



SUDAN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITOR DECEMBER 2010 - JANUARY 2011

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Two Sudanese States: Challenges for Coexistence and Redefinition

Over their history, North and South Sudan have struggled to coexist in a single state. The history of post-independence relations is overshadowed by war. The 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) ended the Second Sudanese War, which devastated the South, killed two million and displaced a further four million. The CPA offered the possibility of renegotiation of the dynamic between the North and South by envisioning an interim period designed to facilitate integration and a more equitable relationship between the North and South, and intended to “make unity attractive”. The CPA culminated in the 9 January 2011 referenda for Southern self-determination and on the status of Abyei, as well as popular consultations in Blue Nile and South Kordofan states. The 2011 referendum for Southern self-determination was considered to be a safety valve, a failsafe to protect southern interests in the democratisation process.

Unfortunately, the interim period was fraught with political obstruction, and disrupted by the crisis in Darfur which shifted international attention to the West of the country. Mistrust deepened between the CPA partners and distracted from the programme of legal reform. When reforms were made, they were largely cosmetic, and in some cases contradicted provisions of Sudan’s Interim National Constitution (INC), which included a comprehensive Bill of Rights. No real, conscientious efforts were made by the

ruling National Congress Party (NCP) to make unity realistic for southerners,¹ and the the goal of a “new Sudan” was undermined by John Garang’s death in a helicopter crash just months after signing the CPA.² In the months prior to the referendum, delays in logistical and procedural elements of the referendum process, inflammatory rhetoric by senior NCP members, and bombings of the South in Kiir Adem raised concerns that the referendum would reignite war between the North and South. 9 January was a line in the sand for the SPLM, who were rumoured to unilaterally declare secession if the referendum was derailed. Significant last-hour attempts were made by senior NCP officials to reach a last-hour compromise with the Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement (SPLM) for unity³ as others admitted that the campaign for unity had failed and accused the SPLM of working for secession.

In the end, the cost of a return to war and its concomitant risks, as well as substantial international pressure, enabled the successful exercise of the referendum from 9 – 15 January 2011. Against all odds, the referendum voting occurred on time and was generally peaceful and without intimidation. Many of the irregularities that undermined the credibility of the national elections in April 2010 were remedied and international and national monitors have widely acknowledged the referendum as a credible and legitimate exercise. On 7 February, the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission announced the official results of the referendum for self-determination. Southerners in the South, North, and diaspora across eight countries voted overwhelmingly for secession (98.85%), with a 97.58% turnout of registered voters, far surpassing the 60% mandated by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).⁴ Independence is imminent, as the interim period and the CPA will expire in July 2011, when the country will officially split into two. Secession has been greeted with euphoria in the South, and has been welcomed by Northern opposition groups.

The NCP has agreed to recognise the South’s official declaration of independence in July 2011. Incentives proposed by the international community for the peaceful conduct of the referendum were simply too good to turn down, as they would soften the economic impacts of secession. A return to war would likely cost the NCP much more than they are likely to gain in post-referendum negotiations, particularly as they are faced with the realities of internal challenges and growing discontent within the North, including the crisis in Darfur. Despite the loss of credibility for the NCP with the secession of the South, acceptance appeared to have been seen as the most viable option, though with caveats. Abyei,

¹ “A letter from the men and women of the North to the men and women of the South, “On your democratic right to self-determination”, 1 January 2011.

² Opheera McDoom, “Witness – Where did it all go wrong?” Reuters, 12 January 2011. In an interview with *Al-Ahram* days before his arrest, Turabi voiced concerns that the entire country would disintegrate into eight mini states, and said of the NCP’s efforts during the interim period that “they didn’t build one metre of roads to the South. They didn’t facilitate the flow of shipping between North and South. The secession of the South wasn’t inevitable. Had efforts been made to keep the south from seceding, the unity of Sudan could have been preserved”.

³ In October, Vice President Ali Osman Taha pledged financial support from the state Unity Fund for developmental projects in the South in advance of the referendum. On 17 December, Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir offered the South the entirety of the oil revenue in the South in exchange for a vote for unity, despite repeated accusations by the SPLM during the interim period of keeping more than their 50% allotted by CPA. He further pledged to undertake developmental projects in the South in areas of education, health, electricity, and infrastructure “even if it exceeds 100% of the oil revenue”.

⁴ For a state by state breakdown of referendum results, see the SSRC’s tabulations at www.ssrc.sd. With the exception of South Darfur, which voted for unity, all of the states voted for self-determination. Southern states all exceeded 95% of the total vote for secession.

whose referendum remains stalled, could implode at any time, returning the two parties to war and collapsing many of the gains of the CPA.

However, the referendum was only the beginning. The hardest part is yet to come. Post-referendum talks were briefly suspended in mid-March by the SPLM amidst the alleged discovery of documents detailing the NCP's support and training of armed militia groups to destabilise the South.⁵ Negotiations on post-referendum issues – and the extent to which the CPA partners perceive that the other is negotiating in good faith or adopting more duplicitous modes of negotiating to prompt failure – will determine the future of the North/South relationship; whether it is an amicable divorce or renewed conflict.

With secession will also come the formation of two new states – the independent South and the “new” North, with new Southern areas of Blue Nile, Nuba Mountains, and South Darfur. The two new countries will be tasked with renegotiating their respective constitutions as the INC expires, and the reformation of their internal political structures.

Though the national elections in April 2010 were intended to ensure that democratically elected leaders were in place for the referendum and allow more space for opposition candidates, in reality they did little more than establish the NCP and SPLM as the sole ruling forces in their respective states. There will be a tendency for both parties to act in an exclusionary manner in the post-referendum period as they redefine themselves and consolidate their parties' identities now that their most powerful checks on power have been removed. This must be countered through dialogue and consultation with opposition groups, and the creation of an open and inclusive space for civil society. In the South, there is a generally more enabling environment – though institution building and monitoring of good governance is critical – and a South-South dialogue between political parties has already begun.⁶ However, the process needs to be amplified.

In the North, the process will be much more challenging and urgent intervention is needed. Many of the longstanding grievances that were catalysts of the Second Sudanese Civil War– lack of development and opportunity, opposition to the NCP's particular brand of *sharia* and its use against non-Muslims – has also fueled discontent in the North. Ahead of the referendum, opposition parties led a push for the formation of a coalition government to avoid isolation, the implementation of a more Islamist ideology, and general setbacks of the interim period when it expires alongside the process of constitutional renegotiation in July 2011. The NCP has rejected calls for a coalitional government, and avenues to access decision-making processes are only available under NCP auspices.

⁵ Pascal Ladu, “SPLM Accuses NCP of Plot and Suspends Negotiations”, 14 March 2011

⁶ In October 2010, Salva Kiir convened a conference of all Southern Political parties designed to facilitate dialogue and remedy mistrust from the experience of the national elections in 2010. The meeting adopted a consultative process for the post-referendum period and plans for the formation of an inclusive interim government, who will also be tasked at conducting a new census and establishing guidelines for elections. Though attempts to establish an inclusive government have been somewhat successful, insecurity has continued in the South over disputes between armed actors and political parties. Though renegade and failed independent gubernatorial candidate General George Athor signed a ceasefire with the SPLA in December, it quickly collapsed. On 11 February, 105 were killed in clashes between the SPLA and Athor's forces in Fangak County, Jongelei State. Athor is allegedly being supported by Khartoum.

Political Reformation in the North as Calls for a Coalition Government are Rejected

In December, opposition groups began calls for a strategy conference for the post-referendum period and process of constitutional renegotiation. Though the NCP has an official rhetoric of inclusion and President Omar al-Bashir invited members of the opposition to join the government to “unite the internal front”, demonstrations organised by the opposition have been forcibly dispersed. The National Consensus Forces, a group of mainstream opposition groups, has continued to organise since the referendum, and is now actively and blatantly working to bring about an end to the NCP regime, including through their support of mass demonstrations organised by the youth movement. Peaceful demonstrations organised by the Umma Party on 27 December in support of leader and former Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi’s demand that the NCP form a coalition government to supervise a constitutional conference (amongst other things) by 26 January were dispersed with tear gas and batons, injuring six people. After meeting with President Bashir in early February, Sadiq al-Mahdi announced that opposition parties would no longer negotiate bilaterally with the NCP.

Opposition Islamist leader of the Popular Congress Party (PCP) Hassan al-Turabi dismissed NCP invitations for the opposition to join the government as a political calculation, and pledged to work towards overthrowing the NCP if they continued to ignore calls for reform and the establishment of a transitional government.⁷ On 16 January, Turabi was arrested alongside members of the PCP in Khartoum. Though reasons for his arrest are not entirely clear, they are likely in connection with remarks made by Turabi calling for a “popular revolution” if Khartoum did not lower food prices and his reference to Tunisia’s ousting of President Zine el-Abidine ben Ali. Sudan’s Media Centre, affiliated with National Security, reported that Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) prisoners admitted links to Turabi.⁸

Opposition leaders, particularly members of the Communist party, have increasingly been subject to arrest since December. In many cases, their arrests came late in the evening following protests in Khartoum and Omdurman and by heavily armed guards.

