.

The digging of water wells and fitting them with hand pumps has had impact of livelihood in the county, in terms of reducing the widespread occurrences water borne diseases. It was one example of people taking their lives into their own hands. They have to pay for the digging and installation of the pump. They also pay a certain amount towards repairs and maintenance¹⁸. The problem with the SC UK implementation of this project, according to the SPLM County Secretary, lies with the location of wells and the county authorities have abused it. In this respect a planning workshop involving the SC UK, the county administration and the chiefs to be conducted to resolve the problem.

3.2.3 *Economic stratification and Social Mobility*

The number of livestock a person possesses is a criteria and basis for social distinction and classification, as such most time and resources is spent pursuing livestock as the mode of saving and exchange. The acreage under cultivation is another factor for classification. Resulting from social transformation taking place – improved tillage technology, those who afford to purchase ox-plough or avail oxen for training have the opportunity of producing surplus grain, which they then exchange for livestock, etc.

Table 3 (3) show the social classification in Gogrial County. As can be observed, the poorest group are the returnees, the dispossessed household and the SPLA soldiers. The poorest, the poor and the middle groups engage in labour activities. They either find employment with the agencies, on the farms for the better off groups or engage in self-employment of cutting grass, poles, firewood, charcoal and rope making, brewing and selling sorghum beer and alcohol, tobacco, etc.

¹⁸ For one well the community pays one bull and 6, 000 Dinars [60, 000 LS] which the people can easily afford.

Table 3 (3) *Socio-Economic classification in Gogrial*

| Status/ Property | Very Poor | Poor | Middle | 'Better Off' |
|------------------------|---|---------------|---|--------------|
| %age of the population | 30 – 35 | 35 – 45 | 15 – 20 | 5 - 15 |
| Livestock | 0 – 3 | 3 – 5 | 8 – 10 | > 10 |
| Shoats | 0 – 2 | 1 – 5 | 5 – 15 | > 15 |
| Land cultivated | 0.5 – 1 Feddans | 1 – 2 Feddans | 2 – 3 Feddans | > 4 Feddans |
| Social Network | Broken | Broken | Intact | Intact |
| Labour relations | Sell labour | Sell labour | Hire labour | Hire labour |
| Average income | SD 10, 950 | SD 14, 450 | SD 51, 100 | SD 55, 700 |
| Group Composition | Ordinary citizens, widows, returnees, IDPs, SPLA soldiers, petty traders, fishermen, etc. | | Chiefs, Head Chiefs, SPLA Cdrs., Commissioner, Agencies Staff, farmers, traders, etc. | |

Source: TSU ANA 2001

The poor and very poor groups get their income selling own labour either on farms, or in self employment cutting, burning charcoal, and collecting firewood, building materials, brewing beer and alcohol, etc. They use their income to purchase the necessities of life including medical services and saving part of it reproductive assets.

The 'middle' and 'better off' groups hire labour on the their farms and are therefore able to produce surpluses which now they sell.

3.3. *Markets and Trading Activities in Gogrial County*

The emergence and development of Markets and trading activities in Gogrial, like other parts of southern Sudan may be attributed to the international humanitarian intervention - initial injection of aid inputs, and could therefore be counted as one of the impacts of relief aid inputs. However, the dynamics of trading merits a separate treatment. Gogrial County is linked to Rumbek and then Uganda through Thiet. It is also linked to the markets in Wau County [including Wau town], Twic County and Aweil East and South [through Akon and Milo]. It is also linked to Western Upper Nile. Except for Rumbek, which trades in the old Sudanese Pound, the market in Gogrial is united with others in Bahr el Ghazal trading in Dinar. The source of money for trade is livestock, labour, purchase of local seeds and tools, etc.

It will be interesting to note that in spite of the dangers it entails, the traders are able to travel to the government garrison town of Wau to sell livestock they purchase in Mayen Rual, Akon, Panliet and Luanyaker, and from Thiet in Tonj County. It is more profitable for a trader to take his bull to Wau given the risks involved that trekking to Uganda. It takes one day to Wau, while the journey to Koboko takes two months involving a lot of problems including getting fair prices in Ugandan markets - *raison dé être* for this long and hazardous journey.

“A 1st class bull costs about one hundred and fifty US dollars in Koboko and this after two months of journey and lots of illegal taxation on the way going and coming back with

goods. In Wau, and after only one day and if one is lucky, the trader gets about US dollar 150 or 160 for a similar bull.”¹⁹

3.3.1 Mayen Rual market

This the largest market in Gogrial County. It is perhaps the melting point of trade and commercial activities between northern Bahr el Ghazal [including northern Sudan] and southern Sudan [including Uganda, Kenya and Congo/Central African Republic].

Mayen Rual is linked to Tonj County – Thiet, from where large numbers of livestock come to the market on their way either to Warawar or Wau town. It is also linked to Warawar in Aweil and Abyei Dau in Twic. Manufactured goods: clothes, plastic shoes, salt, spices, tools, *thania* [*simsim cake*], etc., brought in from markets in northern Sudan are distributed in Mayen Rual to Thiet, Rumbek, Mapel and other smaller markets in Gogrial County. Similarly, goods /commodities from markets in Uganda: clothes, shoes (slippers, which are very popular in Wau and southern Kordofan and Dar Fur), tea leaves, sugar, and others find their way to other parts of northern Bahr el Ghazal through Mayen Rual.

3.3.2. Constraints to trading in Gogrial County

Gogrial lies in the midway between northern Bahr el Ghazal and southern Sudan and this makes trading difficult. The following are the constraints of trade in Mayen Rual and the rest of Gogrial County: -

3.3.2 (a) Insecurity – Security and stability in Gogrial County is threatened by the presence of the GoS garrison in Wau town. Although, there are times when people and goods move in and out of the town without difficulty, the risk are always there and like the situation with trade in Warawar, the trader could lose his life [killed] or property – [confiscated²⁰] by the military intelligence even after having paid the necessary fees and taxes to the government authorities. The rule of law is gaining ground in southern Sudan. The New Sudan Judiciary is establishing itself and gaining the confidence of the people. It will be possible to enforce the laws that have remained on paper since 1994. Insecurity, therefore, is a major constraint to commercial activities in the county.

3.3.2 (b) Bad Roads and Transport

Like in other parts of southern Sudan, the roads in Gogrial County are dirt roads, which have not been rehabilitated since 1983 because of the war. Most of the bridges are broken

¹⁹ A livestock trader in Mayen Rual. Tonj County has been singled out as the most notorious in the number of illegal roadblocks erected and manned by the local strongmen and where a person is subjected to harassment. On entering Tonj County – Tonj roadblock one pays 2, 000 pounds, and similar amount in Thiet, Jak, Padol, Locuk, Manlor and Pankot all adding to 14, 000 pounds

²⁰ Certain commodities are not allowed into Wau town and hence have to be smuggled into it at one's own risk.

beyond repairs. Thus these roads are not passable during the rainy season or when there are floods.

This is a big constrain for trade and commercial activities. The traders are handicapped and meet a lot of difficulties in the course of transporting their goods. Apart from the time they spend travelling to and from the Ugandan borders, they have to meet high haulage costs imposed by the truck owners. There are no markets for agricultural commodities e.g. sorghum, groundnuts, simsim, fish and others. This means that for the traders to purchase goods from Uganda and/or Kenya, they have to grapple with another problem.

3.3.2 (c) *The scarcity of foreign exchange*

The only foreign currency earner in southern Sudan is livestock. But trade in livestock faces serious difficulties chief among them being the unfair trade and exchange terms the meet in Uganda and the traders have taken to collecting US dollars, Kenyan and Ugandan shillings that come into the New Sudan. This has to compete with the reparation of money done by South Sudanese who maintain families in east Africa. The dearth of hard currency is exacerbated by the corruption in the system of exchange. Some traders are allowed to exchange money at a favourably low rate [1 \$ = 150 Dinars] already predetermined by the civil authorities, while the politically unconnected have to exchange at a higher market rate [1 \$ = 350 Dinars] that depresses their profit margins.

3.3.2 (d) *Taxation*

The SPLM taxation is on nearly everything that is traded in the county, although there is consideration for the cost price. The authorities in Mayen Rual encourage trade and as such reduce the taxes on the goods to enable the traders to dispose of them. However, the problem of illegal taxation done in Tonj County clearly threatens trade in Gogrial in as far as goods originating from East Africa are concerned.

3.3.3. *Livestock Trade in Gogrial County.*

Mayen Rual is the major market in Gogrial in which there is a daily livestock auction. Some livestock come to the market from as far as Thiet in Tonj. Table 3 (4) show the monthly movement of livestock from the byre to the market and from there, either back to the byre or to the slaughterhouses in Mayen Rual or Wau town. The difficulty with livestock trade lies in the lack of trained stockmen as a result of this factor thousands of Kilogramme of livestock products [hides & skins] are lost annually.

Table 3 (4) Livestock Trade in Mayen Rual

| Month/ Livestock | October 2001 | November 2001 | December 2001 | January 2002 | February 2002 | March 2002 |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| Auctioned | 360 | 420 | 450 | 260 | 230 | 340 |
| Slaughtered | 140 | 126 | 130 | 60 | 62 | 81 |
| Exported ²¹ | 240 | 300 | 320 | 200 | 170 | 210 |

Source: Akech Tong [Market Administrator] Mayen Rual

²¹ Obtained from the office of Internal Security, who issue travel permits

4. RUMBEK COUNTY

4.1 General

Rumbek county administratively now comprises Rumbek, Maper, Malek, Pacong and Akot Payams after Cueibet and Wullu Counties were carved out and separated in 2000 and 2002 respectively, making it exclusively an Agar Dinka county. The county lies on a moderately higher ground above the flood plains of Geu and Naam rivers.

The county is linked to Yirol, Cueibut and Maper by all weather dirt roads and a number of feeder roads link Rumbek town to the different parts of the county. An all weather dirt road [trade life vein] links Rumbek and hence the rest of Bahr el Ghazal to western Equatoria and Uganda.

