

SUDAN (48)

15/1 '01

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SECRETARIAT GENERAL

DG H
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Bruxelles, le 2 août 2000

NOTE aux délégations CIREA (par l'intermédiaire des Représentations
Permanentes)

En suite à l'intervention du représentant du HCR sur le Soudan, M. Vincent Cocherel, lors de la réunion CIREA du 27 juillet 2000, veuillez trouver en copie un exemplaire des documents mis à disposition du CIREA par le HCR :

- liens Internet
- tampons de passeport
- indice géographique
- deux cartes
- glossaire arabe - anglais
- esclavage au Soudan (revue trimestrielle, texte anglais et arabe)
- les monts Nuba (revue trimestrielle, texte anglais et arabe)
- Dar Fur (revue trimestrielle, texte anglais et arabe).

Je vous serais gré de bien vouloir transmettre ces documents aux représentants CIREA de votre pays.

Je vous en remercie d'avance.

Note to CIREA delegates (via the Permanent Representations)

Following the intervention of Mr Vincent Cocherel, UNHCR representative for the Sudan, at the CIREA meeting of 27 July 2000, please find enclosed copies of the following documents provided to CIREA by UNHCR:

- Useful Internet links
- Passport Stamps
- Geographical index
- 2 maps
- Glossary Arabic - English
- Slavery in the Sudan (quarterly review, text in English and Arabic)
- The Nuba Mountains (quarterly review, text in English and Arabic)
- Dar Fur (quarterly review, text in English and Arabic)

I would be grateful if you would forward these documents to the CIREA representatives of your country.

Yours sincerely

Jean-Pierre Sabsoub

Jean-Pierre SABSOUB

Useful Links

Name	Addresss
Sudan Net	www.sudan.net
Arab Net	www.Arab.Net/Sudan
Sudan Foundation	www.sufo.demon.co.uk
National Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy	www.dcregistry.com/homepages
Sudan Future Care-Amail Trust	www.amal.trust.org
Christian Solidarity International	www.csi-int.ch/report
Arabic News	www.Arabicnews.com
Africa News	www.Africanews.org
Incore	www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/cds/countries/sudan.html
Stanford	www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/sudan.html

Reliable & regular sources of information

- ~~svtglondon@compuserve.com~~ SVTGLondon@compuserve.com
(Sudanese Victims of Torture Group)
- shcairo@worldnet.com.eg
(Sudanese Human Rights Organization)

STAMP RENEWALS of SUDANESE PASSPORTS

1. Sudanese opposition parties in Egypt renew passports and have stamps that slightly differ from that of the Sudanese Embassy.
2. Within the opposition groups themselves, renewal stamps differ slightly as well. There is no standardized way of renewing passports among the opposition groups and most have their own stamps. Smaller-opposition groups that do not possess their own stamps simply renew their passports with other opposition groups through contacts and acquaintances.
3. Current stamps that are available in the UNHCR office are the stamps of the official Sudanese Embassy, the Umma Party, the SPLM, the SAF, and the SFDA. As of yet, we need to find the stamp used by the DUP even though most DUP passport renewals are done in Saudi Arabia.
4. It is important to realize that members of a certain opposition group can choose to renew their passports with other opposition groups rather than their own. This occurs in cases where they have a strong contact in a party other than their own who would facilitate the passport renewal process for them. This does not mean a lack of credibility on their part. Although it may be cause for confusion, one may find certain party members renewing their passports with other parties.
5. It is also important to realize that there have been a few cases of opposition party members that have been able to renew their passports through the Sudanese Embassy itself. This must be viewed carefully and with a great deal of scrutiny. Such cases have been able to renew their passports by sending someone to the embassy and paying a certain amount of money for passport renewal. Therefore, other elements in the case itself must come together to ascertain lack of credibility. If this is the only issue questioning the person's credibility, then it must be viewed carefully.

EMBASSY OF SUDAN

9
OBSERVATIONS

ملحوظات



Embassy of Sudan-Old Stamp

8	8
RENEWALS.....	التجديدات
	الفترة الاولى
جديد في	رقم القيد
1998/1710	٦٤٨٠٩
RENEWED AT	ON
5-6-2001	5-6-1998
حتى	رقم القيد
1710	٦٤٨٠٩
توقيع السلطة المختصة	توقيع السلطة المختصة
الفترة الثانية	جديد في
RENEWED	ON
TIL	حتى
رقم القيد	رقم القيد
توقيع السلطة المختصة	توقيع السلطة المختصة

UMMA PARTY



RENEWALS

التجديدات

الفترة الثالثة

جلد - ۱۰ جزاوی فی الجبر (کتاب) تاریخ ۱۰/۹/۱۴۰۵

مادة الصلاحيه تنهى في ١٩٩٢/١٠

Passport renewed at KTM on 21-12-95

Valid until 0-0-10-1997

old

رقم القيد لا يحتمل

اسم ونوع الضابط المختص...
.....

الفقرة الرابعة

جدد هذا الجواز في القاعة بتاريخ 11/11/1404

مدة الصلاحية تنتهي في ١٠/٩/٢٠٢٠

Passport renewed at EMS ~~STIRP~~ on 11/4/1799

Valid until

current

رقم القيد... CVI

بِسْمِ وَنَرْقِمْ الضَّائِبُ الْحَمِيمُ

CAIRO

SAF (SUDAN ALLIANCE FORCES)
&
SFDA (SUDAN FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE)

8
RENEWAL

٨
التجديد

جديد في القاهرة بتاريخ ٨ مارس

٨ مارس ١٩٩٨

حتى ٨ مارس ٢٠٠٣

Renewed at

Cairo

On

8-3-98

Till

8-3-2003

توقيع السلطة المختصة



→ broken right wing

ETHNIC GROUPS IN SUDAN AND THEIR LOCATIONS

EQUATORIA REGION - SOUTHERN SUDAN

NO	ETHNIC GROUP	TOWNS	DISTRICT(S)
	BARI GROUPS		CENTRAL EQUATORIA
1	Bari	Juba, Mangalla & Rajaf	Juba
2	Mundari	Terekeka & Tali	Juba
3	Nyangwara	Rokon	Juba
4	Pojulu	Lainya, Yei & Wanduruba	Yei & Juba
5	Kakwa***	Yei	Yei
6	Kuku	Kajokeji, Gaderu & Liwolo	Yei

	OTHERS		EASTERN EQUATORIA PROVINCE
1	Latuho	Torit & Kiyala	Torit
2	Lokoya	Lirya	Torit
3	Lopit	Torit	Torit
4	Dongotono/Lango	Ikotos	Torit
5	Pari/Lokoro	Lafon	Torit
6	Madi*	Nimule & Loa	Torit
7	Acholi**	Magwi, Parajok & Obbo	Torit
8	Toposa	Kapoeta	Kapoeta
9	Buya/Longarim	Kapoeta	Kapoeta
10	Didinga	Chukudum	Kapoeta

