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**The American Aid Organizations between Aid and Politics: The Case of
Sudan**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Anglo-American Studies**

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Declaration

I, Benzouai Meriem, Candidate of Master at the Department of English, Larbi Ben M'hidi University, I do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled "The American Aid Organizations between Aid and Politics: The Case of Sudan", in partial fulfilment of MA Degree in Anglo-American Studies is my own original work, and it has not previously, in its entirety parts, been submitted at any university.

Dedication

To my parents

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my profound appreciation to my supervisor Mrs. Boudjelit Amina, for her valuable comments and advices and persistent to help made this dissertation possible.

Also, I wish to express my gratitude to all members of my family, my mother, my father, and my sisters Chahinez, Fatima and Yousra and my aunts for their great support, and I am so grateful to my friends Chihab, Narjess, Adel, and Ilyas for their help and encouragement. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them.

Abstract

The following research tends to examine the US-African relations in which it deals with it from a historical perspective analyzing the motive of the American tendency to Sudan as the prosperous and largest country in Africa. Nevertheless, its social, political and economic crisis prevented it from being a developed republic. America in the other hand profited from its terrible circumstances through the so-called “humanitarian organizations”. As a result of civil wars and crises experienced by the country, America sent a huge number of humanitarian organizations active in various fields to serve the US interests in Sudan, in which these organizations have proven their seriousness and their great impact on the security and stability of the country. Hence, the study attempts to highlight the most dynamic American humanitarian organizations in Sudan, trying to uncover the hidden reasons behind their heavy existence in the Western and Southern provinces of the region, and how they help in interfering in Sudan’s internal affairs. Furthermore, this research also aims to look upon the effects of those organizations on Sudan considering them as indirect way of colonialism.

Key words

United States, Sudan, humanitarian organizations, social, political and economic crisis, indirect way of colonialism.

Résumé

La recherche suivante a tendance à examiner les relations Américano-Africaines dans lesquelles elles traitent d'un point de vue historique analysant le motif de la tendance Américaine au Soudan en tant que pays prospère et le plus grand d'Afrique. Néanmoins, sa crise sociale, politique et économique l'a empêché d'être une république développée. D'autre part, l'Amérique a profité de ses terribles circonstances à travers les soi-disant «organisations humanitaires». À la suite des guerres civiles et des crises vécues par le pays, l'Amérique a envoyé un grand nombre d'organisations humanitaires actives dans divers domaines pour servir les intérêts américains au Soudan, où ces organisations ont prouvé leur sérieux et leur grand impact sur la sécurité et la stabilité du pays. Ainsi, l'étude tente de mettre en évidence les organisations humanitaires américaines les plus dynamiques au Soudan, essayant de découvrir les raisons cachées derrière leur lourde existence dans les provinces occidentales et méridionales de la région, et comment elles aident à interférer dans les affaires intérieures du Soudan. En outre, cette recherche vise également à examiner les effets de ces organisations sur le Soudan en les considérant comme une manière indirecte du colonialisme.

ملخص

يميل البحث التالي إلى دراسة العلاقات الأمريكية – الأفريقية من منظور تاريخي يحلل دافع النزعة الأمريكية نحو السودان كأكبر دولة مزدهرة في أفريقيا. ومع ذلك، فإن أزماتها الاجتماعية والسياسية والاقتصادية حالت دون أن تكون جمهورية متقدمة. من ناحية أخرى، استفادت أمريكا من ظروفها الصعبة من خلال ما يسمى بـ "المنظمات الإنسانية". نتيجة للحروب والأزمات الأهلية التي مرت بها البلاد، أرسلت أمريكا عددًا كبيرًا من المنظمات الإنسانية الناشطة في مختلف المجالات لخدمة مصالحها في السودان، حيث أثبتت هذه المنظمات خطورتها وتأثيرها الكبير على أمن واستقرار البلاد. من هنا، تحاول الدراسة إبراز أكثر المنظمات الإنسانية الأمريكية ديناميكية في السودان، في محاولة لكشف الأسباب الخفية وراء وجودها المكثف في المقاطعات الغربية والجنوبية في المنطقة، وكيف تساعد في التدخل في الشؤون الداخلية للسودان. علاوةً على ذلك، يهدف هذا البحث أيضًا إلى النظر في آثار تلك المنظمات على السودان باعتبارها طريقة غير مباشرة للاستعمار.

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General Introduction

The third world countries have always been a focal point for the American policy. Such areas are indeed rich of gold and oil along with other natural sources. The US has found in African lands fertile resources to fulfill their interests. Regarding its vast geographical space, Sudan possesses unreadable natural resources most importantly oil. The latter is often regarded as its main economic pillar. Although Sudan enjoys several factors of success and prosperity, the internal conflicts, political upheavals and civil wars have proved to be hindrances in the process of development. Such obstacles were used by the USA in order to justify its indirect involvement. The US sent a huge number of relief organizations to serve its interests.

This research aims to investigate the role of American humanitarian organizations in Sudan, it also attempts to uncover the hidden reasons behind their heavy existence in the Western and Southern provinces of Sudan. In fact, the dissertation tries to highlight the most dynamic humanitarian organizations and how they help in interfering in Sudan's internal affairs in which America benefited from the complicated situation of the country. Hence, the study tends to look upon the effects of those organizations on Sudan considering them as indirect way of colonialism.

The study also attempts to find a better understanding of the real purpose behind the intensive presence of the American aid organization in Sudan, their hidden goals and their effects on the country stability. This research is divided into two main chapters, chapter one entitled "Brief History of Sudan and American Existence in Africa". It discusses the development of the US- African relationship, shading some light on the state of Sudan, particularly. This chapter attempts to explain the role played by the nature of Sudan as a multiethnic, multireligious community in weakening the nation's construction and aiding

external "meddling" in solving the nation's internal conflicts. This chapter tries to answer many questions including: when was the first American-African contact made, and how the relations developed? Why Sudan is so important to America? And what are the reasons behind Sudan's long internal conflicts?

Chapter two entitled "The United States of America and Sudan: Humanitarian Aid or Colonial means" aims to investigate the role of American humanitarian organizations in Sudan and expose their real objectives. Highlighting the role of these organization in Christianization, dividing the country and controlling its natural resources. This chapter seeks to answer many questions including: what are the most active American organizations in Sudan? And what they are actually doing? How America used its organizations to serve its interests? And how they have affected the country's policy and stability?

Actually, such topic was a complicated theme, due to the lack of resources. The shady role of the American aid organization and their impact on the policy and economy of Sudan cannot be covered clearly, because of the huge foreign interventions in the country and the complexity of the conflicts dimensions. Since the research depends on score of secondary sources that are ranged between journal articles, theses, and websites. The article "NGOs or NO GOOD ORGANIZATIONS" written by Dr. Kausar Talat, analyzes the hidden objectives of the international relief organization, and how they receive funds from their supporting governments to act as entrepreneurs to achieve economic interests.

The dissertation has used many tools of methodology including qualitative method and the quantitative method. To begin with, the historical approach since the theoretical part of the research traces the origins and development of the U.S foreign policy toward Africa in general and Sudan in specific. Secondly, the analytical approach is used to scrutinize the American relief organization real goals and how they affect Sudan. All these methodological approaches were pursued under the MLA 7th edition.

Chapter one

Brief History of Sudan and American Existence in Africa

Introduction

This chapter includes a historical survey about the development of the US-African relationship. At the beginning, the US foreign policy toward Africa was initially characterized by ignorance and non-intervention in the affairs of the black continent and the rest of the world. Due to the American implementation of the isolation policy, besides considering it as a property that belongs to the great European powers. But after the end of the Cold War and the fall of the communist regime, America's view of the continent changed, and became more interested, because of the strategic and geographical location, as well as having the largest stocks of many wealth and minerals and other natural resources.

This part of the study attempts to shade the light on the richest country in Africa “Sudan”, trying to show the geographic and geopolitical importance of this country, as one of the most important emerging economies in Africa. Importantly this study will give an over view of the internal problems the country suffer from, emphasizing the role of the United States of America in manipulating and weakening the country.

This chapter is willing to answer these questions: when was the first American-African contact made, and how the relations developed? Why Sudan is so important to the United States of America? What are the reasons behind Sudan’s long internal conflicts? And how these problems effected the country? How America intended to interfere in Sudan, and what is her justification?

