



# **National Democratic Alliance Collection 1989-2002**

International Institute of Social History  
Cruquiusweg 31  
1019 AT Amsterdam  
The Netherlands

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## National Democratic Alliance Collection

**Period** 1989-2002

**Total size** 1 m.

**Consultation** Not restricted

### History

The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was set up clandestinely in Karthoum, Sudan, in October 1989, only three months after the military coup of general Omar al-Bashir which brought the National Islamic Front to power; the NDA, which included all Sudanese oppositional political parties, moved its leadership to Cairo, Egypt, as it was almost impossible to organize any political activities inside Sudan.

### Content

Collection consisting of minutes of meetings of the NDA in Cairo and Asmara 1990-2003 and correspondence, conference papers, declarations, publications and other documents; documents of the parties comprising the NDA, including the Umma Party, the Democratic Unionist Party, the Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army, the Sudan Allied Forces and the Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Army; documents of other Sudanese nongovernmental organizations, both inside Sudan and abroad, in particular on issues of human rights and the defence of political detainees.

### Administrative information

#### Processing information

List made by Mohammed Abdulhamid in 2004

### Introduction

The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was founded in October 1989, only a couple of months after the General Omer al-Bashir seized power in Sudan with the help of National Islamic Front (NIF). The first signatories to the NDA charter, drafted underground, were the Umma Party, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and the Communist Party of Sudan (CPS). They were later joined by other parties, trade unions, and independent individuals. By 2002 the following parties and organizations were members of the NDA: 1) the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), 2) the Umma Party (suspended its membership in the NDA in March 2000, though it is committed to the NDA's resolutions and goals), 3) the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA), 4) the Union of Sudan African Parties (USAP), 5) the Communist Party of Sudan (CPS), 6) the General Council of the Trade Unions Federation (GCTUF), 7) the Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces (LCSAF), 8) the Beja Congress, 9) the Sudan Allied Forces (SAF), 10) the Federal Democratic Alliance (FDA), 11) the Free Lions Association, 12) the Arab Baath Socialist Party, 13) independent national figures, 14) representatives of the liberated areas, 15) the Sudanese National Party.

The main goal of the NDA was to overthrow the NIF government in Khartoum and reinstall democracy and political pluralism in the Sudan and to reach a peaceful solution for the question of Southern Sudan, based on the equitable distribution of wealth and power, even development, with respect for the cultural and religious diversity of Sudan.

In 1989 and 1990 many of the leaders of Sudanese political parties managed to leave the country, including Mohamed Osman al-Mirgani of the DUP, Mubarak al-Fadil al-Mahdi of the Umma Party, and Izzeddin Ali Amer of the CPS. As refugees they started an intensive and wide ranging campaign against the government in Sudan. Meanwhile a small group of NDA activists initiated a limited and secretive political movement inside Sudan.

During the first half of the 1990s a combination of national and international factors helped the efforts of the NDA to enhance the isolation of the Khartoum Government. Partly it was the fault of the Khartoum government itself, as it intensified the civil war in the south, aiming to eliminate the

SPLA militarily, while at the same time exerting a unprecedented brutal suppression of its political opponents in the North. This was exacerbated by the radical foreign policies of the Khartoum government, which supported Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The joining of the SPLA of the NDA in 1990 enhanced its activities and moral, and pushed forward its agenda especially in the USA and Western Europe. The efforts of the NDA reached its peak in 1995 after the assassination attempt on the life of the President Mubarak of Egypt in Addis Abba and the launching of the first northern Sudanese armed struggle group of the Sudan Allied Forces (SAF) in 1996.

The military efforts of the NDA started with the formation of the Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces (LCSAF), founded by army officers who were dismissed by the government right after the coup d'etat. LCSAF was led by General Fathi Ahmed Ali, the chief of Staff of the Sudanese Army before the coup. But this organisation also experienced splits. In 1996 Brigadier Abdulaziz Khalid broke away from LCSAF and formed his own Sudan Allied Forces (SAF) and started military operations in Eastern Sudan with the help of Eritrea. Three other armed groups or factions were formed by the Umma Party, the DUP and the Beja Congress in 1996. The military efforts of the NDA were later joined by other attempts to form armed factions by the Communist Party and the Free Lions of Rashaida Tribe. Although these armed factions made an impressive show at the beginning in 1996, they failed to achieve any progress due to a lack of resources and a lack of coordination between them, in addition to the fierce competition that existed among the opposition groups.