The local economy is livestock based, as the Agar people are predominantly cattle rearing – pastoralists community. But they also engage in mixed subsistence agricultural production. Sorghum, groundnuts, millet, green grams (*aguoth*), bamabara nuts, white beans, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, maize, and cassava form their basic food crops. The Agar people grow tobacco for both domestic use and the market, and harvest *shea* nuts – *lulu*, from which they press edible oil. They also engage in honey collection. Fishing is carried out in the Naam, and Geu rivers, and in the *toich* areas.

The SPLA liberated Rumbek town in 1997. Indeed, it was the town that bore the brunt of the war destruction. Most of the civil population relocated in the countryside. The insecurity problems experienced in the county were linked to the inter-ethnic [Dinka – Nuer] and intra-ethnic [Agar – Gok] conflicts triggered by the split 1991 within the ranks and file of SPLM/A.

The liberation (1997) of Rumbek town and the sealing of the Wunlit Nuer-Dinka Peace Covenant (1999) restored peace and stability to Rumbek County. Only the isolated sectional clashes e.g. the conflict between the Agar and the Gok (2000) in which the Gelweng participated with their firearms leaving many deaths and wounded [Nyaba, 2001] and the famine of 1998 were the most serious threats to livelihood in the county, otherwise Rumbek County is very secure, and political and economic life is returning to normal.

The county civil administration moved back to Rumbek town in 1997 following the liberation of the town. The civil population started to resettle in the town stabilising it into a burgeoning commercial and civil centre. This apparent relatively peaceful atmosphere must have prompted UNICEF/OLS in 2000 to establish in Rumbek the regional liaison centre for Bahr el Ghazal. The Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association (SRRA) also transferred its H/Qs to Rumbek in 2001. Now Rumbek teems with all kinds of businesses and services: humanitarian, commercial, social and cultural.

Table 4.1 shows that there are about twenty four humanitarian and UN agencies, church and community –based organisations, indigenous NGOs, farmers and traders unions,

cooperatives, etc. There are about three hundred small and medium sized retail shops, five wholesalers, grinding mills, three hotel and many restaurants, bars and teashops. There is livestock auction and an open-air market. These have significant economic and social impact on the county. Rumbek Secondary School has been rehabilitated and is operational.

4.2. Humanitarian Intervention in Rumbek County.

The international humanitarian intervention in Rumbek dates back to 1994. Akot was then the centre of activities. Oxfam GB, Lutheran World Federation, CRS, Rädde Barnen and Association of Napata Volunteers (ANV) were among the first agencies to establish humanitarian relief in Rumbek. However, it was in the context of the Bahr el Ghazal famine 1998/9 that the large number of agencies started operating in Rumbek County [Cueibut & Wullu].

Table 4 (1) *List of agencies operating in Rumbek*

| S/No. | Organisation | Programme area |
|-------|--|---|
| 01 | Association of Napata Volunteers | Agricultural Production |
| 02 | Association of Church Resources Serving Sudan [ACROSS] | Agriculture & Health |
| 03 | Tear Fund | Agriculture |
| 04 | Oxfam [GB] | Water & Veterinary |
| 05 | Episcopal Church of Sudan [ECS] | Agriculture & Church |
| 06 | Save the Children – Sweden | Education, Agriculture |
| 07 | Catholic Relief Service [CRS] | Health, Water, Agriculture, Micro-finance |
| 08 | UNICEF/OLS | Education, Health, Water |
| 09 | WHO | Health |
| 10 | FAO | Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries |
| 11 | Norwegian People's Aid – NPA | Agriculture (Akot Payam) |
| 12 | SRRA | Coordination |
| 13 | Diakone –Germany | Health |
| 14 | CCM | Health |
| 15 | Maltiser | Health |
| 16 | International Rescue Committee – IRC | Health |
| 17 | Baptist Mission | Church activities |
| 18 | Diocese of Rumbek –DoR | Catering |
| 19 | African Expeditions | Youth activities, Women micro-enterprises |
| 20 | Bahr el Ghazal Youth Development Agency- BYDA | Road rehabilitation, <i>Shea</i> project |
| 21 | Medics | Relief |
| 22 | Church Ecumenical Assistance for Sudan – CEAS | Relief |
| 23 | Lutheran World Federation | |

Source: Majak Akec SRRA Field Coordinator- Rumbek County

The intervention started off as food relief, then shifted to restoration of livelihoods and economic rehabilitation and recovery. Table 4 (2) illustrates the amounts of relief aid inputs in the economy of Rumbek County.

4.2.1 *Relief Aid inputs and impact on the county's economy.*

"Since we started using ox-ploughs, hunger-gap is a thing of the past"²².

The exceptionally large number of agencies based or operating in Rumbek County imparts a considerable impact on its social, economic and political configuration. Apart from food relief and preventive health inputs, the main thrust of the international community focused on sustaining livelihoods by providing seeds, tools, fishing equipment, rehabilitation of the physical infrastructure, e.g. buildings, roads and the airstrip, financial support to the burgeoning civil society, administrative and judicial reorganisation in the county.

The experience of Rumbek County provides a paradigm of relief intervention interacting with and to transform the local reality in a civil war context, other negative aspects notwithstanding. The agencies involved in food security issues have provided food crops seeds of different types and tools. It was however not possible to get the complete statistics of this intervention, nevertheless, their cumulative effect can be depicted as the improved food security situation of the population.

The Association of Napata Volunteers (ANV), an indigenous NGO working in partnership with CRS and other donors provides Ox-Ploughs to the community on a cost recovery scheme of 40,000 Sudanese Pounds/ plough paid either in cash or kind after the annual harvest in two years instalment. It is worth mentioning that the introduction of ox-plough has revolutionised food crop production with increased land acreage in Bahr el Ghazal. Not only that, but it has also transformed the Dinka perception of the cow as a cultural wealth rather than an economic asset.

"...The impact of ox-plough is great particularly in Akot and Pacong payams where many farmers have registered surplus food crops. Since the introduction of the ox-plough many households have forgotten the hunger-gap that used to plague them..." [John Malith – ANV]

The changed attitude of the Dinka to cattle enables them to employ their bulls in agricultural production – through ox-plough. Many households have acquired ox-ploughs through free distribution by Association of Napata Volunteers or through their individual purchases. This has enhanced food security and production of surpluses.

Since 2000, the Catholic Relief Services (CRS – South Sudan) introduced a Grant Making – Capacity Building scheme and has been providing loans and grants to the civil society groups in Rumbek County. The amount that has been disbursed to date approximates? Some of the groups have repaid their loans/grants to the County Development Committee (CDC).

The World Food Programme (WFP) within its 'food for work' project provided agencies with food for the following projects: Construction of clinics [Diakonie], in-patient feeding in clinics [CCM – Billing], Resettlement of the displaced in Malek Payam

²² A Farmer in Rumbek.

[TearFund], construction of community centres [UNICEF, BYDA], roads rehabilitation [Medic, TearFund], construction of hand-dug water wells [Oxfam GB], store construction, widening of Cueibut airstrip [SRRA], training programme of community based workers [Oxfam GB], child soldier demobilisation [UNICEF], etc.

Apart from the freely distributed aid inputs, humanitarian intervention and the presence of large number of agencies generate employment for the local labour force. This is a definite source of income for many households, with a multiplying effect through kinship relations and redistribution of income. The market in Rumbek town is flourishing because large amounts of foreign currency [US dollar, Kenya and Ugandan shilling] are changing hands daily in the town through purchase and selling of labour services and goods.

4.2.2 *Economic stratification and Social Mobility*

The Agar people, being agro-pastoralists, measure their wealth and hence one's social status in terms of the number of cattle in one's byre. It is therefore obvious that the poorest and the poor constitute about 40% of the population [table 4 (2)]. Possession of livestock and the land under cultivation constitute an index for social categorisation in Rumbek County and the WFP TSU Annual Needs Assessment 2001 established the following socio-economic groupings in Rumbek County

Table 4 (3) *Socio-economic Groups*

| Status/property | Very poor | Poor | Middle | Better off |
|-------------------------|---|---------------|---|---------------|
| %-age of the population | 5 – 15% | 15 – 25% | 20 – 30% | 40- 50% |
| Livestock | 0-2 | 2- 3 | 3 – 5 | > 6 |
| Shoats | 2- 3 | 5-10 | 10 – 20 | > 25 |
| Land cultivated | 0 - 2 Feddans | 2 – 3 Feddans | 3 – 4 Feddans | 4 – 6 Feddans |
| Social networks | Intact | Intact | Intact | Intact |
| Approx. income | LS 75, 000 – LS 100, 000 | | LS 105, 700 - LS 250, 000 | |
| Labour | Sell their labour | | Hire labourers | |
| Social Composition | Headmen, ordinary citizens, SPLA soldiers, widows and female headed families, fishermen | | Magicians, sub-chiefs, SPLM, SRRA personnel, traders, farmers, fishermen, Agencies' staff | |
| | | | Head Chiefs, SPLM Secretary, SPLA Cdrs., Chiefs, Traders, Farmers, Agencies' Staff | |

Source TSU ANA Rumbek –Cueibut Counties 2001

Social mobility is greatest within the poorest and poor groups. They hire themselves as farm [in summer] or casual workers in the various businesses in the town. They also engage in self-employment cutting firewood, charcoal burning, thatching grass [plates 4.3 & 4], which they sell in the market as away of generating income. They definitely use part of this for restocking their livestock herds.

Plate 4.1 Section of Rumbek Market [Charcoal]



Photo: P. A. Nyaba

The middle and better off groups has large herds and therefore hire the poorest to work for them in their farms. Many of them through their social and political connections are able to easily acquire the means of the production e.g. ox-plough, etc., as a result they were able to cultivate large stretch of land and generate surplus food crop.

