BEYOND THE FAMINE: NEW DIRECTIONS IN DEVELOPMENT

Report of the NORTH SOUTH ROUNDTABLE Sudan National Roundtable

KHARTOUM 15 - 17 March 1986 **CO-CHAIRS**: Mr. Maurice F. Strong, Chairman, North South Roundtable and Executive Coordinator, United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa Dr. Bashir El-Bakri, Chairman, National Bank, Sudan RAPPORTEURS. Mr. Robert 1. Berg, Senior Fellow, Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C., and Vice President, Society for International Development Prof. I.H. Abdel Galil, Chairman, Economic and Social Research Council, National Council of Research **TABLE OF CONTENTS** Preface **Executive Summary Rapporteur's Report** I. Presentation of Results of National Deliberations 11. International Responses III. Discussion IV. Concluding Points Appendices 1.List of Participants 11. Bibliography

Preface

The meetings were most ably organized by a distinguished committee consisting of: Dr. Bashir El-Bakri, Chairman, National Bank, Sudan

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The Roundtable would like to express its deep appreciation to this committee for its excellent contribution to the success of the meeting: to Mr. Robert J. Berg and Prof. I.H. Abdel Galil for putting this report together; to Susan Kavanagh of the Office for Emergency Operations in Africa for administering the meeting. Special thanks are also due b Mr. Aldo Sicignano, Deputy Resident Representative, United Nations Development Programme, Khartoum, for his indispensable help in organizing the meeting.

The meeting was made possible through the support of the Government of Canada through its Office of the Canadian Emergency Coordinator, Africa Famine and the Canadian Council for International Co-operation; the United Nations through the Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, and the World Food Programme; the Swedish International Development Authority; and the Danish International Development Authority. This assistance is most gratefully acknowledged.

We believe that the meeting raised issues of significance not only in Sudan but of relevance to many other areas. As the Sudan re-institutes democracy and faces difficult development challenges, it merits the continued concern and support of a wide international community.

MAURICE F. STRONG and BASHER EL-BAKRI

Co-Chairmen

New York May 1986

Executive Summary

The Prime Minister, in the company of the Minister of Foreign Relations, the Minister of Finance, and the Minister of Information and Culture greeted the Roundtable and opened the proceedings.

Over the next two and a half days, the Roundtable reviewed the findings of several of the national conferences recently concluded on key development issue%. These included conferences on agriculture, desertification, "macro- issues", and foreign aid: Thus, the Roundtable came at a time when Sudanese leaders had recently considered the opportunities and problems Sudan will face in the next months and years.

The Roundtable made a useful contribution to the discussions of these issues by providing a forum to hear international reactions to the present situation and plans. Also, as the first roundtable in Africa, it allowed for a dialogue on the international and Sudanese perspectives, a dialogue useful as a prelude to the United Nations Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa.

Discussion centered on the following issues:

• Authentic patterns of development;

• Problems of shifting from famine relief W the urgent tasks of rehabilitation and setting long-term development objectives, at a time when the debt burden provided little room for maneuver;

• Attending to key urgent human problems: health, nutrition, basic education, social services ... the total rural system in ways which stimulate growth in traditional agriculture, and better protect the environment in fragile land areas. The question of subsidies was raised in this context;

• The future uses of food aid. Concern was expressed about the unplanned disincentives arising from food aid, the need m use food to promote environmental rehabilitation, and the need to place much more emphasis on food-for-work programmes;

• The question of reforms often arose. Many contend88ed that reforms are necessary but others felt reforms should not be part of aid relationships. The reform discussion distinguished between the IMF-type of reforms (which appear to often not reflect national opinion and perhaps even political reality) versus reforms in state roles, pricing and other (non-macro) policies where considerable leeway for national action and international support appears to exist. A major concern was the role of international institutions in Sudan's future development. Discussion raised these points:

• Do international agencies understand well enough key poverty tasks, e.g., the need to address rain-fed agricultural issues?

• How committed are international institutions to seeing through the spirit of the revolution and an authentic national pattern of development?

• Can future development proceed without a more sympathetic resolution of the debt problem? (An option mentioned was to link debt actions to other actions desired by the donors and national groups, e.g., debt repayments might be linked to export levels). There was also significant feeling that the IMF was insensitive to the national situation in Sudan, particularly to the question of the political options on macro reform. On the other hand the question of overspending of targets by the Government also needs consideration.

• Co-ordination of aid was a major issue which arose repeatedly and options to improve co-ordination were discussed;

• Trade issues also arose where a need m link trade remedies (e.g. access to Northern markets) was an option to the need for aid, if handled correctly. Here the links between Third World and Western consumer interests on trade issues was missed as a possibility for future negotiating.

In sum, what is called for is a new form of relationship where new national patterns can be developed. This calls for a real partnership, a dialogue which at times may need to go beyond national authorities to include key private sector thinkers and actors.

Two key factors also need consideration:

• Sudan is currently at a political and national crossroads as the re-emergence of political activities occurs at the same time as a severe challenge to national integrity of the country. Future development patterns will need to promote national reconciliation between the groups involved in the conflict. This "need" could well be an over-riding national, and therefore international, concern;

• At the same time, the conference was aware that its deliberations were taking place two months prior to the United Nations Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa. It is important to understand first Sudan's position among the African states and then its position among UN member states. At the Special Session it would be beneficial to both Sudan and to Africa for there to be a unified African position.

The conference was presented with a number of important documents. A listing of these documents and other documents useful to understanding Sudan's situation is appended to this report.

Rapporteurs' Report

The North South National Roundtable on Sudan came at a critical time for the country. The meetings on IS-17 March 1986 occurred within one month of scheduled national elections, at a time of major conflict between the two halves of the country and also at the completion of considerable national efforts by the public and private sectors to help chart a new course for (post-revolution) national development. The intellectual atmosphere was noted as being more open and challenging than at any time in recent memory. The seriousness of the times were felt by all. Sudan is emerging from the most devastating famine in its history, after extraordinary efforts by the Sudanese and a wide international community which has saved literally millions of people.

The participants noted that the opening session of the Roundtable was occurring at the same time as the funeral of Prime Minister Olaf Palme. The meeting said he was a great friend of all people, a proponent of international peace and a strong supporter of Third World development and of the North South Roundtable. His tragic death was marked by a period of silence. After the Roundtable, in discussions, participants urged SID or the North South Roundtable to think of a way of more permanently commemorating this great friend of mankind.

