



## SUDAN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITOR OCTOBER – NOVEMBER 2010

Southerners in the North: Caught on the “Wrong” Side of the Border .....	1
Political Developments.....	7
Referendum Registration .....	7
The Darfur Peace Process.....	9
Abyei.....	10
Monitoring Report.....	11
Arbitrary Arrest and Torture .....	11
Freedom of Expression and Association .....	14
Unfair Trial.....	16
Death Penalty .....	16
Security Concerns.....	17

### Southerners in the North: Caught on the “Wrong” Side of the Border

Since independence, Sudan has been the site of complex political, ethnic, and identity conflicts, intertwined with competition over resources. The 22 year civil war that culminated in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Northern National Congress Party (NCP) and the former Southern rebels, the Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement (SPLM) polarised many of these identity conflicts, which remain an obstacle to cooperation between the North and South and have had tremendous impacts on the lives of Sudanese on the opposite side of the border, particularly for Southerners living in the North. Northerners in the South are traders and business owners for the most part and traditionally have not been vulnerable.

The war was fought mainly in the South, with brutal attacks on civilians and widespread devastation of what little infrastructure was existent. During the war, approximately four million Southerners fled to the North and neighbouring countries, and roughly 200,000 were kidnapped by proxy militias and sold as slaves in the North. Southerners displaced in the North have been living on the fringes – those in official government recognised IDP camps in Khartoum have difficulty accessing services, which were been relegated by the governmental humanitarian body to national and international humanitarian NGOs. Those who settled in unofficial slums have been unable to obtain permission to own land and find their livelihoods, including brewing of alcohol, frequently subject to attack from the regime and Public Order police. As a result of these factors and more generalised discrimination, they have largely remained destitute.

With the signing of the CPA, many displaced Southerners returned, either under an official repatriation programme sponsored by the international community or on their own initiative. When funding for returns dried up in 2008, many Southerners found themselves stranded. It is estimated that there are anywhere from 500,000 – 2 million remaining Southerners in the North, which has been subject to contestation between the Southern Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the Northern ruling National Congress Party (NCP). As the international community’s attention shifted to Darfur, international funding for Southern IDPs stuck in protracted displacement decreased significantly, and the difficult task of accessing services grew even harder. In many cases, agencies still operational in Khartoum have difficulty themselves in entering the camps. Self-settled Southerners remain extremely poor and vulnerable to exploitation.

Of course, a reality is that many Southerners in the North have lived their whole lives there, or have been gone for such a long time as to have their entire livelihoods and families in the North. While they identify as Southerners, there are little to no job and educational opportunities, infrastructure, or access to basic medical care in the South. For some, staying in the North is the best option available.

To date, the NCP and SPLM has placed the majority of their emphasis on the referendum itself rather than post-referendum issues such as citizenship, wealth and power sharing, and border demarcation. That the parties signed a framework agreement on 23 November that emphasised two “viable” states with “soft borders” is positive. However, a draft of the framework agreement rejected by the NCP emphasised that no one’s citizenship would change until the end of the interim period in July 2011, and there would be a constitutionally protected transitional period where an individual could choose to retain or acquire Southern citizenship.<sup>1</sup> There have been no agreements as to what will happen immediately after the referendum, though the official NCP policy seems to be that Southerners will immediately lose citizenship rights if the vote is for secession.<sup>2</sup> Increasingly inflammatory statements by the NCP, as well as its’ history of cracking down on minority groups in Khartoum as it did following riots after John Garang’s death and the Justice and Equality Movement’s (JEM) attack on Omdurman, is of extreme concern. The SPLM has begun a campaign to prevent reprisal attacks against Southerners in the North, called the “Campaign for Coexistence and Peace”, launched at SPLM headquarters in the Al-Mugran area of Khartoum on 14 November.<sup>3</sup> With the country’s very existence in question and the probable secession of the southern portion of the country following the referendum, those who find themselves on the “wrong” side of the border are extremely vulnerable. Indeed, monitoring conducted by the African Centre indicates that there has been an increase in harassment and intimidation of Southerners, some of which appears to be Government of Sudan (GoS) policy.

#### *Destruction of Property and Harassment under Public Order Laws*

A key provision of the CPA was that Southerners would not be subjected to *sharia* law, the introduction of which had been a key driver of the civil war. However, this has not been the case in practice. Raids searching for illegal alcohol breweries often solely target Southerners, and have been seen as a subtle

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<sup>1</sup>International Crisis Group, “[Negotiating Sudan’s North-South Future](#)”, 23 November 2010. The International Crisis Group obtained an initial draft of the “Framework for Resolving Outstanding Issues Relating to the Implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the Future Relations of North and South Sudan”.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>3</sup> Sudan Tribune, “[SPLM starts campaign to prevent reprisal attacks against southerners in north Sudan](#)”, 14 November.

form of harassment. Frequently when homes are raided for alcohol or unlicensed weapons, property is damaged or destroyed. When SPLM officials have intervened, they are often subjected to intimidation as well. In the period leading up to the referendum, these attacks have been amplified. The following are examples:

- On 10 October, police demolished eight homes belonging to Southern IDPs in Al Mamora area, which is roughly eight kilometres southeast of Khartoum's centre. The police confiscated the IDP's property and prevented them from returning to the area, despite the fact that they had permission from local landowners. Raiding Southern IDPs' homes under the pretext of protecting peace and security is not a new occurrence; however, the confiscation of property is seen as an escalation from previous practice.
- On 28 October, police found alcohol during a raid at the home of Kaka Telian in Block 32 of Dar el Salaam camp. Ms. Telian is a 32 year old single mother of three children. She was beaten and dragged in front of her children to the local police station. She was sentenced to a fine of 250 SDG (roughly \$100 USD) and 40 lashes by the local court. She is unable to pay the fine, and will remain in prison until she can do so.
- On 30 October, Ahoal Deng, a woman in her 40s, was arrested for drinking alcohol. She was lashed 40 times, and fined 50 SDG. She is unable to pay the fine and will remain in prison for one month.
- In Wad Al Bashir camp, police raided a home searching for alcohol. They found a hand grenade belonging to an SPLA soldier. The entire area was immediately surrounded by heavily armed police for hours. After interference from the SPLA, however, the soldier was released.
- On 7 November, the police raided a home occupied by squatters in Haj Yousif area, street 1, to search for alcohol. All of the occupants were Southerners. The entire group, including children, was arrested and taken to Haj Yousif Police Station 5. The incident took place near the home of a prominent SPLM member of the Peace Committee of the National Assembly, Jacob Doung. After hearing the commotion in his neighbourhood, he approached the home being raided and identified himself as a member of parliament. He was slapped in the face by a police officer and told to mind his own business. Mr. Doung said that he will report the incident to parliament.
- On 4 November, over 50 police officers in uniform and in plainclothes raided the home of the late ex-governor of Upper Nile State, Colonel Simon Manyang, in Khartoum's Jabra district, block 6. Colonel Manyang was governor from 1985 – 1987. The raid took place while the family celebrated the graduation of the former governor's son, Zakaria Simon, from Juba University. The police forced their way into the home using tear gas, shattered the main door and windows, and broke furniture within the house. Sixty one guests (55 male, 6 female) attending the party were beaten, and 20 people (11 men and 9 women) were arrested. They were not given any reason for their arrest and were released later that evening. Colonel Manyang's widow, Rugina Francis Deng, was beaten by the police in front of her guests. The detainees were held overnight at Al Diem Public Order police station. The following morning, the males received 40 lashes and the females were fined 500 SDG by the Public Order court. Ms. Deng, who has lived in Jabra District for 24 years, stated that "this is the first time that my family has to go through such an appalling experience". A local newspaper, *The Citizen*, reported that the group was verbally abused by the police, including through the use of racial slurs.
- A birthday party in Mayo, block 8, was raided by public order police on 4 November. The police detained all those in attendance. The group of 105 were taken to Mayo's police station and fined 100 SDG each without being tried or seen by a judge. Although the family had permission