			CENTRAL EQUATORIA
1	Lokoya	Ngangala	Juba
2	Lulubo	Lokiliri	Juba
3	Mundu/Mondo	Tore	Yei
4	Makaraka	Tore	Yei
5	Avukaya	Tore	Yei
6	Baka	Tore	Yei
7	Lugbara****	Morobo	Yei
9	Keliko	Morobo	Yei

			WESTERN EQUATORIA PROVINCE
1	Zande*****	Yambio, Tombura & Source Yubu	Yambio, Tombura & Source Yubu
2	Moru	Mundri, Lui, Jambo & Amadi	Maridi
3	Baka	Maridi	Maridi
4	Avukaya	Ras Olo/Bangalo	Maridi
5	Jur Bel	Mvolo	Maridi

Madi*: Madi of Uganda across the border

Acholi*: Acholi of Uganda across the border

Kakwa*: Kakwa of Uganda & Congo (RDC) across the borders

Lugbara*: Lugbara of Uganda & Congo (RDC) across the borders

Zande*: Zande of Congo (RDC) & Central African Republic across the borders

Zande*: Believed to be the Second largest ethnic group in Southern Sudan after the Dinka

BAHR EL GHAZAL & UPPER NILE REGIONS **SOUTHERN SUDAN**

NO	ETHNIC GROUP	TOWNS	DISTRICTS
DINKA			
NORTHERN BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVINCE			
1	Malual	Aweil	Aweil, Kwajok, Marial Bai
2	Twic (j)	Gogrial	Gogrial
3	Rec (k)	Gogrial	Gogrial
RAKES PROVINCE			
1	Rec (k)	Tonj	Tonj
2	Agar	Rumbek	Rumbek
3	Luaich	Rumbek/Tonj	Rumbek/Tonj
4	Gok	Cueibet	Rumbek
5	Aliab	Yirol	Yirol
6	Atuot	Yirol	Yirol
7	Ciec	Yirol	Yirol
NORTHERN UPPER NILE PROVINCE			
1	Ngok	Baliet, Atar & Abyei (S. Kordofan)	Atar & Abyei
2	Luaich	Atar/Malakal	Khorfulus
3	Ageer/Paluaich	Melut	Melut
4	Donjol	Baliet	Akoka
5	Abialang	Renk	Renk
6	Ruweng/Pan Aru	Parinag	Bentiu
JONGOLEI PROVINCE			
1	Bor	Bor	Bor
2	Twic (j)	Kongor	Kongor
3	Nyarweng	Kongor	Kongor
4	Ghol/Holl	Kongor	Kongor
NUER			
NORTHERN UPPER NILE PROVINCE			
1	Jikany	Bentiu & Nasir	Bentiu & Nasir
2	Fanjak	Fanjak	Fanjak
3	Lau	Akobo	Akobo & Waat
OTHERS			
1	Shilluk	Malakal	Malakal, Fashoda & Kodok
2	Anuak/Anyuak ***	Akobo	Akobo
3	Burun/Maban	Maban	Maban
JONGOLEI PROVINCE			
1	Murle	Pachalla	Pachalla
2	Kachepo	Boma	Boma

Dinka *: The largest ethnic group in the whole Sudan

Nuer **: Nuer of Ethiopia across the border. The largest ethnic group in Upper Nile (several clans)

Anuak ***: Anuak of Ethiopia across the border

NO	ETHNIC GROUP	TOWN(S)	DISTRICT(S)
OTHERS			
LAKES PROVINCE			
1	Jur Chol/Luo	Tonj	Tonj
2	Bongo	Tonj	Tonj
WESTERN BAHR EL GHAZAL PROVINCE			
	Jur Chol/Luo	Wau	Wau
	PARH	Wau	Wau
1	Bongo	Busseri	Wau
2	Balanda Bor (Luo)	Wau	Wau
3	Balanda Viri	Wau/Kuru river	Wau
4	Kreish	Raja/Raga	Raja
5	Ndogo	Mboro	Wau
6	Golo	Wau	Wau
7	Foroge	Raja	Raja
8	Banda	Raja, Sopo & Mboro	Raja
9	Binga	Raja/Raga	Raja
10	Kara	Kafia Kingi	Kafia Kingi
11	Bai	Deim Zubeir	Raja
12	Yulu	Raja	Raja
13	Bandala	Hufra Nahas	Hufra Nahas
14	Shat	Wau, Abulo	Wau

NORTHERN SUDAN

BLUE NILE REGION

	ETHNIC GROUP	PROVINCE	TOWNS
1	Ingassana	Southern Blue Nile	Ingasaana hills & Damazin
2	Funj	Southern Blue Nile	Damazin, Ulu & Er Roseires
3	Uduk	Southern Blue Nile	Shali El Fil
4	Burun(several clans)	Southern Blue Nile	Wadise, Shali El Fil & Kurmuk
4	Maban	Southern Blue Nile	Maban
5	Berta	Southern Blue Nile	Damazin & Geissan
6	Watawit	Southern Blue Nile	Kurmuk & Ora
7	Beni Shongul	Southern Blue Nile	Kurmuk (Ethiopia)
8	Hamaj	Southern Blue Nile	Er Roseires
9	Gumuz	Southern Blue Nile	Erada & Er Roseires
10	Jurnjum	Southern Blue Nile	Kurmuk

KORDOFAN REGION

	ETHNIC GROUP	PROVINCE	TOWNS
1	NUBA(Africans)	NUBA MOUNTAINS	
1	Nyimang	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
2	Moro	Southern Kordofan Province	Omdurein
3	Heiban	Southern Kordofan Province	Heiban
4	Miri	Southern Kordofan Province	Kadugli
5	Kurungu	Southern Kordofan Province	Kadugli
6	Keiga	Southern Kordofan Province	Kadugli
7	Kawalip	Southern Kordofan Province	Abrey
8	Tiira	Southern Kordofan Province	Omdurein
9	Katcha	Southern Kordofan Province	Kadugli
10	Showaya	Southern Kordofan Province	Omdurein
11	Oturu	Southern Kordofan Province	Kadugli
12	Liri	Southern Kordofan Province	Lagawa
13	Tulsi	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
14	Ghulfan	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
15	Kadaru	Southern Kordofan Province	Kadugli
16	Tabanya	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
17	Dilling	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
18	Karka	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
19	Kujuria	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
20	Fanda	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
21	Wali	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
22	Katta	Southern Kordofan Province	Dilling
23	Talodi	Southern Kordofan Province	Talodi