I/ The American Existence in Africa

The course of the relation between Africa and America started in the new colonies. The Americans were of great need of a plentiful, cheap working force. The growing crops were labor intensive and there were not enough settlers and servants to cultivate all the new lands. As a result, to meet the massive demand of labor and to exploit and advance the wealth of the new land, the Americans looked to Africa and the solution were the African slaves, the first shipment of slaves arrived in the United States at the beginning of the Seventeenth century. But despite America's past with Africa, it had a special privilege concerning the absence of a common colonial history or past with the African continent, unlike the European countries. During colonialism period, France and Britain were the main European powers that held the largest share of the continent in order to exploit its enormous wealth (Al-Amraoui 19).

In the mid-nineteenth century, the American foreign policy toward the African continent and the rest of the world was characterized by the policy of isolationism, in other words the non-involvement in international politics, and especially avoiding interference in the European internal affairs. This practice was confirmed in the Berlin conference that was made between the year 1884 and 1885, during this period the great European colonial powers were sharing the wealth of the continent (19).

The United States of America did want to interfere in African affairs, this was confirmed by George Maghi, an Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East and African Affairs. Professor Hamdi, an expert in African affairs stated that "We are not in a position to exercise direct responsibilities of others. In any event, the principles we believe in and the governing commitments of our movement as well as our inexperience, have all contributed to the intolerance of these tasks" (Khalifa).

For decades, the great European powers fought for Africa. That is the cause that led America not to intervene in the black continent issues, because it is considered as a European property (Al Tazzani 2).

Since the emergence of the American state on the international scene, and until the Second World War, the American foreign policy has marked the direction of the African continent with disregard and indifference. After the end of the Second World War in 1945, the expansion of communism became at the center of American foreign policy concerns in Africa, in the years between 1947 and 1989. With the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the arrival of George HW Bush, no clear foreign policy was formulated towards the continent, which seemed to have lost its geographic significance with the collapse of the Soviet Union (2).

Unlike the Cold War period, which lasted for more than 45 years, the phase of the new international order marked the beginning of thinking about opening a new chapter of relations with the African continent. Yet, the practice of discrimination in the United States of America itself led to shaking Afro-American relationship. The United States of America at this period was not in a position to have any kind relations with Africa (3).

After this disturbance, the situation was calmed down and things started to get better. The United States of America started reconsidering its relation with Africa and pay more attention to the continent. This was clear in 1957 when Richard Nixon deputy of the President Eisenhower was sent to visit eight African countries. In his statement, Nixon emphasized the growing importance of Africa for US interests, which became a fertile area of investment he also called for African independence and national liberation for Africans at the same time when America stopped practicing racial discrimination to win the support of Africans (Abd Al Rahman). The Sudanese issue caused an awakening erupted among the Negroes of the United States of America, when President Clinton took a big issue out of the Sudanese case to win

the votes of Negroes, in a kind of lure to them that the white American seeks to take the black hand wherever they are. Later, the US president called on African leaders to consider Africa's development and development (International...Darfur Crisis).

The developments of the international order after the Cold War paved the way for the United States administration to reconsider its policy towards the continent. The American policy relied on trade diplomacy as a penetration tool, in addition to supporting and spreading liberal values of democracy and human rights. Unlike the European colonizers, the US relations with Africa developed in different soft ways (Abd Al Rahman).

The policy of besieging communism was replaced by the policy of comprehensive vision with the coming of the president Bush the father to power. The Bush administration worked to formulate a new international order by which the US hegemony appeared without limits. His administration sought to integrate the Soviet republics into the international community, and help them benefit from international cooperation. However, this administration did not have a clear vision about the American role on the African continent till the coming of Bill Clinton to power in 1993 (Al Tazzani 2).

Since the beginning of 1998, the Clinton administration sought to establish a new US-African partnership. The American foreign policy toward Africa became more visible with the growing importance of the African strategic location and natural resources. Yet, wars and conflicts in some African regions led the new administration to reevaluate its policy in emphasizing the importance of stability and security to calm down the situation and to support economic growth to serve the American interests in Africa. In the political field, the Clinton administration raised the banner of democracy and human rights in its new policy to gain the African support (Abd Al Rahman).

During the Clinton administration a lot of events emerged in the continent, like the attacks on the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. However, the US opportunity arose with it to intensify its presence in the continent. The emergence of terrorist organizations and its spread in east and north of Africa, followed by conflicts in Somalia and Sudan, helped to provide the perfect justification for the American intervention in the black continent (Abd Al Rahman).

The United States of America needed to control the black continent, due to the American intensive activities in the Middle East region. Its strategic geographical location, as well as having the largest stocks of many wealth and minerals and other resources. Africa has the largest proportion of reserves of bauxite, frukum, cobalt, diamonds, gold, manganese, phosphates, platinum minerals, titanium and fendio. It was necessary for the American strategy to include Africa in its top priorities, as it was part of the plan (Al Tazzani 4).

African oil is of great importance for the United States of America. The continent has a huge oil reserve, where the fields are located in many of its countries and on its western shores, which make it easier and faster to extract, as it has been importing it since the 1950s. The former President George W. Bush announced that The United States is determined to eliminate 75 percent of oil imports from the Middle East and obtain them from alternative sources by 2025. In 2001, his Vice President Dick Cheney issued the US national energy policy, confirming that, Africa will be one of the most rapidly growing sources of oil and gas. Moreover, numerous official reports and informal analyses dealt with this importance, as the American Chevron Texaco company announced in 2002, that it invested 5 Billion Dollars in Africa and it will invest another 20 Billion Dollars in the coming 10 years, which indicates the growing American interest in Africa and its desire to control and acquire its vital resources (4).

The US policy changed dramatically after the events of 11 September. The political and military interest of United States of America has grown in Africa, significantly after the attacks. America established a military base named Africom, like those established in Iraq and Afghanistan in order to protect the world from extremism. Africom is the ninth unified US command center and the sixth regional command center established after World War II. This base is a kind of a military partnership that was established to raise the competence and develop the capacity of the African armies (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 24).

Africom leadership's objective is to bring peace and security to the people of Africa and advance the common objectives of the United States and Africa in the areas of health, education, Economic development. Under the pretext of waging Global War on Terrorism, America found a strong argument to expand its military forces all over the world and to increase its access to Africa's oil, gas and other mineral resources. She portrayed to the world that its interest in the African continent is the result only of the security threats and to protect African people (24).

Like any American project, Africom was established to serve and protect the American interests only. If threatened, the trained African army will be responsible for protecting the base. As a result of this, many African countries did not welcome the idea, and they refused to establish such thing in Africa, so they moved it in Stuttgart Germany (Abd Al Rahman).

Africa is one of the most important regions in the world, so it is expected to attract such attention from the United States of America. Even it is considered a bit late to the other European powers in that region, but it is about how these powers intend to expand in the continent, along with their foreign policy toward it, which is softer and brilliant to deal with the internal issues of the continent. Working on preventing conflicts and wars between different ethnic groups and solving issues, and responding to humanitarian disasters, was made by the United States of America. Serving its perspective and national interest, assistant

secretary for African affairs Susan Rice confirmed that Madeline Albright secretary of state of the United States of America tours to Africa were aimed to evaluate African initiatives and policies so that they would push the African integration process into the global economy and to protect the vital interests of the United States of America (Abd Al Rahman).

Material domination, the acquisition of economic resources, as well as the unilateralization of power is one of the most deeply held beliefs of the United States of America when it wants a state to be subject to its policies. Sudan became one of the Arab countries in general, and African in particular, which drew the attention of the West, including America to exploit its natural resources, taking advantage of the conflicts and civil wars that the country suffer from.

II/ The importance of Sudan to the American Interests:

The United States of America turned its attention toward the largest country in Africa. Sudan became a target for external ambitions. This country is characterized by its strategic location, it is full of raw materials, and it is one of the most important emerging economies in Africa. Yet Sudan, like many third world countries suffer from poverty, natural disasters, armed conflicts, civil wars and other crises. The thing that led to weaken the country and make it look an easy target for the United States of America and other major powers like China and France that share interests in this area (Al-Amraoui 27).