for the party from a local authority, the police refused to accept this explanation. The whole family moved out of the house the following week, likely returning to Upper Nile State.

- On 2 November, Niedir Lwal Lwal, 42, a mother of eight from Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Aweil town, and a resident of Block 50 of Dar el Salaam IDP camp was arrested for selling alcohol. She was sentenced on 3 November to one year in prison and 500 SDG. Her son appealed the decision, and the court reduced the sentence to two months and a fine of 200 SDG. Seven of her children returned back to Northern Bahr el Ghazal.
- On 11 November, two Southern Sudanese women were arrested for drinking alcohol. They were taken to the police station of District 4 in Northern Bahr el Ghazal, and sentenced to 50 lashes and fined 50 SDG by the police. They were never tried by any court.
- On 13 November, joint forces from the Army, National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS), and police surrounded Alkalaka Shar, El Eskan Alshabi, and Gebal Awilia in Khartoum. The forces targeted only Southern homes looking for unlicensed weapons, violating procedure and privacy.

These incidents are evidence of an escalating campaign against Southerners.

#### *Increasingly Inflammatory Statements by the NCP*

Statements made by senior NCP members in recent months regarding the status of Southerners give cause for concern, even as negotiations on the status of southerners are underway. On 25 September, Information Minister Kamal Obeid stated on National Radio that Southerners in the North will lose their citizenship rights if the South votes for secession: “They will not enjoy citizenship rights, jobs, or benefits, they will not be allowed to buy or sell in Khartoum market and they will not be treated in hospitals. We will not even give them a needle in the hospital”.<sup>4</sup>

Following his comments, the National Consensus Forces called his remarks “irrational” and Popular Congress Party leader Hassan al-Turabi called for his removal to show commitment to the CPA.<sup>5</sup> The National Assembly speaker Ahmed Ibrahim Al-Tahir stated that Southerners would be “second class citizens”<sup>6</sup> in the North, while the NCP’s political secretary Ibrahim Ghandour commented that “the NCP did not say it will expel the southerners today or tomorrow. But if the country is partitioned then the issue of citizenship will be determined by the concerned state. Sudanese are not in the habit of expelling or humiliating even the aliens let alone the southern Sudanese who will continue to enjoy the full rights of citizenship *until 9 January*” [emphasis added].<sup>7</sup>

The North has also resorted to inflammatory rhetoric related to the post-referendum period, implying that they will not respect the outcome of the referendum if it is secession. Salah Gosh, the Presidential Advisor for Security Affairs, warned the South of repercussions if it violates the CPA. According to *Akhir-Lahza*, Gosh was addressing a public rally at Karima town in Northern state when he accused the SPLM of refusing to sign post-referendum arrangements under the influence of the US. Gosh stated that the NCP was ready for “plan B” should the SPLM violate the CPA and that “battle smoke would cover the south and not the north.”<sup>8</sup> Opposition parties, such as the Popular Congress Party, Democratic Unionist

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<sup>4</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN), “[Sudan: Analysis: Referendum raises expulsion fears](#),” 27 September 2010.

<sup>5</sup> *Ajras Al-Hurriya*, 27 September 2010

<sup>6</sup> *The Citizen*, 5 October 2010

<sup>7</sup> *Al Sahafa*, 27 September 2010

<sup>8</sup> Sudan Tribune, “[Sudan’s NCP says its prepared for plan B against the south](#)”, 27 November 2010.

Party, and the Umma Party, have advised both parties to cease using decisive statements that could lead to violent separation. Both sides have stated at the Presidential level that the country risks returning to war if the referendum is undermined.

Remarks made by the NCP have already had repercussions. Southerners who managed to buy land in the North have had difficulty selling their land, rumoured to be due to an official government instruction. Additionally, there have been rumours of Northerners buying knives, and South Sudanese youth being beaten at checkpoints.

### *Returns to the South*

An emergency repatriation programme, called “Come Home to Choose”, was launched in August 2010 by the government of South Sudan’s Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management Ministry. Designed to facilitate the return of 1.5 million Southerners living in the North, plans for such a massive return were later scrapped due to the \$25.3 million dollar budget, though there have been extensive GoSS supported returns. A proposal obtained by AFP stated that the vote “will require all southern Sudanese IDPs living in the north who have expressed their willingness to return home for registration and to participate in the referendum”.<sup>9</sup> Unity State has set up an office in Sahafa suburb of Khartoum and has already registered over 5,000 people to return to the South by bus. However, there is little money for returns and a long waiting list – some Southerners in Khartoum reported that they had been waiting over three months to return to the South via government sponsored return.<sup>10</sup> During returns, Southerners have reported being harassed and intimidated at checkpoints by security services.

During the monitoring period, the number of returnees to the South has increased significantly, and documented returns by UNMIS reveal that repatriation is occurring parallel to the referendum process. In some cases, returns have been obstructed. On 12 November, a group of armed Misseriya gunmen in North Kordofan obstructed the movement of an IDP convoy of 140 vehicles travelling to Hejlil and Kharasana. They were held for one and a half days before being allowed to proceed following high level interference.

Rationale for Southerners returning is likely threefold. First, Southerners in the North’s uncertainty and fears over what their futures will be following the referendum – whether they will retain their citizenship, property, and jobs – and the potential for violent reprisals against southerners in the North in the event of secession are very real.

Second, the registration process for Southerners in the North is somewhat unclear. Despite the extension to voter registration to allow for more Southerners in the North to register, there has been little education for Southerners on where registration centres are. In some cases, the registration centres have been established in areas that are difficult for Southerners to access. Red Sea State has three registration centres to cover the entire state. Further, there have been reports that the SPLM has directed Southerners to not register outside the South amidst fears of fraud and manipulation, and to return to the South to register and vote.