The meetings were then opened by the Co-Chairs who called upon Prime Minister Dr. El-Gazoly Daffa'alla for an opening statement. The Prime Minister noted that the holocaust of the famine could be a blessing in disguise if it arouses the world sufficiently to the dangers Sudan faces and if this concern is translated into effective concern and actions. He wished the Roundtable well in its important deliberations and urged the meeting to focus on the positive opportunities which had arisen because of the disasters.

The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Information and Culture.

In his opening remarks, the Co-Chairman of the Sudan National Roundtable, Dr. Bashir El-Bakri, noted that the seminar came at an important time for Sudan as the country had just had the benefit of major conferences on development. These had demonstrated that there was now in Sudan a new intellectual self-reliance which was being used to come to grips with the country's future. The findings of these conferences could now be used as the basis of Roundtable discussions on the international implications of Sudan's future needs and future interactions with the international community. The Roundtable was seen as an extension of the excellent international co-operation with Sudan so evident during the recent famine years.

It was noted that the Roundtable was scheduled at an important time in the international agenda as it was occurring one week prior m the North South Roundtable's regional Sub-Saharan Africa meeting in Nairobi and two months prior to the United Nations Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa. The Chairman of the North South Roundtable, Mr. Maurice Strong, announced that the results of the Sudan National Roundtable would be fed into the thinking of both subsequent meetings as well as to a wide international audience, in order W bring the vibrant and authentic thinking of Sudan m these communities.

The Co-Chairmen of the meeting, Dr. EI-Bakri and Mr. Strong, made it clear that the meeting was not intended to come to agreement on issues, but to raise interesting and timely subjects and to search for innovative ideas and answers. The rapporteurs were

instructed to draft a report accordingly. This report, then, represents an overview of the meeting. Although recommendations listed in the report in some cases may have come from only one individual, for example a presenter of a discussion, it was the judgment of the rapporteurs that they were worth recording. Comprehensiveness was sought within the bounds of a short report.

1. Presentation of Results of National Deliberations

Through oral and written presentations, the Roundtable received a full briefing on a number of the national conferences which had just taken place (January-February 1986). Over a period of 62 working sessions, in eight conferences and a national summary conference, leading public and private sector thinkers had reviewed the following eight major topics: macro policies, aid, industrialization, infrastructure, financial and human resources, agricultural production, social services, and energy. This unprecedented involvement in national planning had not only yielded a rich harvest of serious analysis (many items of which are noted in the appended bibliography), but led directly to an emergency plan and remaining recommendations for a long term plan. While an overall context had not been formulated it was most significant that major political parties endorsed the national conference recommendations on a Salvation Programme for short-term recovery, an impressive achievement boding well for support of future development plans for the country.

The emergency plan was set against recognition of a number of poor policies in the past, a declining flow of foreign aid, a likely decline in exports given further inflexibility of debt (and therefore the inability to import vital items), and debt pressure probably increasing. With this depressing scenario as background the national conference had recommended an emergency programme m increase productivity consisting of: increasing food production, increasing export of goods, particularly cotton, oil seeds and meats, and increased production of raw materials required by industry. To do this there needed to be price increases, major increases in agricultural research and services, increased industrial production from the current dismal level of 20 per cent of capacity and therefore import of energy, raw materials and spares m accomplish this plus better governmental policies, improvements in the service sector to assist agriculture and industrial production such as in repair of infrastructure and energy systems, and improvements in policies to accomplish this such as tax policies, controls of public expenditures and strict foreign exchange controls. On the evening of 17 March 1986, an extraordinary meeting of all political parties, unions and business associations, was presented with the Salvation Programme, and it was accepted for immediate implementation by the Minister of Finance and the Prime Minister. (N.B. This was two weeks before the announced national elections).

A. Macro-Economic Situation and Conference Recommendations

As a background to the results of the consultation and conference on macroeconomic policies, the Roundtable heard an analysis of the results in macro terms of economic policies over the 1970-1971 to 1984-1985 period. GDP had increased 1.9 per cent per arm= while population had increased 2.9 per cent/year yielding a negative per capita change in economic well-being of one per cent/year. At the same time inflation had increased to 29 per cent/year on average (higher in the last half of the period) and the poor had suffered most because of these factors. Huge trade deficits had been covered by massive borrowing nearing \$10 billion and even with rescheduling there is no realistic prospect of repayment without further harming the productive capacity of the country. Exports have yielded less due in declining terms of trade. The country had not saved adequately and investments for productive purposes were extremely low. Finally, investment in people had been neglected. The outcome had been that drought had led to massive famine and the degradation of natural resources through desertification, disease and deforestation.

Macro-economic policies had been the subject of the first post-revolution conference on the economic future of Sudan. The conclusions of the January 1986 conference focused on six themes:

1) In the Economic Order, the public sector should lead but the private sector needed to be involved in planning and implementation of policies, particularly those relating to the productive elements of the economy;

2) Creation of an advisory council to improve relations with the IMF was recommended. The conference noted that since 1978, when IMF advice on the economy was first followed, the economy had deteriorated. A re-introduction of strict exchange controls under multiple rates was urged;

3) Because so many in the country (perhaps 75 percent) consume less than a recommended daily caloric intake, the conference unanimously recommended that food prices be subsidized and that the country set up a strategic reserve of foodstuffs;

4) Fiscal and monetary policy needs require a strong independent central bank;

5) Unbalanced development between Sudan's North and South had created unrest and therefore priority should be given to the least developed regions of the country;

6) Management of the national economy by the public sector had been interfered with by political leaders who had broken the code of civil service neutrality by appointing political people at all levels. Major institutional reform

was a prerequisite to economic reform and needs a conference in its own right.

B. Scrotal Conference Reports

1. Foreign Aid Conference

The national conference on foreign aid (January 1986) had noted that up to 1973 aid had been productive, but that since that time it had moved to support urban consumption goods and that common urban consumption was tied m items paid for by someone else. Donors had now become numerous and often did not serve national needs, thus they needed better supervision and coordination.

The tasks ahead call for continued donor support but of a changed substantive nature: support for food production, rehabilitation of the economy, help in redressing imbalances within the country, less food aid, and better co-operation with the government.

The debt is a major problem. Bilateral debt should be cancelled. (An early focus can be on debt from Arab countries). Other loans should be scrutinized to be sure they are sound. Grace periods should be extended. And loans should be used more productively in the future.

These are not small matters since in 1985-1986 some 60 per cent of the government's expenditures comes from donors. Even with its size, aid must play a more complementary role to local efforts.

