



Armed Conflicts Report

Sudan (1983 - first combat deaths)

Update: January 2009

Summary

Type of Conflict

Parties to the Conflict

Status of the Fighting

Number of Deaths

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Background

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Summary:

2008 Renewed north-South conflict between the Government of Sudan (GoS), the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and various ethnic groups resulted in 200 deaths in 2008. Violent conflict in the disputed town of Abyei displaced tens of thousands. By June, an agreement was reached to place "joint troops" in the contested region of Abyei. Despite internal and external attempts to broker peace in Sudan, progress towards ratifying the Comprehensive Peace Agreement remained stalled due to increasing fragmentation among rebel groups and the uncertainty stemming from a potential warrant for Sudanese President Bashir's arrest by the International Criminal Court.

2007 The Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) froze its participation in the National Congress (NC) over disputes involving the ratification of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The SPLM gave the NC until January 9, 2008 to demonstrate significant progress and threatened a return to conflict failing improvements. Although many concerns were resolved, border demarcation, specifically the status of the Abyei region remains a significant issue that must be overcome to ensure lasting peace. The Kush Liberation Front (KLF), a newly formed rebel faction in the northern territory of Nubia, emerged in response to a newly proposed development project that is set to displace Nubians. Many worry that tensions between the government and the people of Nubia may lead to a conflict similar to that now ongoing in Darfur. Following a violent clash between the Sudanese and Chadian military, the two governments signed a non-aggression pact, however tension between the countries prevails.

2006 A Khartoum-sponsored forced demobilization and demilitarization program resulted in renewed hostilities between the SPLM/A and the South Sudan Defence Forces (SSDF). Clashes between the two groups resulted in around 200 deaths and some of the worst fighting since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) came into force in 2005. The SPLM/A also clashed with the youth rebel group known as the "White Army" which resulted in close to 300 deaths. The UN Secretary General has reportedly warned that if groups continue to ignore the provisions of the CPA, it will inevitably deteriorate.

2005 Significant progress was made in the implementation of the 2004 peace accords as a new central government of national unity was formed and an autonomous South Sudan government was established. Low-level fighting in eastern Sudan between the Sudan army and rebel Eastern Forces threatened to escalate into a major conflict.

2004 Peace talks made significant gains with the signing of protocols towards a peace agreement. Talks were suspended in July for three months, due to disagreements on military aspects of the truce, but began again in

October. Although a ceasefire was extended, accusations persisted of violations by the government and the SPLM/A. On December 31, a permanent truce between the government and the SPLM was agreed after both sides signed a comprehensive peace agreement.

2003 Peace talks continued through 2003 with the ceasefire between the SPLM/A and the government remaining intact, barring exceptions early in the year that resulted in approximately one hundred deaths. Assisted by regional and international actors, the two sides were reportedly extremely close to signing a power-sharing agreement at the end of the year.

2002 Peace talks made some headway in ending the conflict as the Islamist government agreed to a referendum in 2008 allowing for self-government in the south. However, the peace deal did not put an immediate end to violence with some of the heaviest fighting in the war's history breaking out in the Western Upper Nile region.

2001 Major attacks and counter attacks between government and rebel forces took place throughout 2001. Reported government-sponsored attacks on civilian targets continued and were repeatedly denounced by UN officials. In January, rebel forces attacked oil regions in southern Sudan for the first time, and offensives against oil installations continued during the summer months. In June, one of the largest government military operations since 1992 against rebels in the Nuba region was followed by the US appointment of a Special Envoy and movement towards a regional cease-fire by November. Thousands died during the year due to the war and associated famine.

2000 Clashes between government forces and rebel groups continued, with the government intensifying its aerial bombardment of civilian positions in the south. Hundreds of people, including civilians, were reported killed as a result of the fighting.

1999 Limited cease-fires failed to prevent persistent clashes between government forces and rebel groups operating in the south and the north. While death figures for 1999 were not available, many observers believe there were fewer deaths than in the previous year.

1998 The civil war between the government and two main rebel factions, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), continued through the first half of the year in the north, west, and south, when a July cease-fire allowed humanitarian relief agencies to attend to the famine in much of southern Sudan. The fighting brought little change from the previous year, with the exception that two previously government-controlled southern towns were taken over by the SPLA in March.

Type of Conflict:

State control/ state formation

Parties to the Conflict:

1) Government of Sudan (GoS): a power-sharing agreement has been in place since the signing of the January 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which ended a 22-year north-south civil war and established an interim Government of National Unity. Leadership includes President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir of the National Congress Party and Salva Kiir Mayardit from the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), the political wing of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), who became First Vice President of Sudan as well as the President of the autonomous Government of Southern Sudan which was established in October 2005. In 2011, a referendum is scheduled to determine whether the south will become an independent entity.

"Sudan, a republic with an estimated population of 40.2 million, is governed according to a power-sharing arrangement established by the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which ended the 22-year civil war between the north and south and established an interim Government of National Unity (GNU). The CPA calls for national elections to be held in 2009. The GNU is composed of the National Congress Party (NCP), dominated by Islamists from the north and ruled by authoritarian President Omar Hassan al-Bashir and his inner circle, and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), the political wing of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) led predominantly by Christians and practitioners of traditional indigenous religions from the south. The most recent national elections were held in 2000; Bashir was reelected, and his political party

won 340 out of 360 seats in the parliament in deeply flawed elections boycotted by all major opposition parties. The SPLM is the ruling party of the autonomous Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS), established in 2005. The GOSS ratified a separate constitution in 2005. A referendum to determine whether the south will become an independent entity is scheduled for 2011. The country experienced several violent conflicts during the year. While civilian authorities in the north generally maintained effective control of the security forces and government-aligned militia outside of Darfur, there were frequent instances in which elements of the security forces and government-aligned militia acted independently in Darfur." [2008 Human Rights Report: Sudan. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State, 2009.]