Lastly, Southerners returning home from the North are re-activating citizenship and rights. In field research done by Refugees International in Khartoum, one Southern IDP stated that “unity has not

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<sup>9</sup> AFP, “[South Sudan Plans Return of 1.5 Million for Referendum](#)”, 24 August 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Copnall, James. “[Scared Southern Sudanese Flee the North to Vote](#)”, BBC News, 12 November 2010.

produced a good situation for us. Why would it be better after separation?”<sup>11</sup> Southerners in the North feel as if the government never worked to integrate Southern IDPs into Northern society, and have denied them government services and periodically forced them to move to the peripheries of Khartoum.<sup>12</sup> Returns have been most pronounced in border areas in Abyei, Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Unity State, and Upper Nile.

Although IDPs returning from the north are experiencing a different process and returning to different areas, the experience of returning refugees may offer some insight into their situation. Both repatriating refugees and returning IDPs are returning in a context of political upheaval, fluctuating security, and a difficult economic environment.<sup>13</sup> The process of return for Southerners who fled to neighbouring countries has occurred on two levels: through official repatriation programmes sponsored by UNHCR and unofficial processes. In a paper published by the UNHCR’s Policy Development and Evaluation Services by Lucy Hovil, surveys of Southern Sudanese living in border areas in Uganda found that refugees were renegotiating citizenship by returning unofficially, but maintaining their businesses and livelihoods in Uganda so as to not risk losing their refugee status in case of renewed displacement. One young Sudanese man in Uganda stated that “the referendum will not change the situation in Sudan at all because the Arabs are not ready for change...the Southern government will have to reclaim its territories back which are rich in minerals...we are expecting another war in Sudan”.<sup>14</sup>

#### *Negotiating Citizenship and Providing Durable Solutions*

The realities of life in the South, with little infrastructure, educational and job opportunities, and basic medical services are preventing many Southerners from returning. Although detailed information on the desires of southerners are difficult to access in this politically contentious environment, it is likely that many Southerners wish to remain in the North to access education and employment opportunities unavailable in the South. Although integration has been limited, the North may be the only home they know. Following post-CPA repatriation programmes in 2005 and 2006, many Southern IDPs returned to Khartoum. In some cases IDPs claimed that they had been forcibly repatriated to the South. Citizenship negotiations must emphasise freedom of choice and maintenance of livelihoods. An arrangement similar to Sudan and Egypt’s Four Freedoms Agreement, which enforces the right to movement, residence, employment, and property ownership, would be desirable in this respect.

For those who choose to return, there needs to be additional attention to reintegration assistance. With half of the population in the South having received food aid recently, the impact of returns on the Southern economy cannot be underestimated.<sup>15</sup> These same communities will have to absorb an influx of IDPs. There have been reports of an influx of 26,000 returns to Abyei, 14,000 of which are children without access to schools. Markets are experiencing food and fuel shortages.

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<sup>11</sup> Refugees International, “[Sudan: Preventing Violence and Statelessness as Referendum Approaches](#)”, 28 June 2010.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>13</sup> Hovil, Lucy. “[Hoping for Peace, afraid of war: the dilemmas of repatriation and belonging on the borders of Uganda and South Sudan](#)”. UNHCR Policy and Evaluation Services, November 2010.

<sup>14</sup> “Hoping for Peace, afraid of war”

<sup>15</sup> AFP, “[South Sudan intends to bring home 1.5 million referendum voters](#)”, 24 August 2010.

Similarly, some IDPs returning to the South may find that their home communities face various new threats in the region, such as the Lord's Resistance Army in the Equatoria and Bahr el Ghazal areas, and tribal conflict in Jongelei.

Regardless of the outcome of the referendum, the human rights situation of Southerners on the opposite side of the border must be carefully monitored. That the monitoring by the African Centre indicates that there appears to be increased harassment of Southerners is disturbing, and the international community must carefully monitor this. Whether this intimidation is government policy or evidence of increasing political pressure, the government must be prepared to protect the rights of southerners. International actors should place increased pressure on the CPA partners to end inflammatory rhetoric, and increase monitoring and rapid response capacity.

## Political Developments

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### Referendum Registration

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On 3 December, the South Sudan Referendum Commission (SSRC) confirmed its request to the Presidency for a postponement of the referendum polling date of 9 January by three weeks, citing logistical obstacles throughout the country. The SSRC is continuing preparations for the referendum as scheduled until a response is received from the Presidency. For its part, the SPLM has rejected postponement of the referendum as a violation of the CPA. The SPLM and NCP have also clashed over which tribal leaders are empowered to carry out the role of identifiers in registration centres.<sup>16</sup> The NCP has blamed the SPLM and SSRC for low voter turnout in the North, saying that the SSRC has allowed SPLM officials to be present in registration centres in the North and SPLA intelligence and security has run centres in the South.<sup>17</sup> The complaint made by the NCP stated that "the SPLM has managed through its members to paralyze the will of the commission and dominate decision-making, thus derailing all the solutions reached by repealing the administrative order that helped to raise the number of registrants in the north".<sup>18</sup> According to the NCP, 32% of southerners who reached registration centres in the North were sent back to the South by the SPLM.

It was announced on 7 December that the bidding for ballot printing had been awarded to a British company, Tall Security Group, which will print and deliver ballots by Christmas. The process of bidding had been re-opened in November, after the SSRC demanded that national companies submit bids for the project.

The task at hand, however, is daunting. It is estimated that nearly six million people will register, with 5.2 million in the South, 600,000 in the north, and over 350,000 in the diaspora. These people must have access to registration centres and materials over a vast territory with minimal infrastructure and in a context in which many lack identification documents.

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<sup>16</sup> Miraya FM, "[SSRC Requests Presidency to Postpone Referendum Date](#)", 3 December 2010

<sup>17</sup> Sudan Tribune, "[NCP blames SPLM and referendum commission for low turnout in north Sudan](#)", 28 November 2010.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*

Despite wide registrant turnout in the South, many of the elements that undermined the campaigning period and national elections in April 2010 are already present, which is particularly troubling given the short time between registration and voting for the referendum. These areas include procedural irregularities and delays, lack of access for registrants in the North and South, and intimidation and arrest of potential registrants and campaigners.<sup>19</sup> The escalation of attacks on campaigners is accentuated in the context of the lack of regulation of the campaigning period. The Referendum Act does not oblige government bodies to act neutrally and includes insufficient protection against the use of state resources for campaigning.<sup>20</sup>

Prior to the registration period, the SSRC delayed release of relevant rules and lists, delaying voter education and compromising the ability of domestic observers to be accredited on time. Accreditation was available only through the South Sudan Referendum Bureau (SSRB, the SSRC's implementation body in the South) and SSRC. Due to lack of capacity, there was a backlog in the accreditation of national monitors. In a statement released days before registration began, a national monitoring coalition, the Sudanese Network for Democratic Elections (SunDE), released a statement that noted concern that citizens would not have enough information to be able to confidently participate in registration with the list of registration centres published only days before. The SSRC has provided little guidance on eligibility for voter registration and the registration of minority indigenous communities.<sup>21</sup>

