

BREAKING THE SILENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE AFRICAN WORLD

An Action Oriented International Conference

Ryerson Polytechnical Institute

Toronto, Canada

October 4-6, 1991

Organized by



AFRIC Investing in Africa's Future



AFRIC Investing in Africa's Future

July 15, 1992

A Note of Thanks from the African Relief Committee in Canada

To: Conference presenters, sponsors, participants, and friends of AFRIC

From: Winston Husbands, President of AFRIC

The African Relief Committee in Canada thanks you most sincerely for your support and participation in our conference on "Breaking the Silence on Human Rights Violations in the African World". Your enthusiasm, and the ideas we shared at this conference last October, confirmed a very deep commitment to assisting Africans in their struggle to achieve healthy, stable and prosperous communities. As you know, AFRIC is a small organisation, run entirely by volunteers. For us, therefore, it was most gratifying to know that our goals can be achieved with your support.

The conference confirmed the complexity of AFRIC's task. In light of the discussions generated at the conference, AFRIC's membership undertook a review of the organisation's structure and goals, in addition to an evaluation of our previous involvement in Sudan, to prepare us for the practical tasks ahead. The "Plan of Action" accompanying the conference report summarises the spirit and direction of these discussions.

We believe that AFRIC is now poised to enter a new phase in its development and work, with the knowledge that your wealth of ideas and support will serve us well in the future.

Message from the Executive Director of AFRIC,
Mr. Akwatu Khenti
May 1992

I want to express AFRIC's sincere gratitude to all of those members and friends who helped to make the conference possible. Since the conference, *Breaking the Silence*, we have been delighted to receive almost 15 requests a month from around the world for this report. We hope that the information provided in this document will help scholars and activists to contribute to the ultimate liberation of African humanity from the scourge of genocide and chattel slavery. The world must be awakened to the fact that more Africans are dying unnecessarily today than at any time since the worst period of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Concerned humanitarians must co-operate to protect the children of the African World (a world where, for instance, African children are exposed to slavers in the Sudan as well as death squads in Brazil) from the evils of discrimination, wars, starvation and slavery.

The situation in the Sudan is especially appalling and we appeal to all humanity to demand an end to the genocidal practices directed against African ethnic groups in both Southern and Northern Sudan by that country's ruling regime. The policies and practices of the regime (including their implicit support of the enslavement of Africans) must serve as reason enough to exclude their representatives from the chambers and hallways of the civilized world and to impose meaningful sanctions against that country.

This final report has had a long gestation period because we wanted to ensure that whatever plan of action we put in place would enable us to address effectively the most salient issues raised at the conference. We have produced a three year plan which is being presently implemented. We invite all comments and constructive criticisms as we most certainly have room for improvement. We also invite all concerned humanitarians to work with us to protect and promote the fundamental human rights of African children the world over. We look forward to working with all those willing to support our efforts.



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September 30, 1991

Mr. Akwatu Khenti
Executive Co-ordinator
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in Canada
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Dear Mr. Khenti:

Thank you for inviting me to speak at your upcoming conference, Breaking the Silence on Human Rights Violations in the African World.

Unfortunately, previously scheduled commitments prevent me from taking part. However, I encourage you to continue your efforts and pursue this important venture.

Every person has the right to security of mind and person. When that security is violated, anywhere in the world, we all suffer the consequences. Africans and people of African descent have long suffered in the face of oppression and violation of their human rights. The conference will no doubt increase public awareness and help develop a model to protect the rights of Black people all over the world.

... 2

Please accept my best wishes for a successful and informative conference.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bob Rae', with a stylized, cursive script.

Bob Rae

cc: The Honourable Elaine Ziemba
Minister of Citizenship

Pamela Grant
Co-ordinator, Community Relations
Office of the Premier

October 4, 1991

Dear Friends:

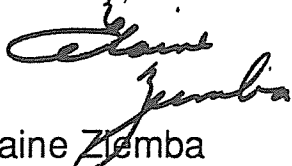
I regret that I am unable to join you today, but I would like to take this opportunity to send greetings to all attending the international conference, "Breaking the Silence on Human Rights Violations in the African World".

All people are entitled to equal assurance of a life that is free from human rights abuses. But as we are all painfully aware, many people throughout the world are refused even such basic rights as food, shelter, and education.

I am very pleased to see a conference taking place that addresses the human rights issues facing Africa today. It will provide a unique forum for this impressive group of experts to voice and examine these problems, and together with the concerned individuals and organizations gathered here this weekend, begin to plan possible courses of action.

I commend AFRIC for your very generous contributions to elementary schools in Southern Sudan and for organizing this conference. I hope that this weekend's discussions will produce many more tangible results, not just in the Sudan, but throughout the African World.

Sincerely,



Elaine Ziemba
Minister of Citizenship
with Responsibility for Human Rights,
Disability Issues, Seniors' Issues, and
Race Relations

Acknowledgements

The African Relief Committee in Canada, AFRIC, wishes to acknowledge with pleasure all the volunteers and concerned individuals without whose hard work and support this conference would not have come to fruition. Several people deserve special mention for their role in making the conference a reality. They include Dr. Bona Malwal, the editor of the Sudan Democratic Gazette; Mr. Peter Dalglish, the Executive Director of Street Kids International; and Dr. Molefi Asante of Temple University. Their encouragement and concrete support never wavered through all of the trials in getting the conference going. The Honourable Edward Broadbent, the President of the International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development and Ms. Antoinette Moalbaye, the Africa Program Co-ordinator at the Center, provided key moral and material support. AFRIC is also extremely grateful to those many individuals, who although new to the mission of AFRIC, went beyond the call of duty in helping to make the conference a success: They include Ms. Clair Chen See of the Toronto Board of Education; Mr. Lee Holland of the United Church of Canada; and Ms. Sharon McMillan, a conference co-ordinator.

AFRIC extends its sincere appreciation to the following partners (in alphabetical order) whose material support was crucial to the successful convening of this conference.

- The Anglican Church of Canada, PWRDF
- The Canadian Auto Worker (CAW)
- International Activities Fund - Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology
- International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development
- The Anti-Racist Secretariat of Ontario's Ministry of Citizenship
- Ryerson International Development Centre
- Steelworkers' Humanity Fund
- Toronto Board of Education
- The United Church of Canada

AFRIC also wants to thank the presenters for their invaluable contributions at the conference and throughout the entire planning process. They provided moral support throughout and were always readily available to clarify issues for us. The list includes (in alphabetical order):

The Presenters

- Dr. Molefi Asante - Chair of African American Studies at Temple University; Author of *Afrocentricity* and *The Afrocentric Idea*.
- Mr. Anthony Ayok - Lawyer specializing in refugee issues; Center of Refugee Studies, York University.
- Dr. Frank Chalk - author of *The History and Sociology of Genocide*, Concordia University
- Mr. Peter Dalglish - Executive Director, Street Kids International (SKI)
- Mr. Philip Thon Leek Deng - Representative of the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association and Director of the Face Foundation
- Mr. David Gillis - International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development
- Dr. Helen Fein - Institute for the Study of Genocide; Harvard Law School.
- Dr. Ella Forbes - Specialist on Slavery; Temple University.
- Dr. Rhoda Howard - Specialist in Human Rights; McMaster University
- Mr. Keder Hyppolite - President, Conseil national des canadiennes d'origine haitienne, Quebec
- Rev. Clement Janda - World Council of Churches
- Ms. Martha Jones - Amnesty International, Montreal
- Dr. Leo Kuper - University of California in Los Angeles; Author of *Genocide* and *The Prevention of Genocide*
- Mr. David MacDonald, P.C., M.P. - Former Ambassador to Ethiopia and The Sudan
- Dr. Bona Malwal - Former Minister of Information in The Sudan; Editor of the *Sudan Democratic Gazette*; Fellow at Oxford University, UK
- Senator Abdias de Nascimento - Senator in Brazil and former Secretary of State for the Defense and Promotion of Black People, Rio de Janeiro State, Brazil; and Mrs. Elisa Larkin Nascimento, Director of

the Institute of Afro-Brazilian Studies and Research,
Brazil

- Mr. Sghai Ould M'barek - Human Rights Lawyer, Nouakchott, Mauritania
- Mr. John Prendergast - Research Associate, Center of Concern, Washington, D.C.
- Ms. Lesley Roberts - Executive Director, Anti-Slavery International, UK
- Dr. Juanita Westmoreland-Traore - Commissioner of Employment Equity, Ontario

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Glossary

- **Slavery or Enslavement:** Involuntary Servitude or forced labour where the bondsperson cannot voluntarily leave. The term includes child labor, the subjugation of women, penal slavery, chattel slavery, and bonded labor.
- **Genocide** is defined by the U.N. as a diverse series of actions, unified by the " intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such."
- **Minority Groups** are usually numerically smaller segments of a population that share linguistic, cultural, religious, racial or ethnic ties. In some cases the term encompasses groups that are numerically larger but politically dominated.
- **Human Rights** refers to the rights which have been enshrined in various charters and conventions of the United Nation; particularly the UN Charter on Human Rights.
- **The African World** refers to the African continent and people outside of the continent that are of African origin (**the African Diaspora**).

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***BREAKING THE SILENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS
VIOLATIONS IN THE AFRICAN WORLD***

PART I

Executive Summary

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background to the Conference

The African Relief Committee in Canada (AFRIC) has always been concerned with the lack of public awareness and a clearly articulated community agenda around very basic human rights issues facing Black communities in places as diverse as the Sudan and Brazil. AFRIC has also, from the onset, recognized the need for public dialogue and concerted efforts to ameliorate the pervasive violation of the most fundamental human rights of Black minority groups in many areas of the world. Africans and people of African ancestry appear to be falling behind the rest of humanity globally in terms of economic development and the protection of human rights. The fate of Black people seems particularly disheartening in places where they are marginalized such as in Mauritania, the Sudan, and Brazil.

AFRIC believes that the fate of Africa depends to some extent on strong, confident, and prosperous Black communities in the Diaspora. We additionally believe that the problems of Africa may remain unresolved unless Africans in Africa and in the African Diaspora participate fully in the formulation and promotion of solutions. Similarly, we think that the problems facing Black minority groups in the Diaspora will continue to persist unless Africa itself shares fully in global economic development and until basic human rights are guaranteed for Africans in Africa.

A determination to generate greater public awareness of human rights issues affecting Black minority groups motivated AFRIC to organize this conference on genocide and slavery in the African World. The pervasive absence of recognition for the human rights of Blacks--and especially the rights of African children--propelled AFRIC to seek strategies and options that will strengthen the capacity of Black communities to define, promote, and protect their fundamental human rights, specifically, the right to life and the right to freedom from slavery as outlined in UN conventions.

Conference Overview

The conference met four of its six goals of: 1) increasing awareness of fundamental human rights abuses of Black minority groups in various parts of the world; 2) generating greater public commitment to the socio-economic needs of Black minority groups, especially children, whose human rights are abused routinely; 3) examining the various options for promoting the fundamental human rights of Black minority groups available for individuals/groups and organizations; and 4) providing AFRIC with the basis of a framework for a comprehensive three-year plan to address effectively the fundamental human rights issues facing Black minority groups, especially children, whose right to life

and freedom from slavery is compromised. The remaining two goals--exploring and clarifying the role that human rights laws, international conventions, and human rights organizations can play in preventing the violation of the fundamental human rights of Black minorities; and developing and recommending to appropriate bodies a model, premised upon the Conference's special focus on Sudan as a case study, for international community response in peace and in conflict/war to fundamental human rights abuses--were partially achieved and still in process. The AFRIC working group is working on making these two goals more concrete based on suggestions and relevant information from conference discussions.

Summary of the Key Recommendations Feasible for AFRIC

Numerous recommendations came out of the workshops. After extensive considerations, AFRIC has determined that the following five recommendation are the most feasible within its current mandate and capacity as an organization.

1. Facilitate the establishment of a *Commission for Children's Humanitarian Issues in the African World* to investigate, publicize, and pursue appropriate solutions to the violation of children's human rights in the African World.
2. Establish networks with other like-minded NGOs to facilitate cooperation and concerted action as allies in lobbying, research and information-gathering and information-sharing at all levels (cooperation and concerted action were seen unanimously as the key to the institutional changes necessary to contain and eradicate slavery and genocide). Such networking would increase AFRIC's lobbying capacity both qualitatively and quantitatively.
3. Encourage African lobby groups to pressurize the Canadian government to bring up the issue of the Sudan for debate at the United Nations General Assembly and/or the Security Council, and to lobby for a UN-imposed embargo or sanctions against the Sudanese dictatorship.
4. Establish a research wing or secretariat for AFRIC to increase and maintain maximum organizational efficiency and responsiveness. Priorities of the Secretariat would include fundraising, project formulation, providing better support to the work of

volunteers and AFRIC members, awareness-raising about AFRIC and its work in the Black community, advocacy, building an effective data base, research and the dissemination of information, and developing more organizational links and contacts with other NGOs and community groups.

5. Develop a *Bill of African Children's Rights*, to be endorsed by international and domestic NGOs, which can be adopted and used at the grassroots level as a standard reference point.

Prevalence of Slavery and Genocide in the African World

The Sudan

There is no doubt that acts constituting slavery and genocide are occurring in many parts of the African World. The conference papers illustrating genocide in Sudan, Brazil and Liberia, as well as slavery in Sudan, Mauritania, and the Dominican Republic attest to this. The sad fact that slavery and genocide still exist on the African continent and in the African Diaspora should be cause for major concern and action on the part of all African peoples and humanitarians throughout the world.

In the Sudan, the country's nine-year old civil war has been characterized by widespread human rights abuses, including the resurgence of slavery and genocidal practices. These violations have been systematically documented by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Africa Watch, independent news bulletins and magazines, as well as by academics. The battleground of the civil war is Southern Sudan, a region three times the size of the United Kingdom, with a multi-ethnic and largely non-Muslim African population of about seven million. According to UN estimates, the disruption caused by the war has led to the displacement of nearly half of the region's population, and the deaths of half a million between 1986 and 1988, most of them children.

Attacks by government-armed and government-trained Arab ethnic militias go beyond the cattle-rustling and the abduction of Southern Sudanese children and women for which they have become notorious. Such attacks are aimed ultimately at the destruction of these local communities. For example, according to Amnesty International, the Murahaleen Arab militia has as its special target the Dinka (the largest single ethnic group in Southern Sudan, and perceived as forming the backbone of the rebel movement in the southern regions). Dinka women, young girls and boys are singled out for enslavement, and Dinka male adults and male youth for extermination.

Like previous administrations, the incumbent regime has ignored the Murahaleen--and other Arab ethnic militia--in their raids of Dinka in Northern Bahr el Ghazal and in South Kordofan's Abyei District, dismissing these activities of genocide and slavery as "tribal" and rooted in "tradition". Reports indicate that there may be as many as 20,000 Southern Sudanese children being held in slavery in Southern Kordofan and Southern Darfur by Arab ethnic militias.

Mauritania

According to a report (by the Human Rights Group) discussed before the United Nations Working Group of Experts on Slavery in Geneva in 1981 there were 100,000 total slaves, and 300,000 part-slaves and ex-slaves . The report described these three categories of slaves as follows:

The 'total slave' lives permanently with his master and is all ways [sic] subject to his will; the 'part-slave', akin to the European medieval serf, lives in a village, tilling the master's land or watching his flock; the 'ex-slave', often living in a town, suffers severe discrimination from the rest of Mauritanian Society (Mercer, 1982:1).

In 1980, the then Anti-Slavery Society (now called Anti-Slavery International) reported to the United Nations that there were still about 100,000 slaves in Mauritania. As in the Sudan, the problem of slavery was ignored (until 1985) by Mauritanian authorities. Mercer (1982:3) noted a decade ago that "there is no open debate on slavery, nor, on the legal side, any record of casework which would indicate problem areas". It is important to note that although Mauritania ratified the United Nations Supplementary Convention

in 1985, slavery in Mauritania was never really defined, and does not include contemporary forms of slavery.

Liberia

Nearly one million Liberians have fled their country to neighbouring West African countries and the death toll of civilians runs to the thousands. Liberia's genocidal civil war began in December 1989 when armed insurgents of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), under the command of Charles Taylor, entered Liberia and clashed with the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). Early in the war, Amnesty International (AI) reported indiscriminate attacks by the AFL against the NPFL and civilians in Nimba County, through which the NPFL had entered Liberia. The attacks took on a genocidal cast, according to AI reports, when the AFL predominantly targeted civilians from the Gio and Mano ethnic groups.

However, abuses by the NPFL soon quickly caught up with those of the ALF. According to the *Lawyers Committee for Human Rights: Africa* ("First Steps: Rebuilding the Justice System in Liberia", 1991:7):

...By February 1990, over 100,000 refugees had fled to the Ivory Coast and Guinea to escape and thousands more sought to escape the indiscriminate killings, lootings and burning of villages by both sides. The NPFL fighters initially targeted soldiers and local government officials, but later began killing members of the Krahn ethnic group--the group of [then] President Doe--as well as the Mandingo ethnic group in retaliation for their perceived support for Doe.

An *Africa Watch* report documented the extent to which NPFL fighters were responsible for the deaths of thousands of civilian non-combatants in Grand Gedeh County, President Doe's county. Although the fighting has, for the most part, ended with the exception of small pockets, the country has suffered deeply from the prolonged and vicious fighting, and continues to suffer from the uncertainty of what remains an essentially unresolved war.

Brazil

As in the case of the Sudan, the roots of Brazil's predicament lie deep in colonial history, but unlike the current situa-

tion in this north African country, the main policy in Brazil has been one of obliterating the African identity through ideology rather than war (physical extermination). This ideology revolves around inventing the myth of racial democracy in Brazil. In practice, this is a smokescreen that robs African-Brazilians of the consciousness of their oppression and their will to challenge the status quo. This status quo involves genocidal practices like policies of the progressive impoverishment of the African-Brazilian population; the assassination of African-Brazilian children and adolescents (82 per cent of the children and youth who are victims of death squads are Black, according to a 1991 Amnesty International report); and the mass coercion and/or involuntary sterilization of African-Brazilian women.

Haiti

Haiti is one of the poorest countries in the world. It is afflicted with a problem of child labour, involving perhaps as many as 100,000 to 200,000 children. Typically, the child is given by her/his parents--who are usually rural-based--to an urban family to perform household chores. This practice is both deeply rooted in tradition and widespread. No salary is given to the children, and they often have no further contact with their family. Most of these children are beaten and/or sexually abused (see Ms. Lesley Roberts' presentation in workshop #2 for more details).

Haitians in the Dominican Republic

Due to the extreme poverty of their country, many Haitians have had to seek work elsewhere. To date, at least 20,000 Haitians have sought work in other countries. Many went to the Dominican Republic. However, these migrant workers are recruited and made to work under deplorable slave-like conditions on sugar plantations. Furthermore, recent events have seen the subjection of Haitians who are permanent residents of the Dominican Republic to forced or involuntary labour. However, in Decree 233/91 issued in June 1991, the Dominican Government ordered the deportation of people considered Haitian over 60 years of age and under years

old. Within a month of the decree, over 7,000 people had fled of their own accord to avoid arrest.

Conference Overview

Conference Objectives

1. To increase awareness of the current deplorable state of the fundamental human rights of Black minority groups in various parts of the world.
2. To generate greater commitment to the social and economic needs of Black minority groups whose human rights are routinely abused, particularly children, with a view to securing greater public efforts to address their needs.
3. To examine the various options for promoting the basic human rights of Black minority groups open to individuals and organizations--both governmental and non-governmental.
4. To explore and clarify the role that human rights laws, international conventions, and human rights organizations can play in preventing and/or ending the violation of the most basic human rights of Black minorities in the African World.
5. To develop and recommend to appropriate bodies a model--to be derived or premised upon the Conference's special focus on the Sudan as a case study--for international community response to fundamental human rights abuses, in times of peace, conflict or war.
6. To provide the basis of a framework for the development of a comprehensive three-year plan that will enable AFRIC to address effectively the fundamental human issues confronting Black minority groups in those areas of the world where their right to life and freedom from slavery are abrogated. AFRIC's primary concern is the rights of African children and therefore a major focus of the action follow-up will be directed toward children.

Conference Assessment

The conference succeeded in attaining all of its principal goals and/or objectives, based upon the verbal comments of participants, the workshop facilitators, attending funders, and others. Many, most of them veterans of conferences, found *Breaking the Silence* a unique event in the issues that it sought to address. Startling facts previously unknown by the public--because the international print and visual media are not interested in them--were made available by the presenters doing country case studies of genocide and slavery (for example in Brazil, the Sudan, and the Dominican Republic).

A number of both short and long term recommendations were made by participants in both the workshop and plenary sessions concerning how AFRIC can best continue to "break the silence" and to initiate concrete measures and/or projects/programmes to protect and enhance the fundamental human rights of Black minority groups where these rights are in jeopardy. AFRIC's Board of Directors has examined these recommendations, and chosen five of them to be our major goals over the next three years (outlined previously, see "Summary of the Key Recommendations Feasible for AFRIC").

The conference attracted 180 participants representing a wide range of backgrounds and interests. It was open to the public and attracted individuals and groups/organizations from all walks of life. This allowed for a rich diversity of perspectives on the issues of genocide and slavery. The participants found the conference so informative and constructive that there was a unanimous request at the closing plenary session for the conference to be made an annual event. However, some of them noted that there was not sufficient time allocated for a question-and-answer period during the workshops because of the number of presentations made. This was particularly true of workshops #2 and #3. AFRIC has taken this assessment into due consideration and, in future, will plan for less speakers per workshop and/or increase the number of workshops.

In order to disseminate the findings of the conference to other organizations and communities, AFRIC will be sending this report to each person who presented a paper or gave a talk either in the workshops or in the plenary sessions. We will also send copies to appropriate (i.e. doing similar or re-

lated work) groups and organizations, as well as to individuals and/or groups who have requested for them. We are pleased to state that AFRIC has already received--especially from Europe--numerous requests for the conference report from both groups and individuals.

Conference Participation

The conference was well attended by both independent individuals, groups and/or individuals representing institutions, and by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). A breakdown of the Conference participants is provided below:

- Representatives from organizations working in the African World included members of AFRIC, Amnesty International, the Centre for Refugee Studies (York University), Development and World Outreach (the United Church), the International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development, Oxfam Quebec, Ryerson's International Development Center, the Steelworkers' Humanity Fund, Street Kids International, the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association (SRRA, London, England), the SRRA (Nairobi) and the Uganda Conference on Peace.
- Black and/or African community groups represented included representatives of the African Canadian Heritage Association, the African Sudanese Association of Canada, the Conseil national des canadiennes d'origine haitienne (Quebec), National Council of Barbadian Associations in Canada, the National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organizations in Canada, the National Council of Trinidad and Tobago Organizations in Canada and the Ujamaa African People's Organization.
- Canadian journalists with a special interest in African issues came from Now Magazine and the newspaper, the African Letter.
- University and college students interested in the wider concerns of development and other issues in Africa included 2 delegations of students from McMaster University and York University; there were also several faculty and students from Blufton College (Blufton, Ohio), Carleton University, Queen's

University, Ryerson Polytechnic, the University of Toronto and the University of Saskatchewan.

- The Toronto Board of Education sponsored 17 secondary school students and 3 teachers interested in issues of African development and a wider understanding of Africa. Students from secondary schools in North York also attended.
- At least 50 people were unaffiliated and could be said to represent that body of concerned and caring individuals from different walks of life and from different communities. Also in attendance were twelve children (under the age of 13) from the African Canadian Heritage Association.
- A representative from the Sudan High Commission attended the Sunday session but did not register. He indicated that he had only found out about the conference that morning and insisted that he had not been invited (although AFRIC's Executive Director indicated that an invitation had been sent to their High Commission weeks in advance). He asked to speak on the panel but was declined due to the last minute nature of the request.

Summary of the Opening Addresses

The conference opened with the singing of the Canadian National Anthem and the Black National Anthem of South Africa as well as with libations, in Ghanaian tradition, to the African ancestors. Following these opening ceremony, the full lists of guest participants were called and introduced to the audience (the full list of presenters that were introduced to the audience have been noted in the acknowledgements). The list of participants included Mr. David MacDonald, PC, MP, Mr. David Gillis, representing the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development and Dr. Juanita Westmoreland-Traore, Ontario's Employment Equity Commissioner. The Vice-President of Ryerson, Dr. Dennis Mock, was also on hand to welcome the participants.

An Appeal for Action

Following a warm welcoming of the guests and participants to Toronto, Mr. Akwatu Khenti, the Executive Director of AFRIC addressed the audience. He introduced himself as an African and a Canadian, a Citizen of the World, and most importantly, a Parent. In noting his parental responsibilities

to his biological son, Mr. Khenti also proclaimed special responsibilities as an African parent. Referring to the African proverb, "It takes a whole village to raise a child," the Director of AFRIC argued that African children in the Sudan need the entire African World, as well as the world of concerned humanitarians, to raise and defend them. He asserted that this responsibility needs to be heeded immediately because of the genocidal dangers to which African children in the Sudan were exposed. Indeed, the Sudan's probable loss of one million people over the past 4 years include a large proportion of children. Mr. Khenti urged the audience to develop an action mandate which would enable concerned Canadians, including the members of AFRIC, to help bring an end to the carnage and bloodletting in the Sudan.