2) Khartoum Supported Militia Groups Khartoum supported militias are believed to total up to 16,000 fighters. [Military Balance 2009].

a) Misseriya: Arab nomad militia groups that are backed by the (northern) Sudanese government. These rebel groups engaged in open combat with SPLA forces in late 2007 and early 2008, over the contested borders of Abyei.

3) Former rebel movements:

a) Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). Under the CPA, the SPLM is now part of the Government of National Unity with Salva Kiir Mayardit as the President of the autonomous Government of Southern Sudan. As noted in the Political Developments section of this report, tensions remain between the north and the south over the implementation of the CPA.

b) The National Democratic Alliance (NDA), an umbrella of rebel groups. Following the signing of the CPA, the NDA signed its own agreement with the GoS in Cairo, Egypt on June 16, 2005 which included the acceptance of ministerial posts in the GoS.

"According to the Cairo agreement, the NDA's posts in the government of National Unity are: Presidential advisor, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Sciences and Technology, State Minister at the Ministry of Agriculture, 20 MPs at the National Assembly and 30 MPs at the regional legislative assemblies, 10 ministerial posts in the regional governments and 8 posts at the departmental level." [Sudan Tribune, October 23, 2006]

Support for the NDA has come from the governments of Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Uganda over recent years. Other groups which fall under the NDA include: Sudan Alliance Forces; Beja Congress Forces; and New Sudan Brigade. [The Military Balance, 2003-2004]

c) The Eastern Front, a coalition made up of Beja and Rashaidah Arab rebel groups (the Beja Congress and the Free Lions respectively) based in eastern Sudan. A separate peace deal was signed with eastern Sudanese rebels in October 2006.

"The Sudanese government has signed a peace deal with rebels from the east of the country. The Eastern Front consists of rebels from two movements, the Beja Congress and the Rashaida Free Lions. They fought a low intensity conflict for 10 years, complaining that their region has been neglected by the central government." [BBC News, October 14, 2006]

"Rebels in eastern Sudan are accusing the Sudanese government of not being serious about addressing their complaints of marginalization and stalling on promised peace talks. Leaders of the Eastern Front, a coalition of Beja and Rashaidah Arab rebel groups, say they have little confidence Khartoum is truly interested in resolving problems in the eastern states of Red Sea and Kassala...Free Lions president Mubruk Mubarak Selim said the groups would not be dissuaded from their goal of changing the Arab-dominated government." [Khaleej Times Online, March 28, 2005]

d) The White Army, a youth militia made up of various groups in the south and supported by the Lou Nuer peoples. The proliferation of firearms during the civil war resulted in increasing numbers of armed militias with accompanying increases in armed clashes and fatalities especially during the annual migrations of cattle to

water-rich areas of southern Sudan. Following the CPA signing, attempts were made to disarm these groups which resulted in resistance and clashes with the SPLA in late 2005. Subsequent disarmament initiatives have emphasized a voluntary approach which seems to have had more success.

"...the Sudanese government introduced a disarmament programme in Jonglei last December [2005]. Soon, however, the forces of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) were confronted by White Army elements of the Lou Nuer community who fiercely resisted what they saw as forced disarmament. Hundreds of civilians and SPLA soldiers were killed, houses and villages burnt and cattle looted. Despite the violence, community chiefs acknowledge that no functioning government can be established in the region without a comprehensive disarmament of the various armed groups. In Akobo, further east from where the clashes took place, Lou chiefs and local authorities are trying to convince their constituents of the benefits of handing in their weapons voluntarily before the main SPLA force of 3,000 soldiers arrive to implement a forced disarmament. "It is commendable that the SPLA has given the opportunity for this local disarmament process to run its course" said a local observer, who declined to be named. The voluntary collection and registration of weapons was already reducing inter-clan fighting in Akobo, in which 17 people had been killed over the past weeks." [*IRINnews.org*, August 3, 2006]

4) Current rebel activity

The Kush Liberation Front (KLF), an armed rebel group in Sudan's northern territory Nubia, was formed in 2007 and co-founded by Abdelwahab Adem. The group is thought to have formed in response to the newly proposed electricity-producing dam projects announced by the central government. The projects are estimated to lead to the displacement of more than 300 000 Nubians. The Nubians view themselves as a distinct ethnic group within Sudan and have a separate language and culture. The KLF was formed for the purpose of using armed resistance to overthrow the central government; the size of its membership as well as the groups capabilities remain unknown. Many Nubians feel that the dams are an attempt by the government to exterminate the Nubian culture and seize their land, which has led to widespread support for the KLF. The KLF has stated that it has a friendly relationship with rebels in the Darfur region but denies receiving any support from them.

"They want to cut us from our roots and flood all of Nubia and its history...They've done this before." Sharif Adeen Ali, a Nubian farmer in the village of Sebu [*Los Angeles Times*, August 31, 2007] "Our efforts will not succeed unless they are backed by military action...We need to get rid of the Arabs. Our goal is to realize a new Sudan, by force if necessary." Abdelwahab Adem, a Nubian former businessman and co-founder of the Kush Liberation Front [*Los Angeles Times*, August 31, 2007] "A proposed dam project on the Nile River has escalated into bloody conflict between Sudan's government and ethnic minority Nubians who stand to lose the little that's left of their ancient homeland. Four people were killed Wednesday near Sebo, in northern Sudan, and another 19 injured when riot police fired on villagers protesting the projet, according to officials and witnesses. [*National Geographic News*, June 15, 2007]

5) International Forces

United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS): tasked with monitoring and supporting the political, military, humanitarian and developmental aspects of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA); UNMIS forces are responsible for monitoring and supporting local police in patrols; the mission incorporates 10,000 uniformed personnel (including 8,728 troops and 687 police), and is currently mandated in the country until July 2011.