DARFUR REGION

NO	ETHNIC GROUP	PROVINCE	TOWN/AREAS
NON ARABS			
1	Fur	Northern Darfur	Marra Hills, Zalingei & El Fashir
2	Badeiyat	Northern Darfur	Kuttum
3	Kura'an	Northern Darfur	Kuttum
4	Zaghawa	Northern Darfur	Kabkebia & Kuttum
5	Meidob/ Midob	Northern Darfur	Jebel Midob Area
6	Berti	Northern Darfur	Tagabo Hills & Maalit
7	Tonjur/Tungur	Northern Darfur	Kuttum & Haraiz
8	Dajo	Southern Darfur	Nyala & Tekala
9	Birked	Southern Darfur	Nyala
10	Baigo	Southern Darfur	Nyala & Tekala
11	Masalit	Northern Darfur	Geneina
12	Tama	Northern Darfur	Kabkebia
13	Gimr	Northern Darfur	Kabkebia
14	Borgu	Northern Darfur	Kabkebia
15	Bornu	Northern Darfur	SW Marra Hill & Manawashe
16	Fellata	Northern Darfur	SE Marra Hills & Towns

KORDOFAN AND DARDUR REGIONS

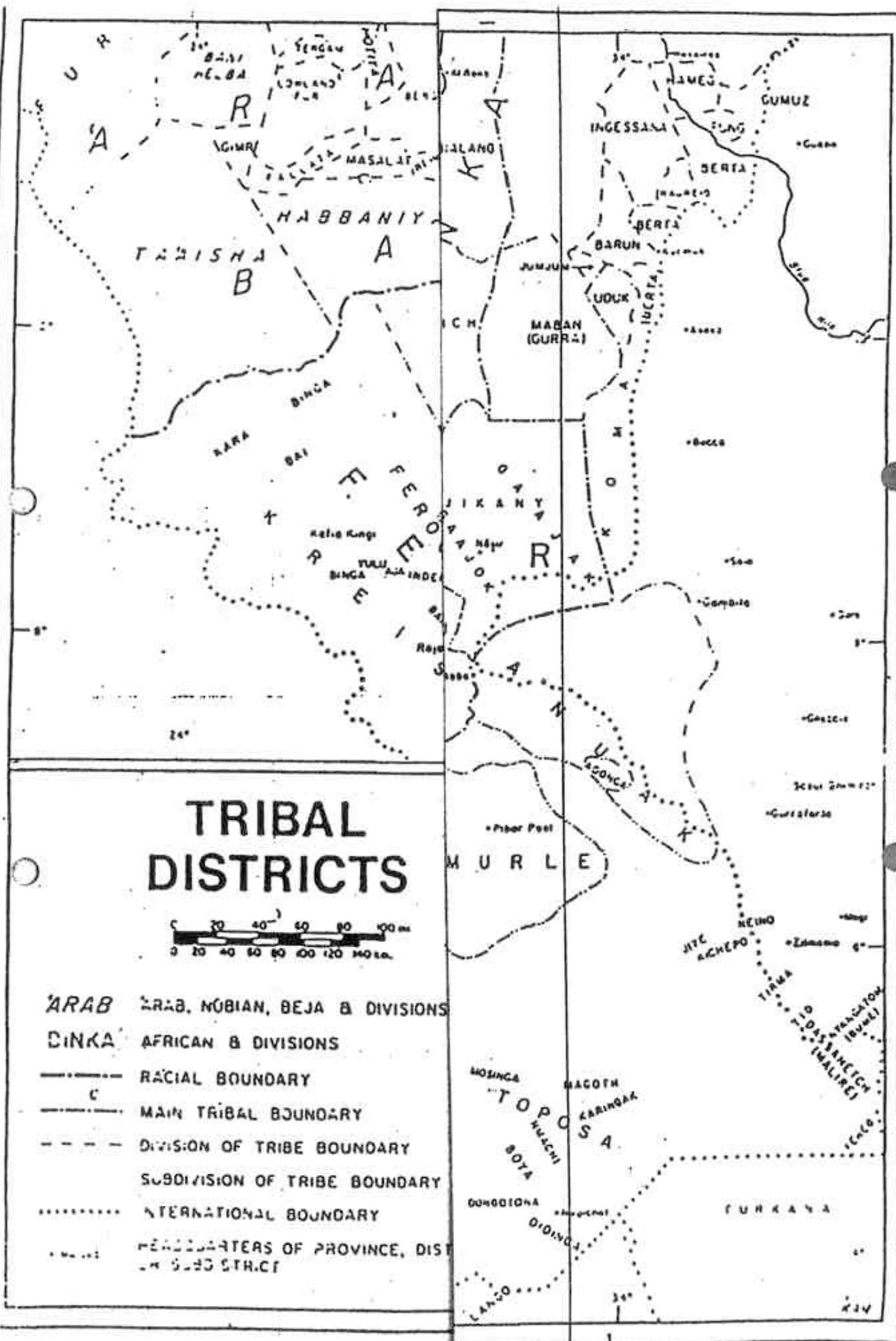
NO	ETHNIC GROUP	PROVINCE'S	TOWN/AREAS
NUFARA AREAS			
BAGGARA			
1	Ta'aisha	Southern Darfur	Extreme South
2	Habbania	Southern Darfur	El Rahad & Sherkeila
3	Rezaigat	Southern Darfur	Nyala, El Tuhama & Shakka
4	Hawazma	Southern Kordofan	Umm Ruaba & Tekali
5	Messiria Humr	Southern Kordofan	El odaya & Muglad
6	Messiria Zurrug	Southern Kordofan	Abu Zabad
7	Beni Hussain	Northern Darfur	El Fashir & Jebel Kussa
8	Beni Selim	White Nile	Kaka
9	Beni Helba	Southern Darfur	Id el Ghanam District
10	Beni Khuzam	Southern Darfur	Nyala, El Tuhama & Shakka
11	Hamaidia	Southern Kordofan	Tekali
OTHERS			
1	Kababish- many clans	Nothern Kordofan & Dongola	Northern Kordofan & Dongola area
2	Bederia	Kordofan & Dongola	El Obeid & Dongola
3	Moghraba	Khartoum & Gezira	Soba, El Kamlin & Butana
4	Hamar	Kordofan	En Nuhud & Bara