Sudan was Africa's largest countries, and the tenth largest country in the world. It is located in the North East of the black continent, and its capital is Khartoum. It is bordered to the north by Egypt, to the east by the Red Sea, Ethiopia and Eritrea, to the south by Kenya, Uganda and Democratic Congo, to the south-west by the Central African Republic, to the west by Chad and to the north-west by Libya. Sudan is the link between the north and south of the continent, east and west, it occupies a space of contact between different racial groups of Arab and African civilizations (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 28)

Sudan is a vast country rich of natural resources, that are represented in agricultural lands, livestock, oil, mineral resources, forests and fishery. In addition to its exceptional location and industry, agriculture represents eighty percent of its population activity. Sudan is full of agricultural lands, animal, water resources, in fact even industry depends more on agriculture than the other fields (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 28).

In addition to being an energy source supplier, Sudan provides a constructive link between the Middle East and Africa. The United States of America need to establish a relationship with the continent. After Sudan gained its independence in 1956, America established diplomatic relations with the state. However, the Sudanese support for Egypt politically, economically and militarily in the war against the Zionist entity in 1967, and its support for the Palestinian cause, led to break the American-Sudanese relationship (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 35-36). After the end of this period, in 1971 America wanted to strengthen its relation again, so, it provided Sudan with the largest aid support in the African continent. The result of consolidation of these relations, the entry of US oil company Chevron to invest in Sudan, in order to reinforce its political, security and economic presence in the country (Eidros).

The discovery of oil by the Italian Gas and Oil Company Agip in 1964, changed the look of the world to this country and changed the country itself forever. In 1974, Chevron the American oil company made exploration in red sea state “in the north; Muglad, which is in the disputed region of Abyei; and Malakal, in the south”. In 1976, chevron discovered the Suakin Red sea gas deposits; in 1978 commercially exploitable oil deposits were found near Bantiu and Heglig”. Between the year 1972 and 1974, both the Italian Oil Company and the American Chevron Company invested Millions of Dollars in Sudan. A year after disputes emerged, civil war rebel forces attacked the Chevron Oil Company, and local people started to realize the western acquisition of the economic, in long terms it changed the politics of the country. The Sudanese government tried to calm the situation and maintain stability in the

country, but this with giving little attention to the south, the thing that led over again to another series of civil wars and conflicts (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 30).

III/ Sudan: Multiethnic and Multireligious Community

Sudan is multicultural country that is characterized by its diversity. It is a nation that has a high cultural heritage and multi ethnic groups practicing different religions, with different types of tribes exists there, “It contains up to six hundred different ethnic groups with widely varying origins, customs and traditional political systems. Several dozen languages are spoken drawn from a wide spectrum of languages” (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 31-32).

This country is distinguished by its ethnic diversity from about 19 different ethnic groups and about 600 sub-ethnic groups. Despite the ethnic diversity of the south, it is united in the face of the North, which represents the Arab-Islamic culture, where the southerners saw themselves as Africans with black skin, whom Christianity gather as a means of countering Islam, although not all Southerners embrace Christianity. Yet, this diversity is the weakness point of this country, instead of being a source of strength, the political system simply failed to manage this variety. Since gaining independence in 1956, Sudan suffered from endless internal conflicts and civil wars that caused a huge damage to it, and also attracted the external attention and greed (31-32).

The Sudanese people are composed of many ethnic groups, and this affected negatively the stability of the state. The country suffered from a series of a civil wars, and many reasons were behind these internal conflicts. One of these reasons was the inability of the political system to respond to the demands of different ethnic groups, which led to the collapse of the state and its division in 2011. The division came after the spread of Islam in the north, the thing that reformulated the country into a north with Arab Muslims and the south consisted of African Christian community and a mixture of other religions (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 31-32).

The spark of first civil war in Sudan began before independence from Britain in 1955. Yet, the war actually started in 1964, when the first president of the Sudan, Abboud Ibrahim, wanted to unify the Sudanese identity after the British colonization believing that the only way to strengthen Sudan's unity and create a national identity is by following a program of Islamization and Arabization of the South. The decision led to ignite protests in the south intensified the civil war. The war continued until the signing of the peace agreement in Addis Ababa in 1972, as the agreement provided for the granting of autonomy and the appointment of a president of the south by the Sudanese president. This agreement contributed to a relative peace (“Sudan Civil War...Causes and Results”)

A decade after the end of the first civil war, the outbreak of the southern rebellion led to another war in 1983. The Second Civil War is one of the longest and most destructive wars of the last century, where almost 2 million civilians were killed and 4 million were displaced. This war did not end until a few years ago, when a peace treaty was signed between the two sides in 2005 (Sudan's Second Civil War).

The second Sudanese war began after 11 years of the first civil war, and took place in southern Sudan, when the Nimeiri president canceled the autonomy of the south and declared the application and spread of Islamic law all over the south. The conflict also gained an economic and strategic dimension after the discovery of oil in the south, which led to the intensification of the war, due to its great impact on the support of the governmental system and support of economy in all Sudan. During this period, a peace agreement was signed in 1989 to stop the conflict. However, the Sudanese government was isolated and the peace agreement was halted. (“Sudan Civil War...Causes and Results”).

The consequences of the civil war were devastating to the economy of Sudan, which disrupted development and growth for half a century. The most important of these results were heavy human losses, which comes in second place after the Second World War. (“Sudan Civil War...Causes and Results”).

Due to the geographical nature of the country and the vastness of its territory, most international attempts to end the conflict failed. As the conflict between the conflicting fronts ended, a new rebel movement emerged that was not involved in the events until the war ended until 2005 (“Sudan's Second Civil War”).

The economic injustice and the unequal division of wealth between the north and the south was another main reason behind the series of civil wars that harmed the country. South Sudan has natural resources, it contains important oil fields, which account for 70% of Sudan's export revenues. In addition to this vital material, the South has a greater access to water due to the numerous Nile River tributaries and the heavy rains, the thing that make it more fertile than the norther part of the country, which is located on the edge of the desert. However the southern natural resources were exploited in the name of economic development while all benefits go to the north (Al Shimi). “The South suffers from the absence of basic services and infrastructure compared to the North, which was dominated by governments and thus the distribution of wealth. The discovery of oil in the south in the 1970s also had a great impact to fuel the conflict” (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 32). Despite the presence of these wealth, the Sudanese government failed to exploit them for development of the country and raise its economy, as this was a major source of conflict, and attracting Western greed that contributed greatly in its division.

Before Sudan got independence from Britain in 1956, the British colonizer played a huge role in igniting the spark of hatred between different religious and ethnic groups to disturb the Sudanese identity. The British colonizer worked on creating a gap between the north and the

south in order to stop the spread of Islam. He worked on spreading Christianity and preventing any form of Arabic or Islamic existence in the south. This situation continued till 1956 (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 32). To reinforce this policy, the colonial government enacted a series of laws aimed to impose the English as an official language. In 1918, the colonial authorities decided that Sunday is an official holiday (Osama Abdullah).

The religious, political and ethnical divisions that Sudan is experiencing today are due to the English colonization. From the beginning, the colonizer planted the seeds of hatred and dissimulation among the Sudanese people. The colonial regime administrated the North and South as separate regions, and he stopped any commercial or economic contact between them:

In 1922, the Passports and Immigration Act was promulgated, which gave the General Governor the right to consider any area he wished to be a closed area to the Sudanese or others. Under this law, the General Governor issued a decree called the Closed Areas Ordinance, in which he decided that the southern directorates were closed areas and could not be entered without the written permission of the General Governor. In 1925, the Trade Permits Act was issued by the southern directorates, whereby all northerners were prevented from entering the South without special permission from the General Governor. (Osama Abdullah)

This strategy was partly because the colonial regime perceived the South to be similar to the East African colonies whilst the North was similar to Middle East (Fahmi).

A year before Sudan gained its independence from the British colonizer in 1956, the war between the North and the South erupted and the country engulfed in civil conflicts. The enduring conflict destroyed a huge part of Africa's largest country, and deprived it of stability, and development. The Sudanese people have paid a terrible price (Saad Eddin).