Finally, foreign direct investment is to be encouraged. Special attention should be given m agricultural investments from Arab slates. A number of problems remain to be solved and new flows need to be instituted.

2. Agricultural Sector Conference

The results of the national agricultural sector conference, held in February 1986, were presented to the Roundtable. The conference noted a pattern of past activity which had included drought cycles at roughly 40 years periodicity (1906-1907, 1943-1944, 1984-1985) exacerbated by farming practices which had been harmful to the environment. Satellite and low-level annual flight surveys had disclosed that in the past 15 years arable land had been reduced by 20 per cent, forestry resources by 25 per cent, and the quality of pastoral areas by 40 per cent. In addition, the pattern of large-scale projects had discriminated against the traditional agricultural areas in the West and the South leading m an unbalanced pattern of development. Overall, the sector was characterized by low productivity of both farmers and the land, yet the sector will surely be the lead sector for the economy well into the next century. The country was described as having rich agricultural potential for local and export production and certainly, except for the 1984-1985 period, had shown the ability to feed itself.

Past policies in the country had neglected agriculture in favor of urban investments. Those agricultural investments which had been made were in the Nile basins to the neglect of other areas, particularly dry land agricultural areas.

Constraints identified included an under valuation of natural resources (which therefore had been consumed rather than preserved), land tenure systems which had to he solved before modernization could take place, rainfall seasonality, the need for reform of the credit system, policy constraints involving Islamic laws and other factors, and a new complication - food aid causing disincentives especially among refugees and other populations of displaced persons.

Basic recommendations, which numbered 70 in total, involved:

• Strategies. In the short term there was a need to restore the agro economic balance by a crash programme m increase productivity. Agriculture was seen as the continuing basis of the economy and the source of surpluses to permit investment in other sectors;

Policies. The basic aim was to create food security to assure that there would be no more famines. To this end a number of policies were recommended to increase incentives for production, improve marketing and to resume the ecological balance in combat desertification.
Finance. Recommendations on taxation were made. There was also recognition of the tie

between expanding non- conventional production in the traditional sector and crops now being cultivated to the debt burden.

- Civil service improvements were suggested to better serve the sector.
- Agricultural research priorities were suggested.
- Other services were reviewed.

The strategies which emerged from the discussion focused on the need to expand production for domestic and export markets while making a serious impact on ecological problems. The latter required environmental restoration including the. closing of marginal areas to mechanical production. A deliberate strategy of stressing regional interdependence within the country was advised as opposed to a strategy of provincial self-sufficiency which was seen as politically and environmentally sub-optimal.

In discussion on this sector, Roundtable participants noted that serious problems had arisen due to the drought including loss of productivity which, when compounded by the population growth (which was always increasing demand), had led to lowered incomes and increased social instability. The transformation of agriculture, by building on social and natural resource strengths, was thus seen as of national importance in all its aspects. While meteorological droughts could be expected, the fact that agricultural drought had occurred was testimony to the fact that there had been a mismanagement of water resources. This and the related desertification were the real cause of poverty in the country, one participant maintained. A key need is to create a psychology of farming to make it an honorable, full-time occupation. Land tenure agreements for very long periods of time are needed to increase the incentives to invest in farm improvements.

3. Industrial Sector Conference

The conference, held in February 1986, had identified four problem areas: past public policies had retarded the growth of the sector and squandered resources; there were insufficient bases of production; management and organization of the public sector industry was poor; and there was a shortage of funds. The latter problem was particularly acute with both a shortage of foreign and local currency. It was reported that 143 sizeable firms had stopped production because of this.

The conference at the time of the Roundtable was still to issue its final report, but had already concluded that a crash programme was needed to provide funds for urgently needed imports of mw materials and spare parts. They also recommended that there was need to privatize or reparative public productive firms as one way to increase foreign exchange resources. A central concern of the conference was small-scale industry, which now accounts far 62 percent of the total sector. There was a need to encourage this part of the sector through seed capital, and technical assistance. The helpful role of NGOs in some schemes was noted.

4. Financial and Human Resources

The conference on financial and human resources was held during the last week of February 1986.

The conference noted that the previous Government had failed m mobilize local resources to meet its increasing current expenditures to the extent that it had to increasingly rely on foreign aid and loans. In recent years, expenditure on development had to be halted. This was due mainly to the mismanagement of the economy, tax evasion, smuggling and the neglect of production. The conference concluded that corrective measures are urgently needed, tax administration should be strengthened, new taxes should be introduced and expenditure should be continualized m be more supportive of production and of efficient government machinery. All non-essential expenditure should be stopped. The conference also concluded that the war in the South should be stopped. The conflict should be settled.

The conference expressed concern about the status of the human resources in the country. It was noted that the country suffered from the migration of highly-qualified personnel to other countries as well as rural-urban migration. The impact of this phenomenon on the economy and society cannot be exaggerated. Furthermore, even those who stayed put suffered underemployment. The conference has recommended that the human resources factor should be given serious consideration.

5. Other Sectoral Conferences

The Roundtable did not have time to cover the specific recommendations of other national conferences which had taken place on infrastructure, energy and social services. Regarding the latter it was mentioned that greatly improved water, health and education services were particularly needed by the rural areas for their survival, and to improve their abilities to address ecological issues, and m prepare their people to better contribute to the economy. These services are expensive, but are often undervalued as to their importance. A Roundtable participant noted that Sudan was now like Europe after World War 2 and it needed the same international spirit that evolved with the Marshall Plan m enable it to rebuild its rural society.

6 Conference on Decentralization

An additional conference whose findings played a role in the National Economic Conferences was noted: the National Congress of Decentralization Under Democracy, held in January 1986. That conference, also addressed by the highest levels of government, was concerned with the role of decentralization as a means m assure popular democratic participation. Present regional boundaries were considered as the basis for regional roles in a federal system of government. A strong role for regional governments was advised in part as a reversal of the strong centralization activities of the previous government. Various steps were recommended to make the functioning of the central government fit into a regionalized pattern of administration. Socalled "native administration" in two provinces had proven successful in restoring security, protecting the environment and collecting taxes and was thus recommended m be adopted on a national basis so that sub-regional levels of administration cases could be better utilized.

In administrating a federal system, the conference (as in other conferences) strongly endorsed a return to an independent civil service. Strong regional inputs into national manpower planning were also advised.