Another area of concern is that it is unclear how registration is determined in the North and border areas, where many lack identification documents. In the absence of trained and impartial identifiers, the process may be open to manipulation of by non-Southerners registering, or through refusal of legitimate registrants solely on the base of appearance. In monitoring conducted by the Carter Center, the mission observed rejected registrants not being duly informed of their right to challenge the SSRC's decisions to Consideration Committees (an administrative body tasked with hearing objections to the registrant's list), and simply walking out of registration centres.<sup>22</sup>

The registration of those outside the territory of South Sudan has been particularly contentious. Many in the South are concerned that these votes may be particularly vulnerable to rigging and manipulation. This fear has, in part, kept registration levels in the North relatively low.<sup>23</sup> In addition, there have been rumors of planned rigging in the diaspora, leading some to argue against registration. Rumors are circulating that every diaspora vote will be transformed into 20 for unity. This suspicion has provoked death threats, for example, in Ugandan refugee camps where Sudanese are registering.

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<sup>19</sup> Please see the African Centre's Statement on the Registration Process as of 1 December, "[Urgent International Pressure Needed to Ensure Equitable Registration Process](#)". The African Centre will compile a registration report after the registration period has concluded.

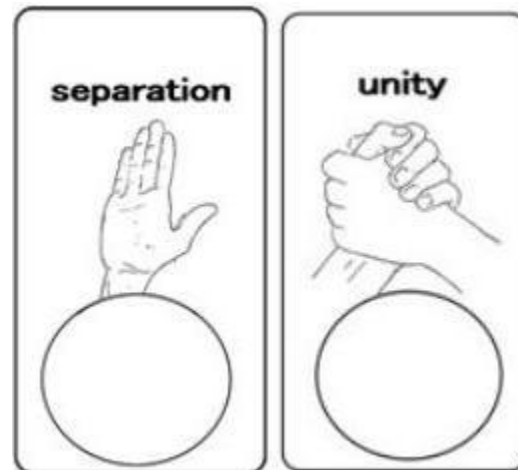
<sup>20</sup> Democracy Reporting International, "[Assessment of the Southern Sudan Referendum Act](#)", July 2010.

<sup>21</sup> SunDE, "[Sudanese Network for Democratic Elections Statement on the Eve of Voter Registration](#)", 13 November 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Carter Center "[Carter Center Statement on Sudan Referendum: Strong Start to Registration But Urgent Action Needed to Ensure Broad Participation](#)", 24 November 2010.

<sup>23</sup> See the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies Statement on the Registration Process, "[Urgent International Pressure Needed to Ensure Equitable Registration Process](#)", 1 December 2010.

Looking ahead to the referendum itself it is clear that there is a need for sufficient and impartial voter education to allow for a free and fair vote. In a context in which large numbers of individuals are illiterate or have minimal education, it is particularly critical that education make it clear what options are available and how to express opinion. The uses of visual aids, such as those presented here, are helpful, but will still require explanation.



## The Darfur Peace Process

The Darfur peace process continues to face significant obstacles. While the Chief Mediator, Djibril Bassole, is pushing for an agreement to be reached by 19 December between the Liberty and Justice Movement (LJM) and the government, a number of issues, including a special status for Darfur, need to be resolved. In the meantime, the credibility of the talks continues to suffer from the absence of two important factions, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA)'s Abdul Wahid faction.

JEM, however, has recently sent a delegation to Doha, the site of the talks, to discuss with the mediation team conditions for the resumption of direct talks with the government.<sup>24</sup> JEM has emphasised the need for clear procedures, a defined roadmap, and to bring together rebel movements to create a signatory agreement with two parties, rather than a "visitors' book". They also called for national issues to be addressed, saying that the conflict cannot be addressed without addressing its underpinnings at the centre.

JEM also noted that the parties need expert advice and support from people well versed in drafting peace agreements. The international community led by the UNSC, EU, and donor countries should play a defined role in the talks. JEM called for unity of the international and regional community, and designing a forum that allows them to work with the mediation. JEM also criticised "flooding" the venue with large amounts of civil society as a distraction and emphasised the need to address implementation. Lack of implementation of previous mechanisms (such as the Abuja Agreement) has also undermined confidence in the current talks.

In October, a Commission of Inquiry was established by the Sudanese Minister of Justice, Mohamed Bushara Dosa, to investigate the 2 September attacks in Tabra, a Fur village in North Darfur. Fifty eight people were killed, and 86 injured.<sup>25</sup> The Commission conducted two visits to Tawilla and Tabra in October 2010, but has refused to give any public statement. The perpetrators of the attack on Tabra are believed to be operating with impunity in North Darfur.

<sup>24</sup> JEM, "Requirements for a Robust Process in Doha", 13 November 2010.

<sup>25</sup> For more information, see "[Sudanese Armed Forces and Local Militias jointly attack a Fur Village in North Darfur](#)", 3 September 2010. The following commissioners were appointed: Abdalaldem Zumrawi (Deputy Minister of Justice and Attorney General of the National Commission of Inquiry into Darfur), Alfatih Tifour (Prosecutor of the Ministry of Justice and former North Darfur head Attorney in 2007), Mubark Mahmoud, and Alnazir Hamid. The Commission also includes representation from a member of the Police, Armed Forces, and National Security.

Nils Kastberg, the Sudan UNICEF representative, told *Fi al Mizan* that Khartoum was blocking access to IDP camps in Darfur, saying:

we are extremely concerned. When we conduct surveys to help us address issues, in collaboration with the ministry of health, very often other parts of the government such as the humanitarian affairs commission interferes and delays in the release of the reports, making it difficult for us to respond in a timely way.... Sometimes it is security services that hinder access or delay access, sometimes it is the humanitarian affairs office that delays the release of nutritional surveys, sometimes it is delays in granting permissions and visas. It is different institutions which interfere in our work".<sup>26</sup>

One health worker said "it is very difficult for children below five (many of whom were born in the IDP camps) to survive this. They will probably die".<sup>27</sup>

## Abyei

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Abyei may become a flashpoint for violence around the referendum. Given its strategic location on the border and its oil wealth, its status has been and is likely to remain highly contentious. On 8 October, shooting occurred in Abyei's market, when SAF soldiers allegedly fired at random, injuring a trader.<sup>28</sup>

Under the CPA framework, Abyei was to receive a separate referendum to be held on the same day as the referendum for Southern self-determination, in which it would decide on whether to become part of the North or South. However, with just over one month to go until the referendum, it is clear that the Abyei referendum cannot be held on time. Lorna Marakeje, head of the Sudan Domestic Election and Monitoring Observation Programme (SuDEMOP), said that "the Abyei Referendum Commission cannot be set up with just 50 days to go, but the people there should be given their right to decide where they want to go".<sup>29</sup>