4.2.2 Markets and Trading activities in Rumbek

The liberation in 1997 of parts of Central Equatoria and Lakes created stability and peace. This coupled with the relatively improved road networks' linking the different parts of the county and the neighbouring counties are important factors that have stimulated the free movement of goods/commodities. The rehabilitation of the Kaya – Yei – [Mundri] Maridi and Mvolo road has made easy the transport between Rumbek and Koboko [Uganda]. It used to last two to three months for traders trekking on foot to bring goods on their heads from Uganda. Now, the journey takes only two to three days.

The decision by UN/OLS to make Rumbek town a centre resulted in making many relief and donor agencies to initiate projects in Rumbek. The presence of are twenty-three or more agencies in Rumbek is a source of economic and social recovery. This not only generates employment for the locals, but also their purchase of local goods and services

inject the needed cash, mainly US dollars, Kenyan and Ugandan shillings into the local economy.

Plate 4.2 Section of Rumbek Market [firewood & thatching grass in foreground]



Photo: P. A. Nyaba

The CRS' introduction of Grant Making/Capacity Building Programme 1999 enable the formation of cooperative societies and the emergence of progressive farmers who were able to increase production of surplus in sorghum, groundnuts, simsim, bee honey and lulu oil;

The formation of Cooperative Trading Blocks has improved the traders' purchasing power, which is reflected in the quantities and qualities of commodities traded in Rumbek Market.

The general peace and stability prevailing in the south will promote the increase in trading and economic activities, as households will strive to improve their conditions and re-stock their herds.

The rehabilitation of the road link to Equatoria and then Uganda/Congo led to increased volume of two-way trade passing from or through Rumbek the result of which was a revitalisation of economy has been accelerated and Rumbek is showing some crude

growth indices as mirrored by the sprouting of business of varying kinds in Rumbek town.

The initial situation of passivity and dependence on relief items is slowly transforming and cash economy is slowly taking shape with serious consequences the social relationships in Rumbek. Relief food and free distribution of goods and services is quickly becoming of the past. May be the relicts of relief food is what now is called 'food for work', which of course will also soon disappear. The people now have to pay for school fees, buy tools and seeds and pay for their treatment in clinics.

Table 4.4 *Businesses registered in Rumbek Town*

| Bars | Cooperative Shops | Whole Sales shops | Hotels | Video Shop | Grinding Mill |
|---|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|--|
| Santino Thon Malok | Akon Boui | Akon Boui Wholesale | Panda Hotel | Mayom Gop | Mabior Kedit Manyang Mading |
| Mongdit Deng Abdalla | Youth Association | Traders Union Coop | New Sudan | Mahmoud Solomon | Mahmoud Solomon Rumbek Secondary School |
| Matur Chut Dhuol | Matit Mothnhom | Farmers Union Coop | Konyrot Hotel | SRRA | ECS Nhial Deng Diocese of Rumbek |
| Makur Ayual Guor Mayom Gop Mawat Dondak Them George Anyuon | BYDA | Rumbek Youth Union Coop | SRRA Lodge | Matur Chut | Beshir SRRA |

Source: Santino Thon Malok – Chamber of Commerce

In addition to the above businesses, there are over fifty small retail shops, tea kiosks and restaurants in Rumbek town.

4.3. Livestock Trade in Rumbek

Selling of livestock among the Dinka in general is conditioned by immediate needs. A Dinka will prefer to buy than sell a cow unless under food deficit stress [famine]²³, debt or government fines or taxes. However, this attitude is fast changing and livestock trade is now and option people can quickly resort to solve their problems.

Through livestock trade have many of the traders in Rumbek and elsewhere in Bahr el Ghazal been to accumulate their capital. There is therefore a vibrant livestock market in Rumbek County, with Rumbek town hosting the largest daily livestock auction in Bahr el Ghazal.

Table 4.5 gives the figures of the monthly livestock auction in Rumbek and the process can be seen in plates [4.3 & 4]. An analysis of the data [table 4.5] reveals a large part of the livestock auctioned monthly are neither exported nor slaughtered, which shows that they disappear into the restocking process alluded to above that is undertaken by the

²³ During famine households are permitted to sell or slaughter animals for food and that is socially acceptable. However, the decision is taken sometimes very late after some deaths have been witnessed in the household.

poorer groups. For instance, taking November 2001 as an example, we find that 1010 heads of cattle were auctioned. The figures from the slaughterhouse stand at 209 and those given permits to be exported out of the county [to Equatoria and Uganda/Congo] were 496 heads of cattle. This leaves a figure of 303 heads of cattle most likely purchase by those restocking for marriages, etc.

Plate 4.3 Rumbek Livestock Market [during an auction]



Photo: P. A. Nyaba

It may be interesting to note that livestock sale in Rumbek is highest at the end of the year just after the harvest time for sorghum [short type], groundnuts, millet and others not mirroring any food deficit stress. It is the beginning of the dry season and time to trek livestock to Equatoria and Uganda.

Table 4.5 Dynamics of livestock marketing in Rumbek County

| Month/Particulars | October 2001 | November 2001 | December 2001 | January 2002 | February 2002 | March 2002 |
|--|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|------------|
| Cattle auctioned in Rumbek town | ‡ | 1010 | 754 | 685 | 596 | 700 |
| Cattle Slaughtered in Rumbek | 209 | 211 | 304 | 280 | 229 | 218 |
| Livestock licensed to be trekked to Equatoria and Uganda | 558 | 496 | 271 | 284 | 239 | 269 |

‡ Data not available

Sources: Makur Ayuel & Majur Mapur [Auctioneers], Samuel Hussein [Slaughter House] and the Public Security Office that issues warrants for exports.



Photo: P. A. Nyaba

Trading in livestock in an economy based on livestock could be unpredictable. As alluded to above, most of the Dinka traders in Rumbek and other parts of Bahr el Ghazal derived their capital from sale of livestock, not because they really want to shift to cash economy but, as was observed in many of the places visited, they engage in trade to enable them purchase of more cows and marry many wives. The reason many of the traders in Rumbek have not expanded their business is partly because by investing in livestock they froze their capital.

By all accounts, the introduction of ox-plough and the ability of many households to purchase own ploughs is likely to impact on the trade in Rumbek and perhaps the whole of Bahr el Ghazal. As farmers realise the potential of ox ploughing in crop production, there is now a high demand for the plough, which has triggered demand for oxen triggering a rise in their prices. This means there may be a shortage of bulls for the market, which have been the source of capital for bring goods from Uganda.

4.4. The Future of Trade in Rumbek.

The prospects and opportunities are great for economic recovery and growth in Rumbek County. However, there are serious constraints [threats] that could easily disrupt and retard this growth. The main constraints are :-

The general situation of war – South Sudan is still in a state of war and this obviously affects any place county. Although the battles are far away from Rumbek County at present, nevertheless, GoS aerial bombardment and its Army's recent offensive movements on the Wau – Gogrial – Tonj corridors pose serious threats to security and stability in Rumbek.

The agricultural production is rain fed, therefore the unpredictability of the weather patterns and rain regimes in the recent times resulting in drought and/or floods causing crop failures and resultant food deficit remain a serious constraint that affect people's livelihoods.

Lack of good governance – The political and administrative institutions and structures of the New Sudan are not only essentially weak or may be absent, but are also vacuous in that the exercise of authority has not been completely emancipated from the overriding dominance of local and personal whims. This remains a serious constraint, as there are few procedures, rules and guidelines for the functioning of the system. Although, a remarkable level of political and social awareness exists in Rumbek and the Agar is the only community to freely elect their SPLM County Secretary, yet this is not reflected in good and accountable governance system in the county. Corruption, heavy taxes weigh down on the people with no social services in return.

Lack of currency – trade in Rumbek is through the medium of 'old Sudanese pounds', which apart from being illegal tender are wearing out very fast and there is no supply sometimes creating acute liquidity shortage in the county. This negatively affects the market activities and the movement of goods and services in the county. The circulation of 'old Sudanese Pound' in Rumbek creates a rift in trade between Rumbek and the rest of Bahr el Ghazal trading in Dinars.

Bad roads and long distance to the Ugandan borders – this is a serious constraint, as most of the manufactured goods/commodities are trucked from Koboko [Uganda] over long distances and on roads that are in awfully bad condition. This leads to hiking of the cost of transport and the prices of goods. Similarly this affects the livestock driven to Uganda. The journey takes up to two months and the traders end up losing some of their animals on the way. Therefore rehabilitation and building of good roads linking the county and the borders is important for trade and commerce.

Repatriation of money – Most of agencies Sudanese staff and senior SPLM/A officers have their families in East Africa and have to repatriate huge sums of money for maintenance of and education of children. Similarly, the commodities marketed in Rumbek – sugar, salt, clothes, cigarettes, beers, etc., are all imported with either money accruing from livestock export to Uganda or foreign currency cash taken Rumbek. The traders are not exporting agricultural commodities but instead carry cash and this poses another important constraint on the growth of trade in the county. This is a one-way trading activity that drains the county of all the cash [liquidity] that a time comes when there is not cash in the market.

On the other hand, however, opportunities for expansion and growth of the local economy exist in Rumbek County. These include: -

The injection of relief aid inputs and services continue to be an important factor in economic rehabilitation and recovery in Rumbek. It generates employment and injects cash [foreign currency] into the economy factor through the market mechanisms.

The USAID funded Sudan transitional aid for rehabilitation [STAR] and social organisation and administrative rehabilitation [SOAR] aimed at institutional capacity building has improved the performances of the civil society groups and the New Sudan Judiciary. It is hoped that at the end it will result in improved institutional and policy environment that will enhance freedom, justice, equality and the rule of law. This is an opportunity for stability and respect for human rights, which impacts on economic and social well-being of the community.

The recent Danforth sponsored agreement between the GoS and the SPLM/A that resulted in the humanitarian cease-fire for the Nuba, and the protection of the civilians has stopped the wanton aerial bombing of towns, villages and cattle camps. This is an opportunity for stability that allows the community to invest in productive and income generating activities to strengthen and deepen the economic recovery process.