Over the long years of war, various parties tried to resolve the dispute, including neighboring countries and external parties, concerned donors, as well as the parties themselves. But though all efforts, the peace process was so difficult, because the lack of political will with the immense complexities of the war (Saad Eddin). The continuing conflict led to the signing of the Naivacha Agreement, also known as the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005. This agreement is a set of protocols signed in January 2005 between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement "SPLM" and the Government of the Sudan, facilitated by a regional effort by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development and the international community, the United States, the United Kingdom and Norway. The agreement aims to end Sudan's ... civil war, develop democratic governance in the country, share oil revenues on a just basis, and agree on a timetable for southern Sudan to hold a referendum on its future (Saad Eddin).

According to Ezekiel Gattkuth, who headed the Government of Southern Sudan Mission to the United States "The goal of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in 2005 is divided into two issues: one includes the democratic transition in the country, which will make Sudan a better place for all Sudanese, The second objective is self-determination for the people of Southern Sudan so they can determine their future" (Saad Eddin).

After the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between North Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, everyone expected calm and that the war was over. However, it failed like other agreements that preceded it, and civil conflicts escalated again. Sudan did not witness any form of stability, on the contrary, it created a deep rift between the North and South, and strengthened the completion of US control of the southern region resources. In fact, America supported politically, economically and militarily the separation process of the South, to link its interests in the region, in order to seize the oil (Ahmed El Hajj).

Washington become a key player in the North-South peace negotiations, supporting the secession of the south and supporting its right to self-determination. A country facing conflicts and economic and political problems would constitute an open loophole for external intervention, and the United States took advantage of this opportunity to intervene in Sudan (Al-Amraoui 37).

The United States of America supported the separation of south Sudan from Sudan. Furthermore, after the civil war between the north and the south in 1989, the US president Jimmy Carter had made peace negotiations, giving total support for the southern Sudan “The US approach focused on fragmentation, and provided important initiatives in this context from sharing wealth and power to fragmentation of solutions between Southern Sudan and adjacent areas” (Al Tawil). This support came the same period when a report called “The African oil policy initiative, said that the US oil consumption should be raised to 25 percent of daily production by 2015” (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 37).

The American impact on the Sudanese people resulted in the division of the country. The division separated the North from the Southern part of the country where Muslim majority under Omar El Bachir resided. In addition, the Christian community under Silvakir inhabited the South along with other ethnic groups. As the secession of the south will lead to the escalation other armed conflicts, and it will increase the courage of other regions to follow the course of the south causing fragmentation of the remaining parts of Sudan (Al Shimi).

There is a high expectation of another civil war between north and south Sudan because of the continuing conflict over the oil areas like Abyei, and the lack of border demarcation, also the lack of agreement on transit fees for southern oil exports passing through the pipeline to northern Sudan. As the separation of southern Sudan from the Sudanese entity, led to the loss of Sudan's most important source of income. The south is rich with natural resources from the

fertile lands, the Blue Nile and fields filled with oil, which represents 75% of Sudan's total oil production (Sudan Civil War ... Causes and Results).

These were the main causes behind the series of Sudan long lasting civil wars. the thing that made it hard for the government to sustain and maintain peace in the region, and threaten the country security and stability, whereas it provided the main powers like the United States of America with the pretext of threatening not only the local but also the national security of Sudan (Al-Amraoui 34).

In addition to the conflict in southern Sudan, there has been another conflict in western Sudan. Specifically in the region of Darfur that lies in the far west of Sudan, bordered by Libya in the north and west by Chad, and south-west by Central Africa. Darfur is one of the largest regions in Sudan, it is equivalent to one fifth of the total area of the country. The region is characterized by the abundance of natural wealth and livestock, Darfur is floating on a pool of uranium, not mentioning the huge amounts of oil. The Darfur region was known for its tribal conflicts over fertile lands and water resources, but these conflicts were contained by prevailing tribal systems and norms; however, things changed and became more complex (Al-Khatwani).

The situation in Darfur exploded in the year 2003, to protest against the poor conditions, poverty and economic, political and cultural marginalization, which led to a sense of injustice among the citizens of the Darfur. As the region saw only a small amount of economic development, it suffers from weak economic infrastructure, for this reason it is considered one of the poorest regions and the least integrated in the country. Also, Darfur is a drought stricken area for many months a year, which reduced fertile lands, water resources, and caused more struggles. Darfur is a vast territory with open borders, the reason why it was

affected by the Chadian conflict and the Libyan conflict, along with the conflicts in south Sudan, which led to the flow of arm trade (Al-Khatwani).

In fact, many linked the situation in Darfur with the civil war in the south Sudan, doctor Kamal Hadad, a professor of crisis management at Foued Shihab college for leadership and staff in Lebanon claimed that “the southern war had played an important role in fueling the security situation in Darfur, where different tribes benefited from the weapons that were smuggled to the region, this beside of the policy that was adopted by the Sudanese government of training individuals for popular defense against the southern war and tribes that are against them” (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 38).

The war took the lives of thousands and displaced millions of people, due to Sudanese government lack of understanding of the real dimensions of the conflict in Darfur. Besides its preoccupation with the problems of the south, and the weakness of mediation processes to resolve the conflict that slow pace of its intervention. It is clear that these conflicts and disagreements are planned to grow, and to become international political conflicts seeking to tear up the country, and plunder its wealth. As Western ambitions continued to feed the war and amplify it in the media as requiring international intervention (Al-Khatwani).

The Sudanese government did not take decisive decision toward conflicts, because of the worsening security situation and the increase in the death toll and emigration, which led to the international intervention based on the humanitarian aid. The United States of America has been a major donor of humanitarian assistance. At first United States of America activists run over a campaign called Save Darfur, a campaign that was calling to end the genocide in Darfur (save Darfur).

This campaign is an alliance of more than 190 religious and human rights organizations, based in the United States. The organization aims to educate Americans and raise public

awareness about the difficult situation in the Darfur region to mobilize a response to the atrocities taking place there. Where the coalition seeks to move the issue to the public opinion to put pressure on political leaders in Sudan to end the first genocide in the 21st century (save Darfur). On the contrary to this, Mahmoud Mamdani, an academic and political commentator, accused it of calling indirectly for a military intervention and refused to call this campaign a peaceful movement, Because it played a negative role in inflating the Darfur crisis, besides it has made the situation worse, and distorted the image of Sudan to the whole world (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 39).

Because of the difficult conditions the country is undergoing, protecting human rights was the claim of the United States of America to interfere in Sudan. However, the US foreign policy, whether Bush administration or Obama administration did not do much to improve the situation in Darfur, except imposing sanctions on the Sudanese government as a punishment, and pushing for more a peacekeeping force. Although in May 5, 2006 a peace agreement had been signed in Abuja, Nigeria to solve the problem by determining the criteria and methods of sharing and exercising power, yet till today the genocide did not stop (qtd. In Al-Amraoui 39-40)

The United States of America used humanitarian aid to interfere in Sudan's internal affairs. America is a major donor to the people of Sudan, it provided impartial, needs-based assistance to all accessible areas and populations. The interference of The United States of America, in Sudan internal affairs was not by accident, the country has interests in this region, while the state is weak politically. Consequently this made the United States of America take advantage of the situation to interfere in the country affairs and find out solutions that would correspond to its interests. Apparently, America is doing her best to help people and to look for solutions that would restore stability in areas that were suffering from conflicts like the Darfur area and the South Sudan, but in reality it made these conflicts even worse, cause they

aimed to weakness the country so that it would be busy to find out resolutions for these conflicts, where America would loot the country smoothly (Al-Amraoui 43).

Oil is the main factor behind US international interest in Sudan. The country is one of the four richest Arab countries in terms of potential and future capabilities. Since independence, the country has been a state of internal depletion and destruction, accompanied by an endless series of external interventions aimed at questioning everything from the political system to economy, to the religious institutions and the cultural identity (Mekhel).

Conclusion

Since the emergence of the American state on the international scene, it started to give more importance to Africa, and this is due to the continent strategic geographical location, besides having a huge stock of wealth and many natural resources, and also because of the US intensive activities in the Middle East region.

During Clinton administration, the US-African relationship developed. The American foreign policy toward Africa became more visible, when he started supporting liberal values, democracy and economic growth in order to serve the US interest in the black continent. Significantly, after the 9/11 attacks, America found the perfect justification to legitimize its presence in the whole world. Under the pretext of waging a global war on terrorism, the United States of America expended its military forces in Africa to increase its access to the oil.