Status of the Fighting:

2008 Fighting over the borders of Abyei began between the Misseriya and the SPLA as early as November 2007. Reports suggest that the Misseriya were backed by non-uniformed Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) from the north. At least 200 hundred were killed, including over 70 in March and 90 in May alone. As clashes continued into May, 50,000-100,000 people were displaced, most of the city was destroyed, and UNMIS was forced to evacuate all UN staff from the region. Indeed, UNMIS was largely unable to protect Sudanese civilians. When the fighting diminished, the two sides signed the Abyei Roadmap Agreement, which deployed a joint military force and a civilian administration to Abyei, and referred the issue of its borders to the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Nonetheless, the situation remains tense; in June, a UN observer was shot in the head during a dispute between SPLA and SFA troops near Abyei. Meanwhile, an attempted coup on the capital in

May, by rebels based in Darfur, killed an estimated 465 people (see the conflict in Darfur, 2008). The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a rebel group fleeing from Uganda, was also responsible for killing and abducting civilians in southern Sudan in 2008 (see the conflict in Uganda, 2008).

2007 The Sudanese government threatened military action following what it described as a Chadian military attack that killed 17 government soldiers. Despite the signing of a non-aggression pact by Chadian President Idriss Deby and Sudanese President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir, tensions remain high between the two countries. President Deby explained the attack stating that Chad used its 'right to pursuit' to chase rebels into Sudan where he said they were receiving protection from Sudanese troops. Within Sudan, many fear that the failure of the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and SPLA to ratify key areas of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, including the redeployment and demobilisation of troops in Northern Sudan, will lead to an increase in violence and jeopardise previous gains made in the pursuit of peace. Fighting in the northern territory of Nubia between Nubian anti-government protestors and the Sudanese Armed Forces led to the death of four men. Almost two dozen citizens were injured and approximately three dozen Nubian leaders, as well as four journalists, were arrested following the violence. The formation of the rebel Kush Liberation Front in Nubia has led to fears that a conflict situation similar to Darfur is developing.

"That's the lesson of Darfur... The government will only listen to you when you pick up a gun."
Western diplomat based in Khartoum speaking on condition of anonymity [*Los Angeles Times*,
August 31, 2007]

2006 Fighting erupted in the South as the SPLM/A clashed with the White Army while attempting to enforce a government-imposed disarmament program. Clashes over cattle watering rights between the Lou Nuer and Jikany peoples caused civilian casualties as well as mass displacement. Violence was also compounded by the continued presence of government-aligned militias around the Yuai area. In addition, many were killed as the result of the worst fighting between SPLM/A forces and the government-backed South Sudan Defense Forces (SSDF) since the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Escalating violence in the Upper Nile and Jonglei regions has forced Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) to suspend operations and evacuate its personnel.

"According to a regional observer, it seemed that the Lou, possibly with the support of the South Sudan Defense Force militia, attacked the Jikany in Ulang. A week later armed Jikany men descended upon the small Lou village of Dini at the confluence of the Sobat and the White Nile rivers, in apparent retaliation for the previous attack, killing approximately 15 people and stealing 400 cattle." [*Reuters*, March 22, 2006]

"Various groups of the White Army now accuse the SPLA of carrying out the disarmament programme without providing subsequent protection against cattle raiding. Scores of people were killed and wounded in the village of Poktap when fighting between SPLA forces and armed civilians of the Lou community escalated on the 2nd of May." [*Reuters*, May 22, 2006]

"In a bid to restore law and order in the region following the signing of the north-south Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005, the Sudanese government introduced a disarmament programme in Jonglei last December. Soon, however, the forces of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) were confronted by White Army elements of the Lou Nuer community who fiercely resisted what they saw as forced disarmament. Hundreds of civilians and SPLA soldiers were killed, houses and villages burnt and cattle looted." [*IRIN*, August 03, 2006]

"Violence was exacerbated by the continued presence of former government-aligned militia groups in the area and various local sources claimed that they continued to be supplied with weapons and ammunition. During the heavy fighting around Yuai, SPLA soldiers intercepted a truck with ammunition in Waat, which was heading for Yuai." [*IRIN*, August 03, 2006]

2005 Although there were no reports of fighting between government troops and the SPLA/M, inter-ethnic violence in South Sudan erupted in May in Lakes state and in December in Western Equatoria state between the Dinka and the Zande tribes. Fighting broke out in eastern Sudan between the Sudanese government and the rebel alliance, the Eastern Forces, in June with heavy casualties reported on both sides. In addition, violent clashes took place between government troops and protestors throughout the year in several cities including the capital Kartoum. Thousands of Dinka refugees began returning to Southern Sudan in December.

"The Dinka had been involved in a series of clashes with members of another tribe in Mundri, Western Equatoria, where they have been living for the past 14 years...Several people from both sides were killed during the clashes..." [*Reuters*, December 8, 2005]

"Rebels in north-eastern Sudan say they have captured 20 government troops following clashes near the country's main port on the Red Sea. A statement signed by an alliance of two groups, [the Eastern Forces] including one from Darfur, said they had also seized a significant number of weapons. Both sides say there have been heavy casualties in fighting since Sunday." [*BBC News*, June 22, 2005]

2004 Although a ceasefire was regularly extended, accusations of its violation persisted with armed conflict reported in Upper Nile and Bahr al-Ghazal. A significant number of civilians nevertheless returned to areas of Bahr al-Ghazal. Later in the year the clearing of landmines in the south began as a joint project of the Government, SPLM/A and aid agencies.