He also discussed the question of sovereignty in places where there is genocide. Mr. Khenti argued that the gross violation and denial of the most fundamental human rights, particularly the right to life of entire peoples, demands global concern and action. Mr. Khenti expressed the view that intervention by African countries in the region should be the first line of external intervention for people suffering from genocidal conditions, as were the people of Southern Sudan and groups such as the Nuba and the Fur in Northern Sudan. If such actions fail, or are not even pursued by African countries in the region, then global intervention by the United Nations is called for.

He concluded his speech with an appeal for special consideration for the fate of African children in places like the Sudan and Brazil. Mr. Khenti noted that cases such as Brazil's failure to bring a halt to death-squad activities against street children, of whom at least 80 percent were Black, constituted a crime against humanity, particularly African humanity. He declared that these cases need to be brought forward consistently before the appropriate councils within the United Nations or international institutions of justice and human rights. He called upon peoples of conscience around the world to do just that.

The Importance of Breaking the Silence

The Honorable Member of Parliament Mr. David MacDonald, formerly Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia and the Sudan, next addressed the conference participants. Mr.

MacDonald described *breaking the silence* on the twin issues of genocide and slavery as the fundamental task confronting the world community. He noted that while action is necessary, people need to break the silence and speak in the first instance. He lamented the fact that the world knows so little about situations of great human agony as "one of the most horrible aspects of these dilemmas." Mr. MacDonald expressed the hope that during this weekend the conference would enable people to learn specifically and clearly what the facts are.

He also discussed a fact finding mission to the Sudan and Ethiopia that he had earlier undertaken on behalf of the Parliament of Canada. Mr. MacDonald noted that the same issues being raised at the conference are of concern to the members of the mission. He stated that "after several meetings and conversations, we found there were not words adequate to express the situation in the Sudan, not just in the south, but throughout the whole of the country." In fact, upon their return, the mission stated that "in our view, the issue of national sovereignty in situations that have reached the conditions of the Sudan can no longer be respected." Mr. MacDonald also noted some questions that had been posed to him earlier in the evening about the implications for the Sudan of the strong language that had been used in the past few days around the situation in Haiti.

He concluded his address by reassuring the conference participants, especially those who were Canadians, that he was not the only Member of Parliament who feels deeply about these issues. There are members in all the parties of the House of Commons who are concerned and have spoken out in respect to this situation. He assured the audience that he would convey to these other concerned MPs, the words, feelings and actions to which the conference was committed.

The importance of issues of Intervention and Sovereignty

The next speaker was Mr. David Gillis from the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. Mr. Gillis gave some background to the Centre, noting that it was first proposed in 1986 by a Parliamentary Committee examining Canada's international relations. The bill to create the Centre was given Royal Consent in 1988 and the Centre has been up and running for a year, with a fairly

modest budget of fifteen million dollars for the first five years and a staff of twenty to twenty-two people, The Centre's point of departure was the International Bill of Human Rights. Mr. Gillis emphasized that the Centre puts priority on projects that are action-oriented and supportive of the grassroots. He indicated that the current project priorities of the centre are women, indigenous people, children and the poor.

The Centre is taking an expansive view of democracy as the kind of society in which the complete family of human rights is substantially in place. Political, civil and cultural rights should ensure not only that the process of governing is democratic but that there is adequate protection for minorities. The Centre's position is that democratic development involves building the capacity of ordinary people to strengthen their political voice, to hold governments accountable to them and to foster their talents and interests relatively unrestrained by the state.

Mr. Gillis noted that the issues of intervention and sovereignty are of urgent importance for Africa. Of the estimated ninety million displaced people world-wide, thirteen million are thought to be in Africa; with the largest concentration being in the war-torn countries of Mozambique, Somalia, Liberia, the Sudan and Ethiopia. He stressed the fact that the international community has not thus far been well placed to respond because of the importance of sovereignty: "sovereignty is the cornerstone of the U.N., [and] most relief agencies must wait for the approval of host governments before helping the internally displaced."

However, he observed that several leaders - including Canada's Prime Minister and the Secretary General of the United Nations - have indicated in public statement their recognition of the shift in public attitudes towards the belief that the defense of the oppressed should prevail over the inviolability of frontiers. Mr Gillis noted that while the Centre does not have any solutions at this stage to these issues and questions, it recognizes the importance of people thinking and discussing them in terms of action.

The Indivisibility of Black Liberty

Dr. Jaunita Westmoreland-Traore, the Commissioner for Employment Equity in Ontario, spoke next. Dr. Westmoreland-Traore emphasized the importance of raising awareness of the role and place of African people in the 'new world order.' As a member of a Black minority group in Canada and in Ontario, Dr. Westmoreland-Traore noted that she recognizes the role she has to play in strengthening the bonds between African people everywhere. She expressed the belief the Black liberty was indivisible - "None of us are free until all of us are free" - and made reference to the struggles of the Haitian people and the recent death of one of their champions of freedom, Sylvia Claude, a pastor and founder of the Christian Democratic Party. She also noted the historic importance of the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990 and the ongoing struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Dr. Westmoreland-Traore saw the strengthening of the direct involvement and control which oppressed people have as a prerequisite to eliminating oppression. She emphasized the importance of literacy programs, people-to-people projects, and programs which address the economic order, which still largely determines the quality of life and the nature of rights in the countries under consideration. She related the importance which her own work as Employment Equity Commissioner attaches to looking at discrimination, racism and sexism from a systemic point of view. The lessons from this approach are that seemingly neutral practices could be discriminatory.

Dr. Westmoreland-Traore expressed the hope that the conference would contribute to building bonds amongst all communities and significantly advance the cause of human rights for African peoples. She cited the precedents of African people, and leaders, in the American struggle for human rights. In closing, she expressed her desire to study the deliberations of the conference and pledged to do all she can to have the results of the conference considered seriously.

The Important Role of the Conference

The final speaker was Mr. Dennis Mock, the Vice-President of Ryerson Polytechnic Institute. He emphasized the impor-

tance of the issues being addressed at the conference and indicated the significance which Ryerson as an institution attaches to questions of human rights. He welcomed the participants to Toronto, and to Ryerson, and wished them success in their struggle to promote human rights.

Summary of the Opening Conference Plenaries

The keynote speech, "*Genocide in the African World: An Overview*" was given by Dr. Molefi Asante, Chair of the Department of African American Studies at Temple University. He was followed by Dr. Bona Malwal, a former Minister of Information in the Sudan and currently a Fellow at Oxford University and editor of the *Sudan Democratic Gazette*. Dr. Malwal gave an analysis of why slavery and genocide are occurring in Sudan.

"Genocide in the African World: An Overview"

Dr. Asante began his speech by stressing the fact that "There can be no excuse, slavery and genocide are indefensible, brutally monstrous, and ethically repugnant." He reiterated the view that "freedom is indivisible. If we want it for ourselves then we must treasure it for others. In this way we protect freedom for all. Where-ever on the earth enslavement exists it must be eradicated, that must be our cry, as we look towards an earth free of intolerance, prejudice, racism and ethnic animosities." He described his being "appalled at the treatment of Africans in the Sudan but [even] more distressed because till now African collective voices have not been heard."

To provide a backdrop for the tragedy of enslavement and genocide in the Sudan, Dr. Asante gave a historical overview of the Sudan from the nineteenth century. He showed how the country's current identity crisis (Arab versus African) had developed. Dr. Asante pointed out that for enslavement to work, the enslaver must first define him or herself as different from and superior to the enslaved; a process which involves the dehumanization of the enslaved person. He argued that the current problems are the consequence of successive Arab and European (British) governments in the Sudan which treated the status of being 'Arab' as one superior status to being 'African'--thus laying the basis for inequality, domination, exploitation and aggression by 'Arabs' against 'Africans.' He concluded by expressing the hope

that "a conference [like this one] would creep into someone's consciousness and cause a rupture as the seizures of lands and property have done in the Sudan and Mauritania".

"Genocide and Slavery in the Sudan"

In his address, Dr. Malwal emphasized that both genocide and slavery currently exist in the Sudan and particularly affect the peoples of Southern Sudan. He recounted experiences of direct state involvement or complicity in slavery and genocide in the Sudan directed against Southerners, especially the Dinka. He outlined some of the violations of the fundamental human rights of Southerners which he had witnessed, documented, and subsequently been persecuted (by the state) for having done so.

Dr. Malwal argued that it is historically the dehumanization of African peoples--whether by Arabs/and or Europeans--that has created the conditions in which genocide and slavery can flourish: "The creation of a sub-human in Africa was meant to establish the setting in which the crimes of genocide and slavery would then be committed." Since the African was now considered sub-human, no remorse was attached to genocide and slavery because then they no longer became crimes! So, "it is the dehumanization of the African person that has set the tone and the ground on which slavery and genocide thrive in the Sudan today." Furthermore, slavery, genocide, and racism have been joined and compounded by a religious fundamentalism which provides the rationale for gross human rights violations in the Sudan.

He expressed the hope that the international community will help to facilitate the process of negotiating for peace in the Sudan, and if that fails, for secession. Dr. Malwal concluded his speech by urging the people and government of Canada to 'continue the kind of work in the field of education and in the field of social services that has been started by AFRIC and Street Kids International (SKI). This good work should continue because that is the hope of the people of Southern Sudan: for education, especially education which strengthens the resolve of people, in and outside of the Sudan, to fight against enslavement and genocide.'

Overview of Workshop Presentations and Discussions

The most important thing that we learned from discussions during the conference is probably the importance of collective action and participation. These items are important for imparting a sense of collective empowerment and reinforcing the belief that we can collectively make a difference by pooling and sharing our resources - both as individuals and as organizations. The mere act of concerned individuals, groups, and organizations being able to get together, discuss and dialogue about the problematical issues of slavery and genocide in the African World--in other words, *breaking the silence*--was seen by the conference participants as a crucial advance. This is reflected in the workshop recommendations which emphasize the importance of collective action and the sharing of resources for the effective achievement of common humanitarian objectives.

Beyond this, it was clear from both the presenters and the audience participants that this conference was most definitely timely in terms of *breaking the silence* on human rights violations, providing a public forum for scrutinizing human rights violations and determining what types of actions to take. The response to the conference was overwhelmingly positive: there was a unanimous recommendation in the closing plenary session that the conference should become an annual event to keep the issues of slavery and genocide in the forefront and to provide updates.

Summary of Workshops

There were a total of four workshops: the first focussing on genocide, the second on slavery, and the third on the role of NGOs in combatting genocide and slavery. The fourth workshop was a very special one seeking to introduce children to the issues of genocide and slavery faced by other children elsewhere (and it is outlined separately below).

Workshop #1

Minority Rights, Self Determination and Genocide

Workshop #1 was comprised of two separate panels addressing the same subject. Both panels structured their discussions around a morning and afternoon session. In the first panel, the morning session started off with a chronicling

of the existence and extent of genocide using country examples. Dr. Bona Malwal, former Minister of Information in the Sudan and current Fellow at Oxford University, presented a case study of genocide in Sudan. He was followed by Senator Abdias de Nascimento (jointly with Mrs. Elisa L. Nascimento, Director of the Institute of Afro-Brazilian Studies and Research, Brazil), who is the former Secretary of State for the Defense and Promotion of Black People in Rio de Janeiro State. Senator de Nascimento presented a compelling case study of genocide in Brazil. Dr. Leo Kuper of the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA), Los Angeles and author of *Genocide* and *The Prevention of Genocide*, rounded up the presentations with an outline of various strategies for genocide prevention in Africa.

The second panel opened with a presentation on genocide in Sudan by Mr. Anthony Ayok of the Center for Refugee Studies at York University. He was followed by Dr. Frank Chalk of Concordia University and author of *The History and Sociology of Genocide*, whose presentation outlined the genocidal civil war in Liberia. Mr. John Prendergast, Research Associate at the *Center of Concern* in Washington, outlined and assessed various strategies for genocide prevention in the specific case of the Sudan.

The afternoon session began with questions from the floor and a discussion of some of the key problem areas which arose during the workshop. In the first panel, one of the major bones of contention centred around the limitations of the definition of genocide in the United Nations' 1948 Genocide Convention--specifically with regard to the issue of *intent* to commit genocide. The afternoon sessions in both panels were primarily devoted to brain-storming vis-a-vis solutions and/or strategies to prevent genocide and to protect and promote fundamental human rights in the African World.

Workshop #2

Minority Rights, Self-Determination and Slavery

The subject of this workshop was minority rights, self-determination and slavery and five presentations were made. Dr. Ella Forbes of Temple University, Philadelphia, began the round of presentations with a paper chronicling the extent of slavery in the African World. She cited the main cause of enslavement as economic, and recommended that we must not allow the issue of human rights

violations in Africa to be overshadowed by events in other parts of the world such as Eastern Europe, that Africa must look to itself to solve its problems, and that Africans and all humanitarians must speak out collectively against slavery.

Mr. Keder Hyppolite, President of the *Conseil national des canadiennes d'origine haïtienne* next talked on the enslavement of Haitian migrant workers in the Dominican Republic. He pointed out that such enslavement is largely due to political agreement between the successive governments of Haiti and their counterparts in the Dominican Republic for labour and economic reasons.

Mr. Sghai Ould M'barek, a human rights lawyer in Mauritania, described the situation in Mauritania with regard to slavery. He insisted that slavery is structural and permeates Mauritanian society because it is based upon the country's feudal social structure. To end the practice, the feudal system itself must be broken. Although the government has made important changes to rectify the situation, Mr. M'barek argued that economic measures need to be undertaken to compensate past slaves and to help to re-integrate them into free society.

The next speaker was Mr. Philip Thon Leek Deng, who represented the *Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association* (Nairobi), and who was the-then head of the *Friends of African Children's Education* (the FACE Foundation) based in the Southern Sudan. Mr. Deng argued that the resurgence of slavery in the Sudan, although not initiated directly by the Sudanese government, is indeed condoned by it. He estimated the number of Southern Sudanese children enslaved by Arab ethnic militias at around 7,000. He felt strongly that participation by the outside world is required to eradicate slavery in Sudan. He was also of the opinion that a declaration of self-determination for the Southern Sudan would not be sufficient, and that the international community must let concrete action take the place of rhetoric.

Lastly, Ms. Lesley Roberts, Executive Director of *Anti-Slavery International* in London, England, discussed the complex nature of human bondage encapsulated in the term slavery. She also explained why enslavement is not clear and evident in all cases. Enslavement is based on physical violence and is imposed on the weak, and often involves the connivance of the victims (e.g. the caste-system). She recommended that for change to be effected, there must be local acknowledgement of the issue of enslavement, legal

action through legislation and implementation, and research and documentation on the forms and extent of slavery.

Workshop #3

The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Ending Slavery and Genocide

This workshop focussed on the role of NGOs in ending slavery and genocide, and five resource people made presentations on the topic. Dr. Helen Fein of Harvard University centred her presentation around three questions: i) why some groups help each other; ii) why there has been no public response to the tragedy in the Sudan; and iii) why some causes are well publicized. She argued that the effectiveness of any NGO depends on its organization rather than on its size. Therefore, strategy and tactics are crucial, and the NGO must organize its constituency for long-range action and be able to involve other constituencies by recasting the problem in their terms.

Ms. Martha Jones of *Amnesty International* (AI) offered AI as an example of an NGO which has been effective in organizing ordinary people. She argued that any NGO needs a strong research base and a well-thought media strategy. She described the tactics that AI has used to effectively publicize causes and to get people involved in concrete action. These include regional action networks, co-ordination groups which each focus on a single topic, youth groups, and visits to embassies.

Dr. Rhoda Howard of McMaster University, Ontario, stressed the importance of public education and vigorous lobbying. She felt that a high profile African-Canadian lobbying group could exert significant pressure on Canada's foreign aid policy and on its foreign policy in general. She called for formal linkage by AFRIC with other human rights NGOs which have recognition at the UN. She felt that public education was necessary to bring issues of genocide to the public and to change the erroneous stereotypes of Africa that are widespread in North America.

Mr. Peter Dalglish, the Executive Director of *Street Kids International*, Toronto, felt that NGOs need to be more aggressive in order to be more effective. He cited Greenpeace and Amnesty International in this respect. Mr. Dalglish recommended that AFRIC focus its advocacy efforts on the African-Canadian community. He argued that there is a

need to overcome apathy and cynicism and that AFRIC must strive to be innovative and creative in identifying effective actions that can be pursued by individuals. He suggested the involvement of youth and children in AFRIC's activities.

Dr. Clement Janda, a reverend and formerly of the *Sudan Council of Churches* in Khartoum and now with the *World Council of Churches* in Geneva, gave a brief history of the conflict between North and South in the Sudan. He mentioned that there are a number of local Sudanese groups active in humanitarian activity in the country. However, he noted that these groups are continually oppressed and harassed by the Sudanese government for their work, and need the concrete backing of the international community to take on the government over human rights issues. Thus, he concluded that human rights campaigns outside of the Sudan to augment the activities of those inside the country are extremely important to halt regime's excessive human rights violations.

The Children's Workshop

AFRIC felt that a children's workshop was necessary because we wanted African Canadian children to be aware of the situation and problems faced by other children of their age elsewhere in the African World. We wanted to give them a voice, to involve them in the discussion of the issues of slavery and genocide and in the decision-making process. We wanted them to feel and to know that their opinions count and that they can make a difference. As the future generation of actors and decision-makers, the importance of children's participation in issues that involve their less fortunate counterparts cannot be overestimated.

The workshop was successful in its objectives of having children playing an active role in addressing the problems of slavery and genocide. The children were able to meet some of the speakers working on these problems. Thus, they were able to meet some excellent role models. AFRIC sees the message it sought to impart to children and youth--that their opinions count and that their participation is important--as laying the foundation for their involvement in community affairs in the future, for taking responsibility and action, for being each other's keepers. The children's action plan made

several recommendations about what can be done in schools, in the community, and amongst themselves as children and youth (these are discussed later in detail).

PART II

BREAKING THE SILENCE: THE CASE OF THE SUDAN

Breaking the Silence: The Case of the Sudan

Background to Slavery and Genocide in the Sudan

The conference placed a special emphasis on the Sudan for two reasons. Firstly, because the country illustrates the phenomena of slavery and genocide in their most attenuated forms in the African World. As noted recently by the Middle East Research and Information Project, MERIP (September/October, 1991:2) in a report:

...perhaps even more so than Iraq in the Arab east, Khartoum has practiced [*sic*] a virulent and murderous racism towards very large portions of its subjects who resist its encompassing and totalizing ideological project of defining the "nation" as Islamic or Arab.

The second reason the conference especially emphasized the Sudanese case is because of the international community's general silence and inaction with regard to the extended tragedy raging in this war-ravaged country.

The Civil War and Human Rights Abuses

Sudan's nine-year civil war has been characterized by widespread human rights abuses, including the resurgence of slavery and genocidal practices. These violations have been systematically documented by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International, Africa Watch and Anti-Slavery International, independent news bulletins and magazines, as well as by academics. These violations are not only gross but are also widespread and should be cause for major concern for Africans and all humanitarians throughout the world.

The 'theatre' of the civil war is Southern Sudan, a region eleven percent larger than neighbouring Kenya and three times the size of the United Kingdom. It has a multi-ethnic and largely non-Muslim African population of about seven million. According to UN estimates, the disruption caused by the war has led to the displacement of nearly half of the region's population. The death toll between 1986 and 1988 was placed around 500,00 persons. The UN estimates that 1988 saw 250,000 deaths related to war and war-induced famine. Fifty percent of the victims (125,000) were children, compared to 2.4 percent (6,000) who were soldiers.

Genocidal practices

Government-trained and government-armed ethnic militias (largely Arab) have particularly distinguished themselves in both cattle-rustling and the abduction of African children through raiding parties on villages or forcible kidnapping from displaced populations. In other instances, those displaced have been forced by circumstances to pawn their children into domestic servitude or slavery. But the attacks of the Arab ethnic militias go beyond the abduction of children and women. For example, attacks by Murahaleen ethnic militia are particularly vicious and target the Dinka--in their villages, cattle camps, and even those fleeing to Northern Sudan for safety. According to Amnesty International (AI, 1989:17):

Although looting appears to have been an important motivation of those raiding Dinka, the raids were carried through with a degree of savage destructiveness which suggests that a further aim was to destroy the communities of those being raided. People were shot down as they fled and many, young men in particular, were executed after they had been captured. There were repeated reports [since then confirmed by a study carried out by two Sudanese academics at the University of Khartoum] of women and children being abducted and reappearing as slaves in Southern Darfur and Southern Kordofan. Cattle and small stock were taken and [cattle] byres and houses put to the torch, destroying grain supplies that had not been hidden or stolen.

Government complicity

Like previous administrations, the incumbent regime has chosen to turn a blind eye to the Murahaleen--and other Arab ethnic militia--in their raids of Dinka in Northern Bahr el Ghazal and in South Kordofan's Abyei District. In other words, the government itself is an accomplice of these militias and refuses to acknowledge that the activities stemming out of its policy were genocidal and resuscitating chattel slavery. Rather, successive Sudanese regimes have chosen to dismiss these activities of genocide and slavery as "tribal" and rooted in "tradition". In all cases, the targets are non-Arab people, whether this is in the South or in the North (in regions such as the southern Blue Nile). In short, African peoples are specifically targeted for enslavement and/or extermination.

In the North, not only has the incumbent regime failed to do anything to help the more than one million Southerners dis-

placed in Khartoum, blocking attempts by NGOs to help, but it has also shown its indifference and hostility to the displaced by regularly destroying whatever they have managed to erect as homes by themselves and forcibly transporting them out of Khartoum to barren and desert areas with no means of subsistence or to agricultural schemes as labourers. The nearly half-a-million Southern Sudanese children in Khartoum have barely received any vaccination against diseases. Furthermore, reports indicate that there may be as many as 20,000 Southern Sudanese children being held in slavery in Southern Kordofan and Southern Darfur by Arab ethnic militias.

In the South, the regime has engaged in regular bombings of most of the UN relief centres to prevent relief from getting to the people, allegedly on the grounds that these are rebel supply points. Members of a mission sent to the South by the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC) in October-November 1990 were able to confirm this first hand. Mission members were able to visit the town of Bor, which was bombed for six consecutive days in late September 1990. They found that most of those killed or injured during the air raids were women and children. The preliminary report of the Mission on the costs of the war in Southern Sudan is deeply disturbing:

Civilians have paid for this war. Thousands of children are missing limbs because of stepping on land mines. A whole generation of boys [and girls] have lost their chance for a viable education. The only skills they have are associated with killing and war. The entire society of the southern region has become militarized (CCIC, 1991:10-11).

Thus, the situation of African children in the Sudan remains critical because of armed conflicts, genocidal practices, slavery and exploitation. Also urgent are the social conditions and economic deprivation, natural disasters and hunger. There is no doubt that the tragedy of the Sudan is one that demands our concern and our action.

Text of Keynote Speech

GENOCIDE IN THE AFRICAN WORLD: AN OVERVIEW WITH SUDAN AS THE EXAMPLE

**Dr. Molefi Kete Asante
Temple University**

In Southern Africa the old men tell the story of a group of hunters who had been sent on a mission to obtain wild game from a certain spot a long way from their village. On the way, after travelling several miles they see a limping antelope. One of the men say, "Let's kill that antelope for food and continue our journey afterwards". They then ran after the limping antelope. The faster they ran the faster the animal ran. Soon they had lost their way and gotten into territory unknown to them. They discovered that a limping antelope could still run faster than men. Lost, weary, and hungry, the men returned towards their village empty handed.

We will find many limping antelopes on the subject of enslavement of Africans in Africa to occupy our attention but we must force ourselves at this meeting and others that will follow to keep ourselves focussed on the objective. Our aim should be nothing less than an international spotlight on slavery in Africa and the outright condemnation of human inhumanity. There can be no excuse; slavery and genocide are morally indefensible, brutally monstrous and ethically repugnant. And though we can point to the Arab origin of the present slavery in the Sudan and in Mauritania, we must not allow ourselves to forget the real objective of our meeting. We can condemn the economic situation, the war situation, the geographical situation, the political situation, the ethnic situation but the reality is that people, human beings, our brothers and sisters are suffering.

We have come to many crossroads in human history: this is one. While a part of the world is liberating itself from the clutches of ideological dictatorship, other parts of the world are intensifying the attack on human freedom. These contradictions stand at the door of the new world order with calling cards of legal, political, and moral dimensions.

We see the freedom spirit in the Baltics, and the Black Sea; we must see the same freedom break out in Sudan, Mauritania, and South Africa, also called Azania. Indeed we are not unmindful of the situation in this hemisphere with the Dominican Republic's enslavement of Haitians. The dynamic changes in the world today are the natural revolutions of oppressed people. Once given a spark, a leader, an ideology of liberation, a courageous act; oppressed people will recognize their condition and rise to throw off the chains of oppression. Not even the military cabal in Haiti will be able to resist for long the rising currents of freedom in that for now pitiful land.