Constitutional Renegotiation and the threat of a Return to the NCP’s Early Days in Power

Facing secession, internal opposition, rising commodity prices and threats to their power, the NCP is showing disturbing signs that it is falling back on the radical Islamist ideology and repressive tactics of its early days in power. These conditions are far from conducive for the definition of a truly democratic state. In a speech in El Gedarif, Eastern Sudan on 19 December, President Bashir stated that when the INC expired, Sudan would return to *sharia* law. He also reaffirmed that Arabic would remain the official language of the state and there would be no ethnic and cultural diversity inside Sudan. Though the vast majority of the North are Muslim and Arabic is a unifying language, a number of other regional and ethnic languages are still widely used and there is a wide variety in interpretations and practices of Islam and views on the appropriate relationship between religion and the state. Controversial issues such as the relationship between the two, devolution, and separation of powers, if handled improperly, have the potential to marginalise communities and individuals further. A National Security Advisory Body will coordinate a national dialogue beginning in March to bring together different political forces and establish a conducive environment for constitutional renegotiation. There are worrying signs that it will

⁷ Sudan Tribune, “Sudan’s Islamic Opposition Party Threatens to Adopt Regime Change”, 2 January 2011

⁸ Alertnet, “Sudan arrests opposition Islamist Turabi-witnesses”, 17 January 2011

be entirely dominated by parties sympathetic to the regime, and that the comprehensive Bill of Rights in the INC will be lost.

Despite Repression, Demonstrations Spread Throughout North as the NCP Tightens Grip

Rather than liberalising, the NCP has tightened its grip on the North. This could potentially have implications in post-referendum arrangements and the future North/South relationship, as many of the international incentives are contingent on normalisation.

Attempts at reform are happening in a highly repressive environment, and the human rights and political situation in the North and Darfur is frightening. Civil and political rights in the North remain heavily circumscribed, and isolated demonstrations throughout December and January on austerity measures imposed to combat the economic effects of secession – which have led to skyrocketing prices on food, petrol, and other commodities – were met with the arrests and torture of activists. Mass demonstrations in late January and throughout February organised by the Youth for 30 January Change Alliance and endorsed by the National Consensus Forces, a group of mainstream opposition parties, resulted in over 100 arrests and several cases of incommunicado detention. New tactics of torture have emerged, many on the basis of ethnicity and gender, and treatment was so horrific that many detained activists dubbed the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS) Political Branch headquarters in Khartoum North “the capital of hell”. Three journalists who reported on the rape of activist Safiya Ishag (see gender-based violence section) were charged with defamation.⁹ Further protests planned for 21 March never materialised due to a heavy deployment of riot police and NISS in Khartoum. Riot police in Wad Medani fired tear gas and arrested demonstrators. In El Obeid, universities were surrounded by riot police from the early morning hours.¹⁰ Demonstrations on the 8 and 9 of March organised by the No to Women’s Oppression Initiative and opposition supporters in solidarity with Libya, respectively, were brutally dispersed before they could begin, and several demonstrators arrested.

Darfur is not isolated from the political events of the North, and intense fighting occurred in Darfur amidst a deteriorating environment for humanitarian aid and stalled negotiations in Doha concurrent to the referendum. The devastation was largely rendered invisible: despite the magnitude of devastation and suffering in Darfur, international attention was largely shifted to North/South issues, with the crisis in Darfur “de-coupled” by the international community to encourage the referendum process. Attacks were ethnically targeted and an attempt to eradicate perceived Zaghawa support to the Sudan Liberation Army/Mini Minawi (SLA/MM) through destruction of villages and property, and were characterised by deaths of civilians, gender based violence, arbitrary arrests in house to house searches, and looting and destruction of property.

The long-standing challenge of building a coherent Sudanese national identity is now facing a new dynamic with the redrawing of the country’s borders.¹¹ A plurality of voices in the post-referendum period is crucially needed to prevent further disintegration as the North and South struggle to redefine themselves internally and establish a cooperative relationship.

⁹ Reuters, “Sudan Charges Three Reporters with Defamation”, 19 March 2011

¹⁰ AFP, “Security Clampdown Stifles Sudan Protests”, 21 March 2011

¹¹ “A Letter from the Men and Women of the North to the Men and Women of the South”, 1 January 2010

Political Developments

Outstanding Post-Referendum Arrangements

While Southerners voted based on a “black and white” decision of unity or secession,¹² the two CPA partners are faced with a myriad of obstacles in establishing a peaceful coexistence and negotiating outstanding referendum arrangements and areas of CPA implementation, all of which will permeate the realities of Sudanese life in the North and South and must be resolved before the end of the interim period.

The two parties have identified the issues of citizenship, border demarcation, Abyei, and wealth and power-sharing as the most critical, and negotiated a Framework Agreement in November under mediation from the AU High Level Panel headed by Thabo Mbeki, which “committed to maintain a ‘soft’ border between the two states, which will allow unimpeded economic and social activity and interaction, and that will be necessary to achieve economic prosperity and harmony between the North and South” as a guide.¹³

On 13 March, the SPLM suspended negotiations after papers detailing Khartoum’s support to Southern militias leaked. The SPLM agreed to return to talks on 17 March and discuss the documents with the NCP; allegedly, more exist and the SPLM plans to release them on a later date. On 20 March, *Al Tayyar* reported that talks would be further postponed until Presidents Bashir and Kiir meet in Addis Ababa at the end of March and agree on guidelines for further negotiations.¹⁴

Before the talks were suspended, little progress had been made in resolving outstanding key areas in post-referendum arrangements, though both parties have voiced their commitment to concluding negotiations by July 2011. Resolution of these areas will be vital to ensuring peaceful coexistence between the two countries. Talks are currently at the following junctures:

- **Citizenship:** Perhaps the most critical issue, citizenship talks have been dogged by sensationalist statements from senior NCP members who have claimed that Southerners in the North would lose all their rights at secession.¹⁵ The NCP has rejected proposals for dual citizenship, and the clearest party position suggests that those deemed eligible to vote¹⁶ in the referendum be deemed Southern citizens, regardless of their place of residence. Negotiations are ongoing, and on 22 February, Government of South Sudan (GoSS) Vice President Riek Machar announced that

¹² Conflict Dynamics International “Envisioning the Future”, October 2010

¹³ BBC News Africa, “North and South Sudan deal to ease referendum tension”, 15 November 2010

¹⁴ *Al Tayyar*, “CPA Parties Postpone Talks until Al-Bashir and Kiir Meet in Addis”, 20 March 2011

¹⁵ While there are also Northerners in the South, they are often traders and relatively wealthy, while Southerners in the North are often destitute and vulnerable under NCP policies. They are also subject to harassment and intimidation by public order police and the NISS. For more information, see the “Public Order Harassment” section as well as “Caught on the ‘Wrong’ Side of the Border – Southerners in the North”, *Sudan Human Rights Monitor*, October – November.

¹⁶ Manby, Bronwen. “International Law and the Right to a Nationality in Sudan”, 2011. As the paper points out, the INC and 2009 Referendum Act provide parallel definitions of citizenship based on residence and ethnicity. In addition, there are currently no provisions for pastoralists and nomadic groups, a huge group in the Sudanese context. There is little precedent under international and national law.

the matter had also been referred to the Presidencies of both states.¹⁷ Citizenship will have the most direct effects on ordinary peoples' lives, so it is critical that any compromise reached is perceived as equitable to citizens on the "opposite" side of the border. The implications of citizenship regionally also have a precedent: citizenship was a crucial factor in the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

- **Border Demarcation:** At present, 20% of the border between North and South Sudan has not been demarcated. The exercise was scheduled to begin on 20 February, and was to include the contested areas.¹⁸ It's unclear if it has begun.
- **Wealth and Power Sharing:** Following secession, Southerners will lose their seats in the National Assembly. Before the expiration of the interim period, the North and South will share power in Khartoum but have authority over their respective regions. This period of collaboration will shape plans for how resources and wealth and power will be devolved and shared post-secession. The composition of the GoNU will also have to be renegotiated, as well as other national institutions. The army and other security services will also undergo significant transformation, and the Joint Integrated Units (JIUs) will need to be dissolved and reintegrated. There has already been significant tension and isolated clashes, such as in Malakal,¹⁹ between ethnic Southerners of the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) contingent of the JIUs who oppose General Gabriel Tanginye's rumoured integration into the SPLA. The SPLA sector of the JIUs was not involved. Some ethnic Southern SAF members formerly loyal to Tanginye refused to be transferred to the North. On 23 March, the SPLM and NCP signed a security deal on security issues along the joint borders. The deal also mentioned the status of JIUs in South Kordofan and Blue Nile and ethnic Southerners in the SAF, as well as the future of UNMIS post July 2011.²⁰
- **Oil and Water:** though a large portion of resource sharing will be resolved in power and wealth negotiations, the impacts of Southern secession and the loss of the oil revenue for the North cannot be overstated. South Sudan has no export routes aside from the North. Both the North and South are economically dependent on oil. The austerity measures imposed in the North to combat the loss of the South have resulted in inflation and led to widespread demonstrations. Post referendum negotiations will need to combat corruption in the oil industry in order to fully exploit its economic potential, prevent against environmental degradation and development-induced displacement, and protect against disruption of oil production in the event of workers on the opposite side of their respective borders returning home. The GoSS has introduced a budget of 5.7 billion Sudanese pounds for the coming year.²¹ Talks are scheduled for early

¹⁷ Sudan Catholic Radio, "Citizenship Rights to be Agreed by Presidency", 22 February 2011

¹⁸ Sudan Tribune, "North-South Border Demarcation Commences Sunday", 15 February 2011

¹⁹ Sudan Radio Service, "20 Killed in Malakal in Clashes Amongst JIU-SAF Components", 7 February 2011. 20 people were killed and 24 injured on 4-5 February when ethnically Southern SAF members of the JIUs loyal to General Gabriel Tanginye refused to return to the North, despite the CPA stipulating that this be the case in the event of secession, and others protested his rumoured integration into the SPLA. Tanginye is a Southern militia leader and ethnic Nuer employed by Khartoum during a devastatingly effective divide and rule strategy in South-South conflict during the civil war. He remained in the North during the interim period, and the two times he returned to the South in 2006 and 2009 clashes were instigated in the JIUs. Tanginye defected to the SPLA in October, but only recently returned to the South and is regarded as a hostile presence (Human Security Baseline Assessment, "Gabriel Tang Gatwich Chan", March 2011).