America turned its attention to the richest country in Africa. Sudan is characterized by its strategic location, it is full of raw materials, and it is one of the important emerging economies in Africa. Yet, the country suffers from a lot of armed conflicts, civil wars, poverty and natural disasters, the thing that weakened the state and allowed foreign interventions.

There are many reasons behind Sudan's long lasting civil wars and problems, ethnic diversity is one of the main causes. The Sudanese people are composed of many ethnic groups, yet the political system failed to manage this variety and this affected negatively the stability of the state, causing its collapse and division in 2011. The economic injustice and the unequal division of wealth is another main reason behind the conflicts. Despite the abundance of natural resources, the Sudanese government failed to divide the wealth equally between the north and south, which had great impact to fuel the conflicts. Moreover, the British colonizer played an important role in igniting the spark of hatred between different religious and ethnic groups to disturb the Sudanese identity. The colonial regime administrated the north and south as separate regions in order to create a gap among the people.

Because of the difficult conditions the country was undergoing, protecting human rights was the claim of the United States of America to interfere in Sudan internal affairs. Apparently, America provided humanitarian aid and assistance to the affected and poor, but in fact it made the conflicts even worse in order to keep the government busy to drain the country's oil.

Chapter Two

The United States of America and Sudan: Humanitarian Aid or Colonial means

Introduction

This chapter attempts to discuss the establishment and the development of the civil society, showing its importance as an alternative mean that represents the will of the people and protect their rights and spread the values of democracy. Non-governmental organizations represent a very important branch in civil society, which emerged to promote and assist affected communities such as Sudan.

Sudan like many third world countries is effected by natural disasters, wars and conflicts that made it a destination for many relief organizations, especially American organizations. Importantly this study aims to emphasize the most active US humanitarian organizations in the state of Sudan, in order to investigate their real purpose behind such heavy and suspicious presence in south and west of Sudan. The reason for the US and Western focus in Sudan, is that it has huge natural resources and the most important oil, as well as many other mineral resources such as gold, copper and uranium.

The history of humanitarian assistance in this country has not been free of violations and penetrations. This part of the study tries to take a look at the role of the organizations and the extent of damage caused in South Sudan and Darfur in particular and Sudan in general, showing the fact that they did not come for the sake of helping and providing humanitarian relief as they claim, but for another hidden agenda. It seems that wherever these organizations are found, they are keen to feed the unrest and the crisis in the country.

This chapter attempts to answer these main questions: what are the most dynamic American relief organization in Sudan and for what purpose they came? What these organization are actually doing and what is their hidden agenda? And how they affected Sudan? How does America seek intervention through these organizations? And how do NGOs become the “imperial missions” of the west?

I/ The Civil Society organizations

The renaissance of the term “civil society” draws strength from its European roots, which is traceable to ancient Greek thought. In the old European political thought, the state was meant by a civil society, representing a political assembly whose members are citizens who recognize and act according to the laws of the state. Aristotle referred to civil society as a “political group subject to the laws” in which he did not distinguish between the state and civil society. However, the term was absent for centuries, as it was wiped by the idea of divine right and authority (Shukr).

In the middle Ages, the European society was soaked into the darkness of underdevelopment and stagnation, as the Church had the power to impose laws derived its legitimacy from the divine will. The church exercised its authority against the liberties of the people. However, at the beginning of the 17th century, Europe entered the Age of Enlightenment known as the Renaissance, by which the feudal system and ecclesiastical despotism were overthrown and replaced by the industry. The features of Capitalism became apparent, leading to the appearance civil society organizations that embody the ideology of freedom and equality: “This new economic situation was also linked to the emergence of private property rights, which led each group of individuals to establish unions, federations and organizations to defend their own and common rights and interests” (“Civil society...characteristics.”).

The concept was later evolved in the 18th century, and the distinction between state and civil society started to appear. The crystallization in the relations of capitalist production led to the formation of the associative movement as the best defense against the dangers of the concentration of power and political tyranny “at the end of the eighteenth century, western political thought confirmed the need to reduce the state's dominance in favor of civil society, which must manage its own affairs and leave little to the government” (Shukr). This period can be seen as an important era in building a civil society, democracy and human rights.

Civil society is a group of free and non-governmental organizations that are established to provide services to the community, not for profit, and do not engage in any political activity in order to gain power even if they receive support from political parties. Civil society accepts diversity and difference. It is mainly concerned with controversial issues in society. The work of civil society organizations focuses on charitable, advocacy, political and human rights, child and women’s rights, and the marginalized minorities, community institutions, women's organizations and institutions, religious organizations, federations and trade unions and self-help groups, social development, trade unions, alliances (“Civil society...characteristics.”).

Civil society is an alternative mean that represents the will of the people. It represents a different field from the state, the “government and parliament” and the official political sector, such as “political parties” (Naraji & Al-Bishra 1). Apart from state control, civil society is an independent field of movement for citizens who enjoy freedom to organize their lives (“Civil society...characteristics.”):

Civil society is largely independent from direct state supervision. It is characterized by autonomy, automatic organization, individual and collective initiative, volunteerism, enthusiasm for the public good, defending the rights of vulnerable groups, and although it is superior to the individual, it is not an

individual society on the contrary, a society of solidarity through a wide network of institutions. (Shukr)

It is usually characterized by diversity in terms of space, interests, institutional forms, and they vary in degree of official, autonomy and influence (Naraji & Al-Bishr 1).

Civil society appeared more in the 1980s, as a reaction against the system of totalitarianism¹ and socialism². However, the collapse of bipolarism and the increasing trend towards democracy, besides the emergence of globalization, led to integrating the economies of various countries in the world according to conditions set by the developed countries. In order to raise the market and open borders to facilitate the transfer of goods, and investments without obstacles; led to the emergence of severe economic and social problems, especially on the countries of the South, including Arab countries. As a result of the implementation of policies recommended by the capital institutions to mitigate the damage resulting from the implementation of the globalization policy, civil society has been employed to support countries and societies unable to perform their functions (Shukr).

Because of the vital role of civil society and its institutions in spreading the values of democracy, and defending human rights and marginalized groups, its importance increased. It creates the spirit of self-initiative, which regulates and activates people's participation in self-determination, by which it responds to various issues posed by individuals and groups to reflect their needs and desires to achieve a better life. It also allows the contribution in politics, so as not to leave the monopoly to the ruling elites; the civil society is considered as a powerful force against the domination of the state and the arbitrariness of its institutions (Shukr). In the absence of the state or its inability to perform its functions towards the society, such as exposure to economic crises, disasters or wars, civil society moves to fill in the vacuum of the state and help it perform its function (“Civil society...characteristics.”).

After the end of the Cold War and the development of the international system, many countries, especially the undemocratic ones, went through many crises, conflicts and wars. Some governments turned into states of oppression and tyranny that was the cause of the emergence of NGOs. Since then, the non-governmental organizations have flourished and have been increasingly recognized as an important element and vital player in the arena of peace and security (Naraji & Al-Bishr 4-5).

NGOs represent an important branch and a growing sector of civil society. NGOs refer to any non profit, voluntary organization, independent from the government, which operates on a local, national or international level. NGOs are highly diverse organizations engaged in a wide range of activities and take different forms in different parts of the world (Naraji & Al-Bishr 4). These organizations are driven by expert people with common interests to promote public good, they perform a variety of humanitarian functions and services. NGOs enjoy a high level of respect and trust by both governments and the public, because they bring citizen concerns to governments in order to advocate policies and encourage political participation, they can also help mediate conflicts and find solutions to common concerns, regardless to its different fields and scope of work, non-governmental organizations improve people's life (Aviles 3). NGOs are also defined as:

private organizations, associations or federations under national law, whose headquarters are located in a State and are subject to the law of that State (the State of domicile), but in practice have regional or global extensions in view of the functions they intend to perform and may constitute branches in other regions or countries of the world. (Hamadouch 1)

Non-governmental organizations are an integral part of the democratic society. The growing number of NGOs, and the diversity of their activities, and their ability to transcend the borders of States, made them one of the most prominent modern-day manifestations

(Osman). These organizations play a major role in the protection of human rights and development in all the dimensions. They are also a link between international agencies and the outside world, as they provide an important source of information about the real conditions of human rights around the world. They strive to impose humanitarian principles, and to influence the policies of states to act within ethical disciplines (Rabhi).