Human changes are not only suggested in association with freedom, they are essential to all our liberty. Freedom is indivisible. If we want it for ourselves then we must treat

sure it for others. In this way we protect freedom for all. Wherever on the earth enslavement exists, it must be eradicated, that must be our cry as we look towards an earth free of intolerance, prejudice, racism and ethnic animosities.

We are increasingly confronted with two problems: (1) assuring self-determination and (2) protecting minority rights. Both of these problems are solvable within the framework of classical African cultures. There is no reason for a person or a group of people, that is, ethnic group or national group to assume that society is exclusively theirs.

We are all custodians of the earth. My rights to self-determination, even within a multi-ethnic state system, should be guaranteed when I feel that my people cannot, for legal or cultural reasons, receive fair treatment from the nation-state. Much of this will depend upon the historic relationships shared by the people. In some cases, confederations may be possible; in others, clearly autonomous regions might be necessary within the framework of a national government.

In its vulgar form, nationalism claims a biological basis for its persecution, oppression, exploitation, and enslavement of others. This is the case with the Sudan and Mauritania. In these countries there is an established dichotomy between Arab and African, between Muslim and African religions. This division is sharpened by appeals to biology, to physical looks, though many times I have been unable to distinguish the so-called Arab from the African. It is a South African type of problem where the so-called Colored, robbed of his or her African culture and unable to speak an African language, is called better than the person who has retained his or her language and culture, even though they may look exactly alike. Sudanese and Mauritanian societies have made the enslavement of Africans a racial issue, complicated by the cultural question in its most base form, naive nationalism.

Fanon warned that biological arguments would become cultural arguments and that the objective would remain racist repression and oppression of the less powerful. We see that happening in the cases of enslavement in Africa. Those who define themselves as superior and better translate their attitudes into cultural superiority arguments.

Ultimately there is a calamitous conflict which brews and simmers, waiting the inevitable explosion for freedom. Disdain, disrespect, and the dismissing of traditions are signals of the Arab control over the Africans in Sudan. In many ways the dichotomy, Arab and African, reflects the subtlety or bluntness of the problem depending on your perspective. In one way, we can think that both Arab and African are human, living in the same relative space, and having the same general needs. In another way, we see them as enslaver and enslaved, controller and controlled.

To be Arab is to stake out a certain political and cultural history although you may live on African soil. The culture that identifies Arabs as Arabs originates in Arabia; African culture originates in Africa. To have Arabs in Africa who exercise their Arabness against the people whose land they occupy is to raise a new level of African international debate.

It is thus that we see the complexity of the present situation in Sudan and Mauritania. To declare Africanness is more than a geographical or domicile sense would be to declare solidarity with the traditions of the African people.

This is no bogus declaration; it is profound, even cataclysmic shift in perspective. And because of that, perhaps too much to expect. Nevertheless, we must try to extend ourselves, to cross the dismal chasm of mistrust and distrust to see the same humanity.

Without this type of corrective on the part of those who hold the hammer lock of enslavement on Africans, we are in for a long, bitter battle. The pitting of African against Arabs on the continent would be catastrophic and epochal, much like the historical struggles Africans have had with Europeans and that Europeans have had with Arabs since the call to arms of the "Cross against the Crescent".

This historic gathering is a recognition of the signs of the times, the rising tide of Afro-centric consciousness sweeping an African land so long denied its own place in its own land. No longer will Africans submit to collective liquidation, torture, persecution, oppression, and racism silently, away from CNN, and without the concern of those of us assembled here.

The oppressors live in a phantasmagorical world, full of illusions, quirks of superiority, nuances of glories. The oppressed awake from slumber to see themselves as victims of a plague. They vow to do something about this plague and we, their friends, because we are still frightened ourselves as to what is possible, because we remember the holocaust of European enslavement of Africans and German murder of Jews and Roma, we side with them to conquer the plague. This is our call as men and women of conscience.

Our collaboration should be communicated immediately so as to alert the forces of oppression that the death knell for human enslavement has been sounded and we will ring the bell of freedom loud and clear.

There is something more here, the enslavement of others distorts the identity of the enslaver and exacerbates, not corrects, his social maladies. Those who are aggressive become even more so; those who are cold and sterile become even more so. Energies are used to hurt, to harm, and to humiliate in deference to the ease with which harmony could be achieved. But this predisposition to authority over others as a way of life is quite contrary to human interests and must be met at the gates in Sudan and Mauritania.

I am shocked and ashamed for Africa when I hear that Belgians and French soldiers must bring order to Kinshasa. I am appalled at the treatment of Africans in Sudan but more distressed because till now African collective voices have not been heard.

Let me emphasize, the enslavement of Africans is no hidden fact, recently brought to light; it is a continuing struggle of a continent to shake the lingering impact of earlier

invasions--where children have returned to punish their parents. The doctrine of enslavement is therefore only an extension of domination, exploitation, and aggression implacably asserted and maintained.

We renounce the African enslavement in Africa by Arabs as we have renounced European oppression of Africans.

Beyond this, however, must be the criticism of the logic of acceptance and silence.

This propensity for enslaving people that we see in Mauritania and Sudan is a mystification based on ignorance:

They say:

"The blacks are slaves by nature"

"The blacks are inferior materially"

"The blacks are not capable of revolting"

Each of these false assumptions takes its place in the propensity for mystification. While the Arab, who is inferiorized by the European, may inferiorize the African in his mind, he soon discovers that the African's desire for freedom is no less than his own.

People rarely undergo domination without response, even if it merely, at first, the response of hatred for the enslaver. But let us be perfectly clear: the Hebraic-Greco-Roman-Viking-Arabic cultures must not be self-righteous in assuming that international standards of human rights belong only to them or that there is no African principles of human relations conducive to human rights. This is arrogance. Particularly annoying is the idea that African cultures do not possess the fundamental concerns for fairness, justice, respect for children, the elderly, and so on. Nor must we assume that Judeo-Christian principles are inherently better than Muslim [or Islamic] principles. Rather, we are seeing in Sudan and Mauritania aberrations based on racism--of course, Europeans are no strangers to this phenomenon.

Now let me give you a picture of the Sudanese situation as I see it, with all of its attendant problems. I shall begin with a general overview of the conditions in the country from independence.

Sudan became independent from Britain in 1956 and started a steady downward spiral toward anarchy almost from the beginning. Inherent within the political configuration of the nation were the seeds of its own destruction: Islamic religious fundamentalism and ethnic animosity. Both of these seeds of destruction have been fertilized by one of the most severe crisis in identity in the whole of Africa. Sudan is a nation in permanent crisis because it is a nation of people totally dislocated from a sense of historical realism.

There are several elements to the crisis of identity which has plunged Sudan into the abyss of an infinite struggle. One of the key elements is the thoroughness of the Arab domination of the Islamized ethnic groups in the North and another element is the government's intention to translate the religious domination to political, social, and cultural

domination of the South. These two central factors in the dislocation of the Sudanese regime will be explored in an Afrocentric context with the aim of proposing a way out of the abyss. To gain some sense of Sudan prior to the coming of Islam, it is necessary to indicate that the indigenous people of the North are not historically Arabs, that Arabism is an affected identity in most cases based upon religion and customs--and not upon history and origin, and that the present political elites of the Sudan are Africans whose identities are totally colonized.

The roots of the problem go back to the 19th century. The Southern Sudanese fought against the invaders, both Arab and Turkish, as well as the Englishmen. The South tried to break away during the period of Britain and Egypt's rule. The law passed in 1922 that declared the South "closed" was one of the most repressive acts done against the South. No economic or social development was tolerated, and no external involvement with the area was encouraged. The South remained essentially the neglected sister region of the country. Poverty, disease, and illiteracy were the lot of the overwhelming majority in the South.

The racism of the Northerners, inherited from their overlords, produced the laws that produced the economic disparity between the North and South. Some will argue that the economic problems were camouflaged by the religious and ethnic problems, but in reality, it was the bitter ethnic and religious animosity against the Southerners that produced the 1922 law. When Sudan gained independence in 1956 the situation worsened for the South. The first civil war began in 1955 and lasted until 1972. The insurgent movement headed by the Anya-Nya (snake poison) emerged during this period. The second civil war broke out in 1983, led by the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), and is still going on.

There are two aspects to the enslavement of Africans in Sudan: 1) the attempt to remove all vestiges of African culture from the lives of the people by stripping the historical records of any indigenous influences and 2) the status of being Arab. We see this in the portrayal of a Sudan apart from its historical roots in the ancient pre-Arabic civilizations of Napata, Meroe, and Nubia. We also see it in the escape from its Christian past, which was of course also an imposition on the indigenous people. But nevertheless, the Sudanese Christian community was--alongside the Ethiopian and Egyptian Christian communities--one of the oldest in Africa. With its demise in the 15th and 16th century, Christian Sudan gave way to the completion of the Arabism project in the North. The process of the Islamization of the Southern provinces was to gain momentum in the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly under the Turco-Egyptian period.

Mahdist brutality and fanaticism were to produce set-backs in the proselytizing of the South. This is not to say that the Africans did not accept Islam more than they accepted Christianity. The religion of Islam made each Moslem merchant or traveller an embryonic missionary, and the appeal of the religion with its similarities to the African religions was far more powerful than the Christian appeal.

The fact that the British, particularly under Wingate, introduced English and the Christian Sunday in the provinces in the South is not to go unnoticed. I certainly do not want to be in the position of saying that the British and Europeans, including missionaries from several European countries, did not contribute to the breakdown of order and peace in the Sudan. Very early on, however, we see that the second aspect of the enslavement of the Southerner was being put into effect by the Northerners, often with the support of the various European governments of the territories.

By treating the status of being Arab as a superior status, the Sudan government under a succession of Arabists and Europeans created the problems the country is now afflicted with. Under Wingate's governor-generalship of the Sudan, the policy of extending to the South certain territorial rights, and certain cultural freedoms did not cause too much controversy in the Arabic press. To be honest, one could not talk of a free press at that time anyway. But the Egyptian press might have taken up this issue, except Egypt was trying to work out its internal disputes. However, when it discussed the Sudan, the Egyptian press often attacked the idea of British supremacy in the region, denouncing missionary activity among the Moslems. Thus, the process of being Arabized often took on three characteristics. The African who gave himself up to being Arabized:

1. Feared enslavement,
2. Identified with a conquering and organized religion, and
3. Willingly gave up the African identity.

So powerful were these characteristics in the Sudan that the person who became Muslim also became Arab in ways that did not happen in other African societies where persons were Muslims but not Arabs--for example, Nigeria, Mali and Niger. Something peculiar happened to the African in the Upper Nile Valley that made him seek to become like the conqueror.

The implication for Africans who claimed non-Arabism was simple: they were infidels who could be taken into captivity, stripped of their belongings, and reduced to enslavement. To avoid this fate, many of the Africans of the North willingly gave up their African heritage, ceasing to see themselves as Africans, although for all phenotypical and genotypical purposes they were African. But to claim an African heritage would mean conflict and violence at the hands of religious fanatics who would seize territory, homes, and children. Involved in this pattern of conflict would be the counter pattern of resistance to domination, a new dichotomy would emerge and the struggle of Arab fundamentalism versus African secularism would ensue. Since no African culture has ever made slavery a primary means of its production, Africans would not take Arabs into slavery even if they were captured. Arabs, on the other hand, and much like Europeans in the past, saw nothing immoral in reducing African captives to involuntary servitude. Wherever on the continent of Africa there is enslavement one finds a philosophy that is not indigenous to Africa. This is so in Mauritania, Sudan, and South Africa.

For enslavement to work the enslaver must define himself or herself as different from the enslaved person. What is involved in this process is the dehumanization of the enslaved. But the enslaver, who might be of the same racial characteristics as the enslaved, will have chosen to identify with an external philosophy that allows him or her to claim a superior status by virtue of this identification. Thus, the enslaved, granted no such status because of his non-acceptance of the external philosophy, is fair game for the enslavement.

The administration of justice in the Sudan has been unfair and inconsistent since the early days of Anglo-Egyptian condominium and probably prior to that time whenever a Southerner came into contact or under the control of Muslim law. Quite frankly, the Africans have been victimized by Arab and European alike in the Sudan. Ravaged by successive waves of invaders the southern ethnic groups have always been in a defensive mode, intending to defend their land, their customs, and their way of life. The Shilluk, Dinka, Nuba, Azande, Beir, Anuak, and Nuer and other ethnic groups of the South had to prepare themselves for the penetration of the Anglo-Egyptian forces cooperation with Arab groups from the North in 1896-97 during the Dongola campaign. As an Azande person described the British conquest:

You put the Egyptians in the front when you conquered the dervishes and you put the ex-dervishes in front rank when you conquered us and now one or two British rule many hundreds all over the Sudan.

The history of the Southern ethnic groups is one of external force, brutality, and enslavement. When Yambio, the powerful king of the Azande, resisted the penetration of his country, he was murdered and the chiefs of Azande lost control of their territory. Throughout the South, the attempt to destroy the ethnic cohesion, to upset the peace between ethnic groups, and to harass the legitimate authority took its toll on the area. Punitive expeditions were undertaken by the Anglo-Arab Condominium [sic] against the Anuak, the Nuba, and the Beir ethnic groups for opposing the imposition of taxes without representation. Justifying their total annihilation of villages and crops the collective force of Anglo-Arab armies smashed any semblance of local authority and autonomy. It was to be from these regions that the slave trade would continue to gather human beings for the evil system.

Domestic Enslavement

Domestic enslavement has been tolerated in the Sudan since the coming of the Arabs. Thus, it has a longer history here than perhaps anywhere else--with the exception of Mauritania--in the contemporary world. Tolerated under the Mahdi and tolerated under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, the Sudanese government has looked askance at the institution of domestic slavery throughout its turbulent history, never seeming to have the will to demand for its citizens the full and equal rights of free people.

So ingrained was the system of enslavement in Sudan that in the early part of the 20th century, Wingate, the Governor-General, felt that if it was disturbed it would cause a

rebellion among the Arabs. Registration of servants was finally introduced by the British to prevent illegal slave running around 1919 but the government refused all help from the valiant Anti-Slavery Society to help resettle enslaved females.

Arab protests against the abolition of slavery were loud and strong; this was especially so in those areas where the agricultural production would have been hurt by the end of slavery. Thus, while slavery had ended in the United States in 1865 and in Brazil in South America in 1884, it was still going strong in Sudan in 1919 and would continue going strong until today.

The effect of the long bitter struggle to enslave Africans meant that Africans were eventually undermined economically, undermined physically, undermined culturally, and undermined spiritually by what was to become their own government, that is, the central authority of the Sudan.

The Ideological Issue

The ideological situation in the Sudan is complicated by numerous factors, the most obvious being the lack of Afrocentricity on the part of the Northerners who manifest strong discrimination against the Southerners as non-Muslims but also because they are Africans and not Arabs. Now this is a curious situation because the so-called Arabs are often darker than the so-called blacks of the South. That is why I say that the problem of Afrocentricity or the lack of it is fundamental to understanding how to solve the problem of race, religion, and domestic enslavement in Sudan. This could be applied to the situation in Mauritania as well--with some modification because there you do have the Berber element that you do not have in the Sudan.

We must plunge with determination into the sea of lies and hypocrisy that surrounds Sudanese enslavement. We are victims as much as the ones who are enslaved. The ecstasies of liberation are for all of us to share.

What possesses a people to assert a right of domination over another? How does it come about that one group believes its destiny is to rule even though its moral bases may be crippled by its own history of irresponsibility? What is the motive force behind this drive?

In asking these questions we indict a history of dissimulation. There is a necessary illogic to this discussion at the end of the 20th century. The lies told to enforce the enslavement of Africa have taken their toll on Africans themselves. Improvisation of cultural identity, shame of history, and the internalization of the enemy's propaganda conspire to strengthen the enslaver while simultaneously creating conditions of weakness in the enslaved.

To find a place for effective rebellion the enslaved must be given the space for reflection. Sometimes that space must be thrust upon him or her by external forces. En-

closed in such a space the African cannot flee from this confrontation with self, with history, with the enslaver. This is the most positive development of the enslaved's life. Only at this moment does the quest become fully possible, plausible.

What, you may ask, is the quest? There is only one quest: to achieve liberty by any means necessary. There is no other logic to the enslaved's life.

Each assault on the recognized proponents of racism is a dagger in the throat of the lie tellers, an arrow in the heart of the passion-less. The enslaved gains identity previously concealed by the distortions of slavery and the crushing blows of cultural dislocation and alienation. In some ways, this dislocation and this alienation are footnotes in the overarching enslavement.

In other words, the concealed identity is victim to the residuals of racism. When a group is enslaved, denied access to even rudimentary external information, prevented from crossing the line to independent thinking by numerous attacks on freedom, and shut-out of decision-making involving its life and culture, it is pitiful but may not know how pitiful it truly is. Thus, the quest cannot come before consciousness, and consciousness cannot come without education, and education is directly related to access. To block access is to block the fulfilling of the quest-spirit. But in the end, some action, some activity, some thought however insignificant to other is good enough to create the necessary space for the quest-spirit.

Perhaps even a conference could creep into someone's consciousness and cause a rupture as the seizures of lands and property have done in Sudan and Mauritania.

The quest explodes with the feeling of Afrocentricity, centeredness. The African sees himself or herself as an actor in the movement of society not merely a pawn to be moved at will. To be centered is a process which involves numerous steps. Few of us can say that we are one hundred percent centered, though we are always on the road to recovery and rediscovery. As the people of Sudan and Mauritania rise to throw off oppression we shall take our places alongside them.

PART III:

THE WORKSHOPS

Summary of Workshops

Workshop #1(a): Minority Rights, Self-determination, and Genocide

Resource People

- Dr. Bona Malwal, Former Minister of Information in the Sudan; Fellow at Oxford University, UK
- Senator Abdias de Nascimento, Former Secretary of State for the Defence and Promotion of Black People in Rio de Janeiro State, Brazil; and Mrs. Elisa L. Nascimento, Director, Institute of Afro-Brazilian Studies and Research, Brazil
- Dr. Leo Kuper, Author of *Genocide* and *The Prevention of Genocide*, UCLA, Los Angeles, USA

Facilitators

- B. Khamisa Baya, Doctoral Student, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada
- Patience Elabor-Idemudia, Doctoral Student, Department of Sociology, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), Toronto, Canada

Summary of Workshop Focus and Purpose

The purpose of the workshop was to document concrete evidence of genocide in the Sudan and Brazil. Also, using Dr. Leo Kuper's presentation as a springboard, to generate discussion on feasible strategies of genocide prevention. Dr. Bona Malwal, and Senator Abdias de Nascimento--jointly with Mrs. Elisa L. Nascimento--presented case studies of genocide in the Sudan and Brazil respectively. Dr. Leo Kuper outlined and assessed various strategies for the prevention of genocide.

Summary of Workshop Presentations

Dr. Bona Malwal opened the workshop with a case study of genocide in the Sudan during both the first, and the second, civil war. He began by noting that the problem that has haunted Sudan for decades has deep historical roots that can be specifically located in *how* the process of decolonization occurred. The outbreak of hostilities in 1955 saw high human costs for the South. In 1957, the church in Yei District was set alight with a congregation of over one hundred inside. The immediate post-independence period was one of (army) occupation of the South, characterized by the destruction of property and a soaring of the refugee population, especially from Equatoria which almost became depopulated.

He presented evidence during the first civil war (1955-1972) that Southern Sudanese were specifically being targeted for indiscriminate extermination--so much so that there was no security or safety for even those unarmed civilian non-combatants who remained in towns under government control in the South. Untold massacres and atrocities occurred between 1955 and 1968, such as the razing to the ground of the towns of Waraguk in Upper Nile and Wau in Bahr el Ghazal attest.

There were several other massacres of Southern Sudanese, the worst being the Juba massacre of July 8, 1965 during which about 1,500 people were murdered by the national army in the course of a single day. In fact, from July 4 to July 15, 1965, the total number of unarmed non-combatant civilians killed by the Sudanese army (within these twelve days of carnage) in the government-held towns of Torit, Juba, Kapoeta, and Yei-Yambio was at least 2,087. By the time the war ended in 1972, international assessments placed the Southern death toll at one million.

The second war broke out in 1983, primarily over the control of resources--oil being the key resource of dispute. According to the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement of 1972 which halted the first war, the South was responsible for all resources on or under the ground in the region. However, with the discovery of huge oil reserves in the South reportedly on a scale similar to that of Saudi Arabia, the Nimeiri regime unilaterally abrogated the Addis Ababa Agreement. The introduction of Islamic Laws and the declaration of Su-

dan as an Islamic state the same year served as a further catalyst to the outbreak of war in September 1983.

Genocidal practices by the North in this second war are well documented and the evidence is solid. As during the first war, Dr. Malwal pointed out that the Sudanese state today continues to be an accomplice to the crimes of genocide and slavery being perpetrated against the peoples of Southern Sudan--through its provision of training and arms to Arab ethnic militias who specifically target Southerners, and especially the Dinka ethnic group, for extermination and enslavement; and through its failure to investigate cases of genocidal massacres and enslavement, or to prosecute those who are well known to engage in these activities. 25,000 children have been enslaved by Arab ethnic militias. 7,000 of these children were reclaimed last year.

In addition, the current fundamentalist regime of El Bashir has set up an independent army called the "Islamic Brigade". The Brigade is active in the South-North border areas, especially the areas with the oil reserves: Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Upper Nile and Bentiu. In the North, non-Arab ethnic groups are targeted for harassment, as in Northern Kordofan.

Specifically, Dr. Malwal made reference to the 2,000 to 3,000 Dinka people in the town of Dhein in western Sudan who were rounded up into railway wagons and gassed to death by local residents on March 27-28, 1987. This mass murder was witnessed by government officers and officials and by the local police. Nevertheless, the government failed to investigate the massacre or prosecute the perpetrators. Instead, it arrested two University of Khartoum academics--Dr. Ushari Ahmed Mahmud and Dr. Suleyman Ali Baldo--who carried out an independent investigation of the massacre. The academics concluded in their report that the government was implicated through its representatives, and that it had in fact attempted to cover up the truth about the massacre.

Senator Abdias de Nascimento next took the floor with a compelling chronicle and analysis of acts of genocide against Black people in Brazil, with Mrs. Elisa Nascimento translating from Portuguese into English. Senator de Nascimento began by noting that although Brazil houses the second largest population of African people (80 million) in the world after Nigeria, Brazil and other "Latin" American countries have been generally omitted from the popular concep-

tualization of what constitutes the African World. He congratulated AFRIC for providing an historical occasion and opportunity to talk about African peoples in Brazil.

He noted that the 80 million Blacks in Brazil are a 'majority' and not a 'minority'. Senator de Nascimento posed the question "who are the *Latins* of the so-called *Latin America*?" His answer: the small *minority* of European elites who have ruled "Latin America" since the fifteenth century. Columbia and Uruguay have large populations of Blacks who cannot have the false identity 'Latin'. Chile and Argentina had large African populations but what happened to them? They were exterminated during the building of 'Latin America'. Brazil alone during this period had 3.1 million enslaved Africans while the United States had only 3,000. In fact, the largest number of Blacks in 'Latin America' that perished as a result of genocidal actions lost their lives in Brazil and Central America. Hundreds of thousands of Marron African societies were slaughtered all over South and Central America.

Brazil formally abolished slavery in 1888, when 'freed' slaves became citizens. The African majority was obvious--two-thirds of the population--and this frightened the ruling European elites. The first prong of attack was to eliminate all vestiges of African languages in favour of Portuguese. The second prong was the denial of the vote to the illiterate--which effectively excluded the Black population which had just been 'freed' from slavery. No health care and education were provided for African-Brazilians, nor could they have the means to own property. Finally, there were mass killings of Africans in Brazil. Large numbers of white immigrants were brought and subsidies provided for them. The goal was racial miscegenation, designed to eliminate the African element from Brazil.

He argued that the use of colour hierarchy or a pigmentocracy "notoriously distorts and manipulates statistics on race, in a process of statistical genocide. Multiple mulatto and mestizo categories are introduced into census data in order to decrease Black populations." The consequence is that African-Brazilians are consistently undercounted. Senator de Nascimento noted that "Since census data determine public policy, the idea is to reduce or eliminate the [Black] populations, at least on paper, [thus] avoiding the need for public policy where it is most needed: infant mortality rates, hunger and illiteracy are most severe in African-American communities [in Brazil]. Lack of public policy leaves them to

the consequences. More profoundly, the goal is to identify these nations' populations with the minority ruling elites".