Politically, the NDA adopted several strategies during its struggle, starting in 1990 by the old strategy of organizing a popular uprising, similar those of 21 October 1964 and 6 April 1985 in Khartoum. However, after being joined by the SPLA and northern fighting factions, the NDA chose to adopt military action in order to bring down the NIF government. But some groups within the NDA continued to consider military actions as a tool to provide protection to bring about a popular uprising in Khartoum and they continued to talk about the Protected Popular Uprising Strategy. At a later stage, especially after the withdrawal of the Umma Party from the NDA and the obvious ineffectiveness of the military actions in Eastern Sudan, a new strategy of a Negotiated Solution was adopted by the NDA. This tactic was followed reluctantly at the beginning, but was generally regarded as the only viable way out.

The most important political achievements of the NDA throughout its struggle were the adoption of many important documents and declarations signed in Asmara, Cairo and Nairobi, which provide a solution to the problems the Sudan is suffering from. For instance, the Declaration of Asmara of 1985 represents the first Sudanese political consensus on some of the most sensitive issues such as the relation between the state and religion, the right of self-determination for Southern Sudan and the marginalized areas. In 2000 the NDA finally entered negotiations with the government as a way to bring about change in Sudan. Many meetings and rounds of talks have been held with the Sudanese government since then without tangible results until mid 2004 when a breakthrough was reached.

The collection

The collection was donated to the IISH by the Communist Party of Sudan in 2003. It consists of the resolutions, declarations, policy papers, statements and press releases issued by the NDA from 1989 to 2002. The collection contains also minutes of meetings and resolutions of the NDA leadership internal deliberations, documents on foreign branches and foreign relations, in addition to a remarkable collection of documents on human rights situation in the Sudan.

Every description (inv. no.) consists of 1 cover; exceptions to this rule are mentioned separately. The size of the collection is 1 m. and it is free accessible to researchers.

## LIST

### Charters

- 1 The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) Charter signed in Khartoum in 21 October 1989.
- 2 The modified charter of The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) signed in Cairo 1992.
- 3 Amendments on the Charter agreed upon in 1995.
- 4 Memorandum of understanding, National Alliance Forces. September 1996.

## **Conferences and Meetings of the Leadership Council**

- 5 Documents of the Leadership meetings of 1991.
- 6 Documents of the Leadership meeting of January 1992.
- 7 Nairobi Declaration, Communiqué of the Leadership meetings. 1993.
- 8 Preparatory works of the Fundamental Issues' Conference, Asmara. June 1994.
- 9 Fundamental Issues' Conference, resolution on the issue of self-determination. 1995.
- 10 Fundamental Issues' Conference, resolution on security and military arrangements. 1995.
- 11 Fundamental Issues' Conference, resolution on the structure of NDA. 1995.
- 12 Proceedings of the Leadership Council and Executive Bureau Asmara Part I. Jan 1996.
- 13 Proceedings of the Leadership Council and Executive Bureau Asmara. Part II. 1996.
- 14 Final Communiqué, Leadership Council meetings, Asmara. 1996.
- 15 Proceedings of the Leadership Council meetings. Asmara Part I. Oct. 1996.
- 16 Proceedings of the Leadership Council meetings. Asmara. Part II. Oct. 1996.
- 17 Proceedings of the Leadership Council meetings. Asmara. March. 1997.
- 18 Proceedings of the Leadership Council meetings. Asmara. Jun. 1997.
- 19 Report on the activities of the NDA General Secretariat. Jan. 1997.
- 20 Proceedings of the Committee for Transitional Arrangements. Asmara. 1998.
- 21 Proceedings of the Leadership Council meetings. Asmara. March. 1998.
- 22 Preparatory works for the Leadership Council meetings. Oct. 1998.
- 23 Final Communiqué, Leadership Council meetings. Asmara. Jun. 1999.
- 24 Proceedings of the Leadership Council meetings. Tripoli, Libya. Dec. 1999.
- 25 Final Communiqué, Leadership Council, (Tripoli Declaration). Tripoli. Aug. 1999.
- 26 Final Communiqué, Leadership Council, Kampala, Uganda. Dec. 1999.
- 27 Proceeding and the final Communiqué, Leadership Council, Cairo, Egypt. March. 2000.
- 28 Proceedings and the final Communiqué, Leadership Council, Cairo, Egypt. Aug. 2000.
- 29 Second General Conference of NDA, preparatory work, Massawa, Eritrea. Sep. 2000.
- 30 Second General Conference of NDA, speeches delivered in the conference. Massawa, Eritrea. Sep. 2000.