²⁰ *Al-Sahafa*, "North and South Sudan Ink Security Deal", 24 March 2011

²¹ Gurtong Trust, "5.7 Billion Post-referendum Budget Unveiled", 2 February 2011

March in Addis Ababa on oil, as well as currency and Sudan's foreign debt. Though not as pressing as oil, water will be a longterm issue.²²

These areas will require intense monitoring and delicate diplomacy to ensure that rights-respecting arrangements are reached. Negotiations and arrangements in the areas above could be a potential conduit for an improved relationship between the NCP and SPLM following secession, but are currently extremely sensitive following the SPLM's brief suspension of talks.

Tensions in Abyei Increase as Thousands of Dinka Ngok Flee the Region

Abyei was scheduled to have its own referendum on 9 January on whether to join the North or South. However, the Abyei Commission was never formed and the vote never took place due to disputes over voter eligibility, with the North demanding that the Misseriya, a nomadic Arab tribe resident seasonally in Abyei, be allowed to vote.²³ The SPLM have insisted that only members of the Dinka Ngok resident in Abyei year round be allowed to vote. A resolution on Abyei will likely come through a deal between the NCP and SPLM, in which case some have predicted that the NCP would be able to draw huge concessions. Negotiations in Abyei have also been amplified by international attention; the extent to which the NCP and SPLM are perceived as successful implementers of the CPA hinges on a resolution to the disputed region. Clashes in Abyei began in January, illuminating the extent to which negotiations between the two parties on the disputed region during the interim period and despite the Permanent Court of Arbitration's ruling were a failure.²⁴ The Kadugli agreement in January between the Misseriya and Dinka Ngok and the subsequent agreement between the Abyei administrative government and Governor of South Kordofan and ICC indictee Ahmed Haroun, which devolved responsibility for security from the Southern Police to the Joint Integrated Units, has been unsuccessful thus far.²⁵ Hostilities continue, allegedly with support by the SAF and members of the Popular Defence Forces (PDF), a Northern paramilitary group mobilised with devastating effect during the civil war.

²² Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "Sudan's Referendum – the Birth of a New Nation?", 5 January 2011. The Nile has two branches – one that extends from White Nile and empties into the Southern Sudd, and the Blue Nile which crosses Ethiopia into Khartoum. Environmental degradation and development in Ethiopia could lead to a water shortage in the North. Though dredging of the Sudd would increase water availability, a project begun years ago was halted by the war and will take years to complete. Dredging could also negatively impact the local population.

²³ The Misseriya's access to water, grazing rights, and the territorial boundary and demarcation of Abyei will be a crucial litmus test for the CPA partners' relationship post-referendum. The Misseriya saw their power base split in 2006 with the annexation of West Kordofan to South Kordofan, and exclusion from the Abyei referendum process is, as is for the SPLM and many Southerners, unacceptable. During registration, some members of the Dinka Ngok who could prove relationships to Southern communities were excluded due to perceived eligibility. Despite attacks on IDP convoys returning to the South, returnees' inability to vote in the Southern referendum and Abyei not having the capacity to absorb thousands of returnees, the process of return and security until the human rights situation in the North has been clarified has likely been a major factor for returning IDPs. While both the North and South have both reported increased militarisation in the area, both sides are allowed to deploy troops to their side of the border under the CPA's security arrangements. The only official SPLM presence in the area is to be through the Joint Integrated Units in Abyei.

²⁴ Initial clashes began one day prior to referendum voting and ended one day after on 10 January, when at least ten Southerners were killed and eighteen injured in an attack by Misseriya militias on the northern side of the border between South Kordofan and Northern Bahr el Ghazal.

²⁵ Sudan Tribune, "Scores flee Abyei Violence as Misseriya threatens to enter area 'by force'", 5 February 2011

On 28 February, 30 people were killed and 26 wounded in clashes between local police and militias alleged to be affiliated with the Misseriya.²⁶ Fighting between Misseriya militias and police continued throughout the week, killing 100, and several villages were burnt. On 5 March, the NGO *Medecins Sans Frontieres* (MSF) reported that thousands of people had fled Abyei after the Misseriya threatened to enter Abyei “by force” when they begin their seasonal migration southward.

Resumed fighting in Abyei and land-grabs by Misseriya militias supported by the SAF and PDF could lead to resumption of widespread violence throughout Sudan and a collapse of the gains of the CPA. Abyei’s administrator, Deng Arop Kuol, accused Khartoum of attempting to seek military control of large portions of Abyei to strengthen its negotiating position in any final settlement of the region, stating that increased militarisation in the area is:

“precisely the work of the government in the north. They are doing it for political pressure on the upcoming talks so that we concede. They sent these groups to attack our people as part of strategies and plans to depopulate the area and to tell the international community that the so called Misseriya are part of Abyei and that they deserve representation in the area during the upcoming talks scheduled to resume in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, next Tuesday”.²⁷

Popular Consultations in Blue Nile Reveal Little Progress, and Remain Stalled in South Kordofan

The popular consultations prescribed by the CPA to take place in Blue Nile and South Kordofan were aimed at facilitating dialogue and negotiations with the government of Sudan on “any shortcomings in the constitutional, political, and administrative arrangements of the CPA”.²⁸

Both South Kordofan and Blue Nile regions received popular consultations as a compromise between the NCP and SPLM. Though both North of the 1956 border line, many communities in the region that identify themselves as ethnically African but are Muslim backed the SPLM during the civil war. Some of the worst devastation and destruction of life occurred in the two areas, with many residents feeling that outstanding grievances have not been adequately addressed by either the NCP or SPLM.

Popular consultations took place in Blue Nile from 14 January through 2 February, and revealed disappointment with the interim period. As one man, Osman Ahmed, stated, “Since peace has come, we sleep well at night...but there has been no development...we need a hospital, doctors, electricity, water, schools”.²⁹ The SPLM Governor of Blue Nile, Malik Aggar, threatened to leave the party and called for popular consultations to lead to “self-governance”, saying that “we want a strong central government under a united Sudan. The powers of the authorities at both levels have to be defined, as must as well be the criteria for the division of power and wealth... For example, we will demand electricity and ownership of the Er Roseires tank, which is built on our land and from which we do not benefit at all”.³⁰

In South Kordofan, popular consultations have yet to take place. The state of South Kordofan was created under the CPA to accommodate the Misseriya Baggara by annexing West Kordofan to the Nuba

²⁶ Sudan Tribune, “Clashes in Abyei Kill 30”, 28 February 2011

²⁷ FIND CITE (*Sudan Tribune*, February 27, 2011)

²⁸ Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 2005

²⁹ UNMIS, “Consultations Reveal Little Change in Blue Nile”, 25 January 2011

³⁰ Sudan Votes, “If the Movement does not stand with my demands I will leave it”, 19 January 2011

Mountains, whose collective rights remain extremely vulnerable. In South Kordofan, there are currently no elected representatives³¹, as registration for postponed³² gubernatorial and legislative elections concluded on 28 February. Though originally supposed to be part of national elections in April 2010, the elections were postponed over disagreements between the NCP and SPLM over the population census and delimitation of constituencies.

Lack of Agreement over the Administrative Status of Darfur in Doha

On 28 December, President Bashir gave rebel groups an ultimatum to sign the Doha Peace Accord proposed by the mediation within 24 hours during a televised speech from Nyala, or else the talks would be moved internally to Darfur. The deadline for signature of the accord had previously been 31 December. The Government withdrawal was all the more extraordinary given ongoing clashes in Darfur (see Darfur section), and the unity of rebel groups on the ground, including the Liberation and Justice Movement (LJM), the Sudan Liberation Army/Mini Minawi (SLA/MM), the Sudan Liberation Army/Abdul Wahid Al Nur (the SLA/AW), and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) fighting against the government in Khor Abeche region. The JEM have been persuaded to rejoin the talks for the first time since May 2010, and a ceasefire had not yet been signed.

Two days later, the Sudanese government withdrew its delegation from Doha. Two different rationales were given: there not being a reason for the delegation to be present (as they were at the time simply waiting for the LJM to react to the mediation's proposal), and the beginning of the domestication of the Darfur peace process. Chief Darfur negotiator and drafter of the new government "peace from within strategy" Ghazi Salah Al-Deen reassured the mediation that the delegation remains involved with the Doha talks from within Sudan, and that the withdrawal should be firmly disassociated from the "peace from within" strategy and Mbeki consultative process inside of Darfur.³³

The LJM accepted the mediation's proposal on 30 December, but the government rejected the proposal stating that the proposal was inconsistent with the framework agreement signed in March 2010. Interestingly, a spokesperson for the Government delegation further rejected the inclusion of the administrative status of Darfur in the proposal (the LJM has repeatedly insisted that the three Darfur states be reattached into one Darfur, as they were prior to the government mandated split in 1994) as the government wishes to hold a referendum on the administrative status of Darfur in the next three months, so as to occur in the time frame after elections agreed to in the now-failed Darfur Peace Agreement.

³¹ Suleiman Musa Rahhal, Nuba Mountains Democratic Forum, "Why are the Nuba of Sudan Protesting?", 8 January 2011

³² See the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "Shifting through Shattered Hopes", May 2010. In early March 2010, the NCP and SPLM reached an agreement to assign 40 additional seats to South Sudan in the National Assembly, and two seats each designated for Abyei and South Kordofan. In the case of South Kordofan, the NCP and SPLM agreed to review the census and registration process ahead of Southern Sudan State Assembly (SSLA) and gubernatorial elections to be held 11 June 2010. This deal between the SPLM and NCP on National Assembly seats and the South Kordofan Legislative Assembly was approved and endorsed by the National Elections Commission, but was not reviewed by the National Assembly at the time.