The non-governmental organizations are very important in the international landscape, as they perform a variety of humanitarian tasks pertaining inter issues of poverty, the environment and civil liberties. The ideas established for the civil society institutions are in harmony with the basic principles and ideals that govern the human race. The objectives of these institutions are undoubtedly humanitarian goals. All these institutions seeks to help and serve the people, except in certain cases where these organizations goes beyond their humanitarian objectives to serve other hidden agendas to make money (Marwan).

1 -Samaritan's Purse

Samaritan's Purse is an American international relief and development organization. Samaritan's Purse organization was established in 1970 in Bowen, North Carolina, by the pastor Bob pierce. It aims to provide spiritual and physical aid to victims of war, natural disasters, disease, famine, poverty and persecution in more than 100 countries around the world. It works through local churches to proclaim and demonstrate the love of God among communities in Africa, Eastern Europe and Central Asia. This organization has offices in Canada, Germany and Australia (Charity Navigator) "The aid and assistance are given without regard to the race, creed, gender, religion, or ethnicity of the beneficiaries". (Samaritan's Purse)

Natural disasters in Sudan in the 1980s have brought in huge numbers of relief organizations. Including Samaritan's Purse which began working in southern Sudan in 1997,

before South Sudan gained its independence in 2011. The aid organization provided emergency relief support to internally displaced people refugees, and returnees across the country. It operates in four main areas, in the Nile regions of the country and the Greater Bahr el Ghazal. The multisectoral organization includes diverse training in food aid and agriculture as well as health services, nutrition interventions, and water, hygiene and sanitation:

In 2016, Samaritan's Purse distributed 41,949 metric tons of food to 899,363 people and produced 591,944,558 liters of safe water for refugees in South Sudan. In addition, 5,109 children under the age of five were identified with moderate acute malnutrition (MAM) and received nutritional support through the targeted supplementary feeding programme (TSFP). Samaritan's Purse also received 5,824 inpatient admissions and provided outpatient treatment to 5,329 at the Maban County Hospital located in South Sudan. (Samaritan's Purse in South Sudan)

Contextually, Sudan is composed of many ethnic groups with different religions, by which the government failed to control this diversity, and to responds to the demands of all ethnic groups. The country suffered from series of civil wars and conflicts, and this affected negatively the stability of the state and caused its division in 2011. Sudan was formulated into a north Arab Muslims and the south consisted of African Christian community and mixture of other religions. In fact, American relief organizations played a major role in this division, as Samaritan's Purse used the situation to strengthen hostility between Muslim groups and Christian groups, to disrupt the Sudanese identity and to prevent the spread of Islam in the south.

The American Samaritan's Purse missionary organization launched a massive media campaign on the US radio stations. Inflaming the poor conditions of the Christians of the

South, the organization published false allegations about persecutions, where they demanded that the Americans donate and pray for the protection of their Christians brothers in Sudan. The priest Franklin Graham provided a vocal message on the American radio to Sudanese talking about the Muslims oppression and how they destroyed and burned their churches. Where Gerham attacked harshly Islam violently and accused him of teaching his followers “persecution” (“American Organizations... in Southern Sudan”).

Samaritan’s Purse organization also accused Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir and his government of persecuting Christians, demolishing their churches and trying to impose Islam on people of the south “The Islamic government of Sudan has tried to eradicate Christianity from the south, but it failed”. The organization said in another announcement, “The leaders of the Mongo church in southern Sudan have been subjected to decades of violence and oppression by militias sponsored by the Muslim government in the north. Church leaders have been linked to columns and set on fire”. However, The Sudanese government has repeatedly denied the persecution of its Christian citizens, accusing the southerners of committing abuses against Muslims. A document issued by the Presidency of the Republic of Sudan in September 2007 revealed "violations" by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement for the Naivasha Peace Agreement against Muslims in the South. Therefore, the organization's claims were not true, as Muslims were persecuted in the south and not vice versa (“American Organization...in Southern Sudan”).

This organization did not come for relief and aid to those affected by natural disasters and civil wars, as claimed, but to instigate sedition and hatred among the people of North and South Sudan, and spread Christianity. The press reports reported that the Samaritan’s Purse organization launched a fierce Christianization campaign in southern Sudan aimed to extend to northern Sudan and its neighboring countries. The Christian organization declared it built 80 churches in 2007 alone, adding that it would build another 120 churches in 2008 and

would start one of the largest distributions of copies of the Bible in the history of the country (“American Organization...in Southern Sudan”).

The Samaritan’s Purse organization is considered as a vital crusader base for the imposition of Christianity and the spread of Islam to the depths of Africa. The reports said that the hatred of Islam and the violent desire to remove it are considered the most important goals of the crusade against the region, because they realize that if Islam are to be carried out there, it would spread throughout the Horn of Africa and the Nile and Lakes regions, which are significant strategic areas of the continent where there is no compromise (“American Organization...in Southern Sudan”).

Samaritan’s Purse organization did not only practice Christianization and exploit the sensitive situation between the north and the south of Sudan to create strife, but it practiced other suspicious activities. The organization has been exploring and smuggling gold, and arms trade. Purse organization supported the rebellious movements in the south, providing supplies, ammunition and weapons through the Humanitarian Action Portal (Al-Amin).

2 -Thirst No More

Thirst no more is a non-profit humanitarian organization created in 1995 in the State of Maryland. Thirst No More operates in three main areas, disaster relief, humanitarian aid, and community development:

We believe in meeting the tangible needs of individuals in order to create opportunities to share the love of Christ. One way in which we do this is through our community empowerment initiatives. We spearhead food, clothing, and educational material distribution to homeless and transitionally housed individuals in the Downtown Baltimore City area. Through partnerships, we support back to school events where organizations give away

school supplies to inner city youth. We support music and art in the community as a way to give youth and young adults a positive outlet to use their talents.

(Thirst No More Corporation)

Thirst no more recognizes the need to provide assistance to those affected by natural disasters and to provide the necessary relief to reduce damage. In addition to, the organization provide humanitarian aid in third world countries which suffer from poverty. The organization provides humanitarian services such as providing clean water, food, medical treatment, education and clothing, in order to provide a better life (Thirst No More Corporation).

This organization intervened in Sudan because of the desertification disaster that hit the country, particularly the Darfur region, which caused massive population displacements and conflict over water resources to provide food and humanitarian aid to those affected. The organization worked in Darfur in 2006-2009, where it dug and repaired hundreds of broken wells, which benefited about 200,000 people (Darfur Sudan).

It was not long before the organization began to raise doubts and suspicions about the reality of its objectives and the nature of its work in the region. The humanitarian aid competent authorities in North Darfur implemented a raid wide to the Thirst No More organization offices, resulted in the confiscation of more than three thousand deluxe edition of the Gospel. The Darfur authorities made clear that the organization violated the principles of international humanitarian law and the Sudanese Constitution, as well as violated the Voluntary Labor Organization Act (Shabaraka).

Moreover, the sources said that the organization's activity is very weak and limited in the field of maintenance and repair of water wells. It did nothing to fight thirst, as it claimed to do, but exploited the privileges, immunity and tax exemptions granted to it to distribute copies of the Bible in the Darfur region. Taking advantage of the poor conditions and wars

experienced by the population, the organization practiced Christianization versus water (Shabaraka).

Thirst No More organization and others are exceeding their mandate and are putting religion into humanitarian action, Said Mohammed Adam, an organization official at the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs “There is a law governing the activity of organizations and humanitarian activity in general in Sudan, and this law prohibits the proselytizing activity of organizations in the country based on the principles of that law” (Shabaraka). The provision of food and water to convert people from religion to religion is a violation of the law of relief work in all the world, as no relief work is linked to religion or politics, by which it is criminalizes to use this in humanitarian action (Shabaraka). The abuses were denied, and the organization quickly cleared that the charges were personal behavior of a few employees, and did not reflect the organization's policy. The organization website describe its work in Darfur as focusing on repairing and drilling water wells and does not mention any missionary activity of any kind. However, because of violations, Thirst No More the organization was expelled from Sudan in 2009 (“Organizations in Darfur... Christianization versus water”).