- 31 Second General Conference of NDA, reports presented to the conference. Massawa, Eritrea. Sep. 2000.
- 32 Final Communiqu , Leadership Council meetings. Asmara, Eritrea. Dec. 2001.
- 33 Proceedings and the final Communiqu , Leadership Council, Asmara, Eritrea. Feb. 2002.
- 34 Proceedings of the Leadership Council meetings, Asmara, Eritrea. August. 2002.

## **Reconciliation and Negotiation Initiatives with the Sudan government.**

- 35 Memo on reconciliation attempts. 1991.
- 36 NDA and the IGAD peace initiative. 1994.
- 37 The NDA proposal for a comprehensive political solution. 1999.
- 38 NDA reaction to the Libyan reconciliation. 1999.
- 39 The NDA negotiation position. 1999.
- 40 Resolution on comprehensive peace initiative. 2000.
- 41 Memo to IGAD secretariat on peace initiative. 2000.
- 42 Proposal to unify all political reconciliation initiatives. 2000.
- 43 Memo on political settlement. 2000.
- 44 Memo on interim government. 2002.
- 45 Cairo declaration signed by Garang, Mahdi and al-Mirghani. 2003.
- 46 NDA Khartoum, views on political settlement. No date.

## **Press Releases**

- 47-59 Various press releases issued by the NDA. 1990-2002.
  - 47 1990.
  - 48. 1991.
  - 49 1992.
  - 50 1993.
  - 51 1994.
  - 52 1995
  - 53 1996.
  - 54 1997.
  - 55 1998.
  - 56 1999.
  - 57 2000 .
  - 58 2001.
  - 59 2002 .
- 60 Press releases on military operations. 1997-2002.

## **Branches Abroad**

- 61 Various documents issued by the NDA on policies and organization of branches abroad. 1990-1995.

- 62 Reports, letters and documents of the NDA Branch in UK. 1990-1994.
- 63 Reports, letters and documents of the NDA Branch in USA. 1991-1995.
- 64 Reports, letters and documents of the NDA Branch in France. 1990-1995.
- 65 Reports, letters and documents of the NDA Branch in Czech Republic. 1990-1995.
- 66 Reports, letters and documents of the NDA Branch in Saudi Arabia. 1991-1995.
- 67 Reports, letters and documents of the NDA Branch in Gulf Region. 1995.
- 68 Letter of the NDA Branch in Libya. 1995.
- 69 Letters of the NDA Branch in Yemen. 1996.

## **Foreign Relations**

- 70 Policy papers and reports on foreign relations. 1991-1994.
- 71 Letters and papers concerning relations with Egypt. 1991-1997.
- 72 Letters and papers concerning relations with Eritrea. 1994-2001.
- 73 Letters and papers concerning relations with the USA. 1993-2000.
- 74 Letters and papers concerning relations with African countries. 1991-1997.
- 75 Letters and papers concerning relations with Arab countries. 1991-1997.
- 76 Letters to the Un Secretary General. 1992-1998.
- 77 Letters to European states and organizations. 1994-2000.