Attention was paid to financial authorities. Region- specific creation and administration of various taxation policies was advised to better take into account local tax-yielding

capacities, the degree of economic development in the areas, etc. Federal regulations which permitted these flexibilities while assuring fairness in tax burdens were advised.

Finally, the decentralization conference advised that all major federal regulations be made both with due consideration to the nature of regional responsibilities and m foster local self- reliance wherever possible.

C. Special Emphasis on Desertification

The Chairman of the National Council of Research briefed the Roundtable on the work of their National Committee on the Environment. Historically, desertification had been identified since the 1930s as a major problem, but despite studies since then, the problems continue. Among the major causes of desertification which had been identified were the mechanization of agriculture, traditional shifting cultivation whose cumulative effects are not unlike the large farms, range degradation by overgrazing due m the explosion of the

numbers of animals, over-cutting of trees for fuel wood as a consequence of the demands of a high-growth population, and sand dunes encroachment on arable lands where losses have been significant (e.g., one third of the amble land has been lost in three large areas in the Northern region along the Nile over the last 20 years).

A strategy to combat desertification has recently been advised by the National Council for Research m include six elements: development of land resources m be sustaining, not draining of resources, provision of basic needs of populations for food, fodder and energy, enhancement of the life support system of the rural population, ensuring that land resources contribute to the national economy, mobilization of scientific research knowledge to base planning on the best information and scientific methods available, and establishment of a national mechanism m coordinate technical and political levels to carry out the plan.

The approach of the recommendations was W focus on the basic human needs of the people and their needs for life support in a balanced, sustainable lifestyle. There was need t devise plans for the range of ecological zones and systems under a system of participatory planning. Rural development was seen as necessary using food-for-work as a form of payment for most labour.

In zone-by-zone analyses a variety of approaches was suggested. Among these are refraining from agriculture in the basins where sand encroachment is a problem without first making shelter belts, prohibition of cutting trees in same areas; better

water management practices, etc. These are merely illustrative of serious planning going on in the country. Immediate steps recommended included strong actions on mechanized tarried cultivation, immediately increasing irrigation allotments for pastures close to canals, land tenure policy changes, and start-up of public awareness campaigns. A participant emphasized that serious desertification problems exist in the East of the country and that sole emphasis on the West should be avoided.

Another participant noted three factors in environmental planning which needed attention: severe questions of authority needed w be straightened out, information systems on environmental conditions were essential, and large opportunities existed and were required to educate the public on better environmental practices using the formal education system and the mass media.

As an example of the region-specific analysis which is under way, the survey work done on the province of Kordofan was reviewed for the Roundtable. A great deal of work has been done to map the area and to show sub-regional differences of an ecological, agricultural and public administration nature. The latter was particularly interesting in that it was clear that administrative capabilities differed sharply by sub-region and that therefore the capabilities to carry out programmes of resource conservation and development also differed sharply.

The case study had led to a number of observations. Authority was needed to assure that the gap between planners and local leaders was closed. Planning needed to be based on developing human institutions where the people are.

Short-term programmes were advised to quickly provide still- needed relief and to maintain the infrastructure. But at present the many foreign agencies present (who carry out a significant share of the development work) are unrelated and this results in much wasted action.

Over the longer term (five years plus) there was a need to rehabilitate the ecological resources, particularly in forestry, but all long-term actions depended upon successful completion of the short-term necessities. And in the rehabilitation the need b link actions W the local economies was stressed. (It was also noted that the short term actions night use food-for-work projects but in any case there were also significant cash needs of the people).

Finally, the Kordofan case pointed out in a more micro case the need for North South integration of the economy in order to assure sounder political bases for relationships and better sharing of benefits.

Another case was presented to illustrate region-specific economic and environmental needs. The case of Western Sudan was reviewed. In this area a team of Sudanese professionals had identified a number of problems.

In the West, people have been badly hit by the drought. The immediate policy advised was to either relocate populations severely affected or keep them in their villages where they would undertake activities to revitalize their subsistence economies; then one can formulate and carry out long-term rehabilitation strategies and policies for management of the natural resources. But the key resources to involve are people and their needs. Planning in the past was described as fragmented, compartmentalized, ad-hoc and short-term when ecological questions were concerned. As an example, it was pointed out that a forestation programmes alone would not solve the problems caused by desertification nor help people build more productive and sustainable lives since the causes of the problems were broader and any solutions would also have to consider the characteristics of the human and environmental systems in Sudan.

A very large number of activities are taking place, but like the planning, implementation is highly fragmented and unto coordinated in both the national and international agencies. Guidelines are needed to assure proper management of water, land and vegetation resources in all these future projects to build complementary strengths and to add cohesiveness. Several suggestions on details were made.

Among the projects recommended are to rehabilitate water yards and affairs, to improve water management, m extend the UNICEF tube well programmes, to plan shelter belts, to support forestation efforts including village wood lots and village perimeters, to rehabilitate the has hab belt, to improve pasture and rangeland management, m approach irrigation and pest control projects on a small-scale, local basis, and to promote alternative sources of energy. A large number of other specific steps were advised aimed at promoting both the local agricultural and non-agricultural economy in a culturally and environmentally sound way. Specific steps were also urged to promote awareness of environmentally sound practices. An "early warning" system of monitoring of environmental and human conditions was advocated. Research in specific areas was recommended (e.g. continuation of research on the history of drought m shed light on causes and cycles, and new research on water retention systems, methods to save certain species of vegetation, new methods of dune fixation, and investigation of the potentialities of wild flora as a source of food and fodder).

The Roundtable also was given a presentation of the Jonglei water resource development from the standpoint of the effects in the South and elsewhere. It was noted that the Sudd swamp's size expanded and contracted naturally and would be affected by the project. Potentials for linking and developing the resources in the Sudd, e.g. fishing, were reviewed.

D. Cross-Cutting Issues

Two cross-cutting issues affecting the full range of Sudanese development were also presented m complete the presentations by Sudanese colleagues. The first was the role of women in Sudan's present and future development. The second was the role of non-governmental organizations.