The changed attitude to the livestock among the Dinka people, which compels them to view the cow as an economic rather than social or cultural wealth is a positive transformation. It permits the use of the cow in agriculture and hence this opens the way to improved food security and sustainable livelihood security in Rumbek County.

It has been said again and again by the SPLM leaders that the New Sudan Currency shall be in circulation soon as the legal tender in the SPLM administered New Sudan. If that happens, it will unify the market and allow free and unhindered movement of goods and services to the different parts of the New Sudan.

The proposed USAID funded "Southern Sudan Agriculture Revitalisation Programme" is in its final phase of betting. It is hoped that this will inject money into strengthening agricultural systems and strengthen its links with the market opening up in the external markets more space for southern Sudanese agricultural commodities e.g. simsim, fish, shea oil, groundnut paste, etc. These are potentialities, which the political authority in southern Sudan should exploit for socio-economic development in the county.

5. TONJ COUNTY

5.1 *General*

Tonj County comprises six administrative units of Akop, Ananatak, Luanjang, Kuanythii, Tonj and Thiet Payams. Lying in central eastern part of Bahr el Ghazal Tonj County borders Yirol, Rumbek and Cueibut Counties to southeast and south respectively, Wau County to the west, Gogrial County to the north and Western Upper Nile to the east.

Physiographically, the land territory is flat low-lying and predominantly covered by flood plains '*toich*', which rises moderately to the west into the ironstone plateau, which makes up Wau County. Tonj River and other smaller streams drain the county. The main towns are Tonj, Thiet, Nabagok, Marial and Warrap. The county is linked to Rumbek, Wau and Gogrial Counties by all either dirt roads and by seasonal roads to western Upper Nile.

The Dinka sections [Rek and Luac] and Bongo form the inhabitants of Tonj County. The Dinka are agro-pastoralists while the Bongo are predominantly sedentary agrarian community. Livestock and subsistence agricultural production is traditional in scope occurring at the household level as the basic unit, dominate the economy of the county. Fishing is another occupation undertaken by nearly all the sections of the Dinka community in Tonj River and a number of lakes and swamps in the county. The fish is the source of income for the poor and medium households. Thiet, Tonj, Warrap and Marial markets teem with fish during the dry season [January – May] when nearly all the community moves to the toich areas.

The main food crops grown at the households are sorghum, groundnuts, simsim, and maize, while tobacco is grown as a cash crop, which fetches income for the poor and medium groups households. The production levels different from one payam to the other. Accordingly, Luanjang and Ananatak lie in high agricultural production area, in which surplus grain are recorded nearly every year. Theit and Tonj Payams fall within a medium producing area, while Akop and Kuanythii are in the lower producing area [TSU report 2001] and therefore suffer perpetual food deficit. The surplus grain are traded and exchanged for livestock.

The World Vision International [WVI] introduced ox-plough farming in the county in 1999. The result was a remarkable improvement and increase in the production of sorghum, groundnuts, *simsim* and maize in some parts of the county. The 'middle' and 'better off' households registered surplus crops. In an interview with the Farmers Cooperative Union in Thiet, the study team was informed that the Union had stocked up to 40 (forty) metric tons of groundnuts and sorghum seeds from the 2001 season's production. They intended to sell to CRS and other agencies involved in seed swapping.

Livestock play an important role in the lives of the people in the county. In fact according to statistics, Tonj County is largest livestock producing area in Bahr el Ghazal. This is reflected in the socio-economic categorisation [TSU ANA 2001] below in which the poorest household has between 5 to 10 cows.

Tonj County was affected by war and insecurity but to a lesser extent compared to Gogrial and Aweil Counties. The GoS and the PDF conducted frequent raids in the county, burning villages, destroying crops, stealing cattle and causing displacements of the civil population in the areas close to Tonj and Warrap garrisons. This situation was exacerbated more by the incursions of the Nuers from western Upper Nile, in the wake of the split of the SPLM/A in 1991, making difficult for the Dinka to settle in the toich areas. The capture of Tonj and Warrap garrisons [1997] and the consummation of Wunlit Nuer –Dinka Peace Covenant [1999] transformed the situation. The only insecurity in county is due to sectional feuds between the Luac and Pakam Agar in Rumbek County.

5.2. *Humanitarian intervention*

World Vision International started relief food intervention in Tonj County in 1995 with operations based in Thiet town; focusing on food security by purchasing surplus crops from the farmers to promote production. It introduced the ox-plough technology that revolutionised agricultural production in Tonj County. World Vision pulled out of Tonj County in 2000 due to disagreement over the Memorandum of Understanding.

Table 5 (1) Lists of Humanitarian Agencies

| Agency | Programme Area | Remarks |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| World Vision International | Relief, food security | Pulled out in 2000 because of MOU |
| MSF (Switzerland) | Health care | |
| WFP | FFW | |
| UNICEF | Water & sanitation | |
| FAO | Livestock, Agriculture, Fisheries, | |
| BYDA | | |
| Tonj Area Women Association | | |
| Catholic Relief Services | Agriculture, food security | |

The World Food Programme provides Food For Work (FFW) to NGOs projects mainly Bahr el Ghazal Youth Development Agency (BYDA), the Tonj Area Women Association (TAWA). Food Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations provides and distributes fishing equipment in Akop, Thiet, and Kuanythii, and to the IDPs. MSF (Switzerland) operates a health care programme while UNICEF drills for water in the county.

5.2.1 Flow of aid inputs in the county

World Vision International, Catholic Relief, UNICEF, the WFP are the main source of aid inputs in Tonj County. Table 5 (2) shows partial amount of aid inputs delivered before most of these agencies pulled out in February 2000. Some freely distributed items included: blankets, mosquito nets, hooks and twine have been located in the market in Thiet.

5.2.2 *Economic Stratification and Social Mobility.*

According to the TSU annual needs assessment 2001 the following socio-economic groups are to be found in the county. The determinant factors of the groups are the number of livestock and the land under cultivation.

Table 5 (3) *Socio - Economic Categories*

| Status/ particulars | Very poor | Poor | Middle | Better off |
|---------------------|---|---|--|--|
| %age population | 10 - 30 | 20 - 40 | 30 - 50 | 5 - 15 |
| Livestock | < 5 - 10 | 10 - 20 | 40 - 60 | > 70 |
| Shoats | 15 - 20 | 20 - 30 | 30 - 50 | >50 |
| Labour | Sell | Sell | Buy | Buy |
| Land cultivated | < 1 acre | 1 - 2 acres | 3 - 4 acres | 4 - 6 acres |
| Composition | Widows, female-headed households, ordinary civilians, SPLA soldiers, IDPs | Widows, female headed households, small scale cultivators, elderly people, headmen etc. | Spearmen, magicians, sub-chiefs, traders, full time fishermen, agencies workers, SPLA officers | Paramount Chiefs, Court Presidents, Traders, senior officials of the SPLM/A and agencies staff, etc. |

The poor and very poor groups are the internally displaced people from western Upper Nile and this is partly because they have lost their livestock in the course of the conflict or were forced to sell off or exchange their cattle for sorghum and other foodstuff before being relieved or integrated into the resident community. The 'middle' and the 'better off' groups have purchasing power as most of their members are linked to the SPLM/A, chiefs, traders, farmers or working with the agencies and have monthly cash remunerations. The traders in Tonj derived their capital from livestock trade, which means they double up as farmers. The source of income monetary or otherwise varies from one social group to the other. The 'middle' and 'better off' households derived their income from the labour of those they employ or from the agencies. The 'poorer' and 'poor' households have their income from self-employment e.g. selling fish, charcoal, firewood, tobacco, building materials [bricks, poles, grass, etc.]. The groups use their income differently. However, meagre their income, the 'poor' use part of their income to purchase heifers – restocking their herds.

5.3. *Markets and Trading activities*

Dinar is the currency in circulation in Tonj County, which links it and makes it easy to trade with northern Bahr el Ghazal, Cueibut and Yirol. Livestock trading is perhaps the main sources of foreign currency earning. Traders drive their cattle [priced bulls] either to Ugandan borders or to Mayen Rual market [Gogrial County].

Trading in Tonj County is predominantly bartering and petty exchange of commodities. It is the main source of cash money and the means of its circulation. The very poor groups sell their labour in the market activities: restaurants, tea shops, carrying water and other services or through self employment by cutting firewood, mats poles, thatching grass,

rope making, bricks-making, etc. as can be seen in Table 5 (3) below. The main markets in Tonj County are found in Thiet, Tonj, Nabagok, Warrap and Marial. They are linked to markets in Wau County [Mapel] Gogrial [Mayen Rual, Luanyaker], Aweil East [Warawar] and Twic Counties [Abin Dau].

Table 5.3 *Tradable items in Tonj County*

| Item | Source | Marketed in |
|--|--|--|
| 1. Livestock | Household in the county IDPs from western Upper Nile | Local market or driven to Equatoria and Uganda |
| 2. Agricultural produce | | |
| i. Sorghum | Households in the county | Local market and in the IDPs camps in exchange for livestock |
| ii. Sinsim | | |
| iii. Tobacco | | |
| iv. Ground nuts | | |
| v. Fish | | |
| | Streams and swamps | Local market |
| 3. Manufactured goods | | |
| i. Clothes | Markets in northern Bahr el Ghazal and Uganda and from Relief agencies operating in the county | Local market or in IDP camps or retailed in other smaller markets in the county. Local market and in the small markets. |
| ii. Soaps, sugar, tea-leaves, salt, cooking utensils, oil, etc.. | | |
| 4. Mats, firewood, charcoal, ropes, thatching grass, poles, | Relief Agencies | Local market |
| 5. Foreign currency: US dollars, Kenya and Uganda shillings | Locally produced or collected from the forests | Used for purchase of manufactured goods from markets in Uganda |
| | Relief agencies, northern Bahr el Ghazal | |

5.4. *Livestock Trading in Tonj County*

Livestock trading is the source of money for commercial activities in Tonj County. One route of livestock trading is through Rumbek to Maridi and Yambio or Yei and then to northern Uganda. Traders also drive their cattle to markets in Tambura through Mapel.