Senator De Nascimento contended that this peculiar form of racism [which propagates the myth of racial democracy] is "worse than apartheid for a very simple reason; it robs our people of their identity as a community, their consciousness of racial oppression, and their will to fight back". His presentation detailed four main mechanisms through which genocide occurs today in Brazil:

- policies of progressive impoverishment of the African-Brazilian population
- specific situational conditions of rural populations
- the assassination of Black children and youth by death squads
- the mass sterilization, coerced and/or involuntary, of African-Brazilian women who are the principal target of sterilization procedures

Dr. Leo Kuper rounded off the presentations with a discussion of feasible strategies for genocide prevention in Africa. He began his presentation with a brief outline of the relative impotence of the United Nations in terms of preventive action with regard to genocide. According to Dr. Kuper, the unabated continuation of genocide and other mass murders are being aggravated by the global arms trade in devastating weapons which raise the lethal cost of ethnic and/or communal conflicts in Africa and elsewhere. He noted that mass starvation has also been deployed in Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan as a genocidal weapon.

The biggest problem with genocide, Dr. Kuper explained, is that it "is so diverse in its manifestations, that it constitutes a unified phenomenon only at a very high level of abstraction". This diversity is reflected clearly in the proliferation of typologies of genocide. He suggested that since polarization of ethnic and/or communal relations is often accompanied by gross violations of human rights, constitutional arrangements for diffusing these conflicts and for promoting conciliation are promising areas for preventive action, providing occasion for "public protest, diplomatic pressures, and the intervention of inter-governmental organizations." Clearly, the religious factor needs to be taken into account too with regard to communal schisms: in the case of the Sudan, as

was the case in Nigeria, the role of religious difference is highly relevant.

Dr. Kuper noted that NGOs have been "instrumental in introducing many action-oriented programs as, for example, the working groups on slavery, disappearances and indigenous peoples, and the campaign against torture". In fact, he argued that the proliferation of NGOs participating actively in the proceedings of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities "is some measure of the failure of the United Nations to discharge its obligations under the U.N. Charter." Like the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations' lack of prompt responsiveness and effective action partly stems from the fact that "it represents governments, and they are the major perpetrators of massacres and gross violations of human rights."

Dr. Kuper outlined a series of strategies for genocide prevention, upon which discussion then centred. Out of the discussion came several recommendations encompassing the international, regional, national and local levels.

Summary of Workshop Recommendations

AFRIC should prepare an inventory of organizations with similar or related interests to its own, in order to increase its lobbying capacity--with the aim of facilitating cooperation and concerted action in lobbying, research and information gathering and sharing at international, regional, national and local levels (for example organizations such as Trans-Africa, the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, Lutheran World Relief, and humanitarian groups like the Quakers, amongst many others). Such cooperation and concerted action was recognized as crucial to realizing the institutional changes necessary for genocide prevention and ending slavery.

With this in mind, three recommendations were made with regard to the international level:

- AFRIC should target relief and development organizations over the need for changes in

emergency relief procedures where the host state is hostile and/or uncooperative, and the potential for use of food as a genocidal weapon exists. Specifically, AFRIC should implore all donors to engage in cross-border relief operations--such as providing food, medical services, etc.).

- AFRIC should target powerful multilateral institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which frequently influence national policy-making in developing countries. There is a need to convince these institutions that they have a moral responsibility to go beyond mere economic conditionality and to link their aid to fundamental human rights performance. Lobbying for such change will be more effective at the bilateral level since governments participate in many intergovernmental organizations where they are able to influence policy-making. Such lobbying should be directed at the more powerful member countries of these institutions--through influential individuals like US senators and governors, pressure groups like the Black Congressional Caucus, and influential groups like the European Parliament and the Group of Seven. The same lobby targets may be pursued by AFRIC and organizations it networks with to secure other objectives. Beyond this, it is clear that the World Bank is continually confronted with the consequences of devastating civil wars and genocidal massacres--all of which continually undermine its central goal of poverty reduction. To the extent that the Bank takes into account its development programmes and the possibility and desirability of restraining such lethal conflict, this could become a promising field for preventive action against genocide.
- AFRIC should link up with international institutions involved with issues of genocide to build a support network for AFRIC as an African NGO. Amongst these are the Norwegian Peace Research Institute which has a major focus on ethnic conciliation; and governments that have a long and consistent history of human rights protection and promotion, such as Sweden, Norway, and the Netherlands. As well, it was recommended that AFRIC should establish cooperative links with international research institutions and disseminate accurate,

well-documented information about the existence and extent of genocidal practices and conflicts; with the objective of empowering those groups willing to respond actively. Dr. Leo Kuper of UCLA has generously offered AFRIC ready access to all research papers pertinent to the use of food as a genocidal weapon, a subject which his departmental programme is currently conducting research on. The kind of authoritative information such as would be provided by UCLA's research archives on genocide was seen to be very important to the prevention of genocide--given the consensus that ignorance and lack of accurate information about the extent of genocidal practices and/or conflicts are key obstacles to the mobilization of public support for the prevention of genocide.

- AFRIC should establish contacts with the South Commission of the United Nations, a specialized agency chaired by Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania. Nyerere may lend a sympathetic ear to AFRIC's objectives, having publicly stated that while it is alright to respect the rights of states, it is immoral to stand on the sidelines and allow the massacre of thousands in defense of the principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

With regard to action at the regional level, where it was felt that regional organizations had a lot of potential in securing and promoting development, stability, peace and human rights; the following recommendations were made:

- Research how and to what extent regional organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS), the Caribbean Economic Community (CARICOM), and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) can enhance the protection and promotion of human rights in their respective regions. The OAU could be more effective than it has so far been. For instance, it not only has a Human Rights Commission, but its charter incorporates the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its peace-keeping capacity, although weak, has the potential to be strengthened. How can this potential be more effectively harnessed for the protection and

promotion of human rights, and the prevention of genocide in Africa? Two possibilities are a peace-keeping force and a commitment to promoting human rights and people's rights, as well as seeking conciliation by peaceful means.

- Network with organizations formed around human rights and humanitarian issues at a regional level with national chapters (e.g. the continent-wide association of human rights lawyers in Africa) and mobilize regional concern on the most affected areas (e.g. the Horn of Africa).
- Write a letter to Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni who has expressed interest in establishing a "Martyrs' Memorial" with special interest in genocide and its prevention dedicated to the victims of genocide in Uganda. This could potentially set into motion the formation of a nucleus of countries committed to the protection of human rights within East Africa comprising of Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda and Burundi (where there has lately been considerable discussion around issues of genocide). A similar nucleus of concern could emerge around the frontline states who oppose South Africa's expansionist and destabilization policies in Southern Africa to monitor and prevent genocidal practices and conflicts in this troubled region. It was recommended that AFRIC seriously explore the possibility of catalyzing the emergence of such organizations comprised of regional clusters of African states and/or groups to monitor and prevent genocidal conflicts and practices.
- Establish contacts with the Africa Leadership Forum. The Forum has the particular advantage of being a recognized lobby at the UN and could provide an important contact point at the UN level.

Other recommendations

- Since genocide is mostly committed by governments or with government acquiescence, AFRIC should compile, maintain and update a list identifying such governments with the view of embarrassing them at every level as a pressure tactic to compel them to

re-assess their domestic activities and/or policies within the context of human rights.

- Initiate the setting up of a *Commission for Humanitarian Questions in the African World* (comprised of Black intellectuals, grassroots organizations, celebrities, etc.) to address (in as proactive a manner as possible) the abuses of fundamental human rights that are so pervasive in the African World.
- Through linking with organizations like Trans-Africa, engage in grassroots consciousness-raising in Black communities around issues of fundamental human rights.
- Promoting civil actions by bringing criminal charges and suits against individuals, businesses, groups, etc., whose activities may indirectly lead to the genocidal killing of thousands elsewhere (e.g. the sale by a German firm of chemical gases to Iraq which the latter then used to exterminate Kurds) is potentially a readily available instrument of restraining support for genocidal mass killings. In other words, domestic legislation can be made which would enable class action suits of damage to be brought against domestic firms engaging in such activities as the illegal export of arms; which magnify the level of genocidal casualties. For example, according to Dr. Kuper, a member of the targeted ethnic group, residing in the same state as the supplier, could bring a class action suit for damages incurred or sustained as a result of the massacre of his/her family in a poison gas attack. This is a legally feasible option, and one around which support can be mobilized. For example, domestic legislation has been used successfully in the US against torturers (who perpetrated the crime outside the US but at the time of prosecution were in the US and were identified and charged by their victims). This would generate a process by which those who facilitate genocide by providing the means become aware of their personal accountability.
- Explore ways of changing the structure and process of bringing charges to the International Court of Justice through a strong and concerted lobbying campaign, so that groups could file grievances

against states (instead of charges against a state being filed only by another state or groups of states).

- Given that issues of lack of respect for minority rights and the right for self-determination (which in turn rests on democratic processes) are often at the heart of genocide, it was recommended that AFRIC seek out and establish contact with more local grassroots organizations in the Sudan and Brazil. This is especially important since groups of environmentalists and other organizations have had some degree of success in protecting indigenous groups in the rainforests against the destruction of the way of their lives.
- Since genocide tends, for the most part, to occur with the complicity of states, it was resolved that AFRIC write letters of censure to the pertinent governments to protest their genocidal activities and policies, and to press for more protection and promotion of human rights.
- The following recommendations were also made; assuming that priority is attached to local grass root involvement - public education, community mobilization, lobbying and agenda setting.

Recommendations for Specific Countries

1. Brazil

- For Brazil, a letter raising these issues in its contents was read out and endorsed by the Plenary Session on October 6, 1991. It was later sent to the President of Brazil.
 - Similar letters have been sent to the Governor of Brasilia who has taken concrete steps in supporting the initiatives of African Brazilians to secure and protect the interests of their communities; and to the Brazilian public at large.
- It was recommended that AFRIC write a letter to the OAS condemning the genocidal practices of Brazil and other Latin American countries.
- It was also recommended that AFRIC establish contact with the *National Black Women's Project*

(Atlanta) to establish a link between the *Project* and African-Brazilian women to promote the latter's health issues, one of which includes coerced sterilization.

2. The Sudan

- In the case of the Sudan, a letter similar in contents to the one sent to the Brazilian President and public was recommended to be sent to the Sudan's ruler, General Omer Bashir, and was endorsed by the plenary.
- A similar letter was recommended to be sent to the Sudanese public at large, to be distributed through non-governmental organizations (such as religious groups, labour and student unions, political parties, etc.).

Workshop #1(b): Minority Rights, Self-determination, and Genocide

Resource People

- Mr. Anthony Ayok, Center for Refugees, York University
- Dr. Frank Chalk, Author of *The History and Sociology of Genocide*, Concordia University
- Mr. John Prendergast, Research Associate, The Center of Concern, Washington

Facilitators

- Paul Kafele, Policy Analyst, Department of Inter-Governmental Affairs, Ontario
- Eric Wickham, Business Management Instructor, Centennial College, Toronto.

Summary of Workshop Presentations

Like Dr. Bona Malwal, Mr. Anthony Ayok chronicled acts of genocide in the Sudan. He argued that the Sudanese state since 1955 has continued to kill its civilian populations, and specifically those from the southern portions of the country.

Between 1955 and 1972, the United Nations estimated that over one million people in the Southern Sudan perished through direct or indirect government action. The genocidal tenor of the way the war was conducted was quite obvious: there was no safety for even unarmed civilians or non-combatants who remained in government-held towns. Such incidents include the Wau massacre in which the government army killed hundreds of Southern Sudanese government officials attending a wedding ceremony. In 1965 alone, several genocidal massacres of Southerners occurred:

- on July 4, 150 people were slaughtered in the town of Torit
- on July 8, 1400 were massacred in the regional capital of Juba
- on July 11, 87 were murdered in the town of Kapoeta
- on July 15, 450 were slaughtered in Yei and Yambio

Mr. Ayok noted that such genocidal massacres extended to Southerners and other 'African' people not residing in the South. For instance, he pointed out that 600 people were killed at Babanusa and in other towns of the Kordofan provinces for no other reason than that they were 'Africans' and /or Southerners.

Meanwhile, the current war has seen the use of food (and famine conditions) as a genocidal weapon. For example, government military tactics--namely scorch-earth, resource looting and destruction--are aimed at destroying the subsistence basis of local communities and creating a situation where they will be vulnerable to famine and starvation. Since 1983, over one million have been killed by government troops or have starved to death as the government deliberately refused to allow or delayed timely and effective relief food delivery to vulnerable populations.

Thus, Mr. Ayok concluded, one cannot escape the horrifying conclusion that the Sudanese government's goal is to depopulate Southern Sudan. Nor, given the genocidal practices being deployed against non-Arab ethnic groups in Western Sudan, can one escape the unsavoury suspicion that the government's intention is to liquidate all African peoples from the country.

Dr. Frank Chalk began his presentation on Liberia with some basic facts about the country's geography and history. Liberia has a population of about two million comprised of many different ethnic groups. Ninety-five percent of the population is indigenous African, while five percent consists of descendents of settlers: namely ex-slaves from the United States and the British West Indies. The population has historically been dominated by the settlers and war between the settlers and the indigenous people was not unheard of. Until 1970, politics was dominated by two settler families, namely, the Tubmans and the Tolberts. The army was largely staffed by the Loma, with the Mano and Gio groups represented in smaller numbers. With Tolbert's murder in 1980 and the emergence of Samuel Doe (a Krahn) as the new leader, the Krahn started to populate the army and to agitate for changes.

The outbreak of civil war in December 1989 and the murder of Doe in 1990 unleashed a reign of terror by the national army targeting the Mano and the Gio ethnic groups. This eventually led to a mutual murdering of the civilian population by the protagonists (the rebels targeting the Krahn). The civil war has produced a massive number of refugees, placed at 300,000 or fifteen percent of the population. Children are starving all over the country, especially in Monrovia. Genocidal massacres have occurred in the capital city of Monrovia, in the towns, the villages, and even in churches.

Mr. John Prendergast noted that the death toll in Southern Sudan in the last eight years has in all probability exceeded one million. Furthermore, there are ongoing emergencies of human rights violations in the north, such as the burning two weeks ago of twenty-two Zagawa villages in West Darfur. While there is a coalition of groups in the United States working against (the inaction of) current U.S. policy in the Sudan, there is a need to support grassroots efforts in the Sudan itself. Specifically, there is a need to help build the capacity of indigenous NGOs, the churches which are active in relief, rehabilitation and developmental work--such as the New Sudan Council of Churches operating in the south, and agricultural co-operatives.

Mr. Prendergast's central thrust was that the current approach by donor governments and international NGOs --of allowing some food to be diverted for army use by both sides in the war--is feeding the war: "the side effects of feeding armies, entrenching dependence, and prolonging

war must begin to be addressed more forthrightly." Specifically, "new efforts should begin to feed peace". He questioned whether the policy objectives of international donor intervention is truly to protect the most vulnerable, arguing that if this were so, why then has there been "no sustained multilateral effort to bring about a process of negotiation which might bring an end to one of the most destructive wars in the world?"

A major effort needs to be undertaken to prepare the way for negotiations. Mr. Prendergast argued that if such negotiations are not undertaken soon, and if the Sudanese government persists with its policy of exporting food and fundamentalism, the international community must consider drastic measures: "A government which practices racial and religious apartheid and exports terrorism should be treated accordingly."

Mr. Prendergast made four recommendations:

1. An arms embargo against selling arms to the Sudanese government and against buying grain from Sudan, even though mostly symbolic, would raise the cost of business for the combatant factions.
2. Since the remittances of Sudanese workers in the Gulf has been a major source of foreign exchange on the black market for prominent fundamentalist bankers, financiers, and currency dealers in Sudan, the help of Saudi Arabia and Egypt (both opponents of the current Khartoum regime) should be enlisted. Such help would involve providing attractive alternative investment havens for the remittances of Sudanese nations in the Gulf.
3. Donor governments should press the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to expel Sudan from its membership. This would make it extremely difficult for the El Bashir regime to access private credit.
4. Using the Kurdish precedent, the European Community's recent *Declaration of the Right of Intervention* for humanitarian purposes should be considered on behalf of vulnerable Sudanese communities victimized by the use of food as a weapon.

In the meantime, Mr. Prendergast urged that emergency operations continue to be deployed. He added, however, that

there is also a need to explore developmental possibilities in relation to more food aid, and that the ratio of rehabilitation to relief needs to be increased at every opportunity--especially agricultural development and fisheries in the Southern Sudan and environmental restoration in the Western Sudan. There is, furthermore, an obvious need to build future capacity and skills for the eventuality of peace through 'mobile' skills such as training and primary education. To this end, local organizations should be involved fully and prioritized as partners in all efforts.

Ending his presentation with the African proverb "*when the elephants fight, only the grass suffer*," Mr. Prendergast observed that:

It is clear that the grass has been trampled on for too long. It is time for the elephants to come to some agreement. If not, it is incumbent upon the international community to stop feeding the elephants and start fertilizing the grass.

Summary of Workshop Recommendations

The starting point of the recommendations discussed at this workshop was that involvement--through public education, community mobilization, lobbying and agenda setting--will be grassroots, local and legitimate. Recommendations were made with respect to both Liberia and the Sudan.

Liberia

1. The Canadian government should provide greater aid to help Liberian refugees; and
2. The Canadian government should be encouraged to assist the West African peace-keeping initiative ECOMAG (consisting of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Guinea) in its efforts in Liberia.

The Sudan

1. The government of Canada should be pressured to bring up the issue of the Sudan for debate in the

United Nations General Assembly and/r the Security Council.

2. The United Nations should be persuaded to impose an arms embargo on the fundamentalist Sudanese dictatorship.
3. Torontonians should establish a Sudan anti-slavery and anti-genocide society in Canada. Such a society would publish (as one of its activities) a list of individuals and groups 'guilty' of human rights violations and genocide to be judged by the international community.
4. Canada should take the issues of genocide and slavery to the International Court of Justice.
5. CIDA (The Canadian International Development Agency) should improve its aid to NGOs for independent institution-building and for improving the effectiveness of grassroots, democratic development as well as for improving the capacity of groups to collect and disseminate information to the world community, and for promoting the protection and survival of minority languages and cultures.
6. The Canadian government should cut trade with, and non-emergency aid to, any government committing human rights violations and acts of genocide--such as that of the Sudan.
7. The Canadian government should provide increased levels of funding to local organizations like AFRIC to help raise public awareness, mobilize support, and establish ongoing links with grassroots Sudanese initiatives.
8. The Canadian government should condemn publicly governments committing acts of genocide and encourage free, democratic elections in both Liberia and the Sudan.
9. The Canadian government should lobby for a list of genocide perpetrators to be published annually by an appropriate committee of the United Nations.

Workshop #2: Minority Rights, Self-determination, and Slavery

Resource People:

- Dr. Ella Forbes, Temple University, Philadelphia
- Mr. Keder Hyppolite, President, National Council of Haitian Canadians
- Mr. Philip Thon Leek Deng, Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association, Nairobi
- Mr. Sghai Ould M'barek, Human Rights Lawyer, Noukchott, Mauritania
- Ms. Lesley Roberts, Executive Director, Anti-Slavery International, London

Facilitators:

- Mr. Eben Ajayi, Educator, Toronto Board of Education
- Ms. Camille Williams, Educator, Peel Board of Education

Summary of Workshop Presentations

Dr. Ella Forbes defined genocide and slavery, and provided a historical overview of these issues in Africa and North and South America during the European incursion through colonialism (from the time of the European slave trade, began by the Portuguese in the early 1400s). She pointed out that African people have a long history of resistance to slavery and other forms of exploitation, and that they must continue to fight for social justice. She argued that in order for enslavement to be eradicated, there must be a general consensus that slavery is unjust, immoral, and an outrage against society. Dr. Forbes stated that she preferred the use of the term "enslavement" to the term "slavery". While the former (enslavement) allows the direction of attention to the *imposition* of dehumanizing human bondage on persons and on forms of resistance to it, the latter (slavery) implicitly connotes the *submission* and acceptance of their condition by the victims. She identified eleven social practices and/or structures or institutions which embody enslavement:

1. Apartheid

2. Colonialism
3. Slavery and/or subjugation of women to men
4. Debt bondage
5. Forced labour
6. Exploitation of hard drug addicts
7. Trafficking of children
8. Illicit trafficking of migrant workers
9. Traditional and/or chattel enslavement
10. Child labour
11. Serfdom

Dr. Forbes argued that "the problem of enslavement and genocide needs to be seen as a threat to the well-being of the international community and the reasons for the enslavement of Africans need to be addressed. These reasons include war, famine, poverty, and tradition. With regard to war and ethnic hostilities, she asserted that the inter-ethnic strife that so afflicts Africa and often leads to human rights violations was built into the continent through the arbitrary setting of geographical boundaries--without regard for history or ethnic integrity--by European countries during the 'Scramble for Africa'. Ultimately, these human rights violations contribute to the underdevelopment of Africa and to the loss of millions of African lives. Dr. Forbes urged that we must not allow African issues to be overshadowed by events in other parts of the world. She insisted that it is imperative that Africa must look to itself to solve its problems, and that Africans must speak out collectively against enslavement.

Mr. Keder Hyppolite's presentation examined the situation of Haitians in the Dominican Republic. He began with a historical overview of genocide and slavery in Latin America from the time of its 'discovery' by Christopher Columbus, to the European Atlantic slave trade and the (sugar) plantation system. Mr. Hyppolite argued that the expansion of the plantation system, especially through the incursion of American companies (in Cuba, 1906 - 1909; in the Dominican Republic, 1916 - 1924; and in Haiti, 1915 - 1934) accelerated the level of deprivation and impoverishment in the region, as land became increasingly concentrated in the hands of fewer people.

In 1929, the voluntary and/or forced return of tens of thousands of Haitians from Cuba increased the level of migration by Haitians to the Dominican Republic. The number of Haitian migrant workers in the Republic has been placed as high as 200,000. However, Haitians fleeing poverty are enslaved in the Dominican Republic. Mr. Hyppolite pointed out that such enslavement is largely due to political agreement between the two governments for labor and economic reasons. Thus Haitian workers have suffered--and continue to suffer--at the hands of both governments.

Mr. Hyppolite explained that the deplorable conditions under which the 200,00 or so Haitian migrant workers live in the Dominican Republic include, amongst others:

- No electricity, sanitary facilities, schooling, and/or food;
- The kidnapping of Haitians who are then forced to labour on Dominican cane fields;
- Sometimes, the keeping of newcomers naked outside the barracks;
- The prevention of workers from leaving these sub-human working conditions by Dominican militia units.

Mr. Philip Thon Leek Deng began his presentation with an introduction to the geography and peoples of the Sudan. He then proceeded to provide a historical overview of the roots of the country's present crisis--which he located particularly in the colonial policies of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium which placed economic and political power in the hands of one nationality grouping at the expense of the others.

Mr. Deng catalogued the human cost of Sudan's two civil wars. In the first war, which spanned the period 1955-1972, an estimated 750,000 to 1.5 million people are believed to have died in the South. The death toll of the current civil war, now in its ninth year, has already exceeded one million--most of whom are unarmed civilians. What particularly distinguishes this war is the considerable and indiscriminate brutality of the Khartoum Arab-dominated government towards the civilian population of the South.

The training and the arming of Arab ethnic militias by the government, and their unleashing onto the people of Southern Sudan (especially targeting the Dinka), Darfur, and the Nuba Mountains--have all been reported extensively by hu-

man rights organizations such as *Amnesty International*, *Anti-Slavery International*, *Africa Watch*, and so on. These organizations have classified these activities unambiguously as not only amounting to genocide, but also involving the enslavement of especially Dinka children, young girls, and women. Not surprisingly thus, over 100,000 children fled into Ethiopia from the South in 1986 to escape the war, enslavement and famine.

He noted that there are currently 150,000 displaced people in Western Equatoria in the towns of Yambio, Nzara, Tambura, and Maridi; and 750,000 at risk of starvation in Central, Northern, and Western Upper Nile due to excessive rains and consequent flooding which led to ninety percent crop failure and high incidences of livestock diseases. In the rest of the SPLA-held areas, there are about two million semi-dislocated rural people in the South and in Western Sudan. Mr. Deng rounded off with an appeal to the international community, the UN, all governments, international NGOs, and other humanitarian bodies to put pressure on the Sudanese government to seek a peaceful resolution of the war. He also urged them to hold the Sudanese government to international accountability for its crimes against humanity in the Sudan.

Mr. Sghai Ould M'barek provided an analysis of the situation in Mauritania regarding slavery. He explained that since the recent steps that have been taken towards the liberalization of the political system, aimed toward democratization, the central contradiction for Mauritania has been *"is Mauritania going to be a democratic country as well as a country where slavery is condoned."* According to Mr. M'barek, Mauritanian society is organized along a rigorously hierarchical structure:

The division in the workplace is the basis of the social stratification and it sets each social group in a class where it plays a definite function. Therefore, the landowners monopolize political, economic, and religious powers; subservient and other functions are performed by the caste people (smiths and griots); whereas servile work is left to the slaves who receive no respect, are powerless and relegated to the production of all the wealth owned by the caste people and land owners.

As the property of a 'master', the slave is not only a minor but he/she has no civil rights, and is acquired by the 'master' in the same manner he/she (the 'master') procures material wealth and/or possession.