NO	ETHNIC GROUP	PROVINCE(S)	TOWN(S)/AREAS
NUFARINA ARABS			
KAWAHILA			
1	Kawahila	Kordofan, White Nile & Gezira	Bara, Atbara, Dinder & Rahad
2	Ahamda	White Nile & Blue Nile	Geili, Kosti & along Atbara river
3	Hasania	White Nile	Geteina, Ed Dueim & Butana
4	Hasainat	White Nile	Geteina, Ed Dueim & Butana
OTHERS			
1	Kenana	Kordofan & Gezira	Tekali, Sinnar & Butana area
2	Rikabia	Kordofan & Dongola	Bara & Dongola
3	Hawawer	Dongola	Dongola
4	Jellaba Howara	Darfur & Kordofan	El Fashir, Bara & Um Ruaba
5	Korobat	Darfur & Kordofan	N.W. Darfur & Sherkeila
6	Ababda	Berber	Abu Hamad & Shendi
7	Kerrarish	Dongola	Dongola & Halfa
8	Kerriat	Khartoum & Kordofan	West & North of Omdurman
9	Southern Mahass	Khartoum & Blue Nile	Khartoum & Gezira areas
10	Rashaida	Red Sea & Berber	Atbara & Ghash
12	Zebaidia	Eastern & Western Sudan	Rabigh & Western Sudan areas
13	Hadareb	Red Sea	Suakin
14	Hundur	Red Sea	Suakin
RUFABA & OTHERS			
1	Rufa'a el Hoi	Gezira	Butana area
2	Rufa'a el Shark	Gezira	Managil area
3	Kawasma (immigrants)	Southern Blue Nile	Sennar & Dinder
4	Abdallab (immigrants)	Gezira & Khartoum	Rufa'a & Khartoum North
5	Inkerriab	Berber	Berebr
6	Lahaween	White Nile & Northern Kordofan	Jebellein & Northern Kordofan Area
7	Beni Omran	Northern Kordofan & Dongola	El Obeid & Dongola
8	Shukria	Blue Nile & Kassala	Kassala & Rufa'a
10	Dubaseen	Gezira	Gezira Area
11	Dubania	Blue Nile & Kassala	Blue Nile area, Gedaref & Galabat
12	Dar Hamid	Central Kordofan	Bara & Abu Zabad
13	Baza'a	Central Kordofan	Abu Zabad
14	Zayadia	Darfur & Kordofan	Mellit & Um Gozain
15	Beni Jerar	Kordofan, White Nile & Gezira	Bara, Khorsi & El Busata
16	Shenabla	Kordofan, White Nile & Gezira	Bara, Atbara, Dinder & Rahad
17	Ma'alia	Northern Kordofan	En Nahud, El Odaya & Um Ruaba
18	Ma'akla	Northern Kordofan	En Nahud, El Odaya & Um Ruaba
19	Duahia	Blue Nile & Kordofan	Masuidia & Bara
20	Masallamia	Gezira	Masallamia
21	Khawalda	White Nile & Gezira	Jebellein & Wad medani
22	Awamra	Gezira & Khartoum	Wad Medani & Khartoum
23	Amarna	Gezira	Jebel Moya
24	Fadnia	Berber	Merowi & Berber
25	Halaween	Gezira	Hessaheza

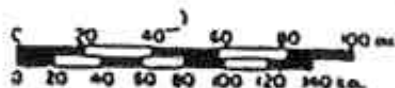
NO	ETHNIC GROUP	PROVINCES	TOWN(S)/AREAS
1-13	JAWANEEN/ARABS		
1	Ja'ali Proper	Dongola & Berber	Abu Hammad, Shendi & Matemma
2	Batahin	Dongola & Berber	Abu Deleik
3	Ghodiati	Kordofan	El Obeid
4	Bedairia	Kordofan, Darfur & Dongola	El Obeid, Bishara Taib & Dongola
5	Shuwaihat	Kordofan & Dongola	El Obeid & Dongola
6	Teraifia	Kordofan & Dongola	Korti, Kerri & Ambukol
7	Rubatab	Berber	Abu Hamad
8	Jawabra	Dongola & Kordofan	Dongola & Bara
9	Jima'a	Khartoum, Kordofan & Sinnar	Sennar, El Obeid & Omdurman
10	Jawama'a	Kordofan & Gezira	Kordofan & Gezira areas
11	Manasir	Berber & Kordofan	Abu Hammad, Berti & el Odaya
12	Shaiqia	Dongola	Merowi & Korti
13	Mirafab	Berber	Berber

NO	ETHNIC GROUP	PROVINCES	TOWN(S)/AREAS
1-3	NUBIAN (NON ARABS)		
1	Danagla/Dongola	Dongola	Dongola
2	Mahass	Dongola/Kassala	New & Old Wadi Halfa
3	Sukkot	Dongola/Kassala	New & Old Wadi Halfa

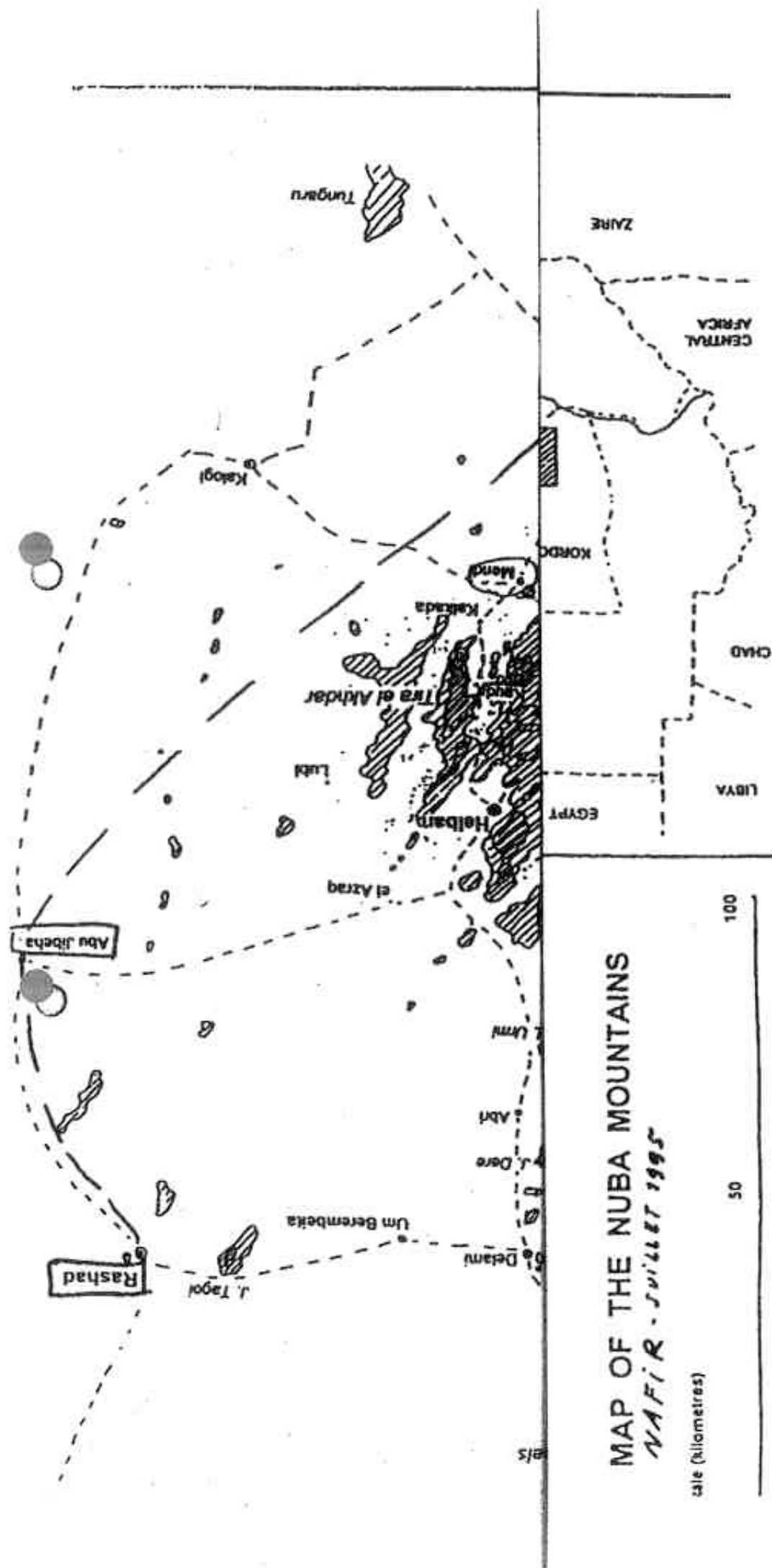
NO	ETHNIC GROUP	PROVINCES	TOWN(S)/AREAS
1-4	BEJA (NON ARABS)		
1	Besharia	Red Sea & Kassala	Tokar, Sinkat, Kassala
2	Hadendao	Red Sea & Kassala	Suakin & Sinkat, Kassala
3	Halenga	Red Sea & Kassala	Kassala, Sea towns
4	Beni Amir	Red Sea & Kassala	Kassala, Sea towns