Ongoing talks between the NCP and the SPLM are discussing a deal on Abyei and the NCP has reportedly proposed that some of the territory go to the South, excluding the richest, oil-producing areas. There have been additional rumours about a deal with unspecified concessions. However, there have been serious rumblings that the Ngok Dinka and Misseriya ethnic groups in the area may resist a deal which is seen as imposed on them from above if it is outside the CPA framework. The Ngok Dinka have threatened that if the vote is not held that they will not allow the Misseriya to graze. On the Misseriya side the formation of a parallel local government is an additional indication of the level of tensions and efforts of communities on the ground to take control. In this context, the threat of conflict is very real. Unemployed youth loyal to neither the NCP nor SPLA represent a significant threat.<sup>30</sup> A local resident said that "Both the Misseriya and Dinka are heavily armed. If nothing comes out of talks, then we will have a bad Christmas".<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> IWPR and Radio Dabanga, "[Khartoum under fire over IDP Camp Conditions](#)", 19 November 2010.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> BBC Africa, "[Sudan Abyei Shooting a Pretext for War](#)", 12 October 2010.

<sup>29</sup> IRIN, "[Sudan's Abyei bracing for a 'bad Christmas'](#)", 1 December 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Small Arms Survey, "[Militarisation in Abyei](#)", Sudan Human Security Baseline Assessment, October 2010.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*

### Arbitrary Arrest and Torture

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- On 9 October, NISS agents in Khartoum arrested Simon Noye Agot. Mr. Agot is a Southern student at Alneleen University in Khartoum, aged 26. He was arrested during an event organised by the Student Campaign to Support South Sudan Separation in Khartoum, although the NISS allowed another group of Southern Sudanese students to campaign for unity at the same time. The organisers planned to send letters to the UN Security Council to pressure the government of Sudan to abide by the referendum rules in the CPA, and counter a pro-unity demonstration during the UNSC visit to Khartoum. Mr. Agot was arrested alongside 11 others from the campaign and subjected to torture. He was beaten with water hoses and sticks and kicked, and his genitals were squeezed with metal sharp objects. He was threatened with death, and denied food and water for a day and not allowed to use the washroom. The NISS ordered him to give them all of his information, address, and contacts, and he was threatened with rearrest if he continued campaigning for secession. He was also offered payment to campaign for unity. The following day, the NISS took him to an area outside Khartoum near El Gezira state and dropped him off in an area near Al Shikh Alyagout town after they took his shoes, mobile, and money. The medical report noted that his right hand was sprained and other evidence of torture. On 11 October, a court in Khartoum sentenced Mr. Agot to 15 days in prison after he was convicted of “disturbance of public peace” under Article 69 of the Sudanese Criminal Act. No one else in the group was charged with a crime. His lawyers have argued that the sentence was based on flawed and insufficient evidence, and have appealed.
- On 11 October, police arrested Zahara Mohamed Alnaeam without any charges. Ms. Alnaeam is a women’s rights activist and director of the Dar Al Salaam organisation in El Fashir. She was arrested shortly after returning from a conference in South Africa. She was questioned by a police officer named Ashram about her relationship with Radio Dabanga, and released later that day.<sup>32</sup>
- During the UNSC’s visit to El Fashir, they met with IDPs in Abu Shouk, Al Salaam, and Abashed. Many IDPs talked about issues of insecurity, deterioration of humanitarian conditions, lack of access to justice, and abuses by the NISS.<sup>33</sup> On 8 October, the NISS began searches for 16 IDPs who spoke to the UNSC, all of whom were able to evade arrest. One member of the group, however, was told later that they could not leave El Fashir alongside two others. Harassment of others suspected of speaking to the UNSC continued. On 10 October, two individuals were arrested. On 17 October, a second wave of arrests occurred. The second wave of arrests included IDPs that had been arrested in an unrelated incident over a year prior. The following individuals were arrested:
  - Abu al-Bashir Ali Abdella, Al Salaam\*
  - Omda Adam Haroun, Abu Shouk\*
  - Adam Yahiya Dawelbeit, Al Salaam\*
  - Ahmed Abas Abdul Rahman, Kabakiya, now held in Slalla prison
  - Mohamed Abdella Mohamed El Haj, now held in Kober Prison
  - Najmeldin Adam Ahmed
  - Hussein Hassan Abdul Karim

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<sup>32</sup> This incident was previously reported following the arrests of IDPs who spoke to the UNSC. However, it is unclear how her arrest is linked.

<sup>33</sup> See [“Arrests and Intimidation in El Fashir Town and IDP Camps Following the UN Security Council’s Visit”](#), 14 October 2010.

- Osman Adam Abaker
- Mubarak Adam Ibrahim
- Abdulaziz Abdella Adam
- Omda Hussein Ishag Saajou\*
- Abdella Adam Abaker
- Siddig Ahmed Taha
- Mohamed Ismail Suleiman
- Mohamed Al-Hassan Adam
- Mohamed Hassan Ishag, Zalengei, now held in Slalla prison in El Fashir
- Abdelrahman Adam Yahiya
- Abdul Aziz Eissa, Abu Shouk IDP camp, now held in Slalla prison in El Fashir
- Adam Hamid Sharif, Abu Shouk, transferred to Kober Prison
- Omda Salih Abdella, Abu Shouk, now held in Slalla prison
- Abdel Rahman Ibrahim Abdul Gadir, El Fashir
- Najmeldin Abdella Ibrahim, Kabakiya, now held in Kober
- Hussein Hassan Abdelrahman, Nyala
- Osman Adam Abaker, Nyala

Individuals with an asterisk next to their names denote that they were arrested in August 2009, following arrests in Abu Shouk IDP camp after the injury of two police officers and the death of an *omda* in Al Salaam camp.<sup>34</sup>

- In the afternoon of 30 October, six Darfuri human rights defenders disappeared in Khartoum. The next day, it was confirmed that all six had been arrested. Some of the members of the group had just attended a youth forum on social development hosted by *Girifna*, a pro-democracy student movement. Staff of HAND (Human Rights and Advocacy Network for Democracy) were arrested after a raid by the NISS. HAND is a coalition of nine grassroots Darfuri organisations that publishes weekly human rights monitoring reports from Darfur. They closed the office, and confiscated computers, documents, and Radio Dabanga equipment. On 8 November, the case was referred to the Prosecutor of State Security.

Security recently allowed detainees' families to visit the Darfuri activists in Kober and Omdurman Women's Prison, calling each family individually to arrange. Their families were unclear if they had been brought to Kober and Omdurman Women's Prison for the purpose of the visit, or were resident there. The visits were monitored by two NISS agents, who forbid the detainees to discuss the investigation against them, any torture, or questions related to their detention conditions. The detainees appeared to be in good health.