There is a northwards route from Thiet to Mayen Rual or Warawar. However, because of the insecurity in northern Bahr el Ghazal, the traders now prefer to collect cash money [Dinars, or US dollars] from the sale of their agricultural commodities and carry this cash southwards to Uganda [US dollars] or northwards to the markets in Aweil and Twic Counties [Dinar] instead of driving livestock. In the northern Bahr el Ghazal markets the traders purchase manufactured goods foreign currency, notably US dollars, currently abundant in those markets²⁴. The traders then take the dollars to Uganda where the exchange rate is more favourable. They then purchase goods which they bring back to the county.

²⁴ As a result of 'slave redemption' exercises of the CSI and other western humanitarian organisation, the dollar notes brought in were exchanged with Sudanese Dinar to pay the Arab traders who posed as intermediaries with the CSI and Local authorities.

The shift to motorised transportation of goods has greatly increased the volume of commodities coming into the county as could be seen in the quantity and quality of merchandise.

The most serious obstacle to trading in Tonj County is the number of roadblocks that have been erected throughout the county, and hence the illegal taxation imposed by some local strongmen that makes it difficult to move goods, even transit goods, from one part to the other.

6. TWIC COUNTY

6.1 *General*

Located in the most northerly part of Bahr el Ghazal, Twic County borders western Upper Nile to the east, Gogrial County to the south, Aweil East County to the west and Abyei County to the north [southern Kordofan]. Physiographically, the land is flat lying and is drained by Lol, Alal and Kiir rivers. It is prone to flooding. The county was curbed off from Gogrial County in 1994 and is divided into six administrative units viz. Ajakuac, Akak, Akoc, Aweng, Turalei and Wunrok Payams.

The Twic Dinka are the main inhabitants of the county, and they number about seven hundred thousand. And like the rest of the Dinka people, livestock form the basis of their economic well-being. However, they engage in subsistence agriculture, cultivating sorghum, simsim, maize, beans and groundnuts. Fishing is carried out using nets and hooks in Lol, Alal and Kiir rivers, and by women in a number of perennial pools in Aweng Turalei and Wunrok Payams using baskets.

The county is linked by seasonal dirt roads to Mayom and Mankien in western Upper Nile, Gogrial and Aweil counties and to Abyei in southern Kordofan. Like the rest of northern Bahr el Ghazal, Twic County suffered serious devastation due to war and other natural calamities. The PDF, *Murahaleen* and the forces of Kerubino Kuanyin Bol [1995 – 1997], who hailed from the county, wrecked havoc on the civil population, destroying villages, burning crops, stealing cattle and abducting women and children. The population suffered multiple displacements mostly to Gogrial County, total erosion of their economic and livelihood base thus heightening their vulnerability.

The defection of Kerubino Kuanyin Bol to the SPLA (1998) and the sealing of the Wunlit Dinka-Nuer Peace Covenant (1999) brought respite to the civil population in northern Bahr el Ghazal. However, the PDF continued to raid the area e.g. between February and April 1999, the PDF attacked Akoc, Panyok and Wunrok Payams causing further displacements. The SPLA's liberation of Gogrial and Biem-nhom (2000) changed the balance of forces in the area. The SPLA defeated heavily the PDF forcing them far away from the Kiir-Kou. The Messeriya lost not only fighters but also large herds of cattle due to lack of water and pastures.

The relative strength of the SPLA in northern Bahr el Ghazal forced the Messeriya and Rezeighat to seek peace with the Dinka. A peace conference between the Messeriya and the Dinka was convened and facilitated by the SPLA in Malual Agag (Kiir Kou) and on April 16th, 2000, the peace treaty was sealed between the Dinka and Messeriya chiefs. The terms of this peace treaty are still binding on the two communities, although the government of Sudan is apparently against it and wants to undermine it by all means²⁵. There have not been any violations. This could be attributed partly to the NIF

²⁵ One of the terms of the agreement stipulates that the Messeriya and Rezeighat recognise the SPLM/A as the legitimate authority of the New Sudan to the chagrin of the NIF government. They have tried to use to no avail some disgruntled Messeriya tribes.

government's failure to honour its pledges to compensate for the Messeriya fighters and their horses killed in action against the SPLA. And partly because of the changed international environment and the agreement with the SPLM/A to protect civil population brokered by Senator Danforth. The Messeriya are now reluctant to engage in raiding and slave taking as before.

The dividends accruing from this local peace treaty is that many Dinka people who were displaced or abducted to the North are now returning to the county in their large numbers. According to the Executive Director, as many as two to three hundred people were passing through Turalei every day on their way to their homes. According to the Peace Treaty, it was the duty and responsibility of the local Messeriya Peace Committee to facilitate the movement of these people.

6.2. Humanitarian intervention

The international humanitarian response to the crisis in the county started off in 1995, but could not take roots like in other counties due to serious insecurity posed by the frequent *Murahalieen* and Kerubino raids into the county. It was after the Dinka – Messeriya agreement that the security situation improved considerably and relative peace and stability returned to Twic County. The civil population has started to return and rebuild their homes. There are about six humanitarian and relief agencies operating in the county as can be discerned from table 6. (1) below.

Table 6 (1) *List of Agencies operating in Twic County*

| Agency | Programme area | Remarks |
|------------------------------------|--|---|
| VSF (Switzerland) | Livestock – engaged in vaccination of livestock in the whole of Twic County | This is a cost recovery programme which is hitting a snag because of the prices of drugs. |
| ADRA | Education – Teachers training, School feeding and provision of textbooks and school uniforms Health Care – run PHCCs in Lill and Panyok; PHCUs in Majokrong, Marial, Maper and Wunrok | |
| Goal - Ireland | Health Care – runs clinics in Turalei, Aweng, Ajakuac and Wunrok; PHCC in Wunrok and Mayen Abun | |
| Diocese of El Obied | Education – Teachers training and construction of schools in Pantit and Turalei | |
| Rädda Barnen | Psycho-social training and rehabilitation of the demobilised child soldiers brought to the county from Rumbek | |
| SUPRAID | Food Security – provides agricultural inputs: seeds and tools and fishing equipment | Also is involved in promoting sports and rural athletics. |
| WFP | Relief food | |
| Christian Solidarity International | Slave redemption programme | Together with CS Worldwide, it operates in Gogrial and Aweil Counties. |
| SRRA | Supervision of humanitarian intervention. | |

Source: TSU ANA 2001, SRRA & Local authorities

Twic County now plays host to several tens of thousands of Nuer civil population displaced by the war from the oil fields in western Upper Nile. On the other hand the improved relations between the Dinka and the Messeriya is enabling the return back to northern Bahr el Ghazal hundred of the Dinka abducted into slavery and those displaced to the north by war.

6.2.1 *Aid Inputs in Twic County*

The geographic location of Twic County, in relation to Lokichoggio from where the aid inputs into southern Sudan are flown, dictates that access is only by air. This is reflected in the dearth of inputs [table 6 (2)] in comparison to the population and the level of destruction the people have suffered at the hands of the *Murahali*en and Kerubino forces. Insecurity in the area is reflected in the low number of agencies operating in the county [table 6 (1)].

6 (2) *Flow of Aid inputs in Twic County*

| Particulars/Year | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | Agencies | |
|------------------|---------------|--------|-----------|--------|---------|----------|---------|
| Fishing Gear | Mosquito Nets | | 2, 596 | 2, 000 | | 1, 850 | SUPRAID |
| | CSKs | 10,160 | 2, 596 | 445 | | | SUPRAID |
| | Hooks ^ 7 | | | | | | SUPRAID |
| | Hooks ^ 8 | | 1,000,000 | | 345,000 | | |
| | Twine | | | | | | SUPRAID |
| | Twine | | 20, 000 | | 3, 500 | | |
| Seeds (MT). | Sorghum MT | | | 11.5 | | | SUPRAID |
| | Maize | | | 11.5 | | | SUPRAID |
| | Ass. Veg. | | | 450 Kg | | | SUPRAID |
| | Jembas | | 4, 500 | | | | SUPRAID |
| | Spade/Shackle | | | | | 50 | SUPRAID |
| | Racks | | | | | 50 | SUPRAID |
| Ox-Plough | 100 | 200 | | | | SUPRAID | |

Source: SUPRAID

VSF (Switzerland) is involved in livestock sector vaccinating the animals and supplying veterinary drugs and medicines. Four hundred thousand heads of cattle were vaccinated in 2001 along. It was suggested that the veterinary drugs and medicines were expensive above the level the livestock owners can afford. Goal Ireland and ADRA are involved in primary health care and running health centres. SUPRAID distribute different types of seeds including fruit plants, agricultural hand tools and ox-ploughs.

6.2.2 *Impact of aid inputs*

The response to the humanitarian crisis in Twic County has been rather subdued and delivery did not correspond to the population. This primarily was due to the long distance from Lokichoggio and security considerations. However, whatever reached the targeted groups has had an impact on the livelihood security in the county.

The provision of food relief, seeds and agricultural hand tools including ox-plough has improved the food situation in the county. The fishing equipment increased the amount of fish catch among the poor groups, from which they were able to derive income. Fresh and dry fish is on sale in Abin Dau and other markets.

6.2.3 *Economic stratification and social mobility*

The war, the frequent raids by the Murahaleen [southern Kordofan] and the Nuers [Kerubino forces] created a situation in which the traditional wealth distribution has been disturbed. Those who were better off before the war and who lost their reproductive assets have become poor, while some who did not possess wealth have now become wealthy as a result of having correct political connections, particularly among the SPLA soldiers.