TRIBAL DISTRICTS



- ARAB ARAB, NOBIAN, BEJA & DIVISIONS
- DINKA AFRICAN & DIVISIONS
- RACIAL BOUNDARY
- MAIN TRIBAL BOUNDARY
- - - DIVISION OF TRIBE BOUNDARY
- SUBDIVISION OF TRIBE BOUNDARY
- INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
- HEADQUARTERS OF PROVINCE, DISTRICT



MAP OF THE NUBA MOUNTAINS
NAFIR - JUILLET 1995

scale (kilometres)

Glossary

abid	slave
ahl al-dhimma	protected people (Christians, Jews)
ahl al-harb	people living in non-Muslim lands
amir al-amura	"prince of the princes," a Muslim military commander or governor
Ansar	helpers or followers of the Mahdi
Anya-Nya	the general name for the southern guerrilla movement in the 1950s, whose name combines the Madi words "inya nya" (a snake poison) and the Madi "manyanya" (an insect that kills large animals)
baya	religious oath of allegiance in Islam
bilad al-Sudan	medieval Arabic term for central Africa, "the land of the black people"
dar al-harb	"the land of war," lands where non-Muslims live
dar al-Islam	"the land of peace," land where Islamic law is enforced
dawa	call to Islam, propagation of the faith
Fallata	pejorative term for pilgrims who immigrated to Sudan from West Africa
faqir	Muslim holy man, religious preacher, legal expert
fatwa	opinion of an expert on a point of Islamic law
ghazwa	slave hunt
hadd (pl. hudud)	"sacred frontier," the concept of trespassing moral boundaries; religiously prescribed Islamic punishments
Id al-Adha	Fest of the Sacrifice, celebrated on the last day of the Muslim pilgrimage
Id al-Fitr	Fest of Breaking of the Fast, celebrated to mark the end of Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting
imam	(1) Muslim prayer leader; (2) divinely ordained religious leader of an Islamic state
intifada	"shaking off," popular uprising
jallaba	northern merchants who traveled from the Nile Valley to the south and west of the Sudan
jallabiyya	dress commonly worn by men in north Sudan, consisting of a long, loose garment
jihad	(1) self-exertion in the cause of God, the inner struggle against

kafr (pl. kuffar)	impious temptations; (2) religiously sanctioned warfare by Muslims to defend Islam against non-Muslims
khalifat (pl.)	nonbeliever, infidel
khalwa	successors to the prophet Muhammad as leader of the Islamic community
mahdi	Quran school for children
marisa	the expected deliverer in Messianic times, whose mission is to establish the just rule of Islam
mujahidin (pl.)	local fermented beer
murahilin (pl.)	holy warriors
mu'tamarat (pl.)	Arab militia
Quran	conferences
sayyid	the holy scripture of Islam, containing the revelations of God transmitted to Muhammad by the Angel Gabriel
shaikh	religious leader, notable
shamasa (pl.)	title of respect for a tribal leader, learned man, or leader of a Sufi brotherhood
shari'a	homeless street children, ruffians
shura	the divinely ordained law of Islam, the "path" or "way" that governs all aspects of Muslim behavior
sikke	consultation
Sudd	iron bar
Sufism	barrier: swamps in southern Sudan
tariqa (pl. taruq)	the practice of Islamic mysticism
thobe	Sufi religious brotherhood
ulama (pl.)	women's outer covering commonly worn in north Sudan
umma	persons learned in Islamic law and sciences, official interpreters of shari'a, members of the religious establishment
urf	(1) the world Muslim community; (2) the political party of the Mahdist Anzar movement
wali	customary law
zakat	Muslim governor, guardian
zar	obligatory sharing of wealth with the poor and the community that is one of the pillars of Islam
zariba	spirit-possession ceremony
	thorn bushes placed for protection around an encampment, fortified camp, frontier post

حقوق الإنسان السودان

مطبوعة غير دورية تصدر عن المنظمة السودانية لحقوق الإنسان - القاهرة - العدد السابع سبتمبر

THE SUDANESE HUMAN RIGHTS QUARTERLY

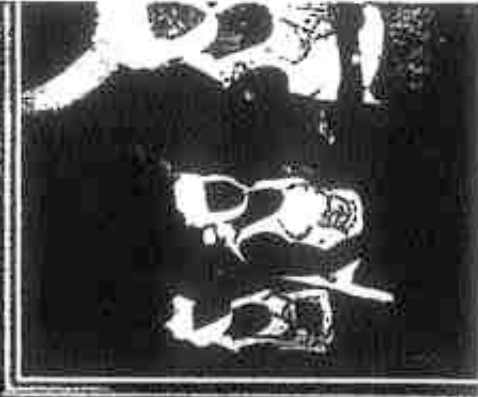
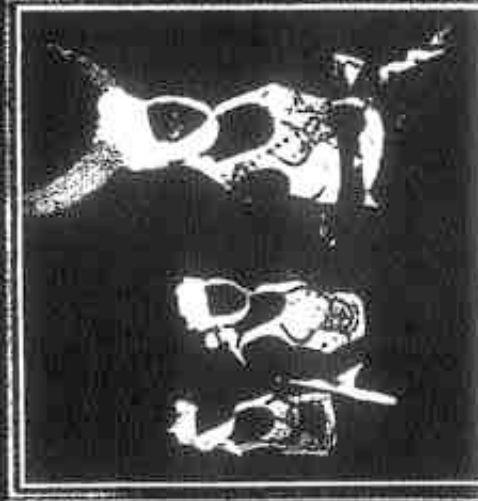
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حبال انقضية...