3 -CARE International

CARE is one of the largest private humanitarian relief organizations in the world, and a leader in the fight against poverty all around the world. CARE International began in 1945 to provide relief to victims of World War II, and is currently working to help the poor in more than 94 countries, providing assistance to more than 200 million people from across the country. CARE strength are derives from its global diversity, resources and expertise, it has more than six decades of helping people affected by disasters, providing lifesaving relief when a crisis hits, and helping communities recover after the emergency has passed. CARE

program is particularly focuses on women and children, who are often excessively affected by disasters:

CARE is a leading humanitarian organization fighting global poverty. They place special focus on working alongside poor women because, equipped with the proper resources, women have the power to help whole families and entire communities escape poverty. Women are at the heart of our community-based efforts to improve basic education, prevent the spread of disease, increase access to clean water and sanitation, expand economic opportunity and protect natural resources. They also deliver emergency aid to survivors of war and natural disasters, and help people rebuild their lives. (CARE International)

CARE began its work in Southern Sudan in 1993, where the organization began to provide humanitarian relief services to the displaced and affected by the conflict. In 2005, the organization operations expanded to include the development programs in Jonglei and Upper Nile states to support returnees from refugee camps. With the outbreak of violence in 2013, CARE provided food, emergency water, education and sanitation services, besides supporting 40 health facilities in conflict- affected areas (South Sudan).

Despite the role of the Sudanese government in providing aid and facilities to the organization, CARE operated outside its humanitarian mandate too. CARE organization played a major intelligence role for the US government. The director of the organization, Paul Parker, prepared a detailed scenario paper for the entry of international forces instead of African troops to Sudan, with full security and intelligence analysis recommending the Sudanese government's easy acceptance of civil forces. It also accused the Sudanese government of bombing civilians in villages in the state of North Darfur. As well as, it provided reports on the ethnic composition of the Gereida region and the government-sponsored Janjawid attacks, providing false information about human rights violations and

war crimes, calling for the civil society to intervene immediately to pressure the Sudanese government to stop the genocide (Arafa).

Paul Parker said that the Sudanese government was unhappy with an e-mail message written to the CARE team and leaked to Sudanese newspapers. Parker explained that the message was about the security of CARE employees, as it sets out different perceptions of what could happen in Darfur, and it has nothing to do with US intelligence, but the government considered it an inappropriate political analysis. Paul said that CARE had spent more than 250 Million Dollars on relief projects in Sudan since she arrived in the country, mostly in the Darfur region, explaining that its activity is purely humanitarian based on the assistance of the Sudanese people (Arafa). The Sudanese authorities have been monitoring Parker and his movements for a long time, which confirmed his involvement in intelligence work, in addition to writing fabricated security reports on the situation in Darfur, pointing out that the decision to expel him is final and does not retreat in 2007 (Khartoum: US director of "CARE" was dismissed...intelligence work).

The scandals are proof that the organization has not come to meet the call for humanitarian relief and assistance to those affected by the war, but to gather information and fabricate charges of war crimes for Sudanese government. CARE played an exploitative intelligence role for the benefit of the US government, where it took advantage of the crisis situation in Sudan to spy under the humanitarian cover, which provided protection. In addition to espionage, the organization inflated the dimensions of the conflict to distort the image of the country in order to get more funding and to maximize the gains of those who were in charge of it. CARE received hundreds of millions of dollars in funding from the government and the US intelligence agencies and its scandals were proof of their involvement in political work.

4 -The World Council of Churches

The World Council of Churches was established with the beginning of the Ecumenical period in 1948, when churches began to call for a renewal and unity of Christian denominations. It contained most of the Protestant churches and Eastern Orthodox churches, but it did not include the Roman Catholic Church. The Council of Churches is located in the Ecumenical Council in Geneva, Switzerland. After the First World War, the Movement of Life and Labor and the Movement of Faith and Order began to work together to establish a single council that included churches all over the world. The conference of church leaders was to be held in 1938, but with the beginning of the Second World War the Conference was postponed until 1948, and it was the first official meeting of the World Council of Churches. Most of the churches were European and North American, which formed its main nucleus at the time of incorporation, and then the Council gradually began to expand (World Council of Churches-Encyclopeda).

The World Council of Churches represents the largest number of United Churches. The Council has a large number of denominations and is followed by more than 590 million people worldwide in 150 countries. It includes 520,000 diocese, served by 493,000 priests, teachers and theologians (World Council of Churches). WCC mission is to build a just community of men and women, so that all its programs aims to support churches and their members to achieve and promote justice and peace throughout the world (World Council of Churches- Al Marefa).

From time to time, the Council organizes fundraising campaigns, yet it seeks to provide stable sources of funding from various governments and institutions in Western countries, through economic projects, agricultural land and bank balances for missionary movements (World Council...hidden Role).

The Sudanese Council of Churches was founded in 1965, but because of the civil war it was denied access to many areas in Sudan. Thus, the member churches formed the new Sudanese Council of Churches in 1989, and the two Councils worked in Sudan in coordination with the World Council of Churches, and were merged in 2007, so that all programs of the two Councils operated under one administration (Sudan Council of Churches).

. The Sudanese Council of Churches seeks justice, equality and peace, so that it aims to involve churches and good people to protect and defend human rights in Sudan. The Churches work to enable their members to acquire the resources and the appropriate skills to serve the Sudanese society with its various ethnicities and religions. SCC serves and helps all the people in general and those affected by conflict and the poor in particular (Sudan Council of Churches).

Despite the fact that its an international organization, the World Council of Churches was subject to great influence and control from the United States of America. The Council played a major role in evangelization not only the heart of Sudan where the Muslim majority, but in all of Africa, taking advantage of the people poverty of and their need to fill their hunger and thirst. The Council used its churches in southern Sudan, which reached 500 churches and missionaries, all methods in order to attract the people of the south to it (Map of the Beneficiaries...Southern Sudan).

The WCC has often set conditions for the distribution of aid, the most important of which was the provision of assistance to all Christians of all ages, while excluding Muslims and other African religious groups, what prompted them to call themselves and their children Christian names in order to receive the aid from churches (Map of the Beneficiaries...Southern Sudan). This was revealed by Ashok Kulen Jank, Secretary General of the World Council of Churches of Central and East Africa, after his conversion to Islam.

He explained the plans that were followed by thousands of Western ecclesiastical organizations in the conversion of Muslims through various means and methods, including human cover, aid and exert pressure on Arab and Islamic governments to respond to Western demands. Ashok said that he participated in a secret conference held in Texas to examine the situation of each Islamic country separately and take appropriate measures to evangelize their children or remove them from their religion (World Council of Churches... Role). The World Council of Churches is sponsoring thousands of churches, Sudan alone has more than 500 ecclesiastical organizations (Sabie).

The Council also supervised research and planning centers with a select group of researchers to carry out studies that serve the missionary objectives. The sixth conference of the World Council of Churches, held in July 1980 in California, discussed the need to increase missionary missions between the Muslims of the Middle East and Africa. A report published by the "Egyptians" website, quoting from the magazine "Islamic world" that the World Council of Churches (WCC), in its November 2006 conference, said that 25 billion dollars would be used to convert Muslims around the world. In the priority of its interests, conflict and poor countries, and the magazine said that Sudan is among the top concerns of the council ("World Council of Churches... Role").

In addition to Christianization, the Council played a major role in triggering conflicts and wars between north and south Sudan, as it secretly supported and financed the rebel movements. In 1990, the Council declared that the proceeds of the oil output must be distributed fairly among the Sudanese parties, exploiting the religious factor in inciting the south against the northern government and portraying the conflict as between Muslims and Christians on the one hand and between Arabs and Africans on the other. The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches declared at its meeting in Berlin on January 29, 2001, its dissatisfaction with the suffering of the people of southern Sudan from torture and

repression, inflating the situation in international forums, which led to escalation of the conflict and the separation of the South in the end (Sabie).

Like any US relief organization, the World Council of Churches did not come to aid the affected and the poor people, and to achieve justice and peace in Sudan as it claimed. Yet, it came in order to evangelize the needy in general, and to divide Sudan in particular. The Sudanese reports confirmed that these organizations are active in the most ignorant and affected areas of Sudan, although those churches were taking power and government support and foreign supply for long periods, was sufficient to make a big change if it wanted to (Sabie).

II/ NGOs and the American interests in Sudan

The United States has worked to strengthen its presence in the South through 35 international organizations throughout Sudan, representing 19% of all international institutions operating in the Sudan as a whole. Besides, the United States has about 390 employee working in its institutions in Sudan, adding adding another 220 working in different international agencies, to constitute about 34% of the foreign presence in Sudan as a whole (Sabie).