³³ Sudan Tribune, "Sudan says committed to Doha talks, unlinks it from Mbeki process in Darfur", 5 January 2011.

On 10 February, the mediation agreed to return to Doha. Negotiations still hinge on the administrative status of Darfur, with the Presidential Advisor on Darfur Dr. Ghazi Salah Al-Deen insisting that a unilaterally conducted referendum be held on the administrative status in Darfur before the talks are moved internally to a Darfur Political Process focused on reconciliation dialogue among social, tribal, and political forces in the region.³⁴

The AU's Mbeki Panel for the implementation of recommendations included in their report has begun a process of civil society consultations within Darfur as a second tier to the ongoing negotiations in Doha. To date, IDPs have perceived the Mbeki Panel's consultation in Darfur as pro-government, selective, and exclusionary towards rebel groups.

Austerity Measures Imposed to Combat Economic Costs of Secession Lead to Soaring Prices

On 5 January, Sudan's parliament ratified austerity measures to combat the economic impact of Southern secession and strengthen the fragile Northern economy, which is also already burdened by foreign debt.³⁵ The measures mainly reduce state subsidies on food, sugar and fuel. The Minister of Finance and National Economy, Ali Mahmood, stated that the present austerity package is only 1/3 of what will be needed to revitalise Sudan's economy. The government also banned certain imports to stop the outflow of currency on items such as paint, meat, bottled water, flour, and some dairy products.³⁶

Demonstrations and organisation of activists against rising prices was met with arrests, incommunicado detention, and torture throughout the monitoring period.

Monitoring Report

Freedom of Expression and Association

- On 1 December, two people were killed and nine injured during demonstrations that took place during a Doha Forum civil society consultation at Zalingei University.³⁷ The consultations, facilitated by Qatari Foreign Minister and Doha mediator Ahmed bin Abdulla Al-Mahmoud and the UN-AU Joint Chief Mediator Djibril Bassolé, were intended to assess the views of civil society for a comprehensive Darfur peace agreement. A demonstration outside of the hall was planned by an opposition student group. Hundreds arrived, many of whom carried signs calling for individual reparations to victims of the Darfur conflict, a single Darfur state, and accountability for perpetrators of war crimes. When members of the group tried to participate in the consultations, security prevented them from entering. When the meeting concluded and the delegation left the hall, the mediators appealed to the group in an attempt to prevent a riot. The demonstrators began

³⁴ The JEM has accused Al-Deen of refusing to make any concessions based on the experience of Ali Osman Taha, Second Vice President of Sudan, and negotiator with the SPLM during the CPA. Al-Deen allegedly is critical to concessions as he believes that Taha made too many during negotiations with the SPLM.

³⁵ AFP, "Sudan Ratifies Tough Austerity Measures, Increases in Prices of Basic Commodities", 6 January 2011

³⁶ Sudan Tribune, "Sudan's New Minister Defends Austerity Measures, Says More to Come", 7 January 2011

³⁷ For more information, see the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "Demonstrators Killed during Doha Forum Civil Society Consultations at Zalingei University", 2 December 2010

shouting angry protests against the Doha process and the work of the UN and AU in Darfur, and demanded that security leave the building. When the delegation left, the Central Police Reserves and NISS agents opened fire on the group. Two students were killed, and nine injured. Those killed are:

- Alam Aldeen Ahmed Wardi, a 37 year old Fur businessman from Zalengei
- Aballa Mohamed Yousef Mohamed, a student originally from El Geneina

It is likely that more than 9 people were injured, but did not seek treatment to avoid arrest by the police.

Those injured are:

- Aziza Ahmed Musa, Student from El Fashir, North Darfur
 - Huda Haj Bashar, Student
 - Eiman Abdrahim, Student
 - Najlaa Osman Tarko, Student
 - Mater Younis, Cleric
 - Mohamed Yousif, Student
 - Fatih Alrahman Adam, Student
- In the first week of December, the Press and Publications Council suspended three sports newspapers. *Goun* and *Al-Zaem* were suspended for one day, and *Wahj Al-Safwa* for two. In total, six sports newspapers were suspended in December. An editor at *Al-Ahdath* newspaper was asked to remove two articles written by journalist Fathi Al Dow. Two newspapers, *The Khartoum Monitor* and *Hikayat*, were also suspended for two days.
 - On 8 December, the NISS in South Darfur arrested two members of the Independent Student Party in Nyala, South Darfur. They are:
 - Mohamed Hamid Mohamed Hussain, 26, Nyala University
 - Abdelhafiz Abdalla Abaker, 25, Nyala University
 - On 26 December, authorities in Khartoum refused to grant the Forum for Just Peace a permit to stage a demonstration the following day. Authorities cited the “need to bring about a climate conducive to the referendum” as rationale for denying permission. The Forum for Just Peace is a northern-based group advocating for the separation of the North from the South.
 - On 27 December, Sudanese riot police beat Umma Party members demonstrating peacefully in front of the party’s headquarters in Omdurman. The demonstration was to go from the Umma Party’s headquarters in Omdurman to Alsaïd Abdul Rahman al-Mahdi’s mosque in Wad Nubawei and support statements made by Al Sadiq Al-Mahdi on 18 December. Al-Mahdi had given the NCP until 26 January 2011 to form a national coalition government to supervise a constitutional conference, solve the crisis in Darfur, respect Southern self-determination, and cooperate with the International Criminal Court. Al-Mahdi also announced plans to hold a general Umma Party conference if his demands were not met. Police forces used tear gas and batons to disperse the group as they left Umma headquarters. Six individuals were injured (one pictured to the above right), and one demonstrator suffered serious injuries. The names of the wounded are:
 - Mohamed Ahmed Al-Ghazali, age 74, farmer from Al-Durushab



- Mariam Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi, 45
- Ali Bashir Tower, 44, teacher
- Al-Tahir Hussein Ibrahim, 48, from Thawra Harra
- Fadel Al Mula Saeed Wad Al Jabal, 33, businessman
- On 20 January, *Ajrass Al Huriya* was suspended by the NISS for one day.
- On 22 January, authorities in Sennar state prevented an Umma Party political symposium from being held the following day. Local authorities said that the order had been dictated by state security.
- On 2 February, authorities in Khartoum investigated *Al Alwan* newspaper for an article written and published in issue no. 447623 by Chief Editor Hussein Khojaliyi criticising NCP member Alfath Abdan, who publicly called Popular Congress Party leader Hassan al-Turabi unintelligent and delinked him from the student movement.

Arrests, Torture, and Incommunicado Detention of 30 January Demonstrators

Demonstrations organised by the “Youth of 30 January for Change Alliance” mobilised activists in Khartoum, El Obeid, Wad Medani, and Kosti. The demonstrations, supported by the opposition, blatantly called for President Omar al-Bashir to abdicate power, and for the National Congress Party (NCP) to rescind austerity measures imposed to combat the economic effects of Southern secession. Similar demonstrations occurred on 3 February, and more are planned.

The regime reacted violently to the protests and movement, deploying heavily armed riot police who beat demonstrators. Several members of the opposition and journalists of opposition-affiliated newspapers such as *Al-Midan* were detained. Journalists targeted during the demonstrations were forced to delete pictures from their cameras.

On the first day of protests on 30 January, 113 were arrested and one student killed.³⁸ In the following days, mass arrests of opposition leaders and journalists occurred. New tactics of torture have emerged, and those released reported that they were forced to give their facebook account information and passwords to their e-mail. Verbal assault around female activists’ sexuality and threats of rape have increased, with one documented case of rape and five other serious incidents reported by the Sudan Democracy First Group (see gender-based violence section). The African Centre will publish a forthcoming report of detainee testimonies.

Below is a brief synopsis of the protests and names of those detained, injured, tortured, and held incommunicado in connection with the protests from 30 January – 3 February.

- In Omdurman at 10:30 AM, joint NISS and police forces attacked demonstrators at Omdurman Islamic University and Omdurman Al Ahlia University with black water pipes, sticks, and tear gas. Thirty eight students were arrested and referred to the Abo Said Police Station in Elfitihab area, where they were charged with rioting. The police released the group on bail after they provided their addresses.

³⁸ African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, “Youth Mass Protests Spark 113 Arrests and One Death”, 1 February 2011

- In Khartoum at 11 AM, youth gathered at meeting points at Midan Jackson, Sharia Algasr, and Al Meridan. They were attacked by joint NISS/police forces with water pipes and sticks. Journalists were targeted, and nine were arrested and referred to security offices near the Army High Commander in Khartoum. Photos from the demonstrations were deleted. The names of those arrested are:
 - Hamza Albalul, *Alahdath*
 - Rashid Abdulhab, *Ajras Alhurria*
 - Ali Haj Alamin, *Ajras Alhurria*
 - Sara Taj Alsir, *Al Sahafa*
 - Ahmed Sir Alkhatim, *Akhbar Alyoum*
 - Mohamed Marzouh, cameraman, *Alakhbar*
 - Mohamed Aamir, cameraman, *Alakhlas*
 - Fatima Alkhzali, *Al Gerida*
 - Anas Abdurrahman, freelance journalist

Some protestors were seriously injured by police wielding tear gas, water pipes, and sticks. They are:

1. Mahmoud Ali Alumdaa
 2. Mustafa Mohamed Ali
 3. Abdelrahman Ahmed Alhassan
 4. Mohamed Abdelrahman
 5. Ahmed Ali
 6. Mustafa Mohamed Ali
- Joint forces also arrested forty protestors, who were taken to the Al Shemali Police Station in Khartoum. Thirty of the detainees were released on bail. Police officials refused to release the names of the detainees. A full list of those released on bail is available from the African Centre. Those released reported that six female detainees were transferred to security offices near the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Army High Commander in Khartoum.
 - Mohamed Abdelrahman, a student at Omdurman Islamic University, was shot by joint police and NISS forces when he joined demonstrations at Omdurman University. He died later that evening at Omdurman hospital. At Khartoum University's Student Shmbat complex, peaceful demonstrations were disrupted by the NISS, who attacked and arrested a number of students. Three of the names known are:
 - Hadim Alzhari
 - Mohamed Ahmed
 - Albaid Abaquir
 - At 4:30 PM, the NISS arrested Nasr Mahmoud Nasr, age 55, a member of the Umma Party and Trade Union organiser, from his home. Walid Alhidaia and Thuria Habib were also arrested from their homes in Khartoum.