بين التطهير العرقي وآفاق السلام

The Hubba Mountains. BETWEEN THE ETHNIC CLEANSING AND THE FUTURE OF PEACE



THE SUDANESE HUMAN RIGHTS QUARTERLY

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INTRODUCTION

The Nuba of the Sudan have always preserved significant aspects of Sudanese cultural heritage and value system.

As is clearly documented by many historians, anthropologists, and other scientists, the Nuba have been actively contributing to the life and welfare of the country in political, economical, cultural, and esthetic terms, in addition to many other important contributions in the military and national security affairs of the nation.

Despite all these achievements and activities throughout the history of Sudan, the Nuba right to enjoy full human rights have been consistently violated by the succeeding governments and political regimes of the Sudan. The foreign rule of the Ottoman Empire through the conquest of the Sudan by Mohamed Ali Basha, the Khedawi of Egypt, brutalized the Sudanese people, including the Nuba, for more than half a century.

As a Sudanese nationalist movement, the Mahadya recognized the significant contribution of the Nuba to the development and establishment of the Mahadya ideology and state. With the destruction of the Mahadist rule, the colonial authorities continued to suppress the Nuba people, who had contributed largely to the Mahadist revolution, and to under develop the region. For example many uprising were harshly suppressed especially the revolt led by Meek Agabna.

The post - independence governments, nevertheless, have not taken any serious step to develop the Nuba Mountains.

Instead, the succeeding central governments marginalized the Nuba population. Very few schemes were actually implemented to promote the social and economic standards of the Nuba society. Agricultural projects, such as Habila, were largely manipulated by individuals or groups other than the indigenous people of the Nuba region.

Intermediate schools were rarely established in Kordofan provinces, in general, and the Nuba Mountains, in particular, let alone any other higher level of educational programmes. Medical services and the other modern facilities were never made available for the nuba people in their homeland.

The exploitation of the Nuba lands and natural wealth led to a massive trend of internal migration in search of jobs, education, and the other amenities of modern life.

In the course of time, millions of the Nuba people have been forced to abandon their lovely region to live in the cities and other urban centres all over the country in miserable conditions.

The Nuba have equally been subjected to a state of cultural deprivation. A clear idea about this particular type of oppression might be obtained with reference to some of the anthropological studies that have been undertaken by social scientists on the Nuba people and social activities. For one, James Faries (1973) studied the family system, women status and roles, and many other cultural activities of the southern Nuba society, which is James Faries (1973) studied the family system, women status and roles, and many other cultural activities of the southern Nuba society, which is James Faries (1973) studied the family system, women status and roles, and many other cultural activities of the southern Nuba society, which is characterized by common polygyny.

As faris put it " Wives are a vital production asset. Apart from domestic support, wives carry grain from the fields to the threshing arenas, and make the beer necessary for weeding, harvesting, and threshing parties " as collective activities. Notwithstanding, this daily practice of the Nuba women has been forcibly criminalized by the central governments, as well as local authorities in the urban setting of the Sudan.

The worst of all governments that harassed the Nuba and punished them for performing their social and cultural activities was the dictatorial regimes, especially the existing NIF regime. Nuba women have been flogged for the same practices for which they are highly appreciated in their own village by their own people.

The Southeastern Nuba age structure and organization signifies the cultural and family relations of these indigenous sections of the Sudanese population. It is a society based on sporting activities and protected with ritual and special age proceedings. In the Kadundor (Warrior) age grade (for which boys train during their wrestling years) songs are composed by the drummers' society for dance praise or ridicule of the results of the sport. Faris writes that " these parties are remembered, recounted many times publicly, and transmitted through members of the drummers society (Chabaja) to be sung on occasion during a man's waning years and finally to form the central dance praise song at his funeral " (P.15).

It is a complete social system involving birth maturation, adult activities, and death ceremony. The point is that these social and cultural organizations do not conform to the Arab Muslim social structures or family value - orientations. The reason is simply that both Nuba and Arab family institutions constitute autonomous social systems, independently from each other. And, yet whereas the Arab Muslim systems have entrenched themselves in law making and power relations throughout history, the Nuba tradition has been awfully neglected and harassed.

In the political arena, the Nuba grievances were even greater than those brought about by the ongoing social and economic underdevelopment of the Nuba society. Deprived of educational institutions, agricultural lands, and made to live as poor migrants in cities, the Nuba people have equally been deprived of active participation in national decision making. Very few representatives were allowed access to the central political institutions such as the parliament or leadership of political parties. Moreover, the Nuba indigenous chiefs and political leaders were always ignored or rather subjected to political domination by the other power groups, including the Kordofan Arabs and the northern groups in the region.

The Popular Defence Forces (PDF) as government militias established by the NIF regime have committed heinous atrocities against the Nuba people until this very day.

SHRO-Cairo has consistently paid attention to the need to enlighten both Sudanese nationals and the international community about the horrible violations committed by NIF rule in this particular respect. Torture in the Sudan, a SHRO-Cairo publication, provided a detailed list of hundreds of Nuba people who had been extra-judicially killed, tortured, and expropriated from private lands.

The innocent victims included a large number of Nuba intellectuals, lawyers, teachers Muslims Imams, and Christian leaders who, men and women, intimidated and illegally dismissed from the public services. Many of these victims, of whom many were elected by the Nuba people as members of the constituent assembly (1986-1989), have been unlawfully imprisoned in devastating conditions at El-Obied prison or incarcerated without any charge by the military authorities in Kadugli.

The horrible crimes committed by NIF rule against the Nuba included the uncivilized practice of enslavement of women and

children, the segregation of Nuba people in remote camps in the desert of Northern Kordofan, the compulsory circumcision of girls, rape, and many other shocking crimes. These genocidal crimes, in addition to the heavy bombardment of the Nuba Mountains by NIF forces throughout the 1990's, have been strongly condemned by the United Nations General Assembly and Human Rights Commission several times, as well as the national, regional and international network of human rights organizations.

The so-called ethnic - cleansing of the Nuba people and the continuous attacks of the NIF dictatorial regime to eradicate the existence and well - being of these Sudanese citizens should be placed as top agenda by all human right groups, governments, and world powers. SHRO- Cairo calls upon the international community to put the strongest pressures possible upon Sudan Government to stop the ongoing war in the Nuba region Southern Sudan, and the other parts of the country, to respect the rights of Nuba people to Determine their own path of national unity, development and administration and to enjoy full freedom as citizens of the country without any intimidation or patronage. The agreement reached by the National Democratic Alliance at this particular point to guarantee the right of self-determination to the Nuba people is a clear indication of the viable opportunity a New Sudan carries with it : a Sudan in which all citizens are made equal in the enjoyment of legal, political, economic, and social activities.

It is for the New Sudan that all members of the Nuba people struggle side by side with their compatriots in the National Democratic Alliance. And it is for that New Sudan that SHRO-Cairo continues to put all pressures on NIF rule to comply with international human rights norms.