Mr. M'barek outlined the social forces in Mauritanian society that have led to a questioning of the traditional social structure, and a demand for more social justice, equality and participation. These social forces include the democratization of the schooling system, wage labour, unrestricted marriage between the various social classes, and the determination of former slaves to emancipate those still in slavery and to gain social, political, and economic justice for themselves. However, he cautioned that while slavery has been abolished formally, its entrenchment in the social structure and consciousness in Mauritanian society cannot be done away with overnight. A lot remains to be done, but there is cause for optimism.

Ms. Lesley Roberts examined the status of slavery today, focussing on Mauritania, Sudan, South Africa, and Haiti. According to Ms. Roberts:

Contemporary forms of slavery are widespread especially in Latin America, Africa and Asia and it is not difficult to reach estimates of well over 100 million, just by adding together the documented figures.

Much of this contemporary slavery is invisible because it is often hidden from public view (for example, plantation and domestic work) or because it is a "normal state for certain groups" (for example, untouchables in South Asia, Blacks in South Africa, or women in domestic work or prostitution). Generally, contemporary slavery is not well documented--formally or unofficially.

In 1980, *Anti-Slavery International*, (ASI, then the Anti-Slavery Society) reported the continued existence of about 100,000 slaves in Mauritania. The government acknowledged the problem in 1983 and requested help from the UN. The UN sent a mission to the country in 1984, and the mission's report made several recommendations. In 1990, ASI visited Mauritania to follow up on some of the mission's recommendations, and concluded that no corresponding statutory and economic emancipation had followed judicial emancipation. Furthermore, several key recommendations of the UN mission had not been implemented. ASI concluded that:

There are Mauritians who admit that problems still exist; there are still reports of kidnapping, especially of children; there are reports of punishments to escaping slaves; there are many references to slavery in reports on development programmes.

Unlike Mauritania, 'serious' attempts were made during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1898-1956) in Sudan to abolish slavery. By 1945, there was a recognition that although institutionalized servitude was declining, other forms of bondage persisted. It was also recognized that the structures and ideologies underlying human bondage remained unchanged--attested to by the persistent use of Southern Sudanese and Nubas as farm and/or domestic labourers in Northern Sudan.

The current civil war has created conditions in which a 're-surgence' of chattel slavery is thriving, albeit in an entirely new context:

The ethnic, racial and cultural dimensions of the conflict were emphasized by the government. The rebel movement was presented as a threat to the fundamental basis of northern Sudanese culture and as a Christian crusade against Arabism and Islam. Moreover, by arming the Baggara who have a traditional conflict with the Dinka, the government has given them the signal that Southerners--Dinka, Nuer, and Jur women and children--are still free prey to the Arabs.

In the case of South Africa, Ms. Roberts pointed out that ASI has argued since 1907 that apartheid "led to state sanctioned slavery and slave-like conditions, in the agricultural sector, the industrial sector and the sector of domestic labour." Most recently, reports have emerged about a slave trade between Mozambique and South Africa. The trade reportedly involves mainly teenagers who have lost their homes and families due to the Mozambican civil war. The sale of children to white farmers, into brothels in the townships, and/or as wives has been reported. Investigations to confirm the reports and the number of children involved are continuing. Ms. Roberts noted that:

Other African countries are not exempt, there are well documented reports also from Morocco, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Benin, Ghana, Nigeria, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire and Ethiopia involving various forms of contemporary slavery, mainly involving children.

Turning to Haiti, Ms. Roberts observed that as one of the poorest countries in the world, it should not come as a complete surprise that there is a problem of child domestic labour. According to the International Labour Organization, children working as domestic servants are perhaps the most vulnerable and exploited children of all. These children are to be found in many countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and in parts of southern Europe. Organizations within Haiti

familiar with the problem conclude that 100,000 to 200,000 children are involved in the practice, which appears to contravene present Haitian laws.

Ms. Roberts also made reference to the situation of approximately 200,000 Haitian migrant workers in the Dominican Republic. The circumstances of the recruitment of these workers and their working conditions on the sugar plantations continue to be slave-like. She also commented on the situation for children in Brazil, which--with the probable exception of Nigeria--has the largest black population of any country in the world. Documentation on child labour, debt bondage and serfdom have been documented, but not adequately. However, research on forced labour and debt bondage in various states in and around the Amazon basin in Brazil is anticipated to begin so. In conclusion, Ms. Roberts stated forcefully that:

For effective action on slavery, there needs to be good research, local action and organization, economic alternatives for the victims (therefore usually rehabilitation programmes and an expanding economy) and a government ready not only to provide effective legislation but also to implement it. International concern and action on its own is a feeble instrument.

Summary of Workshop Recommendations

1. The Dominican Republic should grant the right to citizenship and security to individuals in his or her own country of birth.
2. A network for communication and dissemination of information should be created through the establishment of a newsletter.
3. A committee or commission of Africans to do research and provide the voice and resources to address the issues of African people should be brought together: there is an urgent need for a collective African voice.
4. A local forum should be established to identify African peoples' rights, and inform people of their rights and how to defend them.

5. A foundation should be established to fund research and provide resources for information seekers such as a data bank of human rights issues.
6. Use existing societies to disseminate information.
7. Use the media more effectively to get interviews to talk about the recommendation and ideas generated by this conference.
8. Use media to generate interest\action among Africans and generate support through information.
9. Give information to existing organizations who will in turn inform and/or educate their constituencies.
10. Lobby the Canadian government to act on its U.N. commitment to human rights.
11. Confront countries who have not satisfied the UN accord on human rights - through embassy contacts, petitions, even through media (e.g. a full page advertisement in print media such as the New York times).
12. Create links with other action groups such as the Congressional Black Caucus and use Black media--such as *Africa Now*--effectively for information.
13. Generate commitment by Black businesses to invest in Africa.
14. Establish a charitable fund for Black people to which people can make donations and through which funds can be raised and dispensed.
15. Reconvene this conference every year to share information, update and disseminate research on the issues of slavery and genocide facing African peoples.

Workshop III: The Role of NGOs in Ending Slavery and Genocide

Resource People:

- Dr. Helen Fein, Harvard University
- Dr. Rhoda Howard, McMaster University
- Mr. Peter Dagleish, Street Kids International, Toronto
- Ms. Martha Jones, Amnesty International
- Dr. Clement Janda, World Council of Churches

Facilitators:

- Dr. Winston Husbands, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute
- Dr. Sheila Husbands, Software Planner

Summary of Workshop Presentations

Dr. Helen Fein posed three questions:

1. Why do some groups help each other?
2. Why has there been no public response to the Sudanese famine?
3. Why are some causes well publicized?

Dr. Fein argued that for help to materialize and for the public to respond, victims must be seen. Indeed, they must be seen as innocent victims. She also pointed to the role of a sense of obligation on the part of potential helpers. Dr. Fein viewed as significant the lack of a strong public pressure when the oppressors were also Africans. This pattern was also the case with Blacks in North America. It appeared that only white oppression was considered oppression. It may also be that an overt racist assumption is operative--that is, "we cannot expect any better of Africans".

Dr. Fein proposed that kin group NGOs such as Trans-Africa in the USA have an important role to play in helping and in publicizing the need to help. Such groups have been able to mobilize their own community's resources as well as

tap into the conscious constituency of people who care for human rights. They could influence public opinion through an action campaign. The effectiveness of such NGOs would depend on their organization and not on the size of their membership. The important factors in the equation to be considered are goals, thorough analysis, and strategy. Strategy and tactics are the crucial elements which determine success. Resources also have to be organized in a target fashion.

Dr. Fein urged NGOs to develop clear criteria for identifying genocide as well as the ability to document cases of genocide. This was absolutely important because in cases of genocide one needed to show that massacres were consistent and systematic. The NGO must also be able to define a long range strategy that would make the cause more visible as well as provide sanctions and rewards. The latter could change the offending government's behaviour. The NGO must organize its own constituency for long range action and be able to involve other constituencies by recasting the problem in a manner that reaches them.

Ms. Martha Jones offered Amnesty International (AI) as an example of an NGO which has been very effective in organizing ordinary people. The strength of this organization lies in the fact that it is a grassroots organization composed of ordinary people around the world which gives people hope. She suggested that any NGO needs a strong research base and a well thought-out media strategy. She described the tactics AI has used effectively in publicizing causes and getting people involved in concrete action. These include:

1. Adopting prisoners until they are released: activities in this case include writing letters to governments, prisoners etc.
2. Establishing regional action networks charged with making people aware of problems in the region. Groups in the area gain understanding and are better able to respond.
3. Coordination groups which focus on one topic: all live in one town and focus on providing an intensive understanding of a specific area.
4. Forming youth groups; and
5. Visiting embassies.

Ms. Jones recommended that NGOs, especially AFRIC, should get information on Sudan out to trade unions, parent-teacher associations, and churches; in an effort to narrow the sympathy gap and sensitize people to the issues. She suggested that some effort go into finding out where weapons are being obtained. She urged NGOs to develop a media strategy. As well, the Charter of African Rights, already passed by the OAU, could be more widely disseminated to oppressed groups. Such education efforts, coupled with greater efforts to enforce the Charter, could contribute to the strengthening of the oppressed groups' legitimate position.

Dr. Rhoda Howard began by pointing out that there was no such thing as monolithic ethnic oppressors. She argued that although there has been a growth of human rights policies and awareness in the Canadian government, the motives for promotion of human rights may be suspect. In the case of the Sudan, Canada appeared to have little leverage, as did international public opinion. However, the changes that have occurred in the Persian Gulf may reduce support to the current Sudanese regime. Dr. Howard also opined that there was little hope that extra-governmental pressure would work and she cited the broken off IMF relationship with the Sudan as support for this position.

Dr. Howard stressed the importance of public education and vigorous lobbying. She argued that the Canadian public is still largely uninformed about the Sudanese conflict. Most probably associated the Sudan with wild animals and "tribal" wars. She felt that public education is necessary not only to bring issues of genocide to the public but also to change the erroneous stereotypes of Africa that are widespread in North America.

Dr. Howard was of the opinion that a high profile African-Canadian lobby group could exert significant pressure on Canada's foreign aid policy and foreign policy in general. Such a group should be non-political and akin to Trans-Africa in the USA. She recommended formal linkage with other human rights NGOs which have recognition at the UN to draw international attention to major human rights violations, and to turn the tide with respect to how genocide and state sovereignty are treated. This is necessary because acts of genocide do not necessarily constitute threats to world peace.

However, it is possible for the UN General Assembly to declare a given situation as genocidal and to put mechanisms

nitarian aid to the culprit government. Armed UN intervention could also be pursued. As a very long range goal, she suggested that pressure should be put on the Canadian government to support an effort to rewrite the UN Convention and the UN Charter to allow for intervention in genocidal situations.

Mr. Peter Dalglish felt that NGOs needed to be more aggressive in order to be more effective. In this respect, he cited Greenpeace and Amnesty International as models. He argued that the African-Canadian community ought to be the focus of AFRIC's advocacy. There is a need to overcome apathy and cynicism and AFRIC must strive to be innovative and creative in identifying effective actions that can be pursued by individuals. He suggested that young people and children should be involved in the activities of AFRIC.

Mr. Dalglish emphasized the fact that it often takes high profile people to get the publicity necessary to put issues such as slavery and genocide on the public agenda. He suggested this as a possible option for AFRIC to consider. However, he decried the manner in which the UN has become literally a ' Temple of Sovereignty' and suggested that state sovereignty must to be called into question wherever genocide is an issue.

He described the work that SKI has supported in the Sudan in the form of securing basic school supplies and the therapeutic effect on the entire community of children going to school. Mr. Dalglish emphasized the need to convey what the people themselves can do through their own actions as a way of balancing the negative images of Africans as passive and perpetual beggars. This 'stupid view' was not helping the people of the Sudan and AFRIC ought to consider tackling negative media images as a major part of its portfolio: the ' white Old Boys network is too tired and too conservative.' He closed by stressing the major role that NGOs can play in initiating positive change: through advocacy, technical advice and providing funding and material support.

Dr. Clement Janda began with the observation that not only has silence reigned for too long over gross human rights violations in the African World, but that human rights violations have come to be accepted as more the norm than the exception for Africa. He gave a brief personal history as a victim, outlining how, as a student leader, he was arrested and served three months in jail in 1962 for opposing forced Islamization in the South. He noted that he spent nine years

and served three months in jail in 1962 for opposing forced Islamization in the South. He noted that he spent nine years in exile in Zaire and Uganda, and that he is currently a displaced person without a home.

Dr. Janda then gave a brief account of the conflict between North and South in the Sudan. Historically, Northern Sudanese have raided the Southern region for slaves. In fact, Dr. Janda told a personal story of his grandfather and his grandfather's mother being kidnapped by an Arab slave-hunter called Abdalla. Several years later, his grandfather was able to find his way back to his village in the South--but he had already been marked as a Shagi Arab, with three deep vertical cuts on both his cheeks!

He noted that while the practice of enslavement occurs covertly during peace times (e.g. domestic labour), the practice tends to emerge overtly during periods of warfare. This observation is true of both civil wars in the Sudan during which overt enslavement re-emerged as Arab Sudanese soldiers and merchants, as well as nomadic Arabs, kidnapped Southerners--especially children and women--and took them to the North. According to Dr. Janda, there is no doubt that the Sudanese government is the principal collaborator of those perpetrating act of slavery and genocide. In his words:

...respective Sudanese governments [composed of a 'clique of Northern Sudanese ruling from Khartoum'] had expressed intention of wiping out Southern Sudanese. I was personally told by a Sudanese Prime Minister...that if the war continued, then the likelihood of the Dinka people getting wiped out of the Sudanese map [sic] would be unavoidable. This remark followed the El Dhein massacre [when 2,000-3,000 Dinka in the town of El Dhein in western Sudan were rounded up into railway wagons and gassed to death by local residents on March 27-28, 1987]. That a Prime Minister would entertain the wiping out of the largest ethnic group in the whole country suggested to me that genocide, as a state policy, was very much in effect!

Rev. Janda classified NGOs working in Sudan into three categories:

1. **Pro-government NGOs:** the principal actor in this group is the relief wing of the fundamentalist *Da'wa El Islamia* (the *Islamic Call*), the *Islam African Relief Project*, IARA. This organization, and others like it, are supportive of the Khartoum government's policies, primarily for religious reasons--as a shortcut to Islamizing the 'infidel' Southerners. This type of

NGO is part of the problem plaguing Sudan, rather than part of the solution.

2. **International NGOs:** Dr. Clement observed that generally, NGOs belonging in this category, especially those based in the North, are very careful to avoid doing things that could lead to their expulsion. This category comprises both religious and secular non-governmental organizations. He noted that by submitting to government coercion and not openly challenging Khartoum's policies in the international arena, these NGOs have contributed to the prolonging of the silence around human rights violations in Sudan. They have missed the opportunity to place the issues of genocide and slavery squarely on the international agenda by failing to challenge Khartoum and face the consequences of expulsion.
3. **Local NGOs:** Belonging to this category are organizations like the Sudanese Bar Association, the Sudan Human Rights Organization, and the Sudan Council of Churches, amongst others. These are groups who have been prepared to speak out on government policies regarding the issues of genocide and slavery. However, speaking out has brought these organizations persecution and harassment by the government and its lackeys. Subsequently, they have become limited in the range of what they can do. In addition, the government has restricted the physical mobility of some of these NGOs' personnel as a way of keeping them away from damaging information related to slavery and/or genocide. The general silence of the majority of international NGOs, especially those based in the North; and the prominent absence of the issues of genocide and slavery in the international arena; have undermined the ability of local NGOs to be vocal and effective (without the backing of the international community). In other words, human rights campaigns originating outside of the Sudan are extremely important in providing local human rights NGOs with the muscle to contest the government.

Dr. Janda concluded by observing that the Sudan's central problem is a state machinery presided over by successive clique-dominated governments which have failed to be both

state apparatus that is both representative of, and accountable to, the peoples of the Sudan.

Summary of Workshop Recommendations

A number of recommendations arising from the presentations were discussed. Six, outlined below, were agreed upon:

1. AFRIC should initiate a sophisticated, non-partisan lobby group composed of high profile African Canadians.
2. AFRIC should develop a formal alliance with at least one human rights NGO with standing at the UN.
3. AFRIC needs to develop an extensive public awareness, education and advocacy thrust.
4. AFRIC must identify and organize its own constituency for long-term action.
5. AFRIC must work in partnership with NGOs in Africa.
6. AFRIC must lobby and educate in Canada at both the grassroots level and also among the institutions that influence Canadian foreign policy.

Workshop #4: The Role of Children in Ending Slavery and Genocide in The African World

Summary of Workshop Focus and Purpose

This workshop's main objective was to introduce children to the conference procedure; as well, it helped them to understand the practice and concepts of slavery and genocide as they exists in the African World today.

Morning Session

Upon arrival, children received name tags and conference information sheets, including pencils and note paper for the initial session. The morning workshop included a review of the plenary session, a discussion on the objectives of this children's workshop, definitions of the words slavery and genocide, using a world map to pinpoint areas that the conference identified.

Activity 1

The question "What is your reaction to the issues you heard discussed at this conference" was posed to the children. Reactions were recorded on the chalkboard and discussed. A decision was made to outline what children can do to help with some of these reactions.

Activity 2

This was structured around the case study of the Sudan. The children were asked to use the information they gathered to write a story. The children were then divided into four groups. Each group chose one of the following story lines:

- Who are these people?
- What is happening?
- What is being done?
- What is the future?

The morning session ended with each group sharing their stories.

Afternoon Session

The afternoon session began with the children deciding on how they would like to express their concerns about the issues.

Activities

Some children started letters to the Government of the Sudan and others to the Government of Canada. One child chose to express his concerns in the form of poetry, and another chose to draw a picture. The CBC video, *Into the Heart of Darkness*, was also viewed and the children discussed the type of life children in the Sudan were forced to live. After the discussion the children made a list of recommendations as to what could be done about the situation in schools, in the community and by themselves. A few of the presenters also came and spoke to the children.

Evaluation of the Children's Workshop

The workshop enabled those children present to have an active role in trying to do something about a problem. It allowed them to meet some of the people who are working on these problems thus providing positive role models. This conference was unique in that it included an element of society that is often neglected, but whose role in the elimination of these problems will prove valuable in the future.

Often children hear of the situation and problems faced by other children from different backgrounds, however children of African descent have never been actively involved in the discussion or the decision making process concerning African children. They often feel as if their opinions or actions would not make a difference. It was important for these children to voice their opinions and contribute actively to the outcome of this conference. On this level the workshop was successful.

The workshop would have benefitted from a visual presentation in the morning as opposed to in the afternoon (which is when the video arrived). This would have paved the way for more imagery in their written responses, and generated more discussion. In the future, more presenters should also visit the workshops and give a very brief presentation to the children: they needed more interaction with the presenters.

Recommendations from the Children's Workshop

The children's action plan made several recommendations about what can be done in schools, in the community, and amongst themselves as children and youth.

Recommendations at the level of schools

The children agreed that they should:

- teach about the countries in which there are problems of genocide and slavery;
- start drives for food and clothes to be sent to African children;
- collect books and other school materials to be sent to children in the African World; and
- African children all over should form groups to educate other children through presentations about the conditions of children in the African World.

Recommendations at the level of community

The children recommended:

- Raising funds to help their counterparts through bake sales, run-a-thons, read-a-thons, dances, and hotdog sales;
- getting together periodically to discuss what they are doing or what going to do about the problems facing other African children;
- letting the government in Canada and in those places where children's human rights are being violated know how they feel about the atrocities being committed against children; and

- having conferences like this one.

Recommendations amongst themselves as individuals

At this level, the children recommended:

- writing letters to the governments involved;
- expressing their views on T-shirts, radio, television (speaker's corner), newspapers and magazines;
- talking to their friends and teachers at school about what they know; and
- having penpals from the countries where atrocities are being committed against children.

The children's reactions to the issues discussed at the conference:

- "I feel helpless."
- "I feel sad."
- "I feel angry."
- "I feel upset."
- "Why are people not stopping this?"
- "What can we do?"
- "I didn't know these things were happening!"
- "Why is this not on the news?"

"My feelings towards the conference" (three representatives were chosen to present)

Julian:

It was very knowledgeable, talking about the suffering and extreme problems that are occurring in the Sudan. It was quite an honor to listen to these bright men speak of pure truths and greatness and a real treat to witness them. It would be really good if they came back to talk some more about the Sudan. Thank you.

Devon:

Today at the conference, I thought it was very advanced speaking, I mean, in terms of big words. But besides that, they addressed concerns that should be heard and I'm glad it was addressed by such wise and honourable men, who know what they are about. It was important for we the people to realize what is going on concerning our people. Thank you.

Kamau:

The conference spoke about the problems in the Sudan. The speaker that spoke when we were there was quite good. He had a great knowledge of the problems in the Sudan. It was an honour to hear these wise men talk about what they had studied and know a great deal about. I hope to hear from these men some time again in the future. Thank you.

POEMS FROM THE CHILDREN'S WORKSHOP (the children are all between he ages of 8 and 12)

#1: By Aman Husbands

Lonely, Desolate, Steely as Lead
Slavery and Genocide leave everyone dead.
The age of slavery is supposed to be by
Then why do I hear those children cry?
Genocide means to kill all in a race
It's time that all of you got a taste
Of what you're doing to Blacks worldwide
Now the Blacks are turning the tide.

#2: By Devon Walker

Dear Government of Canada:

I would like to address a concern of Sudan. I would like to know why nothing is being done about the problems of Sudan.... Many people are suffering and dying, and unfair treatment is being handed out to innocent people and children of Sudan...

I thought there would at least be sanctions to help them out. We need to focus on this part of the world and what's being said or done to help them. We as a country should take care of people in need, since we obviously have the strength and power and money. Instead of building a Sky-dome, we should send some billions to Sudan, so they can get federal aid. Thank you.

#3: Kim Dixon

Dear Government of Sudan:

I am writing this letter to address you of the problems that is happening in Africa and the other countries where African live. The problems I am talking about is Human rights and Genocide. In Africa the people do not have freedom. The children have to work out in the fields and do not get to attend school. Why aren't you doing anything about it? It is their country not just yours. They deserve to get something out of it. They should be happy where they are living. I am sure that if you were in their position you would feel that you were missing out on a lot of things. Now I know that you wouldn't want to live the way they are living right now. So why let them go through it since you wouldn't.

#4: No name.

Dear Government of Sudan:

The people of Africa in the Sudan are walking for days, months and years just to get away from slavery and what

have you been doing about it. So stop sitting on your rear end and do something.

#5: Chike Jeffers.

Dear Mr. Sudan Government

I do not like the way you are letting genocide go on like that. It's not fair. I hate that. I think that is so RACIST! I think that so UNJUST! You know, I think also that makes you a big GEEK. Just stop that genocide. I would think that was GREAT! Please, I should think you would feel sorrow. Here, why don't you just contact me by writing to...

#6: Tarik Johnson.

Dear Government of Sudan:

I think that you really should do something about the slavery. It's not nice to let another race of people take over your own country.

I don't think that the people who live in Sudan should be driven out of their own country.

I am also a young Black man. My name is Tarik Johnson. I don't even live in Sudan. I wouldn't like to live there. Would you? Think about it.

#7:Kamau Graham.

Dear Government of Sudan:

I, Kamau Graham, would like to address this letter in association to the problems going on in your land. First of all, I would like your government to fight and struggle to get rid of, and end all slavery. Since there is famine in Sudan, I know that there can be arrangements to ship in food from other nations. To my knowledge there are six borders in Sudan, and at least three or four will allow food and other needed goods through. Another detail is the Arabs taking land away from the Africans and if the Africans refuse to give it up, they

get shot and killed. I hope you consider every one of my arguments, and try your best to get a worthy solution because I am speaking for a whole lot of people here in Canada.

#8: Kim and Alishia.

It was a few years later when one sunny bright afternoon most of the children of Sudan were playing out in the fields, when in the distance they saw a crowd of people coming towards them. As the crowd of people came closer to the children, they realized that some of those faces were familiar. It was their parents all fully clothed as a result of what the people in the other countries had helped to do. The other changes that were made was the families now had proper homes to live in and they had food to eat. The parents had jobs and the children now went to school on a regular basis. The people who had started to send things like money, food, clothes, and so on, had continued to do so. There were feasts being held in order to show how much the other people who lived around the world had helped them.

#9: Written by Aman, Tarik, Amiltar and Adisa.

My village is a smoking wreck. I have been shot in the leg and my mother is dead.

My village of Imani has been raided by Arabs, and Arab policemen patrol the streets 24 hours a day.

My father escaped the raid but he has still not returned.

I fear him dead like the rest of my village people.

That was 2 years ago

My father has still not returned and I am sure he is dead.

The few people that are still alive are dressed in rags and know their country bleeds with the pain, sorrow and tears of the many generations of grief caused by the filthy enslavers.

The End.

#10: Story by Chike and Tariq

Nothing was being done about Genocide because when it happens to Black people nobody cares.