## **Proposed laws and arrangements for interim period**

- 78 Laws and economic and administrative arrangements of the interim period. 1992.
- 79 Laws and economic and administrative arrangements of the interim period, revised. 1994.
- 80 Laws and economic and administrative arrangements of the interim period, revised. 1999.
- 81 The Provisional Constitution of Sudan. No date.
- 82 Constitutional decrees. No date.
- 83 Action Plan of the Interim government. No date.
- 84 Labor law and related issues. No date.
- 85 Eliminating the remnants of National Islamic Front government. No date.
- 86 Other related documents. No date.

## **NDA Newspaper**

- 87 Various reports and plans related to the NDA Weekly newspaper. 1991-1993.

## **Reports on human rights**

- 88 Reports on human rights collected and compiled by the NDA. 1990-1999.
- 89 Reports on human rights by Sudan Human Rights Organization. 1991-1999.
- 90 Reports on human rights by Sudanese Victims of Torture Group 2000.

- 91 Reports on human rights by Arab Human Rights. 1997.
- 92 Reports on human rights in Sudan, United Nations. 1992-1999.
- 93 Reports on human rights in Sudan, Amnesty International. 1989-1999.

## **Documents related to NDA member parties and organizations**

### **Umma Party**

- 94 Comments, Remarks and letters of the Umma Party to the NDA. 1992-1999.
- 95 Letters and speeches of Sadiq al-Mahdi the Leader of Umma. 1991-2000.
- 96 Various working papers written by Sadiq al-Mahdi. 1995-2001.
- 97 Cairo Branch meetings of the Umma party. 1996-2000.
- 98 Agreement with SPLA signed in Shogdom, southern Sudan. 1994.
- 99 Joint communique with the Communist Party of Sudan. 1995.
- 100 Various documents on foreign relations. 1995 and no date.
- 101 Press releases, Umma Party. 1993-2001.

### **Democratic Unionist Party DUP**

- 102 Constitution and programs of the DUP. 1991-1995.
- 103 Meeting of the Central Committee. 1992-1995.
- 104 Various papers and documents on the NDA. 1990-1996.
- 105 Press releases DUP. 1993-1995.
- 106 Miscellaneous documents DUP. 1993-1995.

### **Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA)**

- 107 Statement to the Sudanese People on the current situation John Garang. 1991.
- 108 Statement marking the 8th anniversary of SPLA, John Garang. 1991.
- 109 Torit Meeting Resolutions. 1991.
- 110 Speech to the First National Convention, John Garang. 1994.
- 111 The First National Convention, Resolutions. 1994.
- 112 Declaration on Nuba Mountains. 1996.
- 113 Conference on civil society. 1996.
- 114 Visions, Program and constitution. 1998.

### **SPLA –NDA**

- 115 Speeches delivered at NDA meetings and conferences. 1993-1995.
- 116 Various correspondence and proposal to NDA. 1992-2000.

### **SPLA- Peace Talks**

- 117 Sudan Government Initiative. 1989.
- 118 Abuja I Peace Talks. 1992.
- 119 Abuja II Peace Talks. 1993.
- 120 Common agenda for IGAD Peace Talks. 1994.
- 121 An open appeal for peace. 1995, 1997.

- 122 Nuba Mountains cease fire agreement. 2002
- 123 Joint declarations between SPLA and other Sudanese parties. 1992-2002
- 124 Correspondences and documents related to various foreign organizations and personalities. 1987-2002
- 125 SPLA press releases. 1991-2002
- 126 SPLA UP-Date newsletter. 1993-1996.

### **The Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces**

- 127 Various documents on issues related to NDA. 1992-1998
- 128 Various documents on issues related to military issues. 1992-1998.

### **Sudan Allied Forces**

- 129 Sudan Allied Forces. 1995-1996.

### **Other Organizations**

- 130 Various documents of other member organizations, allies of the NDA or active with the Sudanese opposition groups abroad. 1990-2002. 1 folder

### **Press Cuttings**

- 131 Press cuttings on the NDA and other opposition groups. 1991-2001. 1 folder