South Sudan, as mentioned above, is a treasure trove for the relief organizations; as they receive more than 1 billion dollars a year to support development in the South and west of Sudan. However, only 3% of the budget is spent on development programs, while the rest goes to special logistical support, such as, salaries, allowances, bonuses, hotels, bribes. The role of these organizations is Christianization, creating sedition and dividing the country in order to plunder its wealth, as well as providing misconception information to the International media to confirm the existence of crises in southern Sudan requiring their presence (Sabie).

The problems and the secession created by these organizations allows the American companies to obtain their golden opportunity to freely explore oil in the South of Sudan, and invest its mineral and agricultural resources, where oil reserves are concentrated in the south and west of Sudan, estimated at 6 billion barrels growthable. The amount of aid provided annually by Washington to South Sudan is estimated at 1 billion dollars, and this is a humble price compared to what the US will get from Sudan's oil. Thereby, oil will remain at the top of the list of reasons that led America to support the secession of the south (Al shimi).

Over the past two decades, these organizations proved their influence on Sudan's policy, security and stability. Regardless of why the organizations exist or how they operate, they serve only one interest "the American interest". All the organizations mentioned above enjoy absolute freedom, privileges and substantial support by the US government. The majority of their funding comes from the government and the US intelligence services, making them work as long arms for the United States of America to gather intelligence, looting the country's wealth and enhancing their interests, as well as sharpen their image in the international arena. As a result, there have become fierce competition between these organizations themselves in attracting donations and therefore, these organizations tend to exaggerate either in the magnitude of disasters that occur or, in volume of human activity (Arbab).

As a result of their accurate and up-to-date information and statistics on the situation in the countries in which they work, the great powers have become dependent on non-profit organizations to work instead of her in third world countries. This is due to the difficulty of obtaining information through direct diplomacy and official channels from the countries receiving support and loans for various programs ("Western...pioneers?").

Many questions have been raised about the reasons behind the United States' commitment to directly intervene to provide humanitarian assistance in certain regions and countries, and its reluctance to intervene in other regions that have seen worse humanitarian tragedies. Including the question about the reason for the rapid American exit from Somalia, and adherence to intervene and stay in other regions and countries like Sudan. The answer to these questions lie in the common thing among these countries where America intervened, which is oil (Mekhel).

When the tsunami hit South-East Asia in 2004 and caused massive destruction and the death of tens of thousands of people, some organizations, falsely claiming to be humanitarian, began to offer their services to the countries. However, they were met with a decisive refusal even from a small country such as Myanmar. Myanmar did not allow them to enter its territory for its full knowledge of their agenda and goals on the one hand and because it is aware on the other hand, of the difficulty of getting rid of them after the disaster is over, because they will not hesitate to create more disasters (Zain El Abidine).

Wherever non-governmental organizations are found it seems that they have a hidden role that contradicts with the policy of the host country. On the one hand, they criticize the country's policy and its violations of human rights and dictatorships. However, on the other hand, they support political, religious and social extremist groups in an attempt to create problems and conflicts, like what happened in Sudan when the Humanitarian organizations supported the rebels. NGOs are therefore redefined in Jessica Mathews's modified of Foreign Affairs magazine (1997) "NGO are special interest groups that are designed and used as extensions of foreign policy instrument for certain Western countries... financed and controlled by foreign entities with specific agenda" (Talat).

Conclusion

Since the establishment of the civil society, it aimed to spread democracy and serves the needy and affected communities. That is why the civil society has been employed to support countries and societies unable to perform their functions. The non-governmental organizations became an important and effective element in the protection of human rights and marginalized groups, in being a mediator between the people and the state. However, the goals of these humanitarian organizations have been transformed and used by the United States of America and some Western countries as a means of penetrating and interfering in the internal affairs of some countries, especially third world countries such as Sudan.

The United States of America exploited the dire situation in Sudan and its need for international support. So she sent a number of activists in various fields, such as, the Samaritan's Purse organization, Thirst no more, CARE, and The World Council of Churches, all of these organizations aimed to provide spiritual and physical assistance to war victims, Natural disasters, disease, famine and poverty. In the last two decades, these organizations have begun to work in south and west of Sudan providing food assistance, health, education and water services to all those in need. But instead of adhering to its humanitarian program, these organizations have been Christianizing and building churches. In addition, they have launched fierce and false media campaigns against the humanitarian situation experienced by the Christians of the South under the persecution of Muslims, and accusing the Northern government of imposing Islam, to create a deeper rift between the North and the South. Not only did these organizations distort the image of Sudan in the international arena, but also supported the rebels, divided the country and smuggled its wealth, and spied for the American intelligence under humanity cover.

The US presence in the Sudanese territories since the 1970s was not for charity, humanitarian relief, justice and peace, as it claimed, but to achieve religious, political and economic goals, headed by oil. America sought to strengthen its presence in all fields to dominate the whole country, and there is no better way to penetrate than humanitarian organizations. Due to its easy movement and gathering information without attracting attention, and influence on the policy of Sudan, to pressure him to drain its wealth. There is no doubt that the worst exploitation is the exploitation of people's pain and poverty for profit and other hidden targets.

Endnotes

¹ imposing a form of government in which the political authority exercises absolute and centralized control over all aspects of life, the individual is subordinated to the state, and opposing political and cultural expression is suppressed (Totalitarianism).

² is a set of left-wing political principles whose general aim is to create a system in which everyone has an equal opportunity to benefit from a country's wealth. Under socialism, the country's main industries are usually owned by the state (Socialism).

General Conclusion

The link between the Africa and the United States of America have always been difficult to trace. Before the cold war the relationship between those two was obscure and unspecified. The collapse of the Soviet Union was a major cause in the shift in the policy of the US towards the black continent. In addition to the penetration policy adopted by the US. Later, the 9/11 attacks reinforced the existence and the interference of the United states in the many areas of the world including Africa.

The American existence in the eastern realms of Africa started to take a particular alleyway when the US targeted Sudan. Due to its incredible wealth and systematic locus, Sudan caught the American eye; the fertile lands and natural resources, were enough to consider the country as the most emerging economies of the time in the region. Unfortunately, Sudan had never taken advantage of its richness, the long-lasting impact of the civil wars and natural disasters and additional internal conflicts prevented it from enjoying a good esteem.

Regarding to the ethnic diversity in Sudan and the multiplicity of various religions, the government failed to manage an acceptable co-existence between different races, which later led to several civil wars. The British colonizer was another cause behind Sudan long lasting conflicts, as the colonial regime administrated north and south as separate regions, which ignited the spark of hatred between different religions and ethnic groups. That resulted in Sudan divided into two parts: the Muslims boosted northward while Christians and other African religions occupied the southern lands. A further argument to highlight is the absence of the economic justice. Despite the abundance of natural resources, the Sudanese government failed to divide the wealth equally between the north and south.

In order to benefit from Sudan incomes, America used the human rights proclamations as a pretext to profit from the country resources. When the country was weak politically, the United States of America took advantage of the situation to send plenty of relief organizations working in various fields to provide humanitarian assistance, like Samaritan's Purse

organization, Thirst no more, CARE, and The World Council of Churches, all of these organizations aimed to provide spiritual and physical assistance to war victims, Natural disasters, famine and poverty.

Despite the freedom and privileges given to these organizations by the Sudanese government, they deviated from their humanitarian program for hidden purposes. In fact, these organizations have exploited the ethnic diversity and conflicts to divide Sudan and spread Christianity. In addition, they inflated the poor conditions and wars to distort the image of the country in international forums to facilitate the US intervention in the country's internal affairs. These organizations did not only play an important role in spying and writing accurate security reports for US intelligence, but also supported the rebels in south and west of Sudan by providing supplies, ammunition and weapons to ensure the continuation of the conflicts.

Compared to the large-scale campaigns launched by these organizations and the enormous financial support they received, they did nothing to improve the situation in Sudan, but instead they have made it worse. To conclude, the American aid organizations did not come to help and to provide humanitarian assistance as claimed, but to serve the US interests in Sudan. Over the past two decades, these organizations proved their influence on Sudan's policy, security and stability, confirming that are no longer humanitarian, but purely colonial means.

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