"The Sudanese government, aid agencies and the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), are jointly clearing landmines in the south. The operation is the first joint exercise since war between the government and the SPLM/A broke out in 1983." [*IRIN*, August 10, 2004]

"Shifting allegiances among southern Sudanese militias had led to direct clashes over territorial control between the Sudanese army and allied forces on the one hand and the SPLM/A on the other hand in the Shilluk Kingdom in Upper Nile in recent months, leading to widespread looting and tens of thousands of displaced ... A second obvious breach of the Cessation of Hostilities agreement was the regular movement of forces by both Khartoum and the SPLM/A ... A third abuse had been the denial of aid to displaced people in the Shilluk Kingdom..." [*IRIN*, 17 June, 2004]

"The rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) has begun to demobilise a large number of child soldiers in the volatile western Upper Nile region of the south, according to the United Nations Children's Fund." [*IRIN*, 23 January, 2004]

2003 In spite of the ceasefire signed by both parties, the SPLM/A and government forces clashed in early 2003, primarily in the Western Upper Nile region of the country. However, for the remainder of the year there were few reported incidents of conflict. The presence of an international Verification and Monitoring team and Civilian Protection Monitoring team may have contributed to the decline in hostilities.

"The ceasefire in the Nuba mountains, which was signed by [the] Sudanese government and the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) in January 2002, has been extended for the third time until 19 January 2004. ... The monitoring bodies said they had observed 'no major violations of the ceasefire'." [*IRIN*, June 25, 2003]

"The US-led Civilian Protection Monitoring Team [CPMT], set up to monitor and report on attacks against civilians and civilian facilities in Sudan, made its findings public on Wednesday ... The CPMT reported that forces from both the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the government had launched attacks in the Pagak Malwal area of Eastern Upper Nile in March. 'It is likely that some civilians were killed as a result of attacks undertaken by both parties,' said the report, adding that an indeterminate number of civilians were also displaced as a result." [*IRIN*, May 28, 2003]

"Heavy fighting took place on Sunday between Sudanese government forces and the country's main rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Army, in Western Upper Nile (Wahdah State)." [*IRIN*, January 27, 2003]

2002 A tentative peace agreement did not prevent government and southern forces fighting. The most violent confrontations occurred in the Western Upper Nile, one of the country's richest oil regions. Both sides were accused of targeting civilians.

"In the oil-rich region of the Western Upper Nile, the biggest battle of Sudan's long war is now raging between the government army and the military forces of the south."

[*News.telegraph.co.uk*, April 29, 2002]

"In a report released today, the international medical organization Medecins sans Frontieres (MSF) charged warring parties in Sudan's western Upper Nile region with responsibility for appalling civilian mortality from infectious diseases and violence.... [T]he report describes how all parties to the conflict use violence against civilians – including rape, murder and assault – and denial of access to humanitarian aid as tactics of war that have resulted in enormous civilian mortality rates." [*MSF Press Release*, April 29, 2002]

2001 Fighting continued between government and rebel forces throughout the country in 2001. Major offensives and counter offensives were carried out by both sides. In June, the government army undertook the largest offensive operation against the Nuba since 1992. In January and again in August, oil installations were the target of rebel offences. The government also continued its practice of bombing rebel and civilian targets from the air.

"The Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) for the first time attacked oil regions in southern Sudan overnight destroying three wells in the Bantiyo region and killing dozens of government troops, SPLA spokesman Yasser Arman said. 'The SPLA reiterates its warning to oil companies operating in these regions that it considers them as military zones and summons them to cease their activity and evacuate their employees'." [*AFP*, January 27, 2001]

"The last two weeks have seen the biggest Sudanese government offensive against the Nuba since the first days of the Islamic holy war it declared against them in 1992. Within 24 hours of the shelling beginning on May 17, the artillery fire had closed all the airstrips used to take clandestine food and medical supplies into the blockaded mountains." [*The Guardian*, June 4, 2001]

"Minister of External relations Mustafa Usman Isma'il admitted that the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) had captured the towns of Raga and Deim Zubier in Western Bahr al-Ghazal, southern Sudan, the 'Khartoum Monitor' newspaper reported. SPLA spokesman Yasr Arman said the rebel movement had captured all of western bah al-Ghazal, opening up a lucrative trade corridor to the neighbouring Central African Republic and also offering access to Darfur regions in western Sudan, where people have their own grievances with the government in Khartoum." [*IRIN*, June 8, 2001]

2000 Fighting between government forces and rebels continued, mainly in the Kassala province in the northeast and Bahr el Ghazal in the south. In July, both the government and the rebel SPLM/A failed to renew their limited humanitarian cease-fire in the south due to intense fighting in Bahr el Ghazal. The government intensified its aerial attacks on civilian positions in the south.

"The main rebel group the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) said government bombers had raided a string of towns and villages in the southern province of Bahr el Ghazal, where a two-year old truce expired last week. ... Tens of thousands died in a famine in Bahr el Ghazal in mid-1998 and a cease-fire was called to allow the safe passage of emergency food supplies. ... Both sides accused the other of violating the truce, which was renewed every six months, and it was finally allowed to expire last week." [*Reuters*, July 25, 2000]

1999 In spite of limited cease-fires, clashes between government forces and rebel groups in the south and the north continued. By the end of 1999, government forces were in control of limited garrison towns in the south and two-thirds of the northern part of the country. The government continued its aerial bombardment of civilian targets in rebel-held areas.

1998 The fighting slowed but did not stop after a July cease-fire lasted into the new year. The cease-fire allowed necessary humanitarian relief in the ravaged, famine-stricken regions of the South. Steady fighting continued in the north and the east where the cease-fire was not in effect.

Number of Deaths:

Total: The conflict in Sudan has caused the death of an estimated 2 million people, directly or indirectly, since 1983. Sudan has the largest internally displaced population in the world, estimated at 4 million people. Although over 1 million IDPs were returned by mid-2007, UN figures currently estimate there to be 4-6 million

IDPs in Sudan (including the 2.4 IDPs in Darfur).