In the evening of 30 January, the Police Media Office made a statement addressing the number of detainees, claiming that 70 people had been arrested, 40 of whom were students released on bail. Monitoring by the African Centre indicated that the number of detainees was much higher than the number cited by police, and some of the demonstrators were transferred to NISS custodies in Khartoum and Khartoum Bahri. Some of these detainees included:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Yousef Mubark Alfadil | 23. Ahmed Babikir |
| 2. Slah Mubark Alfadil | 24. Dina |
| 3. Dr. Hussam Malik | 25. Smah Bushra |
| 4. Bshir Hussain | 26. Sara Taj Alsir |
| 5. Louis Awil Weriak | 27. Samir Hassan |
| 6. Zinab Badraldeen | 28. Marwa Alfaki |
| 7. Ahmed | 29. Rawa Salah |
| 8. Slah Almobark | 30. Thruat Swar Aldahab (tortured
in police custody) |
| 9. Rshad Ahmed | 31. Abdalla Alaidrous |
| 10. Mohamed Banaga | 32. Amina Alsid |
| 11. Musab Zain Alabdeen | 33. Suhaib Abbas |
| 12. Mutaz Mohamed | 34. Mrwa Alriah |
| 13. Ashraf Aiz Aldeen | 35. Mahir Hussein Alfil |
| 14. Ahmed Fuaad | 36. Mohamed Wada |
| 15. Mohamed Alhider | 37. Ahmed Batik Mohamed Ali |
| 16. Muntasir zain Alabdeen | 38. Abdlaziz Kabala |
| 17. Omar Abdlbagi | 39. Nasir Aldeen Yousef |
| 18. Smah Mohamed Adam | 40. Mohamed Alasir |
| 19. Sidig Abdlgbar | 41. Nuhan Alnagar |
| 20. Rashid Mohamed Abdalla | 42. Nafisa Alnour Hajar, lawyer |
| 21. Ruaa Ahmed Osman | 43. Mohamed Adil |
| 22. Mohamed Awad | |

- Similar protests occurred on 30 January in El Obeid Market in El Obeid, North Kordofan. Many people joined the demonstrations before the NISS and NCP-affiliated militias arrested a number of protestors from Kordofan University, Quaran Al Karim University, and El Obeid technical faculty, including Abeer Ahmed.

On 31 January, solidarity demonstrations were organised in Kosti, Central Sudan, at Al Imam Al Mahdi University. Students of the Engineering Faculty staged a sit in, and refused to attend classes. Police and NCP affiliated students broke into the building and attacked the students. Five students escaped and went to demonstrate in the market. Three police lorries followed them, and beat them in the middle of the market. Shoppers prevented police from arresting three members of the group, including Ahmed Salih. Two members of the group were arrested, and police refused to give information on their names and condition. Monitoring indicates that the names of those in police custody are:

- Mohsin Abdelgadir, teacher and frequent contributor to SudaneseOnline
 - Basil Mohsim, student
- On 31 January at 4:15, the NISS arrested student members of the National Alliance on Al Morda Street in Omdurman. They were taken to the NISS Political Affairs office in Khartoum Bahri, where they were forced to stand against a wall and beaten with water pipes and sticks until 9 PM. They were denied access to food, water, and toilets. They remain in NISS custody in Khartoum Bahri. The names of the detainees are:
 - Mohamed Abdelrahman (NISS officers beating him taunted him, saying “are you the one who died?”, as his name is the same as the student killed at Omdurman University)
 - Abdulla Mathi

- Rashid Abo Hassan
 - Ahmed El Tijani
 - Gahmat Mohamed Osman
- On 31 January, the NISS prevented *Ajras Alhurria* and *Al Sahafa* from being published. Though the NISS had visited the printing house the evening of the 30 January and approved the *Ajras Alhurria* edition to be printed the following day, they were prevented from distributing copies in the morning. *Al Sahafa's* offices were visited the morning of the 31 January. The website Sudaneseonline, a news and forum site where many of the announcements were posted, was blocked for several days. After the announcement of the demonstrations via social networking and online forums, the owner of Sudaneseonline and US resident Badri Alwiker received five threatening phone calls from Sudanese numbers ordering him not to publish postings or graphics concerning the demonstrations, or else he could expect damage to his family and property. Mr. Alwiker published the telephone numbers of the callers on Sudaneseonline.

In the evening of 2 February, staff of *Al-Midan*, a Communist-Party affiliated newspaper, were arrested from their offices in Khartoum and held incommunicado. Their coverage of the demonstrations was confiscated.³⁹ At 7 PM, NISS agents cordoned off the area surrounding *Al-Midan's* offices and blocked the doorway. NISS agents waited for the staff to emerge from their offices, and arrested journalists, staff, a visitor, and the newspapers' driver while they were on their way home. Members of the group were held incommunicado and some were tortured with electric shocks, and forced to open their e-mails and facebook accounts to track information. Those arrested were:

- Samir Salaheldin, journalist trainee
 - Mohamed Rahman, employee
 - Mawia Hassim, employee
 - Kamal Karrar, deputy chief editor
 - Ibrahim Merghani, journalist, political section
 - Khalid Tofiq, graphic designer
 - Fatima Bashir, printer (released at 2 AM, but summoned back to NISS for questioning on the 3rd)
 - Fadia Ibrahim, printer (released at 2 AM, but summoned back to NISS for questioning on the 3rd)
 - Mohamed Al Didiri, journalist trainee
 - Mali Hajid, employee
 - Ahmed Ali, guest
 - Abdul Azim El Badawi, intern
 - Shadia Abdulmonim: visitor
 - Hind El Tigani, visitor
 - Nagatt Ahmed, visitor
 - Minibus driver (name unknown)
 - Suliman Wedaa
- At 1:30 AM, NISS agents arrested Hatim Gatan, a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee, from his home in Khartoum Bahri, Aldoshrap neighbourhood. Other members of the

³⁹ See African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "Targeting of Opposition-affiliated Journalists and Censorship of 30 January Demonstrations Continues" 5 February 2011.

Communist Party were arrested in the days prior. On 31 January, Khamal Osman was arrested in Wad Medani, El Gezira state. On 2 February, Amin Hassan of the Communist Party was also arrested in Wad Medani.

Further protests on 3 February resulted in the arrest of ten individuals in Khartoum Bahri. Riot police and the NISS surrounded the demonstration in Midan Agreb and opened tear gas. Two demonstrators were injured and are in serious condition. They are:

- Omar Hassan
- Onur Hashim

- On 3 February, two members of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement –Northern Sector were arrested. They are:
 - Sadiaa Eisa
 - E Hassan Abdelazaz
- On 3 February in Khartoum Bahri, Ahmed Mahmoud Ahmed, 23, a student, blogger, and rapper, was arrested. While in detention, he was taken away from the detainees in the evenings. Electric shocks were administered three times daily for a week, and he was forced to wear only his underwear.⁴⁰ He has since been released.

At the time of writing, 20 activists and journalists, including staff of *Al-Midan*, are believed to still be in custody. Among them are:

- Abelazim Mohamed Ahmed: arrested on 2 February while driving with two other friends, who were also arrested. The names of his friends remain unknown. Mr. Ahmed is the Director of the Khartoum branch of the Eastern Centre for Culture and Legal Aid, and is currently being held incommunicado.
- Louis Aweil Weriak: a Southerner arrested on 30 January, he has reportedly been tortured and is currently being held incommunicado and separate from other members of the group. Mr. Weriak is a member of the Faculty of Pharmacy at the University of Khartoum.