The discussion of women in development in Sudan noted that in the pre-colonial past women had a more equal role. With the colonial and modern economies, the role of women has become subordinate. As men became absorbed into wage labour, women's role in the family had become downgraded due m it being non wage labour while at the same time the work burdens had increased; when women joined the wage market they faced unequally low wages. The "western" model of development had been a technologically transforming exercise which had neglected social factors even while the rhetoric of "participation" was invoked. New models or sharply different practices were needed. It was pointed out that in the absence of national planning and serious consideration for women, their well-being was deteriorating or at least not improving. Health was a particular area of concern as it was characterized as deteriorating with women dying in greater numbers after age 35 than men, a situation sharply different from the rest of the world. Only one fourth of women receive any schooling and the proportions sharply drop as one goes to higher education levels. The numbers in the "modern" sector are also low and just being in the "modern" sector was far from being safe from oppression. For example, the past Head of State had banned all women's organizations.

Among recommendations were the following:

• Change the way policy makers treat women's issues through the use of more sensitive statistical measures to measure actual work, whether paid or not. This would provide a better base for planning;

• The attitude of planners must change so that they take the issues seriously and move to start real actions to change the status of women. The point was made that sometimes traditional authorities are more open to changes than modem ones. On the other hand a participant noted that compared to some other countries in the Middle East, Sudan's women were more free;

• Women's decision making should be fostered at the local and national levels so they become part of the development dialogue and actions. (It was noted that in the national elections there were only about five female candidates).

The second cross-cutting issue to be discussed was the role of non-governmental organizations in Sudan's development. It was noted that there were currently some 48 International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and 150 National Non - Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the country. Both had grown in number in recent times, but the INGO community had shot up from only a few in 1984 to the current number. All these organizations are under the Ministry of Health and Department of Social Services, yet there was a feeling among many participants that the past year had shown marry instances of unto, coordinated activities. Now many INGOs are at a crossroad. They are deciding whether to stay or not and the Government is deciding on its future development plans, plans in which the roles of NGOs and INGOs are uncertain.

The INGO community was described as mixed in value, some being very good and others looked upon as inferior agents of development, and even sinister in their cultural/religious outlook and in the political implications of their operations. There needed m be a change from a highly fertile (i.e. numerous) movement which in total was described by a participant as a "headache" to INGOs making more systematic contributions to the development of the economy.

It was well recognized that NGOs and INGOs on the whole had often been heroic and had saved a great many lives. It was also recognized that many of the groups were still sacrificing to assure the survival of people wherever possible. Thus the question was, how to assure that the non-profit private sector plays a positive role in Sudan's recovery and longer-term development. This was another subject where participants called for increased co-ordination. There was also the suggestion that the voluntary sector had particular strengths in more remote areas of the country and that with co-ordination NGOs could be directed to areas where local administration needed strengthening for specific tasks.

II. International Responses

There were three main responses b the national presentations. Members of the international community first looked at the fundamentals of the "Sudanese Calamity", then at the lessons learned from the drought as they pertained to the recovery and long-term development prospects facing Africa, and finally commented on the environment for international assistance with special reference to the United Nations Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa.

In characterizing the situation in Sudan as a "calamity" one leading member of the international community noted that it was not just the drought, but it was descent into critically serious poverty which made the situation so dramatic and significant in human

terms. A general political, economic and social decline had led to financial stringency and high debt which in turn had led to the virtual inability of the country to rescue its infrastructure from collapse. On top of all this was a civil war in the South of the country. These situations were known to be serious but there had also been an information drought. There was an urgent need to re-establish and greatly enhance information and analytic services so that levels of environmental and human distress would be better known in the future.

The international response to the calamity had been a huge one involving a plethora of NGOs who had to cope with poor (but then improving) co-ordination, and the virtual collapse of the logistical infrastructure.

This participant believed that a number of lessons had been learned from the experience including:

• Mismanagement of political, fiscal, technical and administrative services can play a major part in causing famine, but civil insurrection, tribal wars and heavy military commitments can slide the whole situation into chaos and widespread human suffering. Thus people can both cause and prevent famine.

• An effective national warning system is essential.

• Aid is NOT a panacea to development problems whether it is emergency or long-term since it provides no substitute for national management. Indeed it can cause dependency (e.g. in fund aid) and adverse consequences.

• A well-staffed and trained national relief and co-ordination mechanism is essential, yet management should be decentralized to field levels where traditional leaders and institutions should be respected and frequently utilized.

• Left alone, populations show a remarkable tendency and capacity for survival. • All emergency aid should be managed with the goal of the return to self sufficiency clearly in mind.

• Professionalism is needed by both nationals and international collaborators - goodwill is not enough and amateurism is not to be tolerated.

• A critical and neglected area is to know when to stop.

This and other international participants noted the extraordinary tragedy in Sudan's sharp decline in security, economic and environmental well-being. There are so many highly trained people, so many existing and potential resources and now such mobilized international goodwill that the situation should be far better if the Sudanese exercised leadership and used good sense on critical political and development questions. Looking beyond Sudan, another international participant drew lessons from the experience of the drought and emergency and their application to recovery and long term development in Africa. A fundamental lesson is that drought will recur, but famines need not. Having emergency response capabilities integrated into overall development frameworks can make a material difference in saving lives. Most of the deaths occurred in the early period of the drought indicating that advance planning could have changed the outcome dramatically.

The basic problem was termed not being one of climate, but one of poverty and that poverty arises from a variety of causes: resource problems related to a fragile environment, a colonial heritage, high population growth, imbalances in planning, particularly neglect of food production by the peasant farmer. All of this has made the rural poor highly vulnerable to famine.

The cure for poverty is development and plans by Africans (Lagos Plan of Action and the OAU Summit of July 1985) provide a framework for this development. This development must be systematic and sustained, as a principal lesson of the famine is that its causes were

systemic. This requires much more coordinated planning and implementation by African stales and their donors. Self-help leading to self-reliance is key, as has been shown in the record of those countries which were less affected by the famine. Self-reliance requires a great deal of discipline, increased competitiveness, and the use of the skills of very large proportions of populations based on modem and traditional strengths and insights. People should have the highest priority, all people, men and women (who up to now have often been neglected in development programmes).

Conflicts in Africa greatly exacerbated the loss of life due to Famine and skewed resources away from development. They have created large refugee populations. The international community can be far more helpful in helping to resolve conflicts in Africa.

The international community can also greatly improve its development assistance. It will be an essential, long-term element in promoting self-reliance in Africa. Food aid will be needed for the foreseeable future, but must be more attuned to development needs. Higher-quality, better- coordinated aid is necessary. The famine also taught that poor infrastructure led b many populations being at high risk. Finally, no effective aid programme can neglect the debt issue and the need by African stales for trade access.

This summary, it was emphasized, should not be taken to mean that the emergency is over. It isn't. But as the dire continuing situations are faced, so, too, must Africa's longer-term recovery and development needs.