2008 A culmination of sources record deaths totaling over 200 in Sudan in 2008. These casualties were largely the result of fighting around Abyei in the first 6 months of the year, but also include deaths as a result of inter-tribal fighting between and within the North and South. These mortality figures *exclude* both the number of deaths that occurred in Darfur, and the estimated 465 deaths resulting from the attempted coup on Khartoum from rebels based in Darfur. Due to the proxy war between Chad and Sudan, which is emerging more and more clearly as a driving force behind rebel activity, it could be argued that these deaths are actually the product of an entirely different regional conflict, as opposed to simply a civil or internal conflict. Thus, these deaths are included under the Darfur conflict, even though they occurred outside of Darfur itself.

2007 Confirmed reports recorded that government soldiers killed four men during an anti-government protest by Nubians in June and seventeen soldiers were killed by members of the Chadian military. The number of deaths may be in the hundreds according to many unconfirmed reports. A lack of access to many regions made calculating a definitive death toll difficult and has resulted in the repeated under-reporting of deaths.

2006 Around 500 people were killed, many of which were either civilians or youths belonging to the White Army. Many deaths are related to violence resulting from the forced demobilization of rebel factions.

"An operation to demobilize and reintegrate combatants has yet to gather peace in the vast region of thorn trees and swampy savannah, while rights group Human Rights Watch says forcible disarmament of local communities by the SPLA has killed hundreds this year, many of them civilians." [*Reuters*, August 15, 2006]

"Despite several attempts to negotiate a settlement, the 3 000 SPLM/A soldiers engaged the armed youth of the White Army in March and May and reportedly selectively burnt the huts (tukuls) of resisting White Army members in 15 villages. According to a communiqué issued by the Lou Nuer, 546 youths died in the clashes and more than 1 000 tukuls were burnt." [*IRIN*, August 03, 2006]

2005 Over 250 people, mostly civilians, were killed this year. The actual number of deaths may be higher. Many deaths were unreported due to a lack of access to many regions.

2004 Unconfirmed reports estimated over 600 civilians were killed in conflict.

"According to the US-led Civilian Protection Monitoring Team, government-allied militias of predominantly Nuer tribesmen (although some Shilluk and Murle elements were also included) commenced a scorched earth policy against villages surrounding Malakal town at the time. Isaac Kenyi, the executive secretary of the Sudan Catholic Bishops' Conference, undertook a fact-finding mission to the area and estimates that as many as 625 civilians have been killed by the fighting this year and 100,000 forcibly displaced." [*IRIN*, 23 July, 2004]

2003 According to unconfirmed media reports, as few as thirty and as many as one hundred people were killed as a direct result of the conflict between the SPLM/A and the government, marking a significant decline from the previous few years.

2002 Unconfirmed reports suggested that by October at least 1,300 people, both civilians and combatants, had been killed as a direct result of the fighting. Thousands more civilians died from war-related famine and disease.

"Sudanese government forces have killed more than 1,000 people in a major air and ground offensive on the southern part of the country, rebels said yesterday... There was no comment from the government in Khartoum on the allegations and no independent verification of casualty figures. A United Nations team that flew over the area reported seeing heavy fighting and many people fleeing." [*Electronic Telegraph*, July 7, 2002]

"Sudan's rebels are claiming to have killed 300 government soldiers in fighting on Thursday in the north-east near the border with Eritrea." [*BBC News*, October, 18, 2002]

2001 According to media reports and press releases from both government and rebel forces, over 1,500 combatants were killed due to the fighting. As well, the war and widespread famine caused the deaths of

thousands of Sudanese civilians.

"Sudan's largest rebel group, Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), said it killed more than 400 government troops and damaged the facilities of several oil companies in an attack on Bentiu, the capital of Unity province, some 800 kilometers south of Khartoum." [BBC, October 22, 2001]

"Christian Solidarity International (CSI), an NGO long at odds with the Sudanese government, cited civil authorities in the Aweil region of northern Bahr al-Ghazal in claiming that the government allied armed forces killed 93 civilians and enslaved 85 women and children in a new offensive between 23 and 26 October." [IRIN, November 1, 2001]

2000 Hundreds of people were reported killed in the fighting.

1999 While death figures for 1999 were not available, many observers believe there were fewer deaths than in the previous year.

1998 At least 70,000 deaths were reported from the war-induced famine in the first half of the year, with a significant, though unknown, number of deaths stemming directly from the conflict. Most conflict deaths in 1998 were civilian.

Political Developments:

2008 In June, a new "Road Map" agreement was reached in relation to recent North-South clashes over Abyei. New election laws were also passed in 2008; under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), elections are mandated to be held in July 2009. In July, Moenco-Ocampo, prosecutor for the International Criminal Court (ICC) applied for an arrest warrant against current Sudanese President al-Bashir for 10 charges of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. As of the end of 2008, the decision to grant the warrant was still pending. Since July, the Government of Sudan (GoS) made several steps which seemed to indicate increased goodwill, including a "Sudan People's Initiative" for internal dialogue with civilians, engagement in external peace talks in Qatar, promises of commitment to UNAMID deployment (in Darfur), and assurances of increased accountability. However, these moves were considered to be diplomatic ploys, seeking to undermine ICC support and improve the regime's image. The fear that such a warrant could lead to backlash by the GoS, further endangering the precarious status of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and destabilizing humanitarian efforts in the entire nation, has been widespread and fueled by comments of GoS officials themselves. Nonetheless, the GoS continues to insist that it does not recognize the authority of the ICC, and is not subject to its proceedings. Respect for standards of human and civil rights remained poor by the governments of both the north and south.