This guy's family was killed by the Genocide Incorporated (GI). And he was crying because he had now become an orphan. Poor kid. No place to go, no food. He was afraid. So he has to try and find shelter and he can't find it. He goes into the desert and he thinks he's going to die and the people who is responsible were laughing. He starts crying. And thinking about his parents...Help! He couldn't stand it. He needed food. He tried to eat sand, then he picked up a rock. He put it in his mouth. It slipped down his throat... This kid died because of two things, the rock and genocide.

#11: No name

The situation in Sudan is very disappointing. The African people have become refugees and have turned into beggars and slaves in their own homeland. Seventy-six government employees were killed because they were African.

What's happening in Sudan has been going on for quite a long time. There was a struggle by Sudanese people against all problems, and if a struggle was not tried there would be no Sudanese people in Sudan today.

The Arab farmers would simply take over land belonging to the African and if they were refused they would shoot and kill the African. I definitely think that Sudanese people should go on fighting and struggling until they are free of enslavement.

PART IV

THE WAY FORWARD

THE FINAL PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

The Sunday Morning Plenary

The plenary on Sunday began with a reading of workshop summaries by the facilitators. They outlined the major points which have been indicated earlier within the report and responded to questions and comments from the audience. Letters to Brazil's President, to one of its governors and to its African people were also read and endorsed by the Assembly as statements of the collective position of the conference (See Appendix).

All of the workshop recommendations were accepted by the Assembly with the exception of a proposed statement to the Government of Mauritania. Mr. Sghai M'barek, a presenter in workshop #2, had proposed the following statement:

The Conference on Breaking the Silence on Human Rights Violations in the African World has acknowledged the fact that some steps have been taken by the Government of Mauritania to eradicate slavery. These are outlawing slavery (1980), establishing schools in Harratin communities, promoting greater representation of Harratin in the civil service and land reform. These measures are noteworthy, however they remain inadequate if they are not accompanied by economic and financial measures to ensure the economic independence of Harratin communities. The conference therefore urges the Government of Mauritania to work with international and local NGOs to do more research on the changes taking place in Mauritanian society as it is very important to monitor effects of the various changes upon Harratin communities.

A proposed amendment was put forward by one of the participants that expressed concern about the expulsion of Black people from Mauritania. Another participant expressed the view that Mauritania deserves no gratitude as the institution of slavery still remains and there should never have been slaves in the first place. Mr. M'Barek saw a firm distinction between the expulsion issue and the slavery one. He stated that the situation of expulsions is a problem involving both Senegal and Mauritania and that this problem is different from the issue of slavery. Indeed, he could envisage the need for a Commission to determine the exact nature of the expulsions from both Senegal and Mauritania. The participant then insisted that Senegal did not have slaves and should not be regarded in the same light as Mauritania.

Another participant suggested that the term non-African should not be used until it was fully determined who an African was. Dr. Howard suggested that for tactical purposes, AFRIC should not make simultaneous recommendations on human rights issues all over Africa and that the issues of citizenship and statelessness could not be addressed without proper documentation. After several minutes of discussion the Chair of the Plenary, Mr. Akwatu Khenti, finally put forward a motion that the issues raised be set aside for AFRIC to consider. The Assembly accepted this motion. AFRIC later came to the conclusion that it could not issue any public statement without further studies examining the Mauritanian situation - especially with respect to the subtleties of the racial identification of the slaves and masters.

Questions were also raised about the recommendation from the genocide workshop calling for the documentation of perpetrators of genocide. A participant wanted to know how AFRIC would ensure a due process of law such that only truly guilty people would be named. The response from both the reporter on the workshop, Mr. Paul Kafele, and a presenter, Mr. Anthony Ayok, was that a substantial verification process would necessarily have to be put into place and that there were models which could be utilized. The UN list of companies and entertainers doing business with apartheid South Africa was also suggested as a possible model.

A presentation was made by Ms. Carmella Goodrich, one of the secondary school students who participated in the conference. The secondary students chose to attend the main workshops, rather than the one designed for youth. They decided that they needed to hear the main speakers make their formal presentations. Ms. Goodrich reported that the youth had decided to take certain actions as a result of what they had learned:

- To form a network between university students and high school students to help each other to keep informed and raise the issues.
- To write articles in the newspaper especially with respect to the Sudan.
- To get more materials on the state of human rights in the African World in their libraries.
- To institute some alternative means, such as study groups, to educate themselves about the African World.

Ms. Goodrich then called upon any of the presenters to respond to this statement from the youth. Senator Abdias de Nascimento responded with a passionate vow to devote the rest of his life to the struggles of African people until conferences such as this one are never again necessary.

The Sunday Afternoon Panel on the Sudan: The Way Forward

On Sunday afternoon, the presenters on the Sudan held a plenary panel discussion on the way forward of Sudanese seeking positive changes. The first speaker, Dr. Bona Malwal, reiterated his call upon the international community to play a role in restoring peace to the region. He cited three problems which needs to be addressed in the search for a regional solution to the current civil war:

- The kind of atmosphere in which negotiations will occur.

- The kind of partners and parties with whom to negotiate.
- The goals or aims of negotiation, in terms of what one wants to arrive at as a result of negotiations.

Dr. Malwal noted that a recent meeting in the Irish Republic of Southern Sudanese thinkers and opinion leaders had concluded that "the present regime in Khartoum could not be negotiated with because of its criminal nature and the crimes it has committed against the people of the Sudan." However, "when the negotiation atmosphere is right, Southern Sudanese still think its possible to negotiate for a Sudan that's united, provided that all parties negotiate for a secular state." Dr. Malwal argued that there is no role for religion in the public life of the country and that the principle of pluralism must be enshrined. He indicated that efforts were being made to glean applicable lessons for the Sudan from the Canadian, Swiss and German systems of federation. Dr. Malwal ended his brief statement by declaring that "if power will not be shared, a separate Southern Sudanese state will occur; there is no other option."

The Reverend Clement Janda stated that thirty five years of civil war had kept Southern Sudan in a backward state. He also expressed the view that although 'religion was very much at the heart of the war', the issue is a lot more complex. For instance, "Christianity has existed from the first century of the Christian era in Egypt, Ethiopia and The Sudan. There are Christians in the whole country. There are also many Muslims in Southern Sudan." Reverend Janda argued that the use of religion as a philosophy of politics has contributed to a great deal of suffering. "Successive Sudanese governments from 1956 had the incipient belief that if all Sudanese could be made Muslims by force, there would be one Sudan, united between all people who would then have an Arab identity and would never rebel.' The Reverend answered his queries rhetorically by asking whether Mauritania was at peace with a 99.9 percent Muslim population.

Mr. John Prendergast saw the main problem as being one of "determining how internal processes of preventing genocide could be assisted from the outside." He stressed the absolute importance of building links and solidarity with the grassroots in the Sudan and increasing food and medical aid in order to increase the capacity of local groups. Mr. Prendergast also suggested that the cutting-off of non-emergency aid to the government as essential. He cited the doubling of military expenditure by the Sudan government during the 1990s as 'unconscionable." He urged AFRIC to focus upon effective means of getting to the media and upon providing information in such a way that it empowers people. Mr. Prendergast suggested providing fact sheets and action alerts to editorial boards and television boards. He also recommended that AFRIC strengthen the participation of youth even further.

Mr. Anthony Ayok declared the impossibility of negotiating with the present regime in good faith. He argued that the June 1989 coup was undertaken to hold up the peace process because "on June 30, 1989 there was supposed to be a meeting to move towards peace in the Sudan." The coup was implemented to halt the process of peace and dialogue. Mr. Ayok pointed to the history of duplicity in the Khartoum government's

dealings with the south. He cited the major Geneva Conference of 1947-48 where Northern Sudanese had convinced the South to support a united country in order to get political independence. Khartoum later reneged on the agreement to consider federation. He emphasized the cynical lessons to be drawn from the regime's efforts to acquire absolute power, its initial dissolution of trade unions by decree and the incarceration of political opponents. Mr. Ayok argued that the demand for separation would soon emerge because Southerners were being given no choice. He emphasized the point that the South never sought for separation and that the 1972 Addis Ababa agreement and the Koka Dam agreement demonstrated the South's willingness to struggle within a united Sudan. He concluded by urging all Sudanese to recognize the futility of perpetuating injustice as "the consequence of a fragmented Sudan is a weak Sudan."

The final speaker was Mr. Philip Thon Leek Deng. He argued that "there are fundamental problems with the Sudanese ruling elite who come mainly from Central Sudan...They have an imaginary Arab origin." Mr. Deng argued that this elite (which is a minority if the 1955/56 census is used) has assumed an Arab identity which is held over other African people as a badge of superiority. Africans are referred to disparagingly as Abeed (which means slave). Mr. Deng noted the new awakening of African groups in the northern Sudan. He stressed that the 'lies and cheating,' upon which Northern governments had based their relationship with Southern Sudan, was detrimental to both North and South. Mr. Deng emphasized his desire to see the Sudan remain as a united country. He pointed out that the type of system to be adopted within a united Sudan should be open to discussion with all Sudanese, including the Islamic fundamentalists, under the auspices of a national constitutional conference. Mr. Deng also referred to comments from Northern leaders, including Omer Bashir, that the south should go. He saw this as a desire to protect the north from the secularism of the south. Mr. Deng described separation as something that was not on the agenda of the South because the Sudan would disintegrate. Separation was not impossible or inconceivable however. Mr. Deng cautioned that separation was no longer a taboo in the world and that the South was fully aware of the various developments in Eastern Europe, Ethiopia and Somalia.

Questions were raised, by members of the Assembly, about the social base of the government. One participant wanted to know whether the government had a social base. Bona Malwal replied that the regime was a very narrow based 'Islamic Fundamentalist Regime' that 'had the means provided for them by the Islamic Banking System that migrated from Saudi Arabia to the Sudan in the 1970s when the then Prime Minister Nimeiri became a born again Muslim fundamentalist.' He emphasized the absence of pretensions for political or popular support by the regime and its reliance upon foreign funds. Dr. Malwal pointed out that one of the first groups the Islamic fundamentalists moved against were the import/export merchants who are comprised of many of the former economic elites. The current regime destroyed them because they represented the most direct threat to their consolidating power.

Another question was raised as to the nature of Sudan's social dilemmas. One participant wanted to know whether the dichotomy was an Arab-African one, as he was not clear what the political economy of the Sudan is. Bona Malwal reasoned that it was the "Arab on the ground that had taken away the economic resources they we should share together. So that even when there is no war, the products of lands that were confiscated and resettled by Arabs either goes to Northern Sudan or to the international marketplace with no benefits for Southern Sudanese." Anthony Ayok noted that "there has long been many political economy perspectives used in the Sudan but it has never made any difference to the people of the South...no lives have been saved and the African majority does not have any political or economic rights." Philip Thon Leek Deng pointed to the slave trading base which people living in Gezeira had used to accumulate wealth and acquire political power.

Another question was raised around the issue of sovereignty and humanitarian intervention. The question was posed as to whether the example of Iraq could be used for some kind of justification to question the notion of sovereignty of the Sudan and to provide emergency medical relief into South Sudan; especially since 250,000 people starved to death because international organizations including the UN and the Red Cross had earlier refused to cross into Southern Sudan. Mr. John Prendergast replied that:

"Darfur is a very pressing example of this discussion that's been going on for a while now with respect to violating sovereignty in support of emergency operations...But I think the Sudan is just too low a priority on the agenda of the U.S. to risk that kind of potentially disastrous result if they get involved in some shooting with the Sudan government or whatever potentially negative consequences result."

Mr. Anthony Ayok noted that "from the point of view of law, no legal argument allows for the killing of two million people; Legal conventions in fact prescribe against genocidal activities....If the US or USSR intervenes to save two million people so what...The life of human beings should not be the subject of abstract debate." One participant commented that the whole question was disturbing since "one could easily argue that the US should immediately intervene in South Africa but they would not. Why they would not is important." He also suggested that based on humanitarian needs we could ask the world to intervene in Harlem. Another participant also lamented the declaration about human rights being more important than state rights. He noted that "this trend is very dangerous because America will go and destroy sovereign states in its own interests." The Chair, Mr. Khenti, concluded the discussions by reiterating the importance of focussing upon the human needs that are involved in every particular situation. He recognized the validity of the concerns raised about motives and could only answer that this was not a debate that could be settled abstractly but only within the scope of particular situations.

AFRIC'S ACTION PLAN

SECTION A: Introduction

About AFRIC

AFRIC is an African Canadian non-governmental organization with a membership which reflects the diversity of the African World. It has members with origins in such places as Barbados, Canada, Dominica, Ghana, Jamaica, Nigeria, South Africa, the Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago and Uganda. AFRIC was formed in August 1989 when a few members of Toronto's Black community sought to address the needs of displaced Southern Sudanese children. In mid-May 1989, the Canadian Broadcasting Network's *The Journal* aired a two-part documentary - entitled "Into The Heart of Darkness" - which graphically reported the horrific suffering of several thousand Southern Sudanese children. In response to the documentary, a few concerned people from the African Canadian Heritage Association held a meeting with some representatives of the African Sudanese Association in Canada in late May 1989. A decision was taken at the meeting to help the children of Southern Sudan in some concrete way; possibly by supporting one school. Supporting a school as a concrete gesture of support had two advantages. Firstly, local communities in the Southern Sudan were already running 'bush schools' but suffered severely from lack of basic educational provisions such as chalk and chalkboard, pencils, books and papers. Filling this gap would obviously help to supplement their efforts for the education of their children (since the formal school system in the south had collapsed with the outbreak of the civil war). Secondly, helping to support the efforts of local Southern Sudanese communities, to set up and run schools, would provide a locus of stability for children in these communities through the establishment of a daily routine in their (the children's) lives.

After several weeks of examining alternative ways of providing support, AFRIC forged a partnership with Street Kids International and Oxfam Quebec to provide essential supplies to three (3) elementary schools in Southern Sudan. Within one year, the number of schools being assisted had grown to 100 schools and approximately 20,000 children. Together with its partners, AFRIC was responsible for providing about \$157,000 towards the Southern Sudan schooling program.

In October 1990, AFRIC's Executive Director, Mr. Akwatu Khenti, visited the Southern Sudan as a member of the CCIC Mission (Canadian Council for International Cooperation). The visit convinced Mr. Khenti that the existence of genocidal conditions and slavery in the Sudan needed global attention. Upon his return, he brought his experiences and perceptions to the members of AFRIC and a committee was formed to consider the issues raised. The Board and members later decided that a conference on slavery and genocide in the African World would be an appropriate vehicle to learn more about the issues involved in the Sudan and to develop a strategic plan of action to address the issues. A conference committee would spend the next 8 to 9 months identifying and securing resources and expertise for the conference.

AFRIC's primary concern has always been with African children. This concern is explicit in the organization's mandate which expresses an unambiguous commitment to protecting and promoting the basic needs and human rights of African children globally. The major efforts of the members have been aimed at addressing effectively some basic (educational) needs of African children. This indepth analysis of genocide and slavery in the African World has served to strengthen AFRIC's commitment to the many vulnerable African children who are exposed to social conditions of violence and exploitation which violate their most fundamental human rights and their rights as children (as outlined in the UN's World Summit for Children's Plan of Action). As a result, our action plan for the next three years is structured on the need to improve the conditions of life of the most vulnerable children in the African World.

Background To AFRIC's Action Plan

For a period of about six months following the October 1991 conference, AFRIC has organized a series of bi-weekly planning sessions (including an initial weekend retreat). The participants (a working group) examined the proceedings of the conference with a view to developing a three-year action plan. This working group - which consisted of the members of the planning committee listed at the beginning - sought to clarify the goals and objectives which were feasible for AFRIC, given the organization's mandate and resources. The working group also had to take into consideration the current situation in Southern Sudan; where a government offensive and a split within the Southern movement were making it extremely difficult for any relief and development work to be undertaken. The broad goals, which are listed below, were extracted from the much larger list of workshop recommendations.

SECTION B: AFRIC's Broad Goals & Strategic Directions for 1992 - 1995

1. *To develop and provide a program of life and learning resources for the most vulnerable children in the African World (especially those who are victims of human rights violations including slavery, war, genocide, discrimination and famine), as well as their families and communities.*

This goal would involve the provision of basic needs items - including food, medicine, health care and education - to children and their families with a view to their empowerment through building and promoting self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

2. *To build an AFRIC Secretariat To co-ordinate AFRIC's activities; to provide or give support to the work of volunteers/members of AFRIC; and to do research, fundraising and to promote public education and awareness of conditions (and possible solutions to major concerns) in the African World.*

This goal would involve the establishing of an office, with enough human and material resources, to support research into such issues as human rights, children's charters, genocide, slavery and discriminatory practices (directed at people - especially children - of African origin).

3. *To develop and disseminate a charter of rights for African children, endorsed by international organizations, which can be adopted & used at the grassroots level.*

The goal of a charter represents a commitment to bring existing charters - which pertain to children's rights - to life within grassroots African communities all over the world. AFRIC believes that the present pervasive neglect and frequent abuse of human rights stems partly from victimized peoples' lack of awareness of their rights and how these rights can serve to protect them and their children; especially their children.

4. *To build a secure financial base.*

AFRIC believes that only a secure financial base will allow the organization to make a meaningful and sustainable difference in the lives of African children the world over. An insecure financial base would mean greater insecurity in the lives of those people whom AFRIC would clearly love to help by providing a source of stability: To African children in the midst of insecurity.

5. *To establish a Commission for Humanitarian Questions in the African World to investigate, publicize and pursue appropriate solutions to human rights violations where it is feasible.*

This goal reflects a determination by AFRIC to hold violators, of the human rights of African people anywhere in the world, accountable to both the African World and the rest of humanity. By bringing together African personalities (leaders in various fields of endeavour) who can command the world's attention in a wide variety of fields - culture, law, politics and so on. - and organizing opportunities for them to discover and publicize the facts about precarious situations, AFRIC hopes to bring greater

global scrutiny and more decisive actions to bear upon situations of human rights abuses in the African World.

Strategic Directions

It was necessary for AFRIC to identify its potential partners so as to garner maximum support for our organizational efforts, while at the same time having a process in place which would be internally consistent - especially on grounds of principle. The most important considerations (in planning, implementing and adapting the plan of action) which emerged from AFRIC's deliberations were the empowerment of the indigenous people, their full participation and leadership in all aspects of the program and grass-roots community involvement.

We will work with

- Popular organizations & indigenous groups
- Non-governmental organizations
- governments & international institutions that are working at the local level and/or supporting empowerment

We must influence

- Parents and community groups in the African World
- Violating governments
- International public opinion and the shapers of public opinion (including the media)

We must fight against

- Oppressive governments, state structures and institutions
- Racist and indifferent media and other shapers of public opinion

Our domestic base in Canada

- African Canadians
 - Local Black communities, particularly Black parents, youth, and community organizations
- Friends of African people

Overall Organizational Focus

- To initiate and sustain successful projects in the Sudan, Canada, Mauritania And Brazil
- Strengthen AFRIC's organizational efficacy through the establishment of a Secretariat

SECTION C: Services and Products AFRIC will offer

This section indicates the specific work which AFRIC will undertake over the next three years. The greater detail reflects a concern to be as thorough in our planning as possible and a commitment to consistency in how we support the efforts of our local partners. The goal is to ensure that the material support which AFRIC is able to obtain and to provide, and the actual concrete work which the organization undertakes, will be in harmony with the locally determined priorities of our indigenous partners and AFRIC's own organizational mandate. In the delivery of services and products, AFRIC's primary strategy will involve building partnerships with indigenous organization. A program of life and learning resources for children will be the major vehicle utilized by the organization to address their (the children's) needs.

The principle of delivering services and goods is that:

- Partner(s) will be part of decision-making; and
- Service will be partner(s)' project or provided by partner(s) on the ground. However, AFRIC may have an agent, representative or chapter on the ground.

Services

- Information and analysis from an African perspective
- Health care
- Education
- Networking: Linking organizations & people
- Human resources & technological expertise

Products

- Educational Materials
- Medicinal & Nutritional items
- Materials & implements/tools to produce food

Sources And Acquisition Of Products

- Primary sources of products and materials to be used in development and relief work will be in Africa in general, and preferably in the particular cultural region for target populations in that area. Where necessary, products and materials will be obtained in the northern countries. The products and services we offer must be environmentally friendly as far as is feasible.
- Products will be acquired through purchases, with donations from the north. Purchasing from African businesses or those businesses that are supportive of the African community is our preference.

Research Capacity

The AFRIC working group concluded that the organization needs to develop immediately some research capacity in order to strengthen its programming capabilities as well as develop policies and positions around key concerns and issues. The latter (key concerns and issues) pertains to the previously stated goals which have been isolated from the larger conference results. However, it also includes those new issues that will undoubtedly emerge as time goes by. Such information - as would be acquired by a research committee or select researchers - would enable both the AFRIC membership, and its wider constituency, to better understand and appreciate better the 'life and learning' issues confronting vulnerable children in the African world. The information would also be essential for efforts to generate greater public awareness and concern because of the need to bring clarity to a host of complex issues and problems. The responsibilities of such a research committee or select researchers would involve such tasks as:

- Analyzing the situation in places like The Sudan particularly as it relates to African children
- Analyzing existing Conventions, Charters and Rulings that apply to children to determine the applicability of different children's rights to African contexts.
- Preparing reports on the state of African children in places and/or situations where they are most vulnerable - for example, in the war-torn countries of the Horn of Africa.

SECTION D: The AFRIC Organization

This section elaborates the internal organizational layout which the working group outlined for AFRIC. The working group considered the following orientation and perspectives as essential elements in AFRIC's organizational development. They determined, that In order to realize its three-year goals, AFRIC must do the following:

- Be a ground - breaker and a leader in:
 - Building a sense of self-respect, optimism, hope, motivation
 - Training leaders, especially young leaders
 - Providing a role model
- Initiate programs that empower children, their families and their local communities, such as life and learning centers, schools, and so on
- Undertake research on issues pertaining to african children
- Fundraise
- Motivate and mobilize the Black community in Canada
- Maintain clarity of direction and ensure that the membership has ownership of the organization

Tasks of Volunteers

- Basic Concerns And Principles
 - AFRIC needs more volunteers to undertake the tasks which the organization has now set for itself
 - There is a need to match tasks with skills needed (volunteers)
- Volunteers must take active part in AFRIC programs with staff support in such areas as community outreach, research and building links with other organizations
- AFRIC should involve young people as activist volunteers
- Volunteers must lead the organization

- Over time, the working guideline should evolve from one of volunteer leadership to staff-volunteer partnership
- They must not abdicate leadership to staff
- They must provide a new, vibrant and dynamic leadership as a departure from the community norm of static and predictable leadership

Organizing Strategy

The working group concluded that AFRIC would be most effective with a size of between 40 to 70 people. This size would provide enough people for AFRIC to pursue its agenda (especially in the different areas of work). At the same time, this size would allow AFRIC to develop an organizational culture in line with its principles. Below is a summary of the working group's recommendations:

- *It is necessary at the beginning to build strong, small organization (of 40-70 people) in Toronto with network of individual supporters and friends*
 - AFRIC must allow room for others to become active & involved
- *If there is a big community response to the organization's membership drive, AFRIC will consider other methods of involvement based on:*
 - the principle that AFRIC must have room for others as well as activities for people to be involved in. This may be done through;
 - Initiating chapters in other Canadian cities when AFRIC has the capacity to build and to sustain them,
 - Helping people form separate groups linked to - but not part of - AFRIC, and
 - Encouraging people in other cities to work on African problems

Organizational Structure

The working group arrived at six major integrated areas of work and activities to be undertaken by AFRIC volunteers. They are as follows:

- Fundraising
- Programming (provision of products and services)
- Educational (especially creating or strengthening national and international awareness of the human rights of African children)
- Planning (overseeing everything)
- Membership committee dealing with the strengthening of organizational capabilities
- Research

The working group also recommended that for AFRIC to pursue these six major areas of work successfully, it must:

- *Have an active board that meets frequently (at least once every 2 months). This active board must:*
 - Be a co-ordinating body. It must link and tie together everything that AFRIC does
 - Ensure that AFRIC's strategic direction is consistent and that resources are utilized properly.
 - Ensure that AFRIC's work is implemented according to plan.
- *Have 5 working committees charged with:*
 - Fundraising
 - Programming
 - Public Awareness/Education (this may have to be done in tandem with fundraising)
 - Research
 - Membership (and capacity building)
- *Have strategy sessions to continuously review and analyze the major areas of AFRIC's strategy as well*

as the impact on AFRIC of new external situations and trends

- This session would constitute A loose body that meets at least twice a year and would not represent a committee
- The participants at the session should be people that continuously think about AFRIC's activities. They should also submit formally their analysis to the Board
- One person will be charged with the responsibility for maintaining this strategic activity

Priorities For The Secretariat

The working group concluded that the establishment of the Secretariat is essential to the effective implementation of AFRIC's six major integrated areas of work and activities. They envisaged that the Secretariat would consist of permanent staff (with an office) and a group of volunteers plus people paid for specific tasks.