Dr. Mahgoub El- Tigani
President, Shro -Cairo

Examples of Violations of Human Rights Committed in Nuba Mountains

* In December 1987, Fama village in Nuba Mountains (NM) was raided several times by both military troops and Arab Militia. During these raids many Nuba citizens were killed, tortured, raped or rendered handicapped. The following were reported to be killed :

- 1- Koko Arbaa Hamir (Wrestler) 2-Godaa Koko 3- Kafi Famgrabi 4- Tia Jama 5- Diro Tia. 6- Famdam Kafo 7- Koko Jatrab
- 8- Citizen from Shat Sofya village (the last four were forced to carry a wounded militia and after he died they were all shot dead). 9- El Tom Abdalla (Wrestler) 10- Kojiga kafi 11- Trilla Toto 12-Tshish Koko (child) "burnt inside a hut with his grandmother" 13- Melina Koko 14- Kaka Tira 15- Kaka Toto 16-Nato Koko 17-Kowa Kafi (Sheikh of Fama Village) 18- Five others unknown.

* During 1991 the current regime waged continuous and violent raids concentrating on Kadugli area. In Khur Elafan area, east Kadugli more than three thousands were killed and buried collectively in not more than three holes.

* In 1987 in Fama Village, the following were reported to be severely tortured and some were handicapped :

- 1- Koko Khamies 2-Kuia Toto 3-Tia koko 4-Tia Kwua Rahal 5-Sudani koko 6-Kafi Suliman 7-Koko Madi (Actor) 8-Taftish Kafi Shawal 9-Koko Daggash 10-Koko Kafi 11-Toshala koko 12-Kafi Dogmas 13-Hassan Kusheib 14-Koko Abbas 15-Damirgi Tia 16-El Matwa koko 17-Tia Kosegrim

* In May 1991 whole families were liquidated collectively , example - Tir Fira family (50 persons) and Kumada family.

* In June 1991, fifteen citizens were extra-judicially killed in Kutla village and 30 were also killed in Far village, some resources accused :x. Governor of Southern Kordofan Abdelwhab Abdel El Rahaman of

planning and executing those heinous crimes.

* In 1991 advocate Hamdan Hassan Kuri and his father were extra-judicially killed. Those who committed this crime were :

- 1- Sergeant Younis Al ehaimir
- 2- Corporal Al Rigayig
- 3-Ali Kambo

Also in 1991 the following were reported killed under torture:

- 1- Mohamed Hamad(Farmer from Shawaga)
- 2-Ramadan Gaksa (Carpenter from Kadugli)
- 3-Ibrahim Basha (Businessman)
- 4-Hamdan Hassan Kori.(advisor)
- 5-Hassan Korri.
- 6-El-Sir Abdelnabi
- 7-Yousef Galdicon
- 8- Eisa Kamado
- 9- Mohamed Ali
- 10- Mohamed Saboun
- 11-Mohamed abdella Gernas
- 12- El Nour Isameil
- 13-Abu Zaid Shelal
- 14-Ahmed Ismail Keno
- 15-Mohamed Nour Esso.
- 16- Abdella Kaffi
- 17-El Tigani Shokralla
- 18-Motasim Hassan Kheir El Seid
- 19- Seid Ahmed El Dow
- 20- Mohamed Yahia
- 21-Abdellah Kheliel
- 22-Ragab Adam
- 23- Musa Ismael Abdel El Gadeir
- 24- Omer Ibraheim Keno
- 25- Soliman Ismeil
- 26- El Ehaimir Kertkila
- 27-Abashar Ali.
- 28-Kertobeir basha
- 29-MakeinaKhabeir
- 30-Omer Lian
- 31-Barshot Koko
- 32-Mohamed Hamad

33-Mohamed Harony
 34-Ismaeil Soltan
 35-Abdel Raheim Shawaia
 36-Abdella Hamad
 37-Makey Tepo
 38-Musa Kuwa
 39-Basheir Kafi
 40-Koko Alfeis
 41-Maki Al Mangoh
 42-Abdel Gadir Taba
 43-Berisa Taba
 44-Esta Ahmed
 45-Basheir Khaleifa
 46-Ismail El Daw
 47-Youseif Aboud
 48-Abdella Aboud
 49-Eisa Ahmed
 50-El sultan Daheia Musa
 51-El Omdah/ Salih Ahmed Abu Digin
 52-Adam Idreis Adam
 53-Shwkralla Femiah
 54-Maleim Hamad
 55-Saboon Ahmed Saboon
 56-Saeid kabashiKoah
 57-Abas Jangey Fadlalla
 58-Adam Bakheit
 59-Omer El Faki Ali
 60-Ali Mohamed Faki Ali
 61-Mohamed Bakheit
 62-Ishag Maheil
 63-Abdella Ragab Sommi
 64-Adam Ibrahim
 65-Abu Rafas
 66-Ahmed Al Nour koko
 67-Sherief
 68-Musa Tiah
 69-Kafi Tiah
 70-Hussein Tiah
 71-Osman Tiah
 72-Toto Trfan
 73-Hurasa Maogood

74-Suliman Daidoom
 75-Ali Thena
 76-Lutti
 77-El Bareid Feis
 78-Musa El Zubaier
 79-Adam Ibrahim
 80-Al Zubair Dauood
 81-Mohamed Abu Sitah
 82-Ibrahim Marmatoot
 83-Jeimy (football player)
 84-Abes Kajo
 85-Ahmed Yousief
 86-Ramadan Ajabna
 87-Abdellah El Omda
 88-Saeed
 89-Koal
 90-Koko Kani
 91-kafi Toto
 92-Hamid
 93-Suliman Toto Korah
 94-Mohamed Silik
 95-Abdel Rahman Habila
 96-Hamadeig Sheiw
 97-Toto Aramees
 98-Sekein
 99-Mirghani Kafi
 100-Patreis Abdellah
 101-Abdellah Alla jabo
 102-Abdella Jado Moro
 103-Abdel Arahman Gad Allah
 104-Ahmed AlBadawi
 105-Ahmed Suliman
 106-Al Naie! Al Karama
 107-Bilal Hamid Toto
 108-Ibrahim Abdel Gadir
 109-Ibraheim Teiah Ali
 110-Kamal Kano Kafi
 111-Mohamed Maki Koko
 112-Mohamed Suliman
 113-Muhi El Dein Teiah abdel Gadir
 114- Muzameil Deibo El Zein