The first disappearance occurred in *Suq al Arabia* in downtown Khartoum on 30 October, when NISS agents arrested Abdelrahman Mohamed Al-Gasim, a prominent human rights defender from Tulus, South Darfur. Mr. Al-Gasim is based in Khartoum and is the Legal Aid and Training Coordinator of the Darfur Bar Association. He has had medical care for the past two days. His family has been able to

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<sup>34</sup> See Sudan Human Rights Monitor, August - September 2009, available at [http://www.acjps.org/Publications/HRM/Human\\_Rights\\_Monitor-Issue3-FINAL.pdf](http://www.acjps.org/Publications/HRM/Human_Rights_Monitor-Issue3-FINAL.pdf)

visit him twice; with the last visit on 30 November. He told his family that the investigation by the NISS ended on 14 November.

Another round of disappearances occurred almost immediately after Mr. Al-Gasim's, suggesting a coordinated effort by the NISS. The arrested individuals are:

- Dirar Adam Dirar, a finance and administration officer with the HAND network. Abdelrahman Adam Abdelrahman, the Deputy Director of HAND's network. There have been indications that he has been subjected to torture, and unconfirmed reports that he was transferred to Kober prison. He met with his family on 2 December in Kober Prison.
- Manal Mohamed Ahmed, activist
- Aisha Sardo Sharif, activist
- Aziza Ali Edris, activist and student.

Four additional arrests occurred between 30 October and 3 November. These individuals are:

- Abu Ghassim El Din, arrested between 30 October and 1 November
  - Zacharia Yacoub, arrested between 30 October and 1 November
  - Jaafar Alsabki Ibrahim, a Darfuri journalist working for *Al Sahafa*. He was arrested in a raid on *Al Sahafa's* offices on 3 November. A request made by Mr. Ibrahim to contact his family was denied by the NISS authorities who arrested him. He was able to meet with his family on 28 November. His brother saw that his feet were injured, but was not sure if it was a result of torture.
  - Ibrahim Adam, arrested on an unknown date
  - Kuwather Abdelhag Mohamed, arrested 1 November. Six NISS agents took Abdelrahman Adam to the Darfur Development and Rehabilitation Organisation in Khartoum, where they asked her to co-sign a check with Mr. Adam for 4,000 SDG. When she refused, she was arrested and both were taken to prison. She was released on 17 November, but rearrested immediately. She met with her family on 29 November in Omdurman Women's Prison.
- On 6 November, the NISS arrested Adam Ahmed Mohamed and Ismail Abdelrahman, two 28 year old IDPs from Khamsa Degaig, an IDP camp southeast of Zalengei. The men both work for oil companies in Zalengei. Both were taken to an unknown destination, and it remains unclear the reasons for their arrest. Their families have not been permitted to visit them.
  - On 9 November, NISS agents detained Abdul Karim Abaker, an NGO employee in Almahidia Camp, block 2.
  - On 15 November, the first day of registration, six officials at the local referendum commission office plus two chiefs of Makundi Payam ward in Wulu County of Lakes state were arrested over a dispute on registration centres. The arrests were ordered by the County Commissioner of Mayolo in Western Equatoria over confusion as to where the border between the two states lies. Paul Nuer Tier, the county commissioner of Mayolo, was quoted as saying that he arrested the staff because the registration centres were actually in Western Equatoria. Makundi has been shared by both since the CPA. The officials were later released, but the first day was lost.
  - On 17 November, an engineer from the Barti tribe, Alsadig Ahmed Omar, 45, was arrested by the NISS in Nyala. Mr. Omar is a member of the Popular Congress Party. The NISS denied him access to his family or any information about his health.

- On 20 November, an NCP member supervising the NCP campaign for unity in Upper Nile State, Zuhair Hamed Suleiman, was arrested at Juba airport by the SPLM while trying to board a flight to Bor. He was held for two days and beaten.
- On 27 November, the Minister of Legal and Constitutional Development in Upper Nile state, Riek Peter, was arrested and detained for several hours by police in Jebel Awlia locality, Khartoum State. Mr. Peter told *Ajras Al-Hurriya* that he was stopped by police to verify his license, which they confiscated. When he told them he was a minister, they confiscated his car registration papers. He was taken to a local police station and released following interference with local NCP leaders. Mr. Peter stated that he believed he had been targeted due to his Southern Sudanese license plate, and that the police intended to “send a message to me but to all Southern Sudanese that they might receive the same or worse treatment”.

### Freedom of Expression and Association

- On 2 October, the newspaper *Alintibaha* resumed its publication. On 6 July, NISS authorities suspended *Alintibaha* indefinitely, due to what the NISS Director of Information deemed “lack of commitment to professionalism when presenting national issues”. *Alintibaha* represents the views of the extremist branch of the NCP, and has published articles with strong separatist perspectives, contrary to the official position of the NCP for unity. In many cases, their arguments have been racist, arguing that the South does not deserve to be part of the North. The Sudanese Union of Journalists, a pro-government body reported on last monitoring period for their cancellation of the membership of any journalist belonging to other journalists’ organisations, requested the director of the NISS, Mohamed Atta, to reinstate *Alintibaha*’s publication after the newspaper signed an oath to be bound by the press code of ethics in Sudan. On 20 October, the National Press and Publications Council again suspended the issuance of *Alintibaha* for two days due to a complaint made by the Department of Monitoring and Evaluation in the Secretariat of the Council. The newspaper *Al Shahid* was also suspended on the same basis.
- On 4 October, the Sudanese government barred the Monte Carlo Arabic Channel, which airs from Paris. No reasons for the closure were given. Monte Carlo Radio submitted a request for a license renewal to the Ministry of Information in Sudan. The Ministry of Information declined to renew the license on the basis that the laws and administration would not permit it, which was the same rationale given to the BBC. No further reasons were given.<sup>35</sup>
- On 18 October, the NISS in Nyala, South Darfur arrested 33 people in the Alwadi area who they believed to be rejoining JEM. The NISS ordered the Central Police in Nyala to open a criminal case against the group under Articles 23 (order to commit an offence), 77 (public nuisance), 69 (disturbance of public peace), and 93 (impersonating a public servant) of the Sudan Criminal Code. The case is registered under file no. 4151 of 2010. The individuals were previously all affiliated JEM, but members of the group had made an agreement with the South Darfur government allowing them to remain in Nyala. Members of the group are:
  - Abdulbasit Abubkar Adam
  - Esam Younes Adam
  - Alsadig Hussin Edris
  - Abduhamid Eshag Bushara
  - Adil Abdall Eshag

<sup>35</sup> The Arabic Network for Human Rights Information, 4 October 2010.