A final international perspective dealt with the environment for international assistance both in terms of aid flows and in terms of the opportunities for Africa at the upcoming United Nations Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa. In the perspective of this international participant, there were major opportunities for a pattern of international co-operation which yielded a better basis for development in Africa. The famine had forced both African and donor authorities to re-think old patterns of development strategies as well as old patterns of cooperation. Much had been seen to be in error and a new spirit of frankness, self assessment and fresh thinking was evident. There is now a broad consensus on what is needed to better assure Africa's long term development. The main elements of this consensus are: the need to shift from emergency to recovery and long-term development, the need for reforms in internal policies, the need to emphasize agricultural production, particularly food production by smallholders, the need to attack all elements of the population/environment/food production and nutrition nexus, and the need for donor reforms.

There is now gathering evidence that this consensus is being acted upon. Particularly one can see reforms being undertaken by a large number of African states. A new seriousness is evident. Those countries not in the midst of reform are at a disadvantage in competing for donor support. In fact, the reform movement has been so widespread that it has moved in advance of donor expectations, thus the onus is on donors in respond to the challenge they have been giving Africa. They have said "if you reform we will support you". Now it is time for this support to be more manifest.

In facing the United Nations Special Session, the donors seem m be saying that they can only offer support for low or no-cost solutions. That challenge can be accepted by Africans by saying "we will pursue with you agreement on low-cost solutions but then we will table the higher-cost solutions". If the low-cost solutions can be agreed, there will be a better basis of trust m pursue the higher-cost solutions which are also necessary in such areas as large-scale environmental protection and widespread agricultural improvements. The low and no-cost solutions proposed included the following:

• Purging donor-assisted portfolios of unneeded or lower- priority projects and turning over the funds for non- project recovery programmes;

• Improving the surveillance by African states of their total portfolios by greatly enhancing audit, monitoring and evaluation capabilities since quality improvements will be a particularly important way to "yield" more development from limited financial resources;

• Analyzing comparative advantages of donors more systematically so that donors can be engaged on the basis of merit and performance abilities;

Creating a climate of commercial reliability in order to foster domestic and international investment and to lower costs for private development investment by lowering risks;
Creating incentives for bringing African capital and talent home through special financing arrangements (e.g., bonds with special provisions and foundation grants to enable talent to be repatriated)';

• Western and African states must be better organized to convey succinctly the programmes they develop to attract investment in Africa;

• Better access to Western markets are clearly important to Africa's trading prospects and ought to be made in the interests of promoting African development while easing pressure on aid budgets;

• Better access to Western markets is clearly important to Africa's trading prospects and ought to be made in the interests of promoting African development while easing pressure on aid budgets.

• Some regional organizations, which are essential to organizing African positions on the recovery and growth phases, should be strengthened. Many other regional organizations should be phased out to save budgets;

• Donor co-ordination should be better managed by African states on a country bycountry, sector-by-sector basis. Pert of this includes far better marketing of African needs. The do this African states need m be institutionally organized to be more familiar with the range of donor resources and should be active in initiating the search for donors m finance the projects identified by local and national authorities rather than it being the other way award;

• Finally, low cost ways of mobilizing finance for Africa should be undertaken, e.g. an SDR issuance and/or creating a semi confessional window at the World Hank for the major Asian countries in order to ease pressure on the IDA so that it can be more directed to Africa's needs.

International participants also advised Sudan and the other Sub-Saharan states to come to the United Nations Special Session with a unified position which they had pre-negotiated en masse with the highest levels of the Western states.

III. Discussion

In the discussion ten themes were mentioned by participants which convey the direction of the comments and a good deal of the concerns of participants about future development in Sudan.

A. Tracing the source of Sudan's Problems

Participants agreed that the old regime had been responsible for a good deal of mismanagement and had lost many opportunities to gain ground. Some felt that former Head of State Nimeiry could be blamed for most of the trouble, but others pointed out a number of "contradictions in the society" which could be seen as causes of more enduring problems. Many saw the need for Sudan and its development partners to assess more basic factors and to use the spirit of can dour and introspection now so abundant in the leading circles of governmental, commercial and academic life to look at the mow basic problems in the society.

B. Fundamental, Social and Political Concerns

The enduring political and social differentiation in the country between Arabs and blacks and between the modern and the traditional sectors was seen by many to have had long roots and m be worth very serious attention in any national conception of Sudan's future development. These schisms were clearly seen by conference participants, particularly given the fact that as the conference was held there were tense and often violent clashes between the South and the North.

Fast development patterns had often exacerbated these problems by concentrating development in the more modem and Arab sectors of the economy. These actions had contributed to the grievances of the South with challenges which now even threatened the integrity of the country. These problems had not gone unnoticed in the national economic conferences, but some participants felt that there was a need for more fundamental

consideration of how future economic development policies by the national state and its donor partners could address and redress them.

In turning to the traditional sector, there was the question of whether future development patterns should seek to "modernize" the traditional sector, or to help it evolve by building upon its strengths. Some felt that future development demanded that there be far better understanding of traditional peoples by those concerned with Sudan's economic development. A key concern for the future is how to mobilize very large numbers of these people. A number of participants stressed that the great majority of farmers and people in the industrial sector were in small-scale "private enterprises". Policies and programmes to benefit these people are needed. Some saw this as a prime area for the involvement of non-governmental institutions, but others saw these questions as involving the fundamental direction of the economic future of the country. Thus they were questions of basic strategy.

Some participants formulated the issue in terms of needing to apply the United Nations' concept of human rights to Sudan's economic future. If there can be agreement on that issue, it was contended, then regional and social issues can be managed within an agreed framework.

In thinking about the people in the traditional sector, participants mentioned their need for basic services such as proper nutrition, health and education. It was noted that a serious attempt to solve the problems of the traditional sector required appropriate action from the banking, agricultural and industrial sectors. Moreover, if the traditional sector required a real focus on the role of women (particularly since their work burden was seen as increasing due to the roles women perform in the environmentally stressed chores of water and fuel gathering) as well as a focus on the small scale, then the problems might be too large merely for the line ministries, indeed they might call for attention from a variety of sectors so that the impact of development efforts are more significant and consistent. Eradication of mass poverty was thus a crucial theme for Sudan's future development. An absolutely people centered, cohesive strategy was required, wherein development was seen not as a series of projects but as the fostering of a total human system.