"We are very confident of our internal front and we don't give a damn about the precedents set by those going to court" [Sudanese President Al-Bashir, as quoted in the *Mail and Guardian*, 08/21/2008]

2007 Despite violent conflict between the armed forces of Chad and Sudan, Chadian President Idriss Deby and Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir signed a non-aggression pact in Tripoli, Libya in an attempt to calm regional tension. In October, the SPLM froze its participation in the coalition government as a result of ongoing disputes between the SPLM and the National Congress (NC) over the ratification of key areas of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The SPLM accused the NC of refusing to implement the CPA and warned that continued failure to do so may result in the resumption of civil conflict. Unresolved differences between the north and south regarding the location of the border between the two areas, specifically the Abyei region (claimed by both sides) continues to impede the return of 30 000 displaced people. The SPLM informed the government that it had until January, 9, 2008 to demonstrate progress on outstanding issues of the CPA, including the redeployment of northern troops from southern oil fields; the demarcation of the borders in the Abyei region, as well as between the north and south; and the fate of hundreds of political prisoners being held in northern jails. At the end of December, the only issues left to be resolved involved border demarcation. According to the peace deal, southern Sudan is guaranteed six years of autonomy leading to a 2011 referendum when the citizens of the south will get decide on succession from the rest of Sudan.

"We want peaceful relations but our army will remain vigilant to prevent such actions. Chad is clearly escalating problems." Ali al-Sadig, Sudan's Foreign Ministry spokesman [Reuters, April 10, 2007]

"The reality there is that both sides have been rearming over the past two years, which indicates

that they do not have much faith in [the] peace process." Patrick Smith, editor of Africa Confidential [*Reuters*, September 14, 2007]

"I am alarmed and worried and deeply concerned about the status of the CPA implementation... It is likely that Sudan will revert again to war if we do not act now with our partner NCP." Salva Kiir, leader of the SPLM [*Reuters*, September 14, 2007]

"I would like to assure you there will be no return to war whatsoever... We are committed to the full implementation of the agreement in letter and spirit and work together in genuine partnership for resolving many issues and for attaining the unity of the Sudan." Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir [*Mail&Guardian*, November 8, 2007]

"We have achieved a lot... We have resolved all the outstanding issues that caused the crisis, with the exception of Abyei... The chairman of the SPLM will be issuing directives to the SPLM ministers to return to government." Pagan Amum, SPLM Secretary-General [*BBC News*, December 12, 2007]

2006 An operation to demobilize militia and rebel forces in the south and eastern parts of the country has resulted in renewed hostility toward the government in Khartoum. In a statement released by the Secretary General of the United Nations (then Kofi Annan), it was reported that the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in 2005 appeared to be "crumbling", as important elements of its negotiation continue to be ignored. Sudan's first Vice President, Salva Kiir, the leader of the SPLM/A, demanded the arrest of two pro-Khartoum Generals, Gabriel Tanginya and Thomas Mabior. The two are reportedly responsible for atrocities committed in November in the southern town of Malakal.

"Various groups of the White Army now accuse the SPLA of carrying out the disarmament programme without providing subsequent protection against cattle raiding. Scores of people were killed and wounded in the village of Poktap when fighting between SPLA forces and armed civilians of the Lou community escalated on the 2nd of May." [*IRIN*, April 23, 2006]

"A peace pact that ended a 21-year civil war in southern Sudan appears to be crumbling, with important pledges ignored or circumvented, according to a report by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan." [*Reuters*, September 13, 2006]

2005 Sudan's new constitution was ratified in July in accordance with the peace agreement signed in late 2004. After delays caused by the death of SPLM/A leader John Garang, the Sudanese government and the SPLM/A agreed in September on a new power-sharing government. Under the agreement, the National Congress Party received 52 percent of executive positions and the SPLM/A received 28 percent. Disagreements remained over control of the energy ministry and other key positions and SSDF militias refused to join the new government. In accordance with the peace agreement, South Sudan formed an autonomous government in October and later ratified a new constitution for the autonomous territory. In November, the Sudanese government and Eastern Front rebels agreed to hold future negotiations.

"Former rebels and Sudan's ruling party agreed on a power-sharing government on Tuesday, with Khartoum keeping the critical energy portfolio in the oil-producing country...But an official with the former rebels said the group was disappointed it did not get more key posts, and there was disagreement over whether the energy minister position would be allocated on a rotating basis." [*Reuters*, September 20, 2005]

2004 In June the Government of Sudan and the SPLM/A signed six key protocols paving the way for a peace settlement. Peace talks were later suspended following a deadlock over military aspects of the ceasefire, although analysts also suggested that events in Darfur caused the delay. Donor planning began for the reconstruction of Southern Sudan, the area that has borne the brunt of the war, and peace talks resumed in early October. A permanent truce was agreed on December 31, when the government and rebels signed a comprehensive peace agreement.

"The Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) have taken major steps towards ending their 21-year old conflict. After two years of negotiations, they have signed six key protocols governing a referendum on southern Sudan after a six-year interim

period; security, wealth-sharing and power-sharing arrangements during the interim; the status of Abyei; and the status of southern Blue Nile and the Nuba mountains." [*IRIN*, June 4, 2004]

"Sudan's government and southern rebels have signed a permanent ceasefire as part of a peace deal to end one of Africa's longest-running civil wars." [*BBC News*, December 31, 2004]

2003 Kenyan-led negotiations between the SPLM/A and Sudanese government continued throughout 2003 under the auspices of the regional Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). In spite of reports of both sides fighting early in the year, the talks continued and significant gains were made, including an amendment to the 2002 Memorandum of Understanding on the cessation of hostilities and an agreement on security arrangements. These gains were largely due to the efforts of the US, UK and Norway. By the end of the year there was near agreement on terms for a six year transition period, as outlined in the Machakos Protocol of 2002. International observers also continued to monitor the ceasefire and ensure the protection of civilians in conflict areas. Nevertheless, obstacles remained, including millions of displaced Sudanese and ceasefire non-compliance of breakaway rebel factions. At the request of the US and the UK, the UN Security Council expressed interest in actively supporting the Sudanese peace process.