- Barka Alhaj Eisa
  - Mohamed Eshag Ubid
  - Mohamed Hussein Ahmed
  - Abdulnabi Yahia Mohamed
  - Tagi Aldeen Adam
  - Suliman Ibrahim Mukhtar
  - Eisa Mohamed Abdalla
  - Sadam Hassan Mohamed
  - Sidig Mohamed Kabashi
  - Ahmed Alnour Abdelrahman
  - Abdaziz Guma Ismail
  - Altyeb Ahmed Ibrahim
  - Abobaker Adam Yahiya
  - Gedo Sidig Altoum
  - Mugahid Abdalla
  - Abderahman Abdalla Ahmed
  - Gedo Eshag Abaker
  - Khalid Aboubaker Ibrahim
  - Hider Elsir Edris
  - Shraf Aldeen Eisa
  - Abdaziz Mustafa
  - Osman Abdalla
  - Omar Abdalla Ibrahim
  - Jamal Adam Mohamed
  - Eshag Mohamed Yahia
  - Omar Eshag Barka
  - Adam Hamid Musa
  - Hamid Musa Mohamed
- On 19 October, Faiz Silaik, the acting editor in chief of *Ajras Al-Hurria*, appeared in court in Khartoum. He is due back in court on 8 December. Mr. Silaik was arrested on 11 April alongside journalist Alhaj Warrag, though their cases have since been separated and Mr. Warrag has left Sudan. On 11 April, the NISS and Press and Publication Authorities lodged a complaint against Mr. Silaik and Mr. Warrag under Article 66 of the 1991 Sudanese Criminal Act, accusing them of crimes against the state, and Articles 24 and 26 of the Media and Publications Act, which provide guidelines for the licensing of newspapers and responsibilities of the Editor in Chief.<sup>36</sup> The article that was allegedly the basis of these charges concerned the arrest and torture of *Girifna* member Abdallah Mahdi, as well as an article on the SPLM's withdrawal from national elections. *Ajras Al-Hurria* is currently facing seven court cases, four of which were brought by the NISS, one by the police, one by the Sudanese Armed Forces, and another from the Council of Ministers.
  - On 19 October, authorities in El Fashir, North Darfur denied the Umma Party permission to hold a public talk about the referendum and the crisis in Darfur, despite the fact that they had applied four days in advance. The commissioner of El Fashir stated the security situation was too volatile for the event to be held.

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<sup>36</sup> See the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "[Arrest of Newspaper Editor Violates Freedom of Expression](#)", 19 April 2010.

- The BNFA Students Association, which represents students from Nuer areas, were denied permits several times to hold public talks to discuss the outcome of the October South-South conference organised by the SPLM and other political actors in Juba. Michael Majan Shoul, Secretary General of the organisation, reported that although they had obtained all the necessary permits to hold an event, police had interfered twice disrupting the talks on 19 October and 5 November.
- In October, southern Sudanese students in Khartoum reported several incidents of difficulty in obtaining permission from the NISS to hold public events. The Southern Sudanese Students' Association of the University of Khartoum reported difficulty in obtaining permission from the authorities to hold a public meeting in October. A graduation ceremony to be held at Bahr El Ghazal University in late October was delayed over complications in obtaining permission.
- On 27 October at 9 PM, NISS in Port Sudan in eastern Sudan arrested three students affiliated with a member of the Sudan Alliance Party. On 25 October, students of the Sudan Alliance Party had conducted a discussion event at Port Sudan University, where they had criticized the corruption of the student union, led by NCP students. They were arrested by a group of 13 security agents in a Land Cruiser in Althura area near the home of Hufiza Babiker Al Jamri. They were taken to an area by the Red Sea and were tortured. Later in the evening they were brought to Althura police station in Port Sudan. A case was opened against them under Article 99 (obstruction of an official employee from performing his duties), under the Sudanese Criminal Code of 1991. The police released the group on bail, and referred the case to the court session on 31 October. They are:
  - Hufiza Babiker Al Jamri, student, Department of Economics, Port Sudan University
  - Hamed Musa, student, Faculty of Economics, University of Red Sea State
  - Mohamed Al Nour, student, Faculty of Economics, University of Red Sea State
- On 1 November, the Sudanese National Press and Publications Council issued a one day ban on *The Citizen* newspaper after the newspaper published an advertisement deemed in contravention to *Sharia* law. The advertisement was for a talent competition sponsored by the Kenyan beer company Tusker.
- On 6 November, NISS officers in Gedarif state banned a public talk intended to address the economic implications of Southern secession. The event was to be held at the Gedarif club, and organised by the Al Sharouq forum. The Forum issued a public statement denouncing the NISS' decision, and reported that on 20 October the Forum's Secretary General was investigated, threatened, and verbally abused by the NISS.

## Unfair Trial

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- On 9 November, the Public Order Court in Bahri, Khartoum headed by Judge Mutaz Abdelrahim Al-Nour sentenced each on of eight defendants convicted of drinking alcohol under Article 78 of the Sudanese Criminal Code of 1991 to 40 lashes. Among the group were two famous football players from Amareekh team, Abdulhamid Alsudi and Raigi Abdalla. The group's private flat in Kafoury area, Khartoum North, was raided on 5 November. The police confiscated *aragi*, a locally brewed alcohol.

## Death Penalty

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On 21 October, Judge Shegifa Ali Eshag of the Special Court in Nyala sentenced a group of nine individuals – allegedly affiliated with JEM – to death for a carjacking in Khour Basawit in South Darfur on 13 May 2010. Four members of the group are under 18. The group was convicted under Articles 50 (offences against the state), 51 (fomenting war against the state), 168 (armed robbery), and 182 (criminal damage) of the Sudanese Penal Code of 1991. As of early December, the case is still on appeal.

The names of the adults sentenced to death are:

- Aboalgasim Abdalla Abubakar, 30 years old, Masaalit Tribe
- Hassan Eshag Abdalla, 20 years old, Zagawa Tribe
- Adam Altoum Adam, 40 years old, Zagawa Tribe
- Mohamed Adam Eisa, 28 years old, Zagawa Tribe
- Alsagig Abakar Yahya, 20 years old, Tungour Tribe

The names of the four children are:

- Ibrahim Shrief Yousef, 17 years old, Birged Tribe
- Altyeb Mohamed Yagoup, 16 years old, Zagawa Tribe
- Abdalla Abdalla Doud, 16 years old, Gimr Tribe
- Abdarazig Daoud Abdelseed, 15 years, Birged Tribe

Notwithstanding its international commitments, domestic law in Sudan continues to make provisions for the application of capital punishment for children.<sup>37</sup>

## Security Concerns

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Fighting in Jebel Marra reignited in late September. Humanitarian access has been blocked since the latest Sudan Armed Forces offensive in the spring of 2010, and aerial offensives recently resumed.<sup>38</sup>

A report by Radio Dabanga and cited by Eric Reeves notes that in the area of Bom Boli in East Jebel Marra, janjaweed forces began a campaign of mass rapes, and destroyed villages had no presence of fighters from rebel factions.