Arbitrary Arrest and Incommunicado Detention

- On 14 December, Abdul Basit Margani, 60, was arrested by the NISS. Dr. Margani is the director of the Al Finar Psychosocial Support Centre, which hosted the meeting of the No to Women's Oppression Coalition on the eve of the demonstrations in Khartoum. He was permitted access to his family and was held incommunicado before being released roughly a week later.
- On 14 December, Sudanese police arrested a group of women's rights activists peacefully demonstrating in front of the Ministry of Justice in Khartoum. The demonstration was organised by the No to Women's Oppression Initiative to protest the discriminatory use of Public Order laws in Sudan. The memorandum, signed by many and addressed to Sudanese Minister of Justice Mohamed Bushara Dosa, called for reform of Sudanese laws discriminatory to women. The NISS and police cordoned off the area and forcefully disbanded the group. BBC Correspondent James Copnall was attacked and had his recording equipment confiscated. The arrested were taken to Alshamali and Alemtidad Police Station, and charged under Articles 66 (publication of false news), 68 (rioting), and

⁴⁰ See African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "New Patterns of Torture Emerge for Youth Detainees Arrested After 30 January Demonstrations", 9 January 2011

77 (public nuisance) of the 1991 Sudanese Criminal Code. The group taken to Alshkali Police Station was released at 4 PM on bail. They are:

1. Saraa Abdelrahman Mohamed
2. Tahra Mohamed Majzoub
3. Hanan Ali Mohamed
4. Amani Idris Ali
5. Awatif Abdelgadir Ibrahim
6. Amani Jafar Ibrahim
7. Afaf Altigani Mohamed
8. Magda Osman Mohamed
9. Naglaa Saed Ahmed
10. Ludan Jafar Mahjoub
11. Hadia Mohamed Hasaballa
12. Walaa Slah
13. Slam Alnour Abdsmraa
14. Rasha Awad
15. Aumima Ahmed Almustafa
16. Amal Khalil Habani
17. Nahid Mohamed Alhassan
18. Khadiga Adam Mohamed
19. Sumia Ibrahim Shalae
20. Shadia Abdmonim Mohamed
21. Ehlam Abdelrahman Abdelgadir
22. Zeinab Badraldeen Mohamed
23. Saraa Mohamed Khalid
24. Mnahil Mohamed Ahmed
25. Khadaa Maki Mohamed
26. Magda Mirgani
27. Alnagia Alwasilla
28. Zinab Mohamed Himd Alsawi
29. Aziza Mohamed Awad
30. Ihsaan Hassan Fgiri
31. Sarra Hamad Alneel
32. Rabah Alsadig Alsadig
33. Manal Awad Khagali
34. Aliaa Abdulhalim Khalil
35. Sumia Ali Ishag
36. Nagaat Bushra Hamid
37. Fatin Mohamed Fadul
38. Fathia Abdm Mahmoud
39. Bakri Alagami (male)
40. Azhari Alhaj (male)
41. Zuhair Osman (male)
42. Omar Ushari Ahmed (male)
43. Mohamed Adel (male)

The group held at Alemtidad Police Station was released at 7 PM on bail. They are:

1. Amira Osman Hamid
2. Amal Osman Hamid
3. Eman Osman Hamid
4. Muna Alfadil
5. Halla Taj Alsir
6. Bakhita
7. Thuria

- On 15 December, 18 Wadi Alneil University students in Al Matuma City, Northern State, demonstrated against rising tuition and living costs. A group of students were arrested, and released on 18 December when their lawyer, Amal Hussein, posted bail. Criminal charges were filed under unlawful assembly and rioting. The arrested students are:
 - Osman Abdel Razig
 - Mutawakkil Ibrahim Mutawakkil
 - Khalid Ahmed Sadiq
 - Badr El-Din Ali Babiker
 - Yousuf Babiker
 - Assad Al-Nour

- Sultan Jamal Al-Amin
- Omar Abd- Al-Latif Sharif
- Juma Joseph Khartoum
- Ammar Hashim Mahamed
- Ahmed Mohammed Abdullah
- Ahmed Mohamed Hassan
- Saif Al-Hag Bashir
- Ammar Hassan Maaz
- Balla Hamad Bashir

Three additional students arrested and charged alongside the group were also tortured by security forces. They were detained by security until the 16th, when they were transferred to Al Matuma police station. They are:

- Ahmed Mohammed Hamed (Adrob)
- Ryan Taha Khalifa
- Mohammed Sami Mohammed
- On 9 January in Port Sudan, the NISS arrested Alwalid Ali Mohamed Almustafa (Wahid Anbaria), a student in the School of Business Management from Red Sea University and member of the Sudanese Alliance Party. When he asked the NISS to take him to the hospital, the NISS refused and gave him sugar and salt as medication. They asked Mr. Mustafa to work as a security monitor for the NISS, and asked him to sign papers that he will not engage in political activities, as had been documented on video. They told him that the country was heading back to the first step of 1989, and they will not hesitate to arrest anyone during demonstrations.
- On 10 January, the NISS arrested six students in Khartoum University affiliated with the Congress of Independent Students (CIS). The CIS was holding a public meeting addressing the increase on food prices and other commodities. NISS agents supported by NCP affiliated students wielding metal bars attacked the event inside the university. Two students were injured. They are:
 - Abd Alkareem Ahmed (arrested, Faculty of Administration Science)
 - Mohamed Omran
- On 10 January, the NISS arrested Abdel El Gadir Bakash, editor of *Baraout* newspaper, a local NCP-associated newspaper in Port Sudan, for writing a column calling for secession of Red Sea state and criticising the rapid increase in food commodities. The following day, authorities in Red Sea state closed down *Baraout* newspaper.
- On 11 January, NISS agents arrested Haroun Issa, a member of the Darfur Students Association, after he attempted to intervene to solve an issue for female Darfuri students accommodated at the University of Khartoum Girls' accommodation. The police and security forces dispersed the crowd by beating the protestors and using tear gas. He was released after four hours.
- On 12 January, NISS agents arrested Anas Hamed, a student from Al Nelian University affiliated with the CIS. He was subjected to torture before being released a few hours later.
- On 12 January, the NISS arrested and detained Haifaa Abd Alaal Salim, a referendum observer, on the grounds of distributing illegal leaflets. She was held for a few hours before being released. Ms. Salim is an observer in Alsaha Alshabia centre, Khartoum.
- On 13 January, various media outlets reported that protests had been held by university students against the proposed cuts in subsidies in petrol and increased food prices in Wad Medani and Hasahisa, El Gezira State. Police used tear gas to curb the demonstrations. Four students were arrested, including Winny Fargalla.

- On 17 January, the leader of the opposition Popular Congress Party (PCP) Hassan al-Turabi was arrested alongside other PCP members by heavily armed members of the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS) from his home in Khartoum. The NCP stated that they had uncovered linkages to the Darfuri JEM rebels, but days earlier Turabi had called for a “popular revolution” as has recently occurred in Tunisia. Those arrested are:
 - Hassan al-Turabi,
 - Al-Amin Abelrazig (lawyer),
 - Dahab Mohamed Falih,
 - Ahmed Al-Shain Al-Wali,
 - Ali Shamar Abdalla,
 - Al-Nagi Abdalla Al-Haj,
 - Mohamed Ahmed Siddig,
 - Adam Ahmed Hassan,
 - Osman Abdalla, Taj al-addin Al-Huda, and
 - Ibrahim Ahmed Adam
- On 19 January, members of the opposition demonstrating for the PCP group’s release were beaten by riot police who were accompanied by armored police vehicles in Riyadh area of Khartoum. Three additional members of the PCP, Mohamed Alamin Abdelwahab, Ibrahim Jone, and Abdawab Ahmed Saad, were arrested. The entire group remains detained.
- On 19 January, three members of opposition groups were arrested for distributing leaflets condemning the increase in prices in the North, including trade unionist and Communist Party member Ali Aisailat.
- On 19 January, the NISS arrested Hatim Al Sani, a member of the Democratic Unionist Party and student at Al Ahlia University in Omdurman, after he gave a speech encouraging students to engage in demonstrations against the government. He was taken to NISS offices in Khartoum Bahri.
- On 19 January, authorities arrested a Tunisian post-graduate student at Al Nilain University wearing a Tunisian flag. He was beaten by security in the University and taken to the hospital. His whereabouts remain unknown.
- On 20 January, the NISS prevented Walid Hamid, a SPLM Northern Sector leader, from travelling from Khartoum to Juba on suspicions that he was smuggling money to the South. He was arrested at 9 AM and interrogated by the NISS at Khartoum airport before being released in the afternoon. Following secession, the SPLM Northern Sector will split with the SPLM to form a northern opposition group. The SPLM’s former presidential candidate before boycotting elections, Yasir Arman, has vowed alongside other opposition groups to work for an end to NCP hegemony if they decline to hold a constitutional conference.
- On 24 January at 1 PM, NISS in Omdurman arrested two members of the Umma Party in West Omdurman near Soug Libya, where they were announcing a symposium using a sound system. They were subjected to torture before being released later that day. They are:
 - Abdelrahman Adam Ngdalla
 - Imad Alsadig Esmanil
- On 24 January, the NISS in Khartoum arrested Mustafa Abraham, a member of the PCP and organiser of the Youth and Student section of the party.
- On 26 January, NISS in Khartoum arrested the democracy activist and poet Mr. Asim Al Hazim.
- On 21 January, the NISS in Red Sea State arrested Mohamed Al Amien Tahir, a Beja Congress activist.

- On 21 January, the Umma Party was denied permission to hold two public discussions in Blue Nile and Senar states. Security denied the permits on the basis that the security atmosphere in each state was not conducive for political activities, in Blue Nile due to the ongoing popular consultations.
- On 22 January, three members of *Girifna* were arrested in Khartoum while distributing a statement on increased prices on basic food items. They are:
 - Taj Al Sir Jaafar
 - Osman Al Jamery
 - Taj Al Sir Mahjoub
- On 25 January, the NISS arrested Abel Al Aziz Bakri, a member of the Umma Party, in Al Haj Yousif area for distributing statements denouncing the government.
- On 26 January in Port Sudan, Red Sea state, the families of victims of the Port Sudan Massacre in 2005 were stopped by the police while holding a demonstration in cars with sound devices commemorating their loved ones. Two people were taken to Central Police Station in Port Sudan, where they were asked to produce permission from authorities. They were detained until another member of the group produced a copy one hour later. They are:
 - Mohamed Ali Khara
 - Hussein Mohamed, Beja Congress

Gender-based Violence

The prevalence of gender-based violence against members of the opposition, activists, and human rights defenders in Khartoum intensified following the 30 January demonstrations. The use of rape as punishment for those who express dissent has increased in NISS custodies: multiple cases of gender-based violence were documented following the demonstrations. There are likely many more that have gone unreported over fears of social stigma and retaliation.