"A crucial round of talks, between the Sudanese government and ...SPLM/A resumed on Monday with both sides reiterating their earlier commitment to reach a final agreement before the end of the year. ... During the talks, the parties are expected to iron out the remaining obstacles to a final deal. These include details of power and wealth sharing agreements during a proposed six-year transition period, and the administrative status of the three disputed regions (Abyei, Nuba Mountains and southern Blue Nile)." [*IRIN*, December 1, 2003]

"The current peace talks are being held in Kenya under the auspices of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, a seven-member body that includes Sudan and Sudan's neighbours, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Uganda and Somalia. But it has been the behind-the-scenes efforts of Washington, Britain and Norway that have led to a breakthrough.... When the talks resume, they will focus on three issues – the details of government power-sharing, the status of shariah law in the capital, Khartoum, and a resource-sharing agreement that will divide profits from southern Sudan's oil fields." [*National Post*, October 29, 2003]

2002 Peace talks mediated by IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) and led by Kenya with the support of the United States, the UK, Norway and Italy made some headway in ending the conflict. In July 2002, the Machakos Protocol was signed between the government of Sudan and the main southern rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). The Protocol provides for a six-and-a-half year interim period, after which the people of the south will be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination through a referendum and choose between maintaining unity with the north, or the creation of an independent country in the south. During the interim period, sharia law will not be enforced in the South, and a ceasefire was extended through to March 2003. In November, the parties ended the latest round of talks with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding on the principles of power sharing that will apply during the interim period and agreed to resume talks in January 2003. However, the peace agreement did not bring an immediate end to fighting with violence breaking out in the Western Upper Nile region.

"In the landmark peace negotiations, brokered by neighbours in Kenya and Uganda and heavily pushed by the United States, the Islamist government in the north pledged to allow a referendum in 2008 on self-government for the Christian and animist people of the south, and to end the policy of enforcing Islam as a state religion. Sudanese President Omar Bashir and SPLA chief John Garang met in Kampala last weekend and concluded the talks with a handshake that would have seemed unthinkable even six months ago.A" [*The Globe and Mail*, August 2, 2002]

"The first truce ever agreed between the two sides, which lasts as long as the peace talks continue, covers all parts of Sudan, despite government attempts to exclude eastern areas, where rebel forces have recently made gains... An estimated two million people have died in the conflict, and negotiators believe a ceasefire must be in place if progress is to be made with the overall peace process." [*BBC News*, October 17, 2002]

2001 Peace talks continued throughout 2001. The IGAD (Inter-governmental Authority on Development) Peace Process yielded few concrete results despite support from all parties. The Egyptian-Libyan Initiative gained

greater support from the government by mid-year and Kenyan President Daniel Moi was mandated by IGAD to try to merge the two processes. The events of September 11 changed US and international positioning towards Sudan and halted a decision on the Sudan Peace Act by Congress. The US appointed a Special Envoy, John Danforth, whose confidence building initiatives were given a six-month trial period beginning in November and in January 2002, the military and rebels agreed to a cease-fire in the Nuba Mountains. In October, the SPLA agreed to a total ban on the use of land-mines.

"Sudan's southern rebels reiterated Friday that they would participate in an Egyptian-Libyan peace initiative only if it took into account four issues they consider key to the resolution of the conflict. The SPLM/A in a statement released here, named the four issues as: separation of state and religion, the right of self-determination, the creation of an interim constitution and an interim government based on it. The SPLA also said it wanted IGAD and the Joint Egyptian-Libyan Initiative (JEDI) to merge." [AFP, Aug 23, 2001]

"The military cease-fire in the Nuba Mountains, Southern Kordofan, an agreement on which was signed in Switzerland after six days of negotiations between the Sudanese government and the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) Nuba region, entered into force 12 noon (local time), according to the Sudanese Army. The army spokesman, General Muhammad Bashir Sualyman, said the army would be 'instrumental in achieving the objective of the agreement' in the 80,000 square kilometer south central region, based on its firm belief that dialogue was the best means to achieve peace." [IRIN, January 22, 2002]

2000 The Umma Party withdrew from the NDA coalition in March, accusing other members of failing to develop a common approach to end the conflict. In May, President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir dismissed Hassan Al-Turabi from his position as secretary-general of the ruling National Congress (NC) to conclude their long-running power struggle.

1999 In July, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), mediating between the Sudanese government and the SPLM/A, revitalized the Sudanese Peace Process by establishing a full-time Secretariat in Nairobi. A month later, Egypt and Libya introduced a separate mediation initiative. In November, the Umma Party, one of the rebel groups in the north, signed a preliminary peace agreement with the government. At year's end, Hassan Al-Turabi, the ideologue of the Islamic government, was sidelined in a power struggle with the Sudanese President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir.

1998 The rebels accused the Government of agreeing to the stop in fighting in order to regroup and rearm, though six months of cease-fire suggested otherwise.

Background:

A central focus of fighting in Sudan was the attempt by the south, usually described as African and Christian or animist, to gain autonomy or outright independence from the north, usually described as Arab and Islamic. However, the conflict went beyond the north-south dimension to include various groups in the north – Muslim and secular – in armed rebellion against the National Islamic Front Government. The southern forces split along regional and ethnic lines in 1991, and were as much at war with each other as with the north. A Peace Accord in 1997 between the government and break-away rebel factions in the south established the transitional Southern Coordination Council to lead to a referendum, but since the accord did not include the SPLA the war continued. Support for the SPLA and the NDA came from the neighbouring governments of Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Uganda. An IGAD (Inter-Governmental Authority on Development) process, initiated in 1994, set the stage for more fruitful talks in 2002 and 2003 between the government and the SPLA leading to a peace agreement in 2004. In 2006, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in 2005 appeared to be deteriorating. Disarmament programs continued to falter and numerous clashes in the southern part of the country were reported between SPLM/A forces, Khartoum-backed groups and various rebel factions. Although progress was made during 2007 in implementing the CPA, disputes involving border demarcation remain, particularly in areas rich in oil resources.