C. Transiting from Famine to Normalcy: Special Challenges

Roundtable participants saw four types of special problems ahead for Sudan as it faces the recovery and long term, development tasks of the future. These problems had perhaps not received adequate official consideration:

(a) Resettlement and refugee issues. It was noted that Sudan had long experience with refugees from almost all of the eight states bordering the country. Indeed many refugee populations were well established, with second generation refugee communities in some areas. The refugee situation now facing the country might be a more permanent problem than had been heretofore considered. This meant that long- term relationships with host communities had to be considered, including the feeling of many of these communities that they had not been equitably treated. Longer-term development might require more equal development of refugee and local host communities, but there were bound to be critical questions arising as refugee populations and authorities considered the land and resource needs for these people. At the same time, the continuing large burden of a huge refugee population caused some participants to question whether Sudan could continue to afford its long-standing "open door" policy m refugees. However, a Government spokesman said reconsidering this policy was unthinkable.

(b) Food aid was seen as needed in the intermediate future. This was seen as ironic in a country still felt to be a major potential supplier of food to the region. Indeed it is a country with some local surpluses of significance, but still facing net national shortages which cannot be met through imports, given the country's balance of payments situation. There were several calls in the meeting for using food aid for more enduring development tasks such as food for-work programmes, which would be ideally linked with cash-for-work payments since food alone was seen as an inadequate form of compensation. In any case, more thought was needed on how to structure food aid so that it contributed to long-

term development and did not undercut the potential for agricultural growth in the country.

(c) The future of donors new to Sudan was discussed. Are they staying? Are they qualified for the new tasks ahead? There was a need seen m sort out these donors m encourage dedicated and professional ones to stay and m not stand in the way of ones of lesser quality who are considering leaving.

(d) The role of National Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) was discussed. At this stage it is not clear whether their talents and capabilities have been factored into future planning. It was recognized that these organizations may have important roles to play, particularly in areas of the country where Government run programmes are not reaching people. To the extent that the government can identify where these organizations are most needed, they could be encouraged to make needed contributions to Sudan's development. The risk now is that these organizations are growing in number and are not being recognized as a potential asset to the country.

D. Structure of Decision Making

Various Roundtable discussants called for increased participation in planning and implementation of Sudan's future development, it being clear that too little consultation had taken place under the old regime. The meeting recognized several kinds of desirable participation. At the local level, participation by local leaders and peoples in decisions affecting their own fate should be fostered. Past administrations had destroyed native administrations, but had not replaced these decision structures with a viable system. The problem at the local level is either to reinstate native authorities or to find a viable substitute for them. These were urgent problems since the drought had decreased food production, causing a sharp drop in income leading to extensive impoverishment of already poor people (40% of the population may already have had their life support systems almost destroyed) and this had caused widespread instability in societies. Thus the question of rebuilding local cohesiveness was of very great local and national importance.

At the provisional and national levels inclusion of non-governmental experts was desired. The series of national economic conferences, noted above, was an example of the richness of intellectual talent which the government and donors should be regularly tapping.

The old patterns of a dehumanized development process had to be decisively broken by factoring people into all aspects of development as an end and a means of development. **E. Role of Adjustment and Reforms**

There was a good deal of discussion about adjustments and reforms which were either commonly tabled by international institutions working with Sudan or which bad currently been put on the table by thinkers in Sudan in and out of Government. Participants made a sharp differentiation between adjustments and reforms.

To many participants, the sometimes harsh and bruising experience with the IMF had almost foreclosed the question of adjustment in terms of exchange pricing, balance of payments controls, etc. Some of the past international discussions on these questions were termed exercises in arrogance.

But there was a great deal of openness to questions of reforms. Participants felt that much better governance was necessary: harder- working officials, greater attention to integrity, far more efficiency, more comprehensive consideration of problems in planning, and directing the focus of development efforts to poorer peoples. On these questions there appeared m be general support for change. It was pointed out that Sudan was creating its own conditionality and reforms and that this should be better appreciated by the IMF and other donors. Even though this was not IMF conditionality, the same basic motives were involved.

One participant pointed out that reforms were taking place throughout Africa and that the international reform agenda had become the accepted one insofar as competing for international support was concerned.

Whether or not m continue with an emphasis on subsidies was a point of issue. Some, echoing the national economic conference conclusions, called for national subsidies for basic services, including foodstuffs, as the only way to help the poor attain

a better life. Others questioned the practicality of this in terms of whether in fact the poor would be reached (as opposed to urban residents who were relatively better off than the rural poor), whether major subsidy programmes could be afforded, and whether such programmes would not result in surprising incentives for production by the poor.

F. Institutionalizing Reform

In carrying out an improved level of development in the future, participants recom-

mended four kinds of administrative steps to better assure desired outcomes:

(a) Better information is needed to plan for the future. It was felt that there are high risks in having very low- quality data on the economic and social issues needed to plan for development.

(b) A flow of relevant research is needed. The National Economic Conference called for planning m be based on scientific methods. Participants interpreted that to mean not only tar better and rigorous "hard" research in such critical areas as agricultural research of all kinds, but also careful and well supported economic and social research -especially considering the magnitude of both straightforward economic problems and crucial problems where social factors are playing an almost decisive role it. was clear from the national conferences and the Roundtable that an abundance of Sudanese intellectual talent exists. The question is whether this talent can be properly deployed and supported to better understand Sudan's problems and development options.

(c) Steps to institutionalize quality controls were advocated such as audit, monitoring and evaluation functions which are needed by management to be sure that proper expenditures are being made and that planned activities are actually of benefit to people. It was pointed out that such functions when properly institutionalized can both identify poorly-performing activities needing change or elimination, as well as performing activities which may warrant replication.

(d) Many participants called for the strict neutrality of the civil service. They pointed out abuses of the civil service under the old regime which had caused a significant slide in the quality of publicly-supported activities. There

was agreement that the integrity of the public service needed to be assured. All these improvements in the public service required leadership - a leadership which understood the need for these actions and which took real and consistent steps to implement the needed changes.

G. The Role of the Major International Institutions

During the course of discussions, several questions were raised about the major multilateral and bilateral institutions. Them was concern as to whether these institutions had a proper understanding of the tasks ahead. Were they able to effectively plan and carry out actions to benefit people in the traditional sectors? Did they understand min-fed agricultural systems? And, were they open to teaming with the Sudanese how to cope with new types of masks? Some donor representatives pointed out that they were involved in these kinds of activities, but several Sudanese participants felt that too often there had been displays of intellectual arrogance by the donors which precluded fruitful collaboration on hard questions.