Though rape has been a prevalent weapon of war in Darfur and during the civil war, the use of rape by security services is new.⁴¹ As the Sudan Democracy First Group stated:

“what the Sudanese women and girls have been facing over the past weeks from rape to harassment and sexual violence, physical and verbal, does not represent a new trend in the history and record of the NCP. However, what is new with these crimes is their use of repression and oppression outside of war affected zones and transferring them to urban settings and to the capital, Khartoum”.⁴²

Below are documented incidents of rape and threats of assault published by the Sudan Democracy First Group:⁴³

- On 30 January, Samah Mohamed Adam was arrested during the demonstrations, and taken to a truck containing 14 NISS officers. She was dragged by her clothes and her blouse ripped almost entirely open. She was able to cover her chest with her head scarf. A security officer pressed

⁴¹ No to Women’s Oppression Initiative, “Sudan Security Services Intensify New Tools of Rape and Sexual Assault to Punish Women who Express their Political Opinion”, 2 March 2011

⁴² Sudan Democracy First Group, “War Against Sudanese Women is the New Front”, 20 February 2011

⁴³ *Ibid*

himself against her body and asked her that “if they did not want this, what had forced them out to the streets?” Ms. Adam was later released.

- On 2 February, Najat Al Haj, a member of the Democratic Unionist Party was arrested after a meeting of the National Consensus Forces. Her head was covered with her dress and a rifle pointed to her head. She was forced into a security car and taken to NISS offices, where she saw four of the arrested journalists blindfolded and standing against the wall being interrogated and verbally abused. While her bag was searched, NISS agents pointed to medicine and inferred that they were birth control pills and she was accompanying young men who they had found in possession of condoms. The head officer asked her “where is your husband? And if you had a husband would you be here now?” She was released late in the evening and told that she must be used to returning home at such times, implying that she was a prostitute.
- On 3 February, Marwa al Tijani was arrested near Aqrab square in Khartoum Bahri. NISS agents forced Ms. Tijani and two of her friends into their cars at gunpoint. She was first taken to the NISS offices in Khartoum Bahri before she was transferred to another unidentifiable location. She sat amongst several young women, all of whom were being verbally assaulted and flogged. Ms. Tijani was told to take off her *abaya*, and NISS officers began beating her with black sticks on her legs and back. The more she cried over her humiliation the more she was hit. They threatened to take her and her friends to the women’s prison with women that “make *araq* (alcohol) and whores like us and take their pictures and tell their parents that they are bad girls”. She was also accused of having a sexual relationship with a colleague of hers from the University who was also in detention. She was never asked about any political issues.
- On 10 February, Suad Abdallah Jummaa, a member of the Communist Party, was arrested from a public bus after the bus was ordered to stop by security. When she refused to give the NISS her phone’s SIM card, she was beaten and verbally abused. She was able to protect herself by crouching between two chairs in the NISS office. One of the agents told the others to “leave her with me for three minutes only and she will admit where the memory card is and get it out on her own”.
- On 13 February, Safiya Ishag, a 24-year old art student at the University of Khartoum and member of *Girifna* who participated in the 30 January demonstrations was kidnapped on Al Jamhouria Street in Khartoum and gang raped by plainclothes NISS officers. Ms. Eshag went public with her testimony,⁴⁴ and has since left Khartoum for fear of retaliation against her family. The NISS has denied the attacks, despite a doctor validating Ms. Eshag’s claims in a medical report.⁴⁵ Ms. Eshag was taken to a security office near Khartoum Bahri, where she was beaten and kicked by NISS agents before passing out, and interrogated about being a Communist, member of *Girifna*, and for distributing pamphlets. Her clothes were forcibly removed while she was beaten. When she awoke, she was being raped by one agent while the other agents watched. She was later raped by the entire group.

Sexual violence against Southern IDPs also occurred during the monitoring period:

- On 6 January, Tona James, 20, a Southerner from Equatoria state was arrested by Public Order Police in Al Remaila area for improper dress. Ms. James was taken to the Public Order Police station in Daim area, where she brutally gang raped that evening by police officers before being

⁴⁴ For her testimony, see *Girifna*, “Safiya Ishag Speaks”, at “<http://www.girifna.com/blog-girifna/?p=2602>”

⁴⁵ Reuters, “Sudanese Woman Reports Rape, Urges Others to Speak Out”, 25 February 2011

released the next morning without charges. Her family took her to the hospital, but she did not report the incident out of fear. She has since returned to Juba.

Public Order Harassment

- On 12 December, four women (two from Southern Sudan, two from Nuba Mountains) were arrested in Dar el Salaam IDP camp in Block 34 of Omdurman. They were accused of selling alcohol and dragged and thrown into the back of a police truck while their children were screaming. All women had young children ages 2 – 4 months. They were taken to Police Station Block 4 with their infants. All women were flogged and fined. One woman was taken to prison as she couldn't afford the fine.
- On 15 December at 3 PM, 22 police cars raided Dar el Salaam IDP camp in Omdurman. Two women and 40 men were arrested. They were accused of selling alcohol, and thrown into the back of a police truck. They were taken to the Block 4 Police Station. The two women received 40 lashes and were also ordered by the court to pay a fine of 50 SDG. As police raids have intensified in the camp, local authorities have banned any gatherings after 6 PM.
- On 16 December, two Southern Sudanese men were arrested at 9 PM in Al Fithab area in Omdurman. A police car ordered them to take a breathalyzer test, and they were immediately pushed into a car and taken to a police station. An eyewitness reported that the two men were walking peacefully and did not appear drunk.
- On 28 December, a group of 10 Southern families belonging to the Dinka tribe left the Al Azahri/Ingaz area of Khartoum in the government of South Sudan organised returns to the South. The families had been constantly harassed by police in their squatter community. Police had extorted money from them in raids on multiple occasions in the preceding weeks.
- On 29 December, Toma Lado, a Southern Sudanese woman, was arrested in Dar el Salaam IDP Camp in Omdurman for drinking alcohol. She was taken to the Police Station in Block 4 and received 50 lashes and a fine of 50 Sudanese pounds.
- On 6 January, another woman in her 50s was also arrested in Dar el Salaam IDP camp; she was fined 150 Sudanese pounds when she couldn't afford the payment and remained in prison.
- On 11 January, a group of women and young men guarding Eastern Equatoria-bound luggage in Wad al Bashir camp, Omdurman, were harassed by public order polices demanding to search the luggage for alcohol. The women began to throw stones at the police, two of whom were reportedly injured. The police fired indiscriminately, injuring two men. They were taken to Omdurman Hospital. They are:
 - Juma Farsiono, 25, University Student
 - Donata Jienaro, 20, student



Gabriel Auru, 23 was arrested shortly after in connection with the incident and held until 16 January.

- On 24 January, the police destroyed and burnt down 150 temporary shelters setup by returnees in transit to South Sudan in Al Azahri, Block 4, South Khartoum.

Unfair Trial

- On 22 December, Dr. Mudawi Ibrahim Adam, former Director of the Sudan Social Development Organisation (SUDO) was sentenced to one year in prison on embezzlement charges.⁴⁶ He had previously been acquitted of the same charges in March 2009 following SUDO's closure by the Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC). The HAC appealed the judge's acquittal of Dr. Adam, but did not present any new evidence. Dr. Adam was called to appear in Court in Khartoum in connection with the charges on 22 December, where he was immediately sentenced to one year in prison and a fine of \$3,000 Sudanese Pounds by the same judge. He was not given a new trial, and was immediately taken to Kober prison. He was transferred the following day to Soba prison. In early January, an official government website published that he had lost his appeal; however, Dr. Mudawi's first appeal was still pending at the time. He was released on 25 January 2011, though the charges have not been dropped.

Death Penalty

On 5 December, police in Nyala, South Darfur, arrested Fatima Mohamed Alhassan, a 39 year old member of the Fur tribe and employee of the tourism authority of Nyala.⁴⁷ Two days later, Ms. Alhassan's relative and roommate, Fatima Adam Ibrahim, was arrested. Ms. Ibrahim is a 36-year old member of the Fur tribe, and works for the meteorological service in Nyala. There have been reports that both women are significantly older. Both women were taken to the Central Police Station in Nyala and charged by the Military Intelligence of South Darfur in case no. 4684 under Articles 50 (undermining the constitutional system) and 51 (waging war against the state) of the 1991 Sudanese Criminal Code. Articles 50 and 51 are both punishable by death, life imprisonment, or a lesser penalty. Fatima Mohamed Alhassan had been conducting research on a book on Darfur, including questions of accountability and justice, none of which had been published. The police seized her notes for the book, testimonies of victims, and a copy of a photo-shopped picture that appeared online of President Omar al-Bashir being arrested. Fatima Ibrahim had been compiling the research, including Ms. Alhassan's notes. All of the research and documentation was attached as evidence to the case file, and the investigation so far has focused on the two women's possible links to rebel groups. Nyala's prosecutor refused to set bail for the two women, as under Article 106 of the Criminal Code bail for individuals accused of capital crimes can only be set in murder cases where the family of the victim agrees. On 12 December, Fatima Alhassan was interrogated by the NISS for three hours before being returned to police custody. On 13 December, both women were taken to Nyala Women's Prison, where they await trial.

⁴⁶ For more information, see the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "Former Chairperson of SUDO Imprisoned Following Unfair Trial; Darfuri Human Rights Defenders Remain Detained Without Charges", 25 December 2010

⁴⁷ For more information, see the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "Two Fur Women Researching Darfur Face Capital Charges in Nyala", 14 December 2010

The women's charges were lessened on 25 January from Articles 50 and 51 to Article 63 (Call to oppose public authority in criminal violence or force), meaning that they are no longer facing capital charges. They are still appealing the sentence.