- The working group recommended the following priorities for the Secretariat:
 - Organizing AFRIC
 - Supporting the program(s) in the Sudan
 - Fundraising
 - Building data base and acquiring information
 - Building awareness about AFRIC in the Black community
 - Beginning research on an African Children's Charter
 - Developing the details and process for implementing AFRIC's plans
 - Developing organizational links and contacts with various communities and with NGOs that share the same goals

Section E - Fundraising Approach

AFRIC is committed to developing its resource base so that the organization's plans and programs can be implemented effectively and in a reliable and dependable manner. The fundraising committee will ensure that AFRIC consistently works to establish a secure financial base. As a matter of principle, as well as material concern, AFRIC is also determined to strengthening the "giving culture" in the Black community and building permanent links between Africans in the Diaspora and on the Continent. The working group concluded that Canada's Black community will itself be empowered by making concrete commitments of resources to the protection and promotion of African children's rights and basic needs.

The working group determined that the following sources will probably provide initial support:

- Expected Primary Sources:
 - Government(s)
 - Pledges from individuals
 - NGO's, foundations, institutes and trade unions
- Sources to be developed are:
 - Private corporations
 - Community organizations and churches

Implementation Strategy for the Action Plan

Introduction

AFRIC is now preparing to send a fact-finding mission to Kenya and Southern Sudan as the first step in implementing its plan of action. The organization also hopes to couple this fact finding mission with a support effort for some 15,000 Sudanese children who trekked from a Sudanese town called Pochalla to the borders of Kenya, and then to northern Kenya, to escape from the interminable conflict. AFRIC has decided upon this first step for several vital reasons:

1. The virtual breakdown of the original school program (due to the government offensive and the split in the Southern Sudanese movement) and of the partnership that forged it has left AFRIC without a concrete project on the ground. The mission would seek to determine the exact conditions on the ground. As well, it will seek to establish what exactly happened with the schooling programme and what is actually going on at present with the remnants of the initial education programme.
2. The desperate chaos which has come to characterize Southern Sudan as a result of the split within the SPLM/SPLA has left a tremendous news vacuum. It is important that AFRIC gets proper information in order to decide whether the organization should confine itself to Southern Sudan or should seek to establish small roots (for the recently displaced Sudanese children) in Kenya. It is also of some importance that someone record and report the destruction which has been wreaked upon Southern Sudanese by the recent Sudanese government offensive.
3. AFRIC wants to generate momentum around its three-year re-organization and expansion. Being a group whose very definition incorporates a commitment to concrete action, it is imperative for the self-image and legitimacy of the organization to initiate some small, manageable project(s) on the

ground. This will also serve to enhance the Canadian activities of AFRIC.

4. The mission itself would be the first major step towards implementation of the first part of AFRIC's three-year plan.

Recent Developments

In addition to the preceding reasons, the recent actions of both the Sudanese government and the SPLA factions have added tremendously to the suffering of Southern Sudanese people. In an already precarious situation - with millions of people in both Northern and Southern Sudan facing drought and famine conditions - the Sudanese government saw fit between December 1991 and January 1992 to forcibly move at least 250,000 people from settled refugee camps around Khartoum out to uninhabitable desert compounds (*The Washington Post* reported a figure of half a million on March 22, 1992). According to UN estimates the recent removals would mean the forced removal of almost 400,000 people in the last year and a half. It appears likely that another 600,000 displaced Southern Sudanese will soon be forcibly moved.

The government cynically justified this involuntary relocation by citing a World Bank report which indicated that the displaced around Khartoum were placing pressure upon the environment and were also illegal occupants of the land. In any case, the government moved most of the people during the night, with no warning. Thereafter, it quickly authorized the bulldozing of the settlements and took the people to relocation sites which are basically desert habitats with no shelter from the cold nights and sand storms, no health services, no water, no transportation and no sanitation. These people, as the US Ambassador to the Sudan noted, may well have received a death sentence.

The situation in Southern Sudan is also desperate. The government is presently engaged in a massive offensive involving about 50,000 troops. The *New York Times* recently reported (on Sunday April 5th, 1992) the disturbing news

that "The offensive against the Sudanese Popular Liberation Army appears to be aimed at cutting overland supply routes from Kenya and Uganda that supply the southern Sudan with food and outside assistance." Indeed, this aim may have already realized since most NGO and UN activities in the South have come to a virtual standstill.

Sections of Upper Nile and Bahr El Ghazal have witnessed lootings by the Anya Nya Two militia forces which could be attributed to the breakdown in the SPLA and a subsequent loss of security. According to the *Sudan Democratic Gazette* (March 1992), " More than 200 civilians have been killed, 200,000 people displaced and thousands of people displaced in the regime's joint attack with Anya Nya Two and the Nasir grouping (the breakaway faction of the SPLA) in Upper Nile and Bahr El Ghazal." Recently Pibor has also been the site of bloodletting with both factions engaged in a bitter combat that has further compelled the Southern Sudanese people to face additional hardships. The UN has already issued notices that NGOs should scale back their activities because of fears of stepped up bombings. In fact, the work of the UN's relief project, *Operation Lifeline Sudan*, has been reduced to a shadow of its former self.

In light of all these recent developments, the lack of any significant response by the Canadian government (or any government or multilateral institution for that matter) - to the dramatic escalations in the Sudan of both the conflict and the resultant suffering of the Sudanese people - leaves little room for maneuvering on AFRIC's part. The obvious lethargy in the response of the international community undoubtedly leaves nongovernmental community members such as AFRIC with the major responsibility for generating the deserved international attention for the Sudan. More particularly, AFRIC needs to find ways to support the children and their families (with 'life and learning resources') in Southern Sudan. AFRIC also needs to identify individual and/or community partners that they can work with at the grassroots level to help the children during the present crisis. The contacts and information that were made with the conference and the earlier school program should provide a substantial foundation for developing and establishing a program of life and learning resources for the vulnerable children of South-

ern Sudan, and by extension for their families and communities.

The Focus of The Mission

The focus of the mission would be on establishing an active presence in Southern Sudan or in Kenya (to assist the refugee children) by way of getting an AFRIC program going. This presence would address vital needs as well as serve to support AFRIC's Canadian work (of raising public awareness, education, research and the African Children's Charter).

Essential support work for a program for Southern Sudanese children

The working group has recommended that AFRIC initiate its implementation strategy by adopting the following steps:

1. Begin the concrete Canadian work with respect to fundraising, public education, the African Children's Charter, building our domestic base and the secretariat.
2. Structure the Secretariat and the AFRIC organization to conduct preliminary work on the Mission for the next 6 months, and for the 12 months after the mission returns.
3. Set up the committees prior to the departure of the Mission and prepare the committee members for the work related to the Mission.
4. Fine-tune AFRIC's three-year plan immediately upon the Mission's return.

The Mission will aim to achieve the following objectives:

1. Acquire information or a body of knowledge that is focussed upon an AFRIC partnership approach to building and implementing programs.
2. Secure project(s) that do not overtax AFRIC's ability.

3. Set the stage for AFRIC's own internal education, national advocacy, mobilizing support for fundraising and developing the African Children's Charter.

The major kinds of work AFRIC will pursue within the next 6 months

- Researching the areas to be visited and the NGOs and people to be met.
- Fundraising for the Mission through approaching governmental and non-governmental sources.
- Contacting and maintaining ongoing dialogue with possible mission members as well as African contacts, and arranging full briefings and orientation for all interested parties.
- Scheduling appropriate meetings for mission members and alternative plans.
- Building support mechanisms for the trip: through establishing its committee structure.
- Developing media contacts abroad and in Canada and instituting a media plan for follow up.
- Begin lobbying multilateral bodies such as the OAU and the UN in order to promote appropriate intervention to protect African children in the Sudan.

Basic approach in major areas

The Mission will investigate the four areas outlined below (in italics):

- *The life and living conditions facing Sudanese children in Southern Sudan and in Kenya's refugee camps. The Mission will:*
 - Examine the health and educational conditions of African children.
 - Forge consensus on the children's (and their families) major needs and on the best ways to help them.

- *The possible partnership arrangements with indigenous NGOs and local communities. The Mission will:*
 - Identify indigenous NGOs and/or individuals who share our goals and are reliable and proficient.
 - Explore working possibilities with NGOs and/or individuals.
 - Establish the preliminary basis in terms of action proposals and contact people for ratifying arrangements.
- *The Alternative means of addressing the children's (and their families') needs and human rights. The Mission will:*
 - Consider areas that should be prioritized: such as food, health, education and housing.
 - Consider the different options available to address each particular area.

Anticipated Outcomes of The Mission

In eighteen (18) months time, AFRIC aims to have accomplished the following:

1. Established at least one project in Southern Sudan and/or Kenya. Such a project must address effectively the children's needs and build networks to develop the African Children's Charter)
2. Completed the analysis of Children's Charters from around the globe in the quest to develop its own African Children's Charter.
3. Developed a network of supporters.
4. Established an office which functions as a center for receiving and disseminating information on such subjects as the state of African children and fundamental human rights issues confronting sections of the African World.
5. Developed and launched an effective fundraising campaign.

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PART V

APPENDICES:

- Appendix 1: Text of paper presented by Senator Abdias de Nascimento
- Appendix 2: Text of letters sent to the Sudanese and Brazilian governments and people

APPENDIX 1

**COPY OF THE PAPER PRESENTED IN WORKSHOP #1A BY
SENATOR ABDIAS DE NASCIMENTO AND MRS. ELISA LARKIN
NASCIMENTO¹**

THE CASE OF BRAZIL AND 'LATIN AMERICA'

¹ We decided to include in the appendices a full copy of this paper because of the scanty knowledge and/or limited awareness--by most of the world-- about the deplorable conditions of life of the vast majority of people of African descent in Brazil and in the rest of Latin America.

**BREAKING THE SILENCE
ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE AFRICAN WORLD**

International Conference organized by The African Relief
Committee in Canada, AFRIC

Toronto, Canada

October 4-6, 1991

Workshop I:
Minority Groups, Self-Determination and Genocide
in the African World

THE CASE OF BRAZIL AND "LATIN" AMERICA

Senator Abdias Nascimento

National Congress of Brazil

(Formerly State Secretary for the Defense and Promotion of
Black Peoples, Rio de Janeiro State Government)

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INTRODUCTION

It is an honor to participate in this timely event organized by the African Relief Committee in Canada. First and foremost, we congratulate the organizers of the Conference for their awareness of the region that refers to itself as "Latin" America. In great part because of this implicit denial of their African populations, Brazil and the other nations that make up South and Central America have been generally left out of the popular idea of what constitutes the African world. Indeed, in the United States I have often been invited to speak on "African Culture in the Caribbean," as if Brazil were in that region and the South American continent did not exist.

Recently, though, in spite of the ruling elite's diplomatic efforts to paint the country white, it seems the news has spread that Brazil houses the second largest population of African origin in the world after Nigeria. In Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Panama, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras and Uruguay, there are substantial African populations. In nations like Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Argentina, the process of genocide took its historical toll, and Africans were largely but not entirely wiped out. Just last August, for example, an Afro-Argentinian religious group and research institute called Ile Ase Osun Doyo sponsored an international meeting on Afro-American culture,

with participants converging on Buenos Aires from all corners of the continent.

I have had occasion to remind our brothers and sisters in the United States that they are not the only African-Americans. Whatever may have been Teddy Roosevelt's pretensions, America still includes two hemispheres over twenty-two different nations. African-Americans may be found anywhere from Canada to Argentina.

As an African-Brazilian, I find myself misplaced in a Workshop dealing with Minority Groups. The first reality about Africans in Brazil is that we are a majority population. But this reality has been systematically hidden, not only from the world but from African-Brazilians themselves, who are largely unaware of their connections with Africa. This is one of the crucial expressions of the peculiar nature of white supremacism in Brazil, one which it shares with the region as a whole.

On the other hand, I have no hesitation in speaking on the slavery and genocide perpetrated against my people. One of my works is titled in Portuguese *The Genocide of Brazilian Blacks* (1978). In English, my volume *Brazil: Mixture or Massacre?* (1989) raises the same issue.

In this paper, we will attempt to summarize for you some historical factors that characterize genocide against Africans in the South and Central American region and, in the case of Brazil, its contemporary contours. We will look briefly at the so-called "discovery" to be celebrated in

1992; the imposition of the "Latin" identity; the historical articulation of strategies to eliminate African populations; and several contemporary forms of genocide against Africans in Brazil. Finally, we will consider some contemporary Brazilian political questions and look at the importance of African world solidarity in response to this situation.

1. FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF GENOCIDE

In grand style, the European world is gearing up to celebrate the five hundredth anniversary of America's so-called "discovery" by Christopher Columbus and his roguish colleagues. For Africans and Native Americans, this landmark is a tragic one. "Discovery," in the first place, is only a self-preening European fiction with regard to a land long since inhabited by creators of sophisticated and advanced American civilizations. The lie becomes more ironic when one considers the sheer bulk of evidence indicating that the Europeans, including Columbus, learned about South America from Africans, who had long engaged in trade and cultural exchange with Native American peoples from Mexico to Hispaniola (Van Sertima, 1976).

But the tragedy for Africans and Native Americans lies not only in the injustice of this falsehood. They are being called upon to commemorate the vicious, systematic rape, murder, and annihilation of their lands, peoples, and

civilizations: five hundred years of genocide. Such was the enterprise of building European hegemony in the Americas.

This is not the occasion to delve into the details of the nature of Spanish and Portuguese colonialism, slave systems, or abolition processes. Suffice it to say that from 1502 to 1870, South and Central America imported 5.3 million enslaved Africans, Brazil accounting for 3.5 million, while only 596,000 were taken to the United States. Yet by 1890, there were nine million Africans in the United States¹ and only two million in Brazil (Chiavenato, 1980).

Brazil's proximity to Africa meant prices were so low that it was much more profitable to buy a new African than to invest in anyone's health. Enslaved Africans generally lasted about seven years, after which they were replaced and left to die.² In the United States, this procedure was not economically sound; Africans multiplied their population.

Drastic reduction of African populations is not limited to Brazil. In Chile, Africans outnumbered Europeans from 1540 to 1620. During the nineteenth century, Buenos Aires was more than one third African. Colonial Bolivia, Paraguay, and Mexico had huge contingents of Africans.

1. This figure seems exaggerated by comparison to the census data quoted by Asante and Mattson in their *Historical and Cultural Atlas of African Americans* (1991), which puts the African American population in the United States at 3.9 million in 1850. Allowing a two percent annual growth rate, this would result in seven million by 1890. However, the notorious undercounting of Africans in census figures makes us think twice before rejecting the *data*.

2. For more detail on enslavement of Africans in Brazil, see Nascimento, 1989.

These populations were practically eliminated. In all the rest of Spanish and Portuguese America, majority African populations were reduced in varying but always drastic measure. The world hardly knows they exist.

One cause of their relative disappearance is the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of maroon Africans in *palenques*, *cumbes*, *cimarrones* and *quilombos* all over South and Central America (Price, 1983; E. Nascimento, 1980). Another is the crassly violent nature of Spanish and Portuguese colonialism, which aimed not to create a home in new lands, but to plunder their wealth and take it back to Europe. But the foremost cause undoubtedly is the hegemony of the Latin form of white supremacism: the whitening ideal.

2. THE NAME OF GENOCIDE IS LATIN

The term "Latin America" is nothing but a direct expression of genocide. Latins, meaning Europeans, always were and are today a small minority in South and Central American populations and in their cultural matrix. They have forcibly imposed on their nations and populations a falsely "Latin" identity. Unending political strategies and intellectual gymnastics are designed to deny or eliminate the African and Native American majorities where their physical elimination was unsuccessful. Where sheer numbers make those majorities impossible to deny, the ruling minorities explain them away with the "Latin" identity.

Internalization of the whitening ideal by non-Europeans is an ideological expression of genocide. Thus, we will find obviously African Brazilians, Colombians, Costa Ricans, Dominicans, or Peruvians telling us: "Oh no, I'm not black, I'm Brazilian (or Peruvian)!" If we suggest they are African, we are likely to be risking our physical integrity.

3. THE ARTICULATION OF GENOCIDE IN BRAZILIAN HISTORY

The members of Brazil's European ruling minority were in panic: they were faced with a nation of African "citizens" upon abolition of slavery in 1888. Immediately, they disenfranchised African-Brazilians by instituting literacy as a voting requirement. They then subsidized massive waves of European immigration, keeping Africans landless, uneducated, and out of the urban job market. At the same time, race mixture was made a national slogan. The idea was to progressively whiten the population, improve the race, clean the country's blood, until no more blacks existed. The Brazilian delegate to the Universal Races Congress (London, 1911) predicted that *metis* (mixed-bloods) would be wiped out by the end of this century.³

3. In Brazil and Spanish America, the whitening ideal gained ground as a solution to the black stain much earlier than abolition. It was advocated as early as 1627, by Fray Alonso de Sandoval and other famous Catholic opponents to slavery. José Antonio Saco, Cuba's foremost nineteenth century historian and expert on slavery, exclaimed: "We have no other remedy but to whiten, to whiten, to whiten!" See E.Nascimento, 1980: 12-25, and A.Nascimento, 1989 for more detail.

4. THE MISCEGENATION IDEOLOGY: A TOOL OF GENOCIDE

The main characteristic of white supremacism in South and Central America is this same manipulation of race mixture and the use of pigmentocracy, or color hierarchy, to divide African communities, alienate them from their African identity, and suppress their consciousness of anti-African exploitation.⁴

Pigmentocracy notoriously distorts and manipulates statistics on race, in a process of statistical genocide. Multiple mulatto and mestizo categories are introduced into census data in order to decrease black populations.⁵ Census data based on spontaneous response are distorted by the desire and compulsion to whiteness. People obviously of African origin class themselves as whites or mulattos.⁶

Therefore, African-American populations south of the Rio Grande are consistently undercounted. Since census data determine public policy, the idea is to reduce or eliminate the populations, at least on paper, avoiding the need for public policy where it is most needed: infant mortality rates, hunger, and illiteracy are most severe in African-

4. Report of the First Congress of Black Culture in the Americas, Cali, Colombia, 1977, in Nascimento, 1989: 18-21.

5. Colombia provides excellent examples of this statistical manipulation from colonial to republican times (E.Nascimento, 1980:22-26).

6. According to one study, in Brazil the transference of individuals from the *preto* (dark black) to the *pardo* (brown) category between 1970 and 1980 was on the order of 38 percent (Woods, 1991).

American communities. Lack of public policy leaves them to the consequences. More profoundly, the goal is to identify these nations' populations with the minority ruling elites.

The myth of racial democracy tells Africans there is no racism, but only class discrimination, in Spanish and Portuguese America (Nascimento, 1989). The Catholic Church and race mixture are said to be benevolent forces preventing racial conflict. Every white person has a Negro friend, or suckled at the breast of a black woman. This ideology is so strongly entrenched that it has become a true taboo.

The peculiar Latin form of white supremacism is worse than apartheid for a very simple reason: it robs our people of their identity as a community, their consciousness of racial oppression, and their will to fight back.

5. GENOCIDE IN BRAZIL TODAY

Genocide against Africans in Brazil today takes several specific forms. We will look at four: a) policies of progressive impoverishment of the Brazilian population; b) specific situations of rural populations; c) the assassination of children and adolescents; d) the mass sterilization of women.

A. Progressive Impoverishment of the Population

While "developing" a supposedly modern export-based industrial economy, currently the eighth-ranking industrial

economy in the Western world, the Brazilian state has adopted policies leaving the vast majority of its 150,000,000 inhabitants in a state of absolute poverty comparable to Biafra or Ethiopia. According to the World Bank and United Nations, Brazil has the third most unjust income distribution in the world, after Haiti and Sierra Leone.⁷ Its annual per capita income figure of US\$2,120.00 fails to reveal, for example, that over forty percent of the population earns from US\$150.00 to US\$350.00 per year.⁸

In 1961, the richest twenty percent of Brazilians earned 54.8 percent of national income, while the poorest half earned 17.4 percent. By 1983, the richest twenty percent had increased its portion to 64.9 percent, while the poorest half was reduced to 12.2 percent. In that year, the richest five percent of Brazilians earned more than a third of national income, while the poorest eighty percent earned almost exactly the same portion: 35.4 percent.

At the moment, the monthly minimum wage in Brazil is equivalent to about US\$2.00. If we consider the poverty line in the United States as US\$12,000.00 annually, this means that a U.S. citizen living on the poverty line earns about fifteen times the value of the Brazilian minimum wage. In 1983, almost 90 percent of the population was earning

7. World Bank, *Report on World Development*, 1981. United Nations document on income distribution cited in *Jornal do Brasil*, August 1991.

8. World Health Organization Seminar, Sao Paulo, October 1991.

poverty line wages or less, and over 15 million economically active Brazilians were earning *less than* the national minimum wage, or *less than* a wage level fifteen times lower than the U.S. poverty line.⁹

When the minimum wage was instituted in the 1940's, half its value was enough to provide a family of five with a generous list of monthly needs including meat, milk, rice and beans, transportation, rent, and so on. Today, the minimum wage is not enough to buy a roll and a cup of coffee for the same family's daily breakfast. Yet this month, the Governors of two Northeastern states, Piaui and Paraiba, officially announced that they would limit their employees' payments to half the minimum wage. With this as the government example, it is not difficult to imagine the policies of the private sector.

Needless to say, the onus of these policies falls on African-Brazilians, whose average monthly income is about 35 percent that of whites.¹⁰ In Sao Paulo city, the most highly developed in the nation, the average hourly wage for

9. Ibid. Differences in the cost of living do not come anywhere near compensating these disparities in wage levels, since the prices of basic necessities like foodstuffs and public transportation are determined by the dollar. For example, taking an average of six different cuts, the price of beef in Rio de Janeiro is currently about US\$5.32 per kilo.

10. Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statisticas (IBGE), National Research by Domicile Sample (PNAD), 1985. In Commission of Black Religious People, Seminararians and Priests of Rio de Janeiro, *Ouvi o Clamor deste Povo: Negro!* (Petropolis: Editora Vozes, 1988), p. 28.

whites was US\$0.48, while for blacks¹¹ it was US\$0.25.¹²

The income hierarchy in Brazil is determined by race first and gender second: white men are on the top of the scale and white women in second place, followed by black men, while black women are at the very bottom. Twenty-three percent of African-Brazilian female heads of family earn less than half the value of the minimum wage, or less than US\$41.00 per month.¹³ In 1983, the proportion of white men earning five times or more the value of the minimum wage was five times greater than among black men. Among white women, the proportion was more than twice as high as among black men and seven times greater than among black women. On the other end of the income scale, the proportion of white men earning less than the minimum wage was half that among black men and one third that among black women. Among white women, the proportion was half that among black women and significantly less than that among black men.¹⁴

11. We use the standard definition of the category "black" as the sum of the official census categories *preto* (dark black) and *pardo* (brown).

12. IBGE Census, 1980. In CONE/SF, *O Futuro tambem Precisa ser Negro* (Sao Paulo: Special Coordinatorship for Blacks, Sao Paulo City Government, 1991), p. 3. Sixteen percent of whites as compared to 26 percent of blacks earned less than the minimum wage, while four percent of whites as opposed to one percent of blacks earned more than ten times the minimum.

13. IBGE Census, 1980. Mary Garcia Castro, "Mulheres Chefes de Familia, Racismo, Codigos de Idade e Fobreza no Brasil (Bahia e Sao Paulo)," *Desigualdade Racial no Brasil Contemporaneo* (Rio de Janeiro: CEDEFLAR, 1991), p. 149.

14. Thirty-five percent of white women as opposed to 40 percent of black men earned less than the minimum wage. IBGE, PNAD 1983. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

To describe the situation from another angle, Africans in Brazil are the first and foremost victims of economic policies resulting in rates of malnutrition, infant mortality, and illiteracy comparable to those of Bangladesh or Guatemala. Brazil's infant mortality rate is stationary at 85 deaths per thousand children under five years old. Compare this to the infant mortality rate of 18.0 among African-Americans in the United States (Asante and Mattson, 1991: 166). Sri Lanka, whose per capita income is one-fifth the value of Brazil's, has an annual count of thirteen thousand infant deaths, while Brazil registers 351 thousand. Unlike Egypt, Mexico and Ethiopia, Brazil has not improved this rate in recent years.

The major causes of death are malnutrition and diarrhea caused by unsanitary living conditions (more than half of all Brazilian residences have no running water). Thirty-one percent of Brazilian children under five suffer moderate to acute dwarfishness, and 54 percent live in families with per capita incomes of less than half the minimum wage.¹⁵ Ninety percent or more of these families and children are African-Brazilian.

In Rio de Janeiro, the metropolitan area called the Baixada Fluminense is billed by the World Health Organization as the second most miserable poverty pocket in the world after Bombay. It surpasses apartheid's South

15. The data cited in this paragraph are taken from UNICEF's annual report, *The World Situation of Children*, 1991.

African townships not only in poverty but in violence: the Baixada is the most violent locale on earth. More people are killed by homicide than by automobile accidents.