Table 6 (3) *Socio-economic groups in Twic County*

| Status/ Particulars | Very Poor | Poor | Middle | 'Better Off' |
|-------------------------|---|--|---|---|
| %age of population | 30 - 40 | 20 - 30 | 20 - 30 | 10 - 20 |
| Livestock per household | 0 - 3 | 1 - 5 | 5 - 10 | > 10 - 20 |
| Shoats | 0 - 10 | 5 - 15 | 10 - 20 | 15 - 20 |
| Land under cultivation | < 1 feddan | 1 - 1.5 feddans | 2 - 3 feddans | > 4 feddans |
| Grain produced | 30 - 65 Kg | 60 - 120 Kg | 125 - 180 Kg | > 250 Kg |
| Labour | Sell | Sell | Hire | Hire |
| Average income | LS 144,000 - LS 300,000 | | LS 600,000 - LS 1,500,000 | |
| Composition | Ordinary citizens who lost reproductive assets, returnees, displaced, widows, SPLA soldiers, etc. | Women headed families, widows, returnees, sub-chiefs, SPLA soldiers, Workers with agencies, etc. | SPLA officers, chiefs, farmers, petty traders, Agencies staff, etc. | Chiefs, SPLM/A Cdrs., commissioner, Traders, Farmers and Agencies staff |

Source: TSU ANA 2001.

"Legend have it that the Twic people don't want this thing of stretching the hand or 'mog en' and that is why they crossed to where we are today". Mr. Lazarus Deng Atem in Wunrok

Social mobility in Twic County may be attributed to agricultural production, trading in livestock and labour relationships. The Twic people loathe the idea of being dependent on some one else. The poor and very poor groups consist of households or individuals who have lost their livestock through raids.

The poor groups get employment either on the farms, with humanitarian agencies, traders, or engage in self-employment cutting firewood, charcoal, poles, grass, or making ropes and tobacco, which they sell in the market. Young women and girls work as porters ferrying goods/commodities from Abyei [southern Kordofan] to the markets in the county [Abin Dau, Turalei, Mayen Abun and Wunrok]. They brew sorghum beer and alcohol or run tea and food stalls. The average income of the poor group has been put at LS 144,000 - LS 300,000 per year and this they spend on procurement of food and other necessities including restocking.

The middle and 'better off' groups, particularly those agencies staff, have an income of between LS 600,000 and LS 1,000,000 per month. This amount of money enables them to hire labour and purchase other services. They are also able to restock their herds.

Through these activities people transform their social status. The focus among the poor group is to acquire more livestock for bride wealth.

6.3 Markets and Trading activities in Twic County

Markets and trading activities in Twic County like in other parts of northern Bahr el Ghazal were spurred by the local peace sealed between the Dinka and Messeriya/Rezeighat. Indeed, Abin Dau market like Warawar in Aweil East County has been named '*Peace Market*'. This is precisely because it was established as a means of strengthening the fledgling peace and confidence between the two communities through the provision and exchange of goods and services.

Abin Dau links directly with Abyei in Kordofan from where come most of the manufactured goods [clothes, shoes, beads, etc.], foodstuff [salt, sugar, tea-leaves, oil, coffee, etc.] and the locally produced melodas. These goods/commodities are brought down on camels and donkeys' backs, or transported on head by young women and girls²⁶.

The locally produced commodities traded in Abin Dau include: sorghum, groundnuts, simsim, fish and tobacco. The prices of these commodities are cheaper than in Mayen Rual or Warawar. Livestock trade has scaled down partly because of the depressed prices due to lack of demand²⁷.

Abin Dau is linked to Mayen Rual [Gogrial County] and through it to other parts of Bahr el Ghazal and Lakes region. It is also linked to western Upper Nile from where the Nuer traders bring livestock in exchange for salt, clothes, and other manufactured commodities brought in from northern Sudan or from Uganda.

6.4 Constraints and opportunities for trading activities in Twic County

With the removal of insecurity through the Dinka Messeriya peace treaty, the major constraints to the growth of the market and trading activities in Twic County remain the following: -

6.4.1. *Transport and bad roads*

Bad roads and long distances hamper the movement of goods and people. The major markets in the county are far away from the rest of Bahr el Ghazal with which they could have fair trade. On the contrary it is nearer to Abyei and the terms of trade could easily be distorted by other political considerations. The lack of formal transport facilities and because of the long distances, the prices are higher.

²⁶ That women and girls, who are more vulnerable to attacks, rape and robbery could perform the tasks of transporting goods in an area of insecurity was a matter of interest. However, according to Mr. James Bol Adiang, the Dinka – Messeriya Peace Committee Chairperson, the women and girls are considered innocent and less dangerous, as they don't carry weapons

²⁷ Sudan is no longer exporting livestock or its products [beef, skins and hides] to the Arab Gulf countries and this affected the demand for livestock in the transition zone.

6.4.2. Good governance

There are no guidelines and formal procedures for commerce and trade in the New Sudan apart from the 'Tax Schedule' published by the SPLM Commission for Finance and Economic planning.

6.4.3. Lack of capital and supply of money

The lack of capital has been the bottleneck for the traders in Twic like other parts of northern Bahr el Ghazal. This is compounded by the lack of financial institutions that could grant loans for commercial activities. Livestock trading remains the source of capital for this petty trading and this explains why the market is not growing.

6.4.4. Repatriation of cash to East Africa

Livestock trading, employment with agencies and the 'slave redemption' exercises undertaken by Christian Solidarity International are the sources of money in Twic County. The slave redemption money run into hundreds of thousand of US dollars exchanged for Sudanese Dinars. However, surprisingly there are times when there is no liquidity in the market, because this money is not circulated in the county but repatriated to Kenya and Uganda. This creates lack of liquidity, which poses a serious threat trading activities.

6.4.5. The Dinka – Messeriya Peace Treaty [April 2000]

The Dinka-Messeriya peace treaty spurred stability and peace in the area. Since its sealing in April 2000, there has not been any violations. It has allowed the free movement of people and goods. This raises the potential for the growth and development of trade in this area. It is worth mentioning that both the Dinka and Messeriya communities, particularly the traders and pastoralists have an interest in upholding and consolidating this peace.

Excerpts from the terms of the Peace treaty

- That the Messeriya recognize the SPLM/A as the legitimate authority of the new Sudan;
- That the Messeriya disarm, particularly of the heavy weapons, machine guns etc., but allowed to retain the personal weapons AK 47, G3, for the protection of their animals when they come for grazing in the Dinka land;
- That the traditional leadership from both communities: in particular Amir Kuol Deng Majok and Amir Kabasha Tom [southern Kordofan] and the Dinka chiefs [Twic] were to be involved in the ceremony of the sealing of the peace treaty;
- That the areas of grazing to be identified and clearly demarcated for the Messeriya cattle;
- Identification of trading centres where friendship and confidence could be built between the Dinka and Messeriya;
- The Messeriya to in advance inform the local authorities in Twic County of the time of their arrival and departure at the end of the grazing period;
- The Messeriya to pay taxes to the SPLM authorities;
- The Messeriya leaders to assist in the tracing and return of the abducted Dinka women and children as a confidence building measure;
- The SPLA and the local people to afford protection for the Messeriya and their animals when in the SPLA administered areas;
- Any criminal offence shall fall under the responsibility and jurisdiction of the authorities of the location where it was committed;
- Offensive actions on the part of the GoS shall not be counted on the Messeriya. Those committed by the SPLA, the Messeriya and Dinka shall be resolved peacefully by the three sides

Source: James Bol Adiang – Chairman of the Dinka – Messeriya Peace Committee in Abin Dau

Plate 6 (1)

Section of the Dinka - Messeriya Peace Committee in Abin Dau



Photo: P. A. Nyaba

6.4.6. The proposed New Sudan Commercial Bank

The SPLM is planning to launch a commercial bank to be based in Yambio. If this happens and the idea of launching New Sudanese Currency materializes, this will change the economic landscape in southern Sudan. It will stimulate agricultural and livestock production and transforming the present one-direction trading activities.

7. WAU COUNTY

7.1 *General*

Wau County comprises five payams: Kwajena, Wau, Udici, Marial Wau surrounding Wau town - the largest GoS garrison town in Bahr el Ghazal region. It shares borders with Tonj County to the southeast, Tambura County to the southwest, Raga County to the west, Aweil (west and south) Counties and Gogrial County to the north and east respectively.

The topography is rugged and the whole land territory is covered by lateritic soils, which in many locations is not suitable for agriculture. River Jur and Pongo are the major streams draining the county.

A number of all weather roads link Wau to Raga, Tambura, Gogrial, Tonj and Aweil Counties making nearly all parts of the county accessible through out the year. Mapel [Kwajena Payam] is now the seat of the SPLM administered Wau County. It is also a major relief centre with a large airstrip, which at the height of Bahr el Ghazal famine 1999 became the launching of all humanitarian flights into northern Bahr el Ghazal

The Luo and a number of small Bantu/Sudanic [Fertit] ethnic groups, who are to a large extent sedentary agrarian communities, populate Wau County. Agriculture is the main economic activity in the county. The main crops are: sorghum, simsim, groundnuts, maize, beans, and cassava. The people collect and make oil from shea nuts. There is large production of good quality bee honey [Carroll, 2001]. However, some Luo households and the settled Dinka households keep cattle, sheep and goats making up the livestock population in the county.

The fish is bountiful during certain times of the year and fishing as an off farms activity is undertaken by nearly all sections of the community in the rivers and swamps in the county. Some people, particularly the poorer groups travel as far as Tonj River to fish and this accounts for the presence in the market in Mapel of quantities of fresh and dry fish.

Insecurity has been the main problem in Wau County, particularly in areas close to the railway line that caused humanitarian disruption. The existence of a major GoS garrison [Wau town] and its military '*delaying elements*' (outposts) and the frequent raids by the popular defence force (PDF) or the *Murahaleen*, acting as protective shield for every train arrival to and departure from Wau have been the major source of destabilisation for the civil population. This resulted in massive displacement and heightened people's vulnerability. Large numbers of the county's population have either been displaced to Mapel, Aweil South County or Gogrial [Kujok Payam].