The first appeal of the four minors sentenced to death alongside five others in Nyala in October has been upheld.⁴⁸

Insecurity in Darfur and Ethnically Targeted Attacks in Khor Abeche

- On 6 December, three children in Alohda area, Nyala, were stopped by Abdall Kasalla while returning from evening class at the Jafar Primary School. Abdall Kasalla was joined by another person, Yasir, and invited a third adult to join the group. After a few minutes, the third adult arrived in a Land Cruiser, and the group abducted the children. The Land Cruiser moved towards Al Mataar area in Nyala. The three children are:
 - Osman Hassan Mohamed Abdelkarem, 11, Slamati tribe
 - Abdellatif Bashir Abdelrahman, 13, Masaalit tribe
 - Osman Adam Fadul, 12, Fur tribe

On the morning of 7 December, the children were moved out of Nyala towards the North to work as camel boys. Abdellatif Hassan and Osman Adam Fadul were taken to Um Algura village, inhabited by nomadic tribes, and Osman Hassan was taken to Eastern Jebel Marra. The children's families filed criminal case no.3426 in Nyala South police station under Article 162 (abduction) of the 1991 Criminal Code. On 13 December, the police managed to get two of the children back after Abdall Kasalla, Yasir, and two additional suspects were apprehended. The suspects are all members of the Reizeigat tribe.

Throughout December, intense fighting between the SLA/MM and the SAF occurred, displacing roughly 18,000 from Dar es Salaam, Shangil Tobaya, and Khor Abeche.⁴⁹ Many of the attacks have been on areas with large communities of the Zaghawa ethnic group, seen to be affiliated with the SLA/MM. Though the relationship between the SLA/MM and the Sudanese government has always been tense, the return to armed hostilities and the NCP's calls for the South to expel Mini Minawi represent a complete abandonment of the Abuja Agreement, signed by Minni Minaawi in 2006.

The relationship between the government and the SLA/MM collapsed in the beginning of December, when Khartoum reported the SLA/MM to be hostile. The bank accounts of the Transitional Darfur Authority were frozen, and on 6 December, 18 employees of the Transitional Darfur Authority (led by Minnawi) in El Fashir and five in Nyala were arrested and accused of being SLA/MM members. Thirteen members of the group were released on 7 December, and five individuals remain in NISS custody. On 16 December, Governor Hakam, who was recently appointed President of the Transitional Darfur Regional Authority, dismissed ten members of the SLA/MM.

⁴⁸ See the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "Special Courts in Darfur Sentence Nine Individuals, including Four Children, to Death", 27 October 2010.

⁴⁹ Radio Dabanga, "Timeline: Sudan Battles Former Peace Partner SLM-Minawi", 26 December 2010.

Below is a synopsis of the attacks in Khor Abeche region. For a more comprehensive overview, see the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies' ["Rendered Invisible: Darfur Deteriorates as International Pressure Shifts to the Referendum Process"](#).

- On 10 December, Khor Abeche, was attacked by the SAF. Attacks began again on 11 December, leading to two civilian deaths and 24 wounded. The last attack occurred on 17 December.
- On 14 December, the governor of North Darfur visited Shangil Tobaya area to assess SLA/MM support. Forces were deployed the following day. Witnesses have reported that the soldiers have not appeared Darfuri. On 20 December, a government force travelling to Shangil Tobaya burnt a village and arrested and tortured a civilian, killing him. The militias opened fire on Shaddad IDP camp, causing hundreds to flee. Attacks began on the 21 December in Shangil Tobaya and five neighbouring villages. Attacks on 21 December killed three and led to four arrests in Shangil Tobaya. The three individuals killed are:
 - Abdalla Ibrahim Wadi, 50 year old Zaghawa farmer, Jebel At-Tin
 - Adeh Abaker Wadi, 22 years old Zaghawa, Tibin village
 - Bakheit Hary Tibin, 45 year old Zaghawa, Tibin village

The following individuals were arrested and detained incommunicado:

- Bashir Ali Khatir, Zaghawa
- Abdelkhair Abaker, Zaghawa
- Adam Mohamed Khalil, Zaghawa
- Adam Hassan Fadul, Zaghawa

The attacks were characterized by looting and arbitrary arrests in house to house searches, ethnically targeted attacks, and gender based violence.

- On 21 December, Bakhit Hamid, a 51-year old Sheikh of New Shangil Tobaya, reported that around 20 armed soldiers in seven vehicles stormed his house, looting and destroying his property. When one of the soldiers threatened to kill the sheikh, another soldier dissuaded him. A third soldier had a list of 51 names, including Bakhit Hamid, and enquired as to members of his tribe in Shangil Tobaya. When Sheikh Hamid replied that he was Zagawa, the soldier threatened to kill them all, rape all of the women and cut the shiekh into small pieces. The soldier showed him the list and said that those on it were suspected of being SLA/MM members. Fortunately, Sheikh Hamid did not tell the soldiers his real name. The soldiers stole two grinding machines and 53 other instruments. When leaving, the soldiers arrested his neighbor and cousin, Babiker Adam Hassabala, a 22 year old farmer, on suspicion of being a SLA/MM member. Sheikh Bakhit also reported the kidnapping by soldiers of Bakheit Hari Bain, a 27-year old farmer in the East of Shangil Tobaya on 20 December.
- On 21 December, five men in SAF uniforms using a military vehicle broke into the home of Ali Abdulla, a baker in New Shangil Tobaya area. They stole 20 boxes of flour, fire wood, and two barrels of water. On 14 December, Mr. Abdulla had been shot in the stomach during the attacks on Shangil Tobaya.
- On 21 December, a group of Sudanese military forces in uniform and driving a military vehicle broke into the shop of Ahmed Haroun Shogar, a 30 year old engineer working in UNAMID's newly established shop in Shangil Tobaya. The group stole four TVs, four digital receivers, a speaker, and two Panasonic recorders.

- On 21 December, a mixed group of SAF members and Arab militias in a military vehicle entered Abdulazeem Omar Suleiman's, 26, shop and home in New Shangil Tobaya. Mr. Suleiman is employed as a cleaner for UNAMID. They stole four beds, a bag, and mobile phone minutes worth 1,000 Sudanese pounds. The group also broke into his store and stole four blankets and two bags of millet.
- On 21 December, a group of military entered Nifasha IDP camp in two military vehicles and proceeded to loot and beat people. Three soldiers approached Adam Mohamed Idriss, a 60 year old tailor, and asked him his ethnic background. When Mr. Idriss replied that he was Fur, a soldier hit him on the head and accused him of being a liar.
- On the morning of 21 December, Mustafa Mukhtar Khalil Musa, a 37 year old cleaner at the UNAMID team site and resident of New Shangil Tobaya, was stopped on his way to work by two military vehicles, each containing 6 – 7 men in uniform. The group asked him where he was going. When he answered and showed the soldiers his ID, a soldier snatched the ID and put it around his own neck. Another soldier asked him about the population of New Shangil Tobaya, and asked who possessed weapons in the village. Mr. Musa replied that he did not know anything as he was a civilian. A third soldier took his mobile phone, and 240 Sudanese pounds. They beat him, tied him up, and drove him around in the back of the military jeep for forty minutes before releasing him in New Shangil Tobaya.
- On 22 December, military forces attacked Aboud Ali Arabi, a 50 year old businessman, and Hamida Bashir Suleiman, his wife and a supporter of the SLA/MM resident in New Shangil Tobaya. They looted the couple's property. The couple had been living in Old Shangil Tobaya, but moved following the governor of North Darfur's visit to the village on 14 December.
- On 22 December, roughly 100 military cars entered Shangil Tobaya in North Darfur from the South on a road linking El Fashir and Nyala. The military shot men, looted, and raped women and girls. The following women were raped:
 - M., 17, Zaghawa
 - A., 15, Zaghawa
 - A., 20, Zaghawa
 - Z., 18, Zaghawa
 - I., age unknown, Zaghawa

All the victims did not report their cases to avoid repercussions as the perpetrators are still in the area. In M.'s case, three SAF members in uniform entered the home of her mother, 40 years old, who was home with M. and her sisters. The women were ordered to one corner of the room at gunpoint, and all three soldiers raped M. They stole 200 Sudanese pounds and some gold jewelry valued at 500 Sudanese pounds.

The following people were also subjected to looting on the 21 - 22 December in New Shangil Tobaya. They are:

- Sheikh Adam Jali, 53
- Ahmed Zakaria, 26
- Ibrahim Suleiman, 35
- Yagoub Hassan Fadul, 35
- Sheikh Katir Suleiman, 40
- Abdalla Sidig Adam, 40
- Abdalla Tahir Adam, 25

- Abdulbasit, 27
- Adam Hassabala, 68

On 22 December, Shangil Tobaya was burnt down. A joint attack on the SAF was launched by the SLA/AW, LJM, JEM, and SLA/MM, who won control of Shangil Tobaya, though much of the population fled to Nifasha IDP camp.

Fighting began in Jebel At-tin between the 23 and 25 of December. Five incidents of rape were reported, and those displaced by the attacks fled to Zamzam IDP camp.

- On 23 December, Abdallah Ibrahim Wadi, a 30-year old Zaghawa farmer, was killed by the SAF. Around 4 PM, four SAF vehicles stopped in the Jebel At-Tin village. Two of the vehicles, with seven armed soldiers in total, entered Mr. Wadi's farm. When he tried to prevent them from robbing him, they shot him in the head. They stole a number of his animals and fired warning shots to the residents of Nifasha IDP camp.
- On the morning of 23 December, Mariam Mohamed Hassalbala, a 38 year old resident of Jebel At-Tin, was at home with her blind sister. Three soldiers entered her home, and took all of her property and fired warning shots before leaving. Ms. Hassalbala took her sister and fled to the UNAMID buffer zone.