[The witness] said that displaced women had figured out how to use their radio on low frequencies to listen to talks taking place between captain of the Antonov aircraft and others on the ground to determine which sites [were] to be bombed. She explained that once they select the sites they then shell the villages and populated communities. She related that someone [in one of the aircraft] asked how much the distance was between Java and Suni [both completely destroyed—ER] and then another said to him four kilometers, and then said to him, ‘bomb, bomb this place,’ and those were all areas where there were villages of civilians.<sup>39</sup>

During the UNSC’s visit to Darfur, ground attack jets violating Sudan’s arms embargo were visible to the UNSC, particularly the 15 Russian attack planes purchased from Belarus in 2008. The planes were left on tarmacs in Darfur while the UNSC was arriving to a Khartoum bound flight. One UNSC diplomat called the planes “highly suspicious”.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> For further analysis, see [“Widening the Scope: the Expanding Use of Capital Punishment in Law and Practice in Sudan”](#), December 2010, and [“Special Courts in Darfur Sentence Nine Individuals, including Four Children, to Death”](#)

<sup>38</sup> For more information on attacks in the Spring of 2010, please see “Mixed Outcomes of the Doha Peace Process and Jebel Marra” in the [Sudan Human Rights Monitor, December – May 2010](#).

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, and in Radio Dabanga, [Witnesses describe attacks on civilians in ongoing Darfur offensive](#), 16 October 2010.

<sup>40</sup> Reuters, [“Disputed Attack jets seen by Un envoys in Darfur”](#), 22 October 2010.

Attacks in Jebel Marra include:

- From 26 – 27 September, 14 villages were reportedly destroyed.<sup>41</sup>
- On 28 September, 57 people were killed and 25 wounded in Eastern Jebel Marra after heavy aerial bombardment. More than 5,000 civilians were displaced in this most recent attack.
- On 1 October, an air and ground attack reportedly killed 45 school children and 55 civilians in Jawa, most of them older women and children.<sup>42</sup>
- On 2 October, clashes in Jebel Marra killed 17 rebels in Jawa, nine kilometres west of Deribat. According to the SLA, four villages in the area were destroyed and 27 civilians killed. The SAF initially stated to Reuters that the rebels always claim that there are attacks when army vehicles are in the area, but later confirmed the deaths of the rebels.<sup>43</sup>
- On 15 October, one woman was killed and two injured in an attack on a village west of Mertuga, near Kass. Many have since fled to Kass town. Reports indicate that 240 families have since fled the attacks, and newly displaced people are homeless and living in the streets.<sup>44</sup>

In addition, a number of attacks were observed elsewhere in Darfur:

- On 4 October, four Sudanese working for an international NGO were ambushed by two men in Gandi, 45 kilometres away from Nyala.
- On 6 October, a UNAMID patrol was ambushed 16 kilometres away from Kutum. A group of seven opened fire on the patrol, which was escorting a water tanker.
- On 7 October, armed men abducted a civilian Hungarian peacekeeper from El Fashir in an area believed to be very safe. The gunmen stormed the house and seized two men, one of whom managed to escape.
- On 2 November at around 8:45 PM, *janjaweed* attacked two homes in Nyala, South Darfur. The homes were near Wad El-Bashir station, in Khartoum Bileal area. For individuals were injured, and one killed. They are:
  - Suleiman Ibrahim Hamid, 53 years old, killed
  - Al-Tahir Ibrahim Hamid, injured and admitted to Nyala Teaching hospital
  - Adam Ahmed Mohamed Tour, injured and admitted to Nyala Teaching Hospital
  - Adam Ibrahim Juma, injured
- On 19 October, Omar Mohamed Zain was killed in Fort Baranga town in West Darfur by unknown militia members invaded his home. He died shortly before reaching the hospital.
- On 1 November at 8 AM, two commercial trucks transporting IDPs from Tawila to Conya market to sell their goods were ambushed by a group of six armed men on camel. The first truck carried roughly 60 passengers, and the second 50. Two people were killed (including a six year old girl) and 28 injured. The armed men shot at the driver of the first truck; who was able to get away and drove on to Maral village. According to Adam Abdul Rasul, a Fur from Tama, the first driver of the second truck witnessed the first truck being attacked, and panicked and lost control, spilling many goods and making it difficult to maneuver. During the shooting, Ahmed Yahiya, 35, and a six year old girl were hit with ricocheting bullets. They died upon reaching Maral.

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<sup>41</sup> Sudan Tribune, "[Fresh Sudanese army attacks in Darfur kill one hundred- rebels](#)", 2 October 2010.

<sup>42</sup> Sudan Tribune, "[Darfur rebels urge Security Council delegation to visit Jebel Marra](#)", 6 October 2010.

<sup>43</sup> Radio Dabanga, "[Army clashes with Sudan Liberation Army in central Darfur](#)", 2 October

<sup>44</sup> Eric Reeves, "[Arming Khartoum: China's Complicity in the Darfur Genocide](#)", 19 October 2010.

The driver of the second truck attempted to turn around to Tawila, but lost control, flipping the truck. Twenty eight people were injured, and 8 seriously. Relatives of the victims, the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF), and UNAMID arrived around an hour later. UNAMID personnel evacuated the scene at 9:45 AM, taking the injured to Tawila's MSF clinic, the same clinic where victims of the Tabra attacks were taken. Eight critically injured victims were transferred to El Fashir hospital for further treatment. A survivor of the attack, Adam Abdulkarim Matar, a member of the Dajo tribe who suffered head trauma, stated that "after the second truck fell, the assailants came to the vehicle and looted the goods as well as personal belongings such as money and mobile phones. Afterwards, the group left with the looted goods".

- On 7 December, the SPLM's Secretary General, Pagan Amum, accused the North of mounting new attacks in the South in Western Bahr al-Ghazal.<sup>45</sup> Skirmishes between the two parties have escalated the potential for widespread violence to reignite following the referendum. On 13 November, the SAF bombed Aweil County, Northern Bahr el Ghazal state while in pursuit of the JEM, and later attacked a Southern base with fighter helicopters. The NCP denied the second attack and admitted the first, calling it an accident, but days later a senior official, Mandour al-Mahdi called the South's alleged support of JEM a "declaration of war". OCHA in South Sudan confirmed that 1,500 people fled Northern Bahr el Ghazal on 16 – 22 November, with the SPLA reporting up to 2,500 people.<sup>46</sup> The SPLA has accused the SAF of continuing to fly fighter planes along the border to intimidate Southerners and derail security in border areas.

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<sup>45</sup> Reuters Africa, "[UPDATE 1-South Sudan accuses northern army of fresh attacks](#)", 7 December 2010.

<sup>46</sup> Reuters, "[South Sudanese flee border area fearing air raids](#)", Reuters, 29 November 2010.