This prompted the international humanitarian intervention in some parts of the county in 1994/5. Barurud [Udici Payam], Acumcum [Marial Wau Payam] and Mapel [Kwajena Payam] were the main relief centres established to serve the resident population as well as the increasing number of displaced persons from Wau [IDPs] after the defection to the

SPLM/A of Kerubino Kuanyin Bol [1998] and returnees from northern Sudan particularly in the wake of the improved relations between the Messeriya/Rezeighat and the Dinka in Aweil and Twic Counties.

The frequent PDF raids and the expected break out from Wau town of the GoS army heightened the insecurity in the county at the end of 1999 forcing the close of the relief and humanitarian operations in Barurud and Acumcum. As a result, Mapel remained the only operational relief centre in the county. However, and in spite of its relative stability, most of the humanitarian including UN agencies pulled out of Mapel in January 2001. Only MSF (B), HARD, MEDICS, BYDA and the indigenous women group [NSWF] remained in Mapel. The Save the Children [UK] relocated its programme to Akon but maintained a satellite compound in Mapel.

The decision by the UN/OLS consortium to pull out of Mapel was triggered by strong rumours then that the GoS forces was poised on attacking and capturing Mapel. Although driven by genuine security considerations, the pullout was viewed as an over reaction and local population still has strong contempt for that action. This is because the GoS forces have not even tried to break through the SPLA lines around Wau particularly after their disastrous defeat in Kuajok and Ajiep in 2001. Mapel has since then remained quiet and secure. MSF (B) still runs its health care programme, SC [UK] runs the food security and education programmes from Akon, while HARD and Medics have maintained the same level of their activities. SC [UK] supported 'Bush shop' project in the Wau County closed down due to financial and managerial problems. The bush shop project benefited both the resident community and the IDPs in terms of comparatively lower prices.

7.2. *Humanitarian intervention*

As mentioned above, relief intervention in Wau County commenced as early as 1995/6. By 1999, Mapel became the busiest relief airstrip linking northern Bahr el Ghazal to Lokichoggio in Kenya particularly in the wake of the devastating Bahr el Ghazal famine [1998].

Table 7.1 *List of Humanitarian Agencies (up to January 2001)*

| Agency | Programme area | Remarks |
|----------------------|--|--|
| UNICEF | Humanitarian intervention | Withdraw to Rumbek |
| WFP | Food Relief | " |
| Care International | Food security | Withdraw because of the MoU |
| Save the Children UK | Food security, education, water, economic rehabilitation | Relocated programme to Akon in Gogrial |
| MSF (B) | Health care, Training, | |
| HARD | Food security, community development | |
| BYDA | Training, | BYDA mobilises the youth and women groups around the slogans of unity, self-reliance and empowerment of the people in Bahr el Ghazal |
| Medic | Shea oil project | Medic is not a humanitarian but a development agency working with the local community for economic recovery |

Source: SRRA in Mapel

7.2.1 *Relief Aid Inputs in Wau County*

The flow of relief aid inputs into Wau County began in 1996 it reached its peak in 1999/2000. However, as can be seen in table 7 (2), statistics are available for only some of the items delivered.

Save the Children (UK) distributed seeds obtained through local procurement, and non-food relief items to both the resident community and the people [households and individuals] displaced from Wau town or other parts of the county. Save the Children also ran 'bush shop' project in Mapel, Acumcum, and Barurud [Udici Payam]. The project was beneficial to the community. The people were able to purchase items at relatively reasonable prices. They were also able to sell to the bush shop their agricultural commodities: simsim, sorghum, groundnuts, beans, dry fish, lulu oil, and honey.

Table 7 (2) *Relief Aid Inputs*

| Particulars/Year | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | Agencies |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|--------|-------------|
| Preventive Health | Mosquito Nets | | 2, 500 | | SC UK |
| | Blankets | | 2, 500 | | SC UK |
| | Tarpaulins | | 2, 500 | | SC UK |
| | CSKs | 434 | 790 | 300 | |
| Fishing Gear | Hooks # 7 | 251, 350 | | | SC UK |
| | Hooks # 8 | | 523, 500 | | |
| | Twine # 12 | | | | SC UK |
| | Twine # 18 | 7, 755 | | 9, 852 | |
| Seeds (MT) | Sorghum | | 53.950 | 25.85 | SC UK |
| | Groundnuts | | 28.825 | 5.40 | SC UK |
| | Simsim | | 3.600 | 2.00 | SC UK |
| | Ass. Vegetables | | | 1000 | HARD |
| Tools (Pieces) | Melodas | 7, 200 | | 1, 500 | SC UK, HARD |
| | Jembas | 2, 400 | | | SC UK |
| | Pangas | | | | |
| | Axes | | 1, 440 | | SC UK |
| | Racks | | 1, 802 | | SC UK |
| | Ox-Plough | | | | 350 |

Sources: Joseph Garang [HARD], SC UK reports

7.2.2 *Economic stratification and social mobility*

Social stratification is based on acreage of land under cultivation and agricultural production rather than livestock as in the Dinka areas. The poorer groups in the county are therefore the internally displaced from the garrison towns or returnees from northern Sudan. The female headed households and the SPLA soldiers fall within this category. They therefore form the farm hires or involved in casual labour with the agencies running programmes in Mapel and other relief centres.

The farmers and the traders are among the better off in the community. They are able to hire labour [mainly the idps] and as a result produce surplus, which they sell or barter for

manufactured goods. Most of the traders in the markets were originally farmers who accumulated the capital from the sale of agricultural commodities.

The local procurement made by the agencies [SC UK and HARD] of seeds and tools enabled the progressive farmers to get cash income, which they used for trade or purchase of other goods including restocking their herds of cattle, shoats and chicken.

Table 7 (3) *Social stratification*

| Status/property | Very poor | Poor | Middle | Better off |
|-----------------|---|--|--|---|
| Land cultivated | 0.5 – 1 Feddans | 1 – 2 Feddans | 3 – 4 Feddans | > 6 Feddans |
| Livestock | 0 Cow | 0 – 1 Cow | 1 – 2 Cows | > 3 Cows |
| Shoats | 0 | 3 Goats/sheep | 10 – 15 Goats/sheep | 15 – 30 Goats/sheep |
| Labour | Sell labour | Sell labour | Hire labour | Hire labour |
| Composition | Widows, female-headed households, IDPs, returnees, SPLA soldiers, etc | Ordinary citizens, widows, IDPs (2-3 years), SPLA soldiers, female headed households, etc. | Farmers, Traders, County & agencies' officials, Payam Administrators, etc. | Chiefs, Commissioner, County & SPLA senior officers, Traders, progressive Farmers |

Adopted from WFP ANA 2001 for Kuajeina, Wau west & Bazia Payams

The poorest are those who are unable to engage in land tenure implying that inability to depend on self in food production. There is strong social mobility, therefore, to acquire agriculture implements and possess a sizeable garden.

The study has revealed that only the displaced persons hailing from pastoral communities tend to remain in the poor category after two or three cultivation seasons. This is partly because they don't exert efforts to acquire own plots of land for cultivation. In a meeting with the displaced persons, some of who have stayed in Mapel for four years, they were in favour of continuation of relief and distribution of free goods. This was reflected again in their individual contribution in the HARD – OXFAM workshop on Disaster Mitigation and Preparedness, which was more in favour of relief assistance.

However, most of the displaced from the agrarian communities became self-reliance in food and other necessities after two cultivation seasons in Mapel. They were in favour of agencies to promote trade and purchase of their agricultural commodities.

7.2.2 *Impact of aid inputs on the local economy*

The distribution of seeds and tool has had an impact on the local economy in that it has improved the food security in the county through increased production. The introduction

and use of ox-plough has revolutionised agricultural and enormously increased the production in the county.

As a result of improved land tillage and increased acreage, there was surplus production of food crops, mainly sorghum, simsim and groundnuts. This enabled SC UK and HARD to make local procurement of seeds, which were distributed to the vulnerable households. In August 2001, for instance, HARD was able to obtain 1000 bags of seeds from the farmers at a time considered a hunger gap in most parts of southern Sudan.

The study identified three farmers who had performed exceptionally well as a result of their use of new methods of land tilting.

“Mr. Dino Madheu is a traditional farmer in Mapel. He used to harvest annually between 7 and 10 bags of sorghum [olela and bena varieties], simsim and ground nuts. In 1999 he got an ox-plough and that year was able to harvest 77 bags of sorghum, simsim and ground nuts; Mr. Charles Kon harvested more than 20 bags and another farmer Mr. Majok Amayen got 35 bags of the same crops.” Mr. Joseph Garang - HARD

At the beginning of its intervention in Mapel, HARD distributed vegetable seeds targeting about twenty households. It latter transpired that the vegetables: Okra, tomatoes, *sakuma wiki*, sweet potatoes, etc., were helpful to the community during the hunger gap, augmenting the diet of the households.

The number of those who have requested for and received vegetable seeds has risen to three hundred and fifty households. Some of the farmers did outstanding performances and were able to sell their produce in the market.

As an illustration of the impact of aid inputs [vegetable seeds] distributed by HARD, the following farmers had incomes from their gardens as follows:-

Peter Kiir received from his garden an income of LS 157, 000 [one hundred seventy thousand];

Mr. Nicola Duma got an income of LS 300, 000 [three hundred thousand pounds];

Mr. Mark Nyipuoc got an income of LS 500,000 [five hundred thousand].

Source: HARD

In general, the injection of aid inputs, particularly seeds and tools, resulted in increased acreage of cultivated land. This witnessed an increase in the harvest that each household was able to produce.

The provision of fishing equipment: twine and hooks has also increased the amount of fish catch that supplemented the protein intake particularly in the poorer and poor categories. This impact of the distributed fishing gear is reflected in the amount of fish [fresh and dry] in the local markets.

There is a link between aid inputs, market activities and labour in Wau County. Before they closed down their programme in January 2001, the many agencies operating in Mapel had an important contribution to social and economic recovery in the area.