Ninety percent African, the Baixada townships of Sao Joao de Meriti, Caxias, and Nova Iguaçu are also ninety percent sewerless, and our children play in the stench of open gutters that carry filth through mud-ridden, mosquito-infested streets. They are called "black gutters," in a characteristic expression of Brazilian racism identifying the African-Brazilian people with their untreated sewage.

Ninety-four percent of the three million Baixada township inhabitants earn poverty wages; more than half the population earns less than the minimum wage. Yet prices of basic needs like foodstuffs and public transportation are considerably higher than in Rio de Janeiro proper. To get to work each day, Baixada inhabitants spend more than half their wages and several hours on the outrageously insufficient and poor-quality bus and train systems.

Leprosy is a major health problem in the townships. According to the World Health Organization, seventy percent of their children are severely undernourished. The resulting deficiency of neurons and red blood cells, as well as degeneration of the nervous system (brain) are creating a kind of African-Brazilian human sub-species.

B. Rural Populations

If the Baixada Fluminense can be compared to apartheid's townships, the Northeastern and Northern regions, and the Brazilian interior, can be called the Bantustans of Brazil. Carlos Hasenbalg¹⁶ and others have shown that regional disparities in Brazil follow racial patterns, reinforcing racial inequality: African-Brazilians are cornered into the poorest regions of the nation. Hunger and diarrhea are rampant child-killers both in these regions and in the rural areas of Brazil in general.

The assassination of rural trade union leaders and workers is so commonplace in Brazil that the international uproar over the case of Chico Mendes becomes somewhat ludicrous. Between 1964 and 1986, nearly a thousand of these murders were recorded.¹⁷ One can only speculate on the number left unrecorded, for they probably constitute the majority of homicides in the countryside.

Land tenure, like income, is outrageously concentrated in the hands of a tiny white minority. A major cause of violent deaths in the countryside is the repression of landless peasant squatters, who occupy unproductive and often abandoned lands and are then forced off those lands, sometimes by judicial order, but mostly not. *Jagunços* (paid

16. These research data have been confirmed by the Brazilian Institute for Social Analysis (IBASE).

17. Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science (SBPC), *Ciencia Hoje* (supplement), Vol 5, No. 28 (January-February 1987), p. 7.

assassins hired by the owners of huge tracts of land called *latifundios*) are commonly used in the murder of rural workers, trade unionists, and squatters with almost absolute certainty of impunity. The police and justice system are in their bosses' hands.

In an inverse operation, lands legally granted to African-Brazilian communities after abolition in order to keep ex-slaves on the property, at a time when land was abundant, have been progressively occupied by the surrounding landowners, who falsify deeds and generally take advantage of these communities' lack of access to legal support. *Jagunços* are sent in when the communities resist the occupation of their lands. A classic case of this process is that of Cafundô in Sao Paulo (Lavergne, 1980).

Migrant workers in Brazil are called *boias-frias*, meaning cold food, a name that originated at a time when most of them could carry lunchpicks. That time is long gone, due to their progressive impoverishment.

In rural Brazil, slavery is not uncommon. Starving people, African-Brazilians almost in their totality, are induced to work for their food. They leave their homes and soon find themselves imprisoned in forced labor camps with living conditions comparable to Nazi concentration camps. These scandals are published in the newspapers and promptly forgotten. When the perpetrators are identified, impunity is effectively guaranteed by their close identity with the politically powerful, the police, and the justice system.

When rural workers do earn wages, they are negligible. These workers are virtually left out of the social welfare system. Sharecroppers, migrant workers, fixed rural workers, and landless peasants make up seventy-four percent of the rural population,¹⁸ and the vast majority are African-Brazilian. Their vile exploitation in conditions of semi-slavery takes many forms, and space limitations will not allow us to elaborate on them. Suffice it to say that slavery, starvation, malnutrition, illiteracy, and violence constitute the norms of genocide in rural Brazil.

C. Assassination of Children and Adolescents

Every day, one thousand children under one year of age die of hunger in Brazil. Every day, at least two and usually more children or adolescents are murdered by the notorious death squads. The victims are overwhelmingly African-Brazilian: eighty-two percent, according to Amnesty International.¹⁹ We would estimate closer to ninety.

According to UNICEF, thirty million children in Brazil live in a state of absolute poverty; eight million are "abandoned" and live in the streets. These statistics are misleading, because the eight million are joined on the

18. Data from the Agriculture/Cattleraising Census of 1970 and 1975 and Registry of Rural Real Estate of 1972 and 1976, compiled by José Graziano da Silva, *O Que é a Questão Agrária* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1984). Progressive concentration of income and land tenure inequalities have increased these figures significantly since 1976.

19. *Brasil: Anistia Internacional Documento*. London: Amnesty International, 1991.

streets by those who are mistreated, hungry, and in every way abandoned in their homes. Essentially, the difference between the two categories is negligible.

Street children are the natural victims of criminals, gangs, drug dealers, and the police, all of whom coercively exploit minors in their illicit activities. Children are used as "airplanes" to transport drugs, forced to commit petty and not-so-petty larceny, and so on. Incarceration in state institutions is as violent as the street. Rape and sexual abuse are rampant. Five hundred thousand minor girls survive by prostitution in Brazil, a nation that boasts one million adolescent mothers and four hundred thousand yearly deaths in illegal abortions.

Between 1988 and 1991, more children were killed daily in the Baixada Fluminense than in Lebanon at the peak of war. Out of four thousand people assassinated in Rio de Janeiro State in the first six months of this year, 271 were children.²⁰ In the same six months, more than 411 children were killed in Brazil. Between March and December of 1990, 457 murders of children were registered; no one knows how many went unregistered. Sixty-six of these children were between eleven and fourteen years old, and thirty-two between one and ten.²¹ In Sao Paulo city, homicide is the

20. Civilian Police statistics quoted in *Folha de Sao Paulo*, 22 September 1991.

21. Ibase (Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analysis), University of Sao Paulo and National Movement of Street Children, Report of 1991.

most common cause of death among adults.²² Eighty percent of all homicides are committed against African male adolescents and youths fifteen to eighteen years old.²³

The murders are committed by death squads formed of off-duty or former police and private security guards. Closely tied to the justice system, which practically guarantees their impunity, these groups are financed, hired, or at least tolerated by local businessmen afraid of the threat poor children pose to their property. Recently, when the Minister of Health denounced this complicity, the President of the Store Managers' Club of Rio de Janeiro, Silvio Cunha, declared literally: "When someone kills a *pivetinho* (street child), they are doing society a favor."²⁴

In 1989, the Superior School of War, Brazil's military think tank, published a document expressing the same sentiment: street children are seen not as children, but as a future "horde of criminals" that will, by the year 2000, outnumber the Army. The text concludes that

... the constituted powers, Executive, Legislative or Judiciary, may request the Armed Forces's collaboration in the sense of taking on the onerous task of neutralizing, and indeed destroying /these children/, in order to maintain law and order.²⁵

22. Amnesty International, op. cit.

23. Ibase, op. cit.

24. *Jornal do Brasil*, 12 January 1991.

25. 1990-2000, *a década vital por um Brasil moderno e democrático* (Brasília: Superior School of War, 1989). Cited in *Jornal do Brasil*, 19 June 1991.

D. Mass Sterilization of Women

Brazil is the world leader in caesarian sections and surgical sterilization of women.²⁶ The two are closely related: during the cesarian, the woman's tubes are tied. The Brazilian branch of Planned Parenthood, Bemfam, and other agencies funded by the United States, have been denounced by victims and human rights organizations for conducting sterilizations and implanting IUDs without women's informed consent.²⁷ Agencies like the Association for Voluntary Sterilization pay clinics monetary incentives, in dollars, for each sterilization performed. Sterilization programs are also funded by the World Bank and the Interamerican Bank. The numbers increase significantly during political campaigns, when sterilization is offered for free by local strongmen as candidates.

Women are coerced into sterilization in order to survive. The Rio de Janeiro State Council for Defense of Women's Rights (CEDIM) has documented the existence of at least fifty firms in that state alone which require documented proof of sterilization to hire women employees.

Needless to say, mass sterilization is carried out among the poor, and African-Brazilian women are its first

26. IBGE, PNAD 1986. Forty-nine percent of Brazilian women using contraception consciously or unconsciously choose sterilization, and 16 percent of all Brazilian women at fertile age are sterilized.

27. "Esterilizaçao: uma Arma Política," *Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo*, No. 141 (July 1991). The following data are from this article, and are corroborated by several other sources.

and foremost target. The overwhelmingly Afro-Brazilian Northeastern state of Maranhao is the leader, with a sterilization rate of 75.9 percent, while Rio Grande do Sul, with a predominantly European population, is last with a rate of 18.2 percent. In Bahia, the racist tenor of publicity campaigns encouraging sterilization has been quite explicit. Posters appeared in 1984 and 1986 showing African-Brazilian children with razors and chains, captioned "Manufacturing Defect" and pregnant African-Brazilian women wearing turbans showing the caption "Some people cry with a full belly." These campaigns were coordinated by World Health Organization consultant Elsimar Coutinho, President of the Brazilian Association for Family Planning (ABEPP), which receives seventy percent of its funding from the United States. Bemfam (Planned Parenthood) also concentrates its birth control campaigns in the Northeast.

Recently, a 1974 United States National Security Memorandum, NSSM-200, *Implications of Worldwide Population Growth for US Security and Overseas Interests*, was made public, and the real story behind sterilization and semi-coercive birth control campaigns was revealed. At a time when Henry Kissinger headed the NSC and George Bush was Director of the CIA, this document formulated a national security strategy of population control in the Third World,

citing thirteen countries as priority targets.²⁸ Brazil was a first priority, given its enormous potential as a leading continental power. The idea was to counter the progressive development of competitive Third World powers, prevent commercial rivalry for access to natural resources considered strategic to U.S. interests, and sever Third World national sovereignty over those resources.

Citing Shockley and Jenson, the document explicitly states its anti-African genocidal intentions, noting the "hereditary aspects of human capacities" and the degeneration of the United States population's "quality" by "well-intentioned social welfare programs." The idea was to maintain the racial purity of European ruling elites.

Brazil's military regime, on the other hand, was at that time anxious to increase its population, citing vast "unoccupied" stretches of land (which generally represent Native American hunting, fishing, and living territories) and the policy of "expanding its living frontiers," meaning encroaching on neighboring nations' land.²⁹ Nevertheless, in 1971 Brazil's President, General Garrastaziz Medici, had already officially recognized Planned Parenthood (among whose founders was George Bush's father Prescott), under the

28. The other nations listed are India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria, Mexico, Indonesia, the Phillipines, Thailand, Egypt, Turkey, Ethiopia and Colombia. *Executive Intelligence Review*, Special Memorandum, Rio de Janeiro, 1991.

29. For more detail on Brazilian expansionist policies, see E.Nascimento, 1980).

name Bemfam, as a humanitarian organization in Brazil.

By the early 1980's, this U.S. national security policy was well implanted in Brazil, despite its criminalization (except in exceptional cases) under the nation's Penal and Medical Ethics Codes. While only 5.3 percent of sterilizations had been performed before 1970, the rate increased to 21 percent from 1975 to 1979 and 28.3 percent in the period 1980-85. These campaigns were an International Monetary Fund condition for access to loans (Avila, 1991).

The anti-African racist tenor of these policies cannot be credited solely to their United States sponsors. In 1983, the 3rd Congress of African Culture in the Americas held in Sao Paulo, denounced the circulation of another secret document, this one entirely Brazilian, produced by the Consultation and Participation Group (GAP), an advisory board to the Sao Paulo State government, which stated:

From 1970 to 1980, the white population was reduced from 61 to 55 percent and the brown /*pardo*/ population increased from 29 to 38 percent. While the white population has become largely conscious of the need to control birth rates - especially the middle and upper classes - black and brown populations increase their growth rates in ten years from 28 to 38 percent. Thus, we have 65 million whites, 45 million browns and one million blacks. Maintaining this tendency, in the year 2000 the brown and black populations will be on the order of sixty percent, therefore much larger than the white. And in electoral terms, they will be able to control Brazilian politics and dominate all key posts.

The advisory group suggests birth control campaigns targetting the African population as the alternative

solution to a military coup in order to confront this major threat against Euro-Brazilian hegemony.

e. Genocide in Other Parts of the Region

While we do not have specific data to share with you on the other nations of South and Central America, we can state with absolute certainty that the African-American populations are in every case subject to the kind of genocidal policies described here with regard to Brazil. The astute observer has only to visit countries like Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Belize, and Panama, where he or she will immediately verify the segregation of their African populations in the poorest areas and their victimization by the most subhuman living conditions. These countries have varying proportions of African populations, but all are significant. In Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Chile, African-American populations are more difficult to locate.

On the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua is the town called Bluefields, where the descendants of Jamaican workers brought to the country live their Caribbean cultural and linguistic traditions. Similar communities exist in Costa Rica and Honduras. In Panama, the Caribbean population is huge.

The African population is particularly significant in Colombia. In the coastal areas and in the Colombian interior, in cities like Cali, the African presence is

massive. There is a state on the Pacific coast of Colombia, where Africans are a vast majority, over ninety percent: the Department of Chocò. Similar to Chocò is the state of Esmeraldas in Ecuador. Like the Brazilian Northeast, with states like Maranhao and Bahia that are overwhelmingly African, Chocò and Esmeraldas are among the most miserable poverty pockets in their respective countries. In Cartagena, Barranquilla, Salinas, Caracas and countless other towns, African people and culture survive the most squalid living conditions the region has to offer.

7. POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES IN BRAZIL

In October 1989, the new Brazilian Constitution written by an elected Congress took effect. In 1990, Brazil held its first direct Presidential elections in thirty years. However, democracy has done little to solve the enormous social problems of the African-Brazilian people. The new Constitution defines racial discrimination as a crime without recourse to bail or statute of limitations, and protects the lands of Afro-Brazilian rural communities (*quilombos*); but these measures cannot take effect until laws are passed regulating their enforcement. This new Constitution also made major advances in human rights provisions.

While these new Constitutional rights represent a political victory, experience teaches that the law in Brazil

is not normally enforced. The National Program for Women's Health (PAISM), which would oversee birth control abuse, has been on paper since 1985; it remains unimplemented. The major priorities of Fernando Collor de Mello's neo-liberal government are privatization of state enterprises and anti-inflation policies which diminish wages even further while enriching the wealthy and the business sector. Obviously, these policy goals are unequivocally anti-African.

However, there are pockets of positive political action. One is the Rio de Janeiro State Government of Leonel Brizola, who has placed emphasis on anti-racist measures since his first administration (1983-87). His major program is the Integrated Centers for Public Education (CIEPs), which President Collor is planning to institute on a national level in order to provide medical, educational, and nutritional assistance to children.

Governor Brizola has acted courageously in the area of anti-African racial discrimination. Three of his state Secretaries (top level administrators) were African-Brazilians, both in the current and former administrations. On taking office, one of his first measures in 1983 was to institute 21 March as an official state commemoration day; in 1991, it was to promulgate a law creating sanctions against racial discrimination in the state administration. These were symbolic expressions of the priority he assigns to African-Brazilian concerns. This priority distinguishes

Governor Brizola from all other national political leaders, without exception.

Most expressive of Governor Brizola's priority, however, was the creation in April 1991 of the Extraordinary State Secretariat for the Defense and Promotion of Black Peoples (SEDEPRON), a top-level state administrative agency dedicated to the specific problems of African-Brazilians. As a result of the growth and militancy of the Afro-Brazilian political movement, other states have instituted Advisory Councils and Coordinatorships for African-Brazilian communities, but this is the first such top-level state agency in Brazilian history.

Two African-Brazilian governors, Alceu Collares of Rio Grande do Sul and Albuino Azeredo of Espirito Santo, were elected in 1991 by the PDT (Democratic Labor Party), which also sent to the National Congress the first African-Brazilian Senator dedicated to defending his people's human and civil rights. In 1983, the same man, who speaks to you today, took office as the first African-Brazilian Member of Congress (House of Representatives) dedicating his mandate to the same struggle. Today, there are perhaps ten African-Brazilian Congressmen in the lower House who acknowledge their African origins, and in varying degrees identify with their community's aspirations.

These victories have been the result of Afro-Brazilian political organization, whether in party structures or

nongovernmental organizations. There is still much work to be done by the Afro-Brazilian movements.

3. AFRICAN WORLD SOLIDARITY

Nongovernmental organizations like Afric can play a significant role in the development of Afro-Brazilian consciousness of the specific nature of anti-African genocide in Brazil by actively denouncing the realities portrayed in the present paper and relating them to genocidal practices in the rest of the African world.

Perhaps the fundamental question for Africans in Brazil is one of identity. We of IPEAFRO have worked to modify school curricula that reinforce anti-African stereotypes and undermine our children's self-esteem. African organizations from other parts of the world have much to contribute in this respect. Until Africans in Brazil understand that they are part of a larger African world community which shares many of the same concerns, we will not be able to build the political protagonism our people need to overcome genocide and slavery.

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APPENDIX 2

**COPIES OF THE LETTERS SENT TO THE SUDANESE AND BRAZILIAN
GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES**



AFRIC Investing in Africa's Future

His Excellency Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan al-Bashir
Head of State
People's Palace, PO Box 281
Khartoum, Sudan

January 14, 1991

Dear Excellency:

On behalf of African and non-African leaders, intellectuals, members of the academic community, human rights organizations and concerned NGO's, and prominent Canadian participants at the international conference "**Breaking the Silence on Human Rights Violations In The African World: The Case of The Sudan**," sponsored by the African Relief Committee in Canada in October, 1991, I am writing to express our concern with the government supported efforts to depopulate areas historically inhabited by the Nuba of Western Sudan, the Fur in Darfur and the Dinka in Southern Sudan; as well, we are writing to express our general horror at the general status of African people in your country.

Having thoroughly examined the explicit and implicit policies and programs of your government, we have little further doubt that your regime is committed to the genocide of Sudan's Black people. More definitively, to the genocide of those segments of The Sudan's population who identify themselves with the African World.

Your Excellency, the time when entire African populations can be treated as expendable must be ended in our lifetime. The violence by The Sudan's military and militias against the Nuba, the Fur and the Dinka must be halted. The arbitrary arrests of ethnic Africans, Muslim and non-Muslim, must be ended. The Militias must be disbanded and those parties responsible for criminal massacres punished. Food and medical aid must be released to the Nuba, Fur and Dinka people.

You can rest assured, that unless your government brings an immediate end to policies and programs which are having a genocidal impact on Sudan's African people, that The Sudan will soon occupy the place which apartheid South Africa appears to be vacating in the world: The place of a Nation-State which is internationally recognized and sanctioned for its effective enslavement and genocide of Black African people.

Yours truly,

Akwatu Khenti
Executive Co-ordinator



AFRIC Investing in Africa's Future

October 18, 1991

President Fernando Collor de Mello
Palacio do Planalto
Brasilia, D.F.
Brazil

To President Fernando Collor de Mello and the Brazilian People

Your Excellency:

We African and non-African leaders, intellectuals, members of the academic community, human rights organizations and concerned NGO's, and prominent Canadians, participating in the international conference "**Breaking the Silence On Human Rights Violations In The African World: The Case Of The Sudan**," sponsored by the African Relief Committee In Canada (AFRIC), call your attention to the plight of Africans in the Southern Sudan, where children are being sold into slavery and a vicious process of massacre and genocide is being carried out against Africans in their own lands. We ask that you consider the situation of African people there, especially the African children, as a major international disaster which requires the attention and concerted action of the world community.

We also ask you to consider, as we have done here, the situation of the people of African origin in Brazil. They are the first and foremost victims of ever-increasing disparities in income distribution, impoverishment, racial discrimination, hunger, malnutrition, infant mortality, leprosy, assassination of children and adolescents, sterilization of women, and violence and semi-slavery in rural Brazil.

We congratulate your administration for its professed concern with issues of social import such as these, and we urge the formulation of immediate responses and concrete long

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term solutions to these human rights issues affecting a major component of the African World today. We look forward to hearing from you about the development and implementation of such policies. Thank you.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Akwatu Khenti', with a horizontal line drawn underneath the name.

Akwatu Khenti, Executive Co-ordinator of AFRIC
On Behalf of Conference Presenters & Participants

c.c Senator Abdios do Nascimento

Conference Presenters:

Dr. Molefi Asanti, Temple University, Philadelphia; Anthony Ayok, Lawyer, Toronto ;Dr. Frank Chalk, Concordia University, Montreal; Mr. Peter Dalglish, Lawyer, Toronto; Mr. Philip Thon Leek Deng, SRRRA\ FACE Foundation, Nairobi; Dr. Helen Fein, Harvard University, Boston; Dr. Rhoda Howard, McMaster University, Hamilton; Mr. Keder Hyppolite, President of the Council of Haitians In Quebec; Rev. Clement Janda, World Council of Churches, Geneva; Dr. Bona Malwal, Editor of the Sudan Democratic Gazette, former Minister of Information in the Sudan; Mr. Sghai Ould M'barek, Lawyer, Nouakchott; Senator Abdios do Nascimento, Rio de Janeiro; Mr. John Prendergast, Center of Concern, Washington



AFRIC Investing in Africa's Future

October 18, 1991

TO OUR AFRICAN-BRAZILIAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS

c/o Senator Abdias do Nascimento
Fundacao Cultural Abdias Nascimento
Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Afro-Brasileiros
Rua Benjamin Constant
55/1104 - 20241
Rio de Janeiro State, RJ
Brazil

Brothers and Sisters:

We African and non-African leaders, intellectuals, members of the academic community, human rights organizations and concerned NGO's, and prominent Canadians, participating in the international conference "**Breaking the Silence On Human Rights Violations In The African World: The Case Of The Sudan**," sponsored by the African Relief Committee In Canada (AFRIC), and held in Toronto, October 4 -6, 1991, manifest our solidarity with the Afro-Brazilian people in their fight against racial discrimination which makes them the foremost victims of increasing impoverishment and income disparities, hunger, malnutrition, infant mortality, assassination of children and adolescents, violence and semi-slavery in rural Brazil.

We extend our greetings to Afro-Brazilian organizations and their allies dedicated to the cause of assuring the basic human rights of this major component of the African World and of all Brazilians. We recognize that only through such advances

advances will the entire African World be able to go forward and pledge to stand with you in the struggle to bring about global recognition and respect for basic human rights in the 21st Century. **Amandla!**

In Unity,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Akwatu Khenti', written over a horizontal line.

**Akwatu Khenti, Executive Co-ordinator of AFRIC
On Behalf of Conference Presenters & Participants**

Conference Presenters:

Dr. Molefi Asanti, Temple University, Philadelphia; Anthony Ayok, Lawyer, Toronto ;Dr. Frank Chalk, Concordia University, Montreal; Mr. Peter Dalglish, Lawyer, Toronto; Mr. Philip Thon Leek Deng, SRRA\ FACE Foundation, Nairobi; Dr. Helen Fein, Harvard University, Boston; Dr. Rhoda Howard, McMaster University, Hamilton; Mr. Keder Hyppolite, President of the Council of Haitians In Quebec; Rev. Clement Janda, World Council of Churches, Geneva; Dr. Bona Malwal, Editor of the Sudan Democratic Gazette, former Minister of Information in the Sudan; Mr. Sghai Ould M'barek, Lawyer, Nouakchott; Senator Abdias do Nascimento, Rio de Janeiro; Mr. John Prendergast, Center of Concern, Washington



AFRIC Investing in Africa's Future

October 18, 1991

Governor Leonel de Moura Brizola
Palacio Guanabara
Rio de Janeiro, RJ
Brazil

Your Excellency:

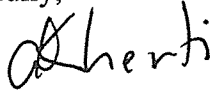
We African and non-African leaders, intellectuals, members of the academic community, human rights organizations and concerned NGO's, and prominent Canadians, participating in the international conference "**Breaking the Silence On Human Rights Violations In The African World: The Case Of The Sudan**," sponsored by the African Relief Committee In Canada (AFRIC), call your attention to the plight of Africans in the Southern Sudan, where children are being sold into slavery and a vicious process of massacre and genocide is being carried out against Africans in their own lands. We ask that you consider the situation of African people there, especially the African children, as a major international disaster which requires the attention and concerted action of the world community.

We also congratulate you on your recent public statements calling attention to the plight of the African-Brazilian majority, first and foremost victims of hunger, violence, infant mortality and poverty in Brazil. We applaud the creation of the Rio de Janeiro State Secretariat for the Defense and Promotion of African-Brazilian people as a major step forward, and we wish you well in the program of Integrated Centers for Public Education(CIEPs). This is a tremendous effort to meet the educational and other human needs of thousands of poor children in Rio de Janeiro State.

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We look forward to the maintenance and expansion of your programs and policies. Thank you.

Respectfully,



Akwatu Khenti, Executive Co-ordinator of AFRIC
On Behalf of Conference Presenters & Participants

c.c Senator Abdios do Nascimento

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