Arms Sources:

There is growing evidence that the Khartoum government is using oil revenue to buy new and heavier weapons. Currently Russia is the top supplier to Sudan after signing an agreement with Sudan in 2002 in which

Sudan was given rights to manufacture Russian battle tanks in exchange for oil concessions. The Sudan Government also received fighter aircraft from the Russian Aircraft Corporation in 2004. For small arms and light weapons, it is reported that between 1992-2005, 96% of reported transfers were from China and Iran. Chinese companies have also helped build at least three weapons factories outside of the capital, one of which also supplies ammunition. Other recent arms suppliers include Iraq, Libya, former Soviet bloc states (especially Kazakhstan and Belarus), Yemen, and a British arms dealer – according to Human Rights First, more than 30 countries continue to sell arms to the Khartoum government in Sudan. Opposition groups have received military assistance and weapons from Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Uganda and have captured considerable quantities of weapons from the Sudanese Armed Forces over the decades.

[Sources: Small Arms Survey, *Sudan Issue Brief*, No. 6, April 2007; *SIPRI Yearbook 2006*; *The Military Balance 2004/2005*; *United States Department of State*, December 2001; *The Guardian*, August 14, 2001; *Security Council*, January 2002]

"In autumn 2008, when Somali pirates hijacked a Ukrainian merchant vessel, the *Faina*, there was speculation that its cargo of 33 T-72 tanks, 150 grenade launchers, six anti-aircraft guns and ammunition was bound for the SPLA – rather than for Kenya, as Kenyan officials claimed." [*Military Balance 2009*]

"Based on UN Comtrade data, at least 34 countries have exported small arms, light weapons and ammunition valued at almost USD 70 million to Sudan between 1992-2005. Ninety-six percent of these reported transfers were from China and Iran. Even so, the real value of the legal trade is likely to be much higher – and the source states more diverse – than public reporting suggests." [Small Arms Survey, *Sudan Issue Brief*, No. 6, April 2007

"The Russian Aircraft Corporation (RSK) MiG has completed ahead of schedule, an order from Sudan for 10 MiG-29SE fighter aircrafts, according to the company's general director Valeriy Toryanin...Deliveries are expected to be completed later this year. Completion of the contract with Sudan may 'bring about other supply deals', said Toryanin." [*Jane's Defence Weekly*, August 11, 2004]

"A millionaire British arms dealer is fuelling a bloody civil war in Sudan by arranging to supply its government with tanks, rocket launchers and a cruise missile, the Sunday Times in London said.... Leaked documents obtained by the newspaper show that the deal includes 50 Soviet T-72 tanks, 100 armoured personnel carriers and fighting vehicles, 30 122mm artillery guns, and 12 multiple rocket launchers." [*AFP*, September 5, 2004]

"Sudanese government oil revenues rose from zero in 1998 to almost 42 percent of total government revenue in 2001. According to the government, 60 percent of the US \$580 million received in oil revenue in 2001 was absorbed by its military for foreign weapons and a domestic arms industry." [*IRIN*, November 25, 2003]

Economic Factors:

The exploitation of oil in the southern part of the country became a significant feature of the Sudanese conflict. Joining other international petroleum corporations operating in the country, the privately-owned Canadian company, Talisman Energy Inc., and its Sudanese, Malaysian, and Chinese partners, began extracting oil from Sudan in 1999. (Talisman sold its Sudanese operations to an Indian company in 2002.) The discovery of oil in the Western Upper Nile sparked intense fighting between government and southern forces for control of the region. International sanctions originally aimed at pressuring the Sudanese government to sign the CPA and end hostilities have been proven ineffective. As of 2007, the Sudanese economy is expected to grow an additional 13% in the upcoming year and oil exports have continued to generate more than \$4 billion USD per year in revenue. Despite sanctions by many U.N. member states, foreign investment quadrupled between 1996 and 2007 (to about 2.3 billion dollars). China, which purchases two thirds of Sudan's oil, has invested 7 billion USD, primarily in oil related projects and infrastructure within Sudan. China has also been a major supplier of arms to the Sudanese government, which many feel is a result of their economic partnership and the interest of the Chinese government in protecting their oil supply.

"The sanctions haven't made much of a difference... The government has learned how to evade

them." Safwat Fanous, head of the University of Khartoum's political science department [*Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 2007]

"We are not afraid of sanctions... Not at all. We have been able to develop our oil industry, our communications. No country has leapfrogged the way we have." Zubair Bashir Taha, Interior Minister [*Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 2007]

"Like insurgents in Darfur, the eastern rebels blame the central government in Khartoum for neglecting their area, which contains Sudan's only port, the main oil pipeline carrying crude exports and Sudan's largest gold mine." [*Reuters*, January 15, 2006]

"International oil companies in Sudan share full responsibility with the Sudanese government for the displacement of hundreds of thousands of civilians from oil concession areas, as well as countless other human rights abuses, according to the advocacy group Human Rights Watch (HRW). ... 'Oil companies operating in Sudan were aware of the killing, bombing and looting, that took place in the south, all in the name of opening up the oilfields,' said Jemera Rone, Sudan researcher for HRW. 'These facts were repeatedly brought to their attention in public and private meetings, but they continued to operate and make a profit as the devastation went on.'" [*IRIN*, November 25, 2003]

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