The generated employment for the local labour, purchased goods: honey, simsim and vegetable from the local market services for the community bringing in cash money into the economy. Thus at the peak of market activities in Mapel lots of money: US dollars, Kenyan and Ugandan shillings and Sudanese Dinars changed hands in a manner that a vibrant little economy started to emerge in Mapel, attracting traders from Thiet, Rumbek, Yei, Tambura, Wau and Mayen Rual. The trade linkage extended as far as Warawar and Abin Dau from where the traders brought simsim cake and other commodities.

7.3 Trade and Market activities in Wau County

Wau County has huge agricultural potential but because large parts suffer from endemic insecurity this potential has been terribly reduced. Mapel is the only active market in the SPLM administered parts of the county. The surplus agricultural commodities mainly sorghum, simsim, beans, cassava are traded with manufactured goods brought in from long distance markets in Uganda, Warawar, Abin Dau, Mayen Rual, or are bartered with livestock in Tonj County. Large amount of good quality honey is also traded in the county together with the *shea* oil and soap.

Before the opening of the Tonj – Rumbek-Yei – Uganda routes, traders used bicycles or travel on foot to bring in goods/commodities from Tambura in Equatoria. Most of these commodities came from either Uganda through Yambio – Maridi – Yei – Kaya or from Congo through Yambio and Tambura or from Central African Republic through Ezzo. Wau County is linked to Aweil Counties [Warawar] and Gogrial [Mayen Rual] and through them to northern Sudan from which certain commodities are brought.

The opening of the Tonj-Rumbek road considerably improved the commercial activities in Mapel. The market flourished between 1998/9 and 2001 when UN and other agencies used Mapel airstrip as a transit port to most parts of northern Bahr el Ghazal. MSF (B) ran a health care and training institution, which employed a work force, whose income in cash money circulated in the market.

Through the bush shop project, trading activities between Wau County and Tambura County in Equatoria were strengthened. The traders would drive their cattle to Tambura and came back on bicycles carrying their goods. It was only after the liberation of Rumbek and Tonj in 1997 that there was shift to motorised transportation of goods from Uganda. The volume and quality of good improved and prices started to lower considerably.

The 'bush shop' project remarkably improved the situation of the community. This project notwithstanding its success was rundown due to poor financial management resulting in the closure of the project by SC UK. The investigation for the recovery of the bush shop money from those who embezzled it has not been completed.

7.3.1. *Constraints to and Potentialities for Trade in Wau County.*

Wau County lies almost in the middle between northern Bahr el Ghazal and Lakes regions and therefore trades and exchanges goods with Equatoria/Uganda through Rumbek and Yei, and with Aweil and northern Sudan through either Warawar or Abin Dau. It also trades with western Equatoria/Congo/Central African Republic through Tambura County.

The constraints to trading activities in Wau County are: -

Insecurity – the general insecurity in the county posed by the GoS garrison in Wau town, the Murahaleen and the PDF are serious constraints to trade and commercial activities. It limits the movement of people and the amount of goods that can be transported. The insecurity has also forced many of the agencies including the UN agencies to close down their operations in the county. Mapel, which used to have a vibrant market and trade within and with Tonj, Rumbek and Gogrial no longer enjoys that popularity.

Liquidity – the closure of most of the NGO operations affected the cash flow, whether foreign currency; US dollars, Kenyan or Uganda shillings, and hence the trading activities in the county.

Transport – the Luo who inhabit the area produce lot of food crops as well as cash crops like simsim, groundnuts, beans, etc., however, lack of transport hampered trading in these commodities. People can carry limited amounts to the market, as such in Mapel the prices are artificially hiked due to this factor. The cost of manufactured goods brought in by foot or bicycle is also hiked because the traders can each carry so little that to compensate or raise their profit margins they have to raise the prices.

Taxation – the tax imposed by the local authorities is 10% of the value of the goods sold or exchanged. This is high particularly for commodities that are carried on foot or on bicycles. The illegal taxation on the way particularly in Tonj County works to discourage the traders from venturing further a field to bring goods,

In addition to these constraints, certain opportunities exist that promote trading in Wau County. These include: -

Medic has introduced a small-scale food processing technology in Mapel and is transforming the area. Many households are getting attached to this project through sale of shea nuts. The production of edible oil and soap from the shea oil has started in earnest and his being sold in the local market.

The county is gifted with artisans who smelt the lateritic soil to produce agricultural hand tools: melodas, knives, spears, etc. It is therefore likely to benefit from the local procurements undertaken by the agencies.

Wau County is accessible by road to Aweil, Twic through Gogrial, Tonj, Rumbek and Tambura. This gives high potentiality to its agricultural commodities and at the same time receives goods at reasonable prices from the rest of Bahr el Ghazal including Wau town.

Plate 7. 1 Section of market in Mapel in which local melodas are displayed for sale



Photo. P. A. Nyaba

Appendix 8

**LIST OF PERSONS, AGENCIES STAFF AND ORGANISATIONS MET IN THE
COURSE OF THE STUDY.**

Nairobi

March 15th, 2002

| | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|
| Mr. Graham Farmer | Food Security Information Coordinator | FAO |
| Mr. Patrick Berner | Household Food Security Coordinator | FAO |
| Dr. George Oketch | Community-based Animal Health | FAO/OLS |

Lokichoggio

March 17th, 2002

| | | |
|--------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Ms. Nina Seres | | SC UK Project Manager |
| Mr. Alexander Rees | “ | |
| Mr. Atem Garang | “ | |
| Ms. Betty Kiden | | |
| Mr. Mangok Khalil | | |
| Mr. Philip Dau | | Assistant Consultant |

March 18th, 2002

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| Mr. Nanok Josephat | WFP TSU |
|--------------------|---------|

March 19th, 2002

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| Mr. Silvestor Okoth | SC UK Livestock Coordinator |
| Mr. Mario Riing | SUPRAID – Logistician |
| Mr. Philip Aguer | SRRA |
| Mr. Sam Gonda | Oxfam GB |

Rumbek

March 20, 2002

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Mr. Samuel Mabor | Executive Director a.i. |
| Mr. Majur Mapur | Livestock Auction Clerk |
| Mr. Makur Ayuel | Auction Clerk |
| Mr. Samuel Hussein | Slaughter House Clerk |
| Mr. Achor Modesto | SRRA Data Base |
| Mr. Thon Malok | Chamber of Commerce |
| Mr. Allan King | FAO Consultant |
| DR. William Mogga | FAO |
| Public Security Officers | |

Thiet [Tonj County]

March 22nd, 2002

Mr. Luka Ngor Athien + 12 others Chamber of Commerce
 Mr. Peter Moa Athiey SRRA

Mapel [Wau County]

March 29th

Dr. Wilson Deng SC UK Field Officer
 Mr. Deng Deng “
 Mr. Manhiem Bol “ Water & Sanitation
 Mr. Peter Matueny SRRA
 Mr. Pasquale Joseph Ayang Executive Director
 Mr. Josepg Garang HARD
 Mrs. Maria Martin + 6 other women Women Association
 Mr. Ngor Angui + 16 other Traders Chamber of Commerce
 Mr. Daniel Nyok Arop + 8 others Displaced persons in Mapel.

Madhol [Aweil East County]

April 5th, 2002

Mr. Mangok Khalil SC UK Field Officer
 Mr. Chol Chingoth Child protection
 Mr. James Akot Atak + 4 others Abeim East Multi-Pur. Coop. Soc.
 Mrs. Adit Archangelo + 6 others Women Association
 Mrs. Anna Mohammed Women Traders Group
 Mr. Moses Akok FAO [Fisheries]
 Mr. Joseph Garang SRRA
 Mr. William Deng Aleu Payam Administrator Madhol
 Mr. Abraham Aleu SRRA Aweil South County Secretary

Malual Kon

April 6th, 2002

Mr. Yel Deng SRRA County Secretary
 Mr. Ayii Ayii “ Field Supervisor
 Mr. Kom Kom Abeim Coop
 Mr. Ajou Farmers Union
 Mr. Deng Deng Malual Chamber of Commerce – Wanjok
 Mr. Voctor Akok Aneim SPLM County Secretary

Warawar market

April 7th, 2002

Mr. Manut Yiel Lual Market Administrator
 Mr. Dut Athian Trader
 Mr. Ismael Hussein Ibrahim Trader
 Mr. Abder Rahaman Mohd. Ahmed Trader

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Mr. Deng Luol Akoi | Chairman – Dinka Peace Committee |
| Mr. Said Ahmeddan Adam | Messeriya Member of Peace Comm. |
| Mr. Ibrahim Mariq | Chair of Messeriya Peace Committee |
| Mr. Mahmoud Hamad Ahmed | Peace Committee |
| Mr. James Akuei | “ |
| Mr. John Mbarina | TearFund |

Akon [Gogrial County] April 15th, 2002

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Mr. Ajang Akon Majok | SRRA County Secretary |
| Mrs. Achol | SRRA Field Supervisor |

Alek April 18th, 2002

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Mr. James Lual | SPLM County Secretary |
| Mr. Atem Garang | SC UK Field |

Mayen Rual Market/ Luanyaker April 19th, 2002

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| Mr. Akech Tong | Market Administrator |
| Mr. Daniel Nhomchot + 7 others | Livestock Traders |
| Mr. Awet Awet | Merchant |
| Mr. Chan | WOUNDA |

Lietnhom April 20th, 2002

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Mr. Majok Madhieu Angui | Payam Administrator |
| Mr. Maleuth Ajak | |
| Mr. Salva Mathok | |
| Mr. Ngor Thiep | Executive Chief |

Abin Dau Market Twic County April 16th, 2002

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Mr. Martin Malieth Aden | Executive Director |
| Mr. Mayen Majon Jong | SRRA Secretary |
| Mr. James Bol Adiang | Chairperson Peace Committee |
| Mr. Nimeri Baktan | Deputy |
| Mr. Santino Guod | Treasurer |
| Mr. Acuil Malith Acuil | |
| Mr. Adam Hamdan | |
| Mr. Bol Achuong Dut + 22 other Traders | – Chamber of Commerce |