A key, and unanswered question was whether the IMF could be m-engaged productively. The experience since 1978 was termed as poor and the perception among leadership groups was that there was little interest on both sides for a search for new solutions. While some noted excesses by Sudan, especially in over-spending, there was a feeling that it would be difficult to find a solution to the debt problem involving the IMF which would be acceptable both in substance and in terms of domestic politics. On the other hand, no hardheaded alternative to finding a modus vivendi with the IMF was proposed' On the contrary, some felt that the IMF had been a major part of getting Sudan in the "debt trap" and it should be working harder b get Sudan out of it.

Finally, a concern was expressed as to the responsibility of donors for clearly

"An option mentioned by one participant was to link debt repayments to other actions desired by donors and national groups, e.g. export levels.

awful projects propounded by the old regime with the active enthusiasm of donors. Bilateral donors, in particular, were seen as having the flexibility to forgive loans for such projects.*

H. Trade Relief

It was recognized that trade questions needed serious examination. Both the question of receiving better prices for traditional exports and gaining greater access to the markets of existing and potential customers were seen as important in and of themselves as well as to the question of lessening dependence upon foreign aid. Western consumers might well be allies in this as protective barriers were costly to them, too. An international participant urged the Western economic leaders to actively pursue these questions both because it was needed as a sounder way to help Sudan grow its way out of its exceptionally difficult financial situation, and because they provided a means of helping Sudan without creating a large budgetary drain. At the same time it was recognized that Sudan faced a good deal of competition from other Third World countries so that trade relief steps were not certain to benefit Sudan. This is a question requiring a good deal of study by all sides, but first a signal from Sudan's trading partners to openness on the question would be welcome.

I. Co-ordination

There were frequent calls by both Sudanese and international participants for a much better cocoordinated future development in Sudan. By this participants meant both better coordination of national actions so that initiatives would be reinforcing and not work to cross-purposes, and a better co-ordination of international assistance. A participant expressed the point by saying that co-ordination should be a way to foster creative pluralism and should not be seen as a way the state should control all activities.

As in the question of fostering participation, co-ordination was seen as applying to a variety of levels in Sudanese society. The national conference on decentralization spelled out a set of recommendations to shift co-ordination to local levels. So, too, there was a call for better co-ordination at national sectoral levels.

participants were cautious on whether major improvements were possible to achieve quickly and therefore advocated steady, step-by-step progress.

It was recognized that a better coordinated international assistance effort would enable the Sudanese to pick and choose better which donors it wanted for which tasks. Roundtable participants noted that some of the newer donors in Sudan were developmentally shallow and that there was need to get on top of the situation to sort out inferior sources of help as well as to better direct worthwhile sources of development co-operation.

A case in point. the old regime received a bilateral loan to build a highly specialized facility. The new regime asked permission to Change the institution an a general purpose facility which would have far more relevance to the broad needs of peoples. Not only did the bilateral donor refuse, it told the Government out if the change was made it would all in its love

J. Structuring a Partnership between National and External Actors for the Recovery and Development Phases Ahead

In looking ahead to the future of Sudan's development, participants were reminded that as the famine is wound up in Sudan (and emergency tasks still exist) there was need to craft new long-term partnerships for the future tasks of economic recovery and then the longterm development tasks which had been postponed for a number of years. But, it was noted that the aid relationship throughout the world and certainly in Sudan had exhibited signs of fatigue on all sides. Could the concern of the world for the survival of Sudan's peoples be maintained for the recovery and development challenges ahead? Could there be new commitments and vigour in aid relationships?

Participants felt that there were possibilities for this, but hard work was needed on all sides. A reinvigorated, long-term partnership was desirable to tackle the daunting problems of desertification, renewed and expanded agricultural production, population growth, well-being of the poor throughout the country, and the staggering debt burden. Co-operation which focused on the fundamental challenges was needed. Roundtable participants noted the need to craft future co-operative arrangements with Sudan truly at the centre. This might require careful consultation and institutional

development in itself, but it had to flow from a perception of all sides that this was the only authentic pattern of development possible. And it was important in regaining dignity lost with the massive influx of donors.

The new partnership should transcend Government with both national and international non governmental groups participating wherever feasible and with local intellectual and leadership communities and experts called upon for active contributions in the planning and implementation of future development.

IV. Concluding Points

The following important points emerged in the concluding session:

A. Building for National Reconciliation

It was noted that the future course of development had to help assure national reconciliation and that this called for insights on all sides which had not yet been in strong evidence. Fundamental questions about the future of the nation are involved which require great sensitivity and even boldness. A reconciliation and new spirit of co-operation particularly needed to be fostered among regions, peoples, and between men and women. At the same time, care must be taken to foster national goals in order to build a sense of national identity, even if in implementation wide freedom is given for local action. Sudan's leaders must remind the Sudanese of what binds them together while at the same time stimulating local creativity.

B. Messages for the International Community

By the successful and ambitious programmes of the national conferences on development and the Roundtable, there was a message noted by several of the international participants that there is great creativity, vitality and depth in Sudanese thinkers. The poor reputation of the old regime had cast a shadow on all Sudanese.

Numerous, highly-trained and experienced individuals are in an intellectual Renaissance now that they can speak freely and increasingly are being called upon to help shape Sudan's future. Their talents and energy form a precious resource which needs to be repeatedly sought out by national and international parties concerned with Sudan's future.

The creativity of the Sudanese, the new variety of organizations and resources which can be deployed for Sudan's development, and the very great challenges of building an interactive and co-operative society in Sudan, all call for real leadership. This is true both for Sudan and for the international partners helping Sudan. This leadership on all sides should seek not to create new patterns of dependence, but should call upon an authentic pattern of development centered around the energies and strengths of Sudanese peoples.

A final message was that the result of the national economic conferences had been compiled in a national Salvation Programme for Sudan's Economy which had received widespread endorsement in Sudan. This plan carries great significance and deserves real study and understanding. Sudanese participants urged the international community to support the Programme fully.

C. Carrying on the Dialogue

Participants were pleased to see the interest of the North South Roundtable and the Society for International Development in the future development of Sudan. It was recalled that at one time there had been over 200 members of the Sudan Chapter of the Society for International Development. With a different and far more tolerant atmosphere for discussion of development questions now in the country, Sudanese participants called for a renewal of the Chapter and for continued linkages with the North South Roundtable.

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