115-Osman Adam ali
 116-Ragab Adam Mohamed
 117-Ramadan Adam koko
 118-Zakareia Hussein kodi
 119-El sheikh Shwbra
 120-El Sheikh Gebreil Malakal
 121-Sobahi Malkal
 122-Kold Fameis
 123-koko Arbaa Hameir (Wrestler)
 124-Twdoa Koko
 125-Kafi Femitai
 126-Teiah Gama
 127-Dririo Tiah
 128-Fameira Makeno
 129-Koko Gairab
 130-El Tagdom Lomeir lleihe (wrestler)
 131-Terbeilla Toto
 132-Tesheish koko (in one report a child, another farmer aged 19)
 133-Kaka Toto (Woman)
 134-Helina Keki
 135-Tajo Koko
 136-Kaka Teira
 137-Kaki Yello
 138-Koko Sitri
 139-Rahal Tomoes
 140-Kafi Garbowia
 141-Kowah Elaisir
 142-Toto Felajieh
 143-El tani feigeiah
 144-Mojo Koy
 145-Toto Boy (Woman)
 146-Gemah Arba Gerkatah (Westler)
 147-Ahmed Omer Koko
 148-Ahmed Lishen
 149-Izz El Din
 150-Hamdeen
 151-Fadol Tarakawi
 152-Gibreil Munshah
 153-Kartakila Amoun
 154-Suliman Bukhari
 155-Ismaeil Argein

156-Osman Gogan
 157-Yousief Abdella
 158-Al Ino Wangesi
 159-Musa Kua Kafi
 160-Kenu Al Lahaw

During 1991-1992 waves of arbitrary detentions were launched in Kadugli area. All detainees were subjected to severe torture, some were extra-judicially shot dead. Due to these waves thousands of Nuba Mountains citizens were forced to leave their homeland fearing the Ethnic cleansing. Many of these citizens were kept in guarded yards, these areas include, Gabal Awlia (Near Khartoum), Port Sudan, Sutriba 10 Km from Port Sudan. According to Dr. Biro 1993 report, most of these citizens were kept in miserable conditions and the death rates were very high amongst children and elderly.

* The years 1995 - 1998 witnessed continuation of violations especially against those who oppose the regime policies.

* Hassan Abdella Shakoosh from Nuba mountains remained in detention for approximately seven years (1991-1997) without charge.

* Dr.Gissi Miew and Dr.Hashim Zieda were detained while providing medical services to the needy people in (NM) in 1995.

*Hamdan Mohammed Tia (Teacher), Hassan Kuwa (Employee), Mohammed Azrag (Businessman) and Adam Faragalla were all detained in February 15th, 1997 without charge, and were all subjected to severe torture.

*On April 1998 El faki Koko Hassan faced a death penalty, being accused of apostasy, he is from Dilami in (N.M)

* The SHRO-Cairo reported the places of detentions and torture to be in :-

1- Kadugli military barracks, 2-Damba Area 3-Lugo Area

Slavery

The act of slavery had been part of the practices of the current regime in Nuba Mountains and Southern Sudan.

Our organization, Christian Solidarity International, NOB and the special rapporteur Dr. Gasper Biro, all affirmed the fact that the Sudanese authorities had practiced and encouraged the act of slavery.

THE SYMPOSIUM

"The Nuba Mountain between the ethnic cleansing and the future of peace"

Introduction made by the chairman of the symposium, Ibrahim Saeed

The Nuba people depended mainly on agriculture and rearing animals, the two professions called them for permanent settlement and to co-operate with their neighbors.

Nevertheless we witnessed under the regime of the National Islamic Front one of the wide scale violation the Nuba people underwent throughout their history. This symposium is to look into this situation to find the causes of the human rights violations in the area, to document every case and to see what the international community could do to abort the sufferings of the Nuba people. Also to look into the future of the Nuba people when the situation changes. Therefore this gathering, specially those who are from the area and those who are familiar with the problems facing the area are called upon to share their experience and document cases of violation of the human rights in the area.

Statement made by Miss. Nur Tawur
(Chairman of NOB, Cairo)

Historical Background

The ordeal of the peoples of the Nuba mountains did not begin with the conquering of Mohamed Ali Basha, the Egyptian ruler to Sudan. The real crisis started with the Nubian Kingdoms of the Northern Sudan which consisted of : the first Kingdom in the Lower Nubia from the first cataracts to the second. The Upper Nubia to the third cataracts. The boundaries of the Nubian Kingdoms were not specified in the historical books except the Holy Bible which mentioned that they start south Egypt. It called it the land of Kush, Sudan, Nubia-Nubatia and Etheopia. It mentioned that, prophet Moses married Nubian woman. The Kingdom expanded to the West and

Dr. Biro reported in 1993 about slavery being practiced in N.M. Also NOB reported the incidence of collecting some N.M children on 11/11/1994 during the 3rd session of the Islamic Popular Conference in Khartoum

A number of security elements were scattered to offer money to vagabond children who were gathered in El Saha Al Khadra (Green Plaza) and from there to Mogran and finally to the airport on 12/11/1994 where they were all taken in 4 cargo planes to an unknown place, the resources consider the likelihood of being taken to Iran.

Also many reports affirmed that the government is using food as a weapon in the refugees camps to force children to change their religion and to sell them to Arab Afghan.

In March 1997 patrols of security elements captured hundreds of children (Mostly) from Southern Sudan and (N.M). They were all put in a deserted cinema on July 2, 1997 and from there to the military camps for short periods and then transported to the war zones to be used as human fodder.

Also reports from the training camps affirmed the presence of large numbers of vagabond children being trained and forced to go to war zones.

Christian Solidarity International program for redeeming enslaved children affirmed strongly the presence of slavery and slave trade encouraged by the Sudan Government.

Use of chemical weapons in (N.M)

Many reports from different organizations including SHRO-Cairo confirmed the fact that the Sudanese authorities had manufactured and used chemical weapons in (N.M) in the following places :-

Tolosh Mountains, Kurongo Abdalla area, Sulva area, Hiban and Um do Tolosh Mountains, Kurongo Abdalla area, Sulva area, Hiban and Um dorain area. According to reports this resulted in the killing of more than one thousands person.

The use of chemical weapons was executed through air bombardment using aeroplanes piloted by Iraqis and this was reported to take place in the year 1995.

South to Suba, the capital of the Kingdom of Dongola. The last Kingdom was destroyed by the Arabs in about 1500. The Nubian Kingdom ruled Sudan for about 1850 years. The Bible describes the Nubian as black and strong.

Those Kingdoms were prosperous in trade and politics and under the rule of Biankhi they conquered Egypt establishing the 21st Dynasty in Egypt. When Egypt was conquered by the Arabs the Kingdom of Nubia remained Christian with trade relations with the Islamic rulers of Egypt. Until 643 the Nubian could resist and repulse Islamic Attacks from the Egyptian rulers. In 1050 they signed with the Islamic rulers of Egypt a non aggression pact known in history as the agreement of Paght, one of the most important agreements in the history of Sudan, and for reaching clause to that, the Nubian should send to Egypt 350 slaves annually which by the end 1250 reached to about three million slaves. The Paght continued and by time there was continuous flow of the Arab bringing with them Arabic language and Islamic religion which spread without force by traders and Sufi sects and likewise the Nubians produced many religion teachers who further spread the believe in the hinter land of Sudan. This method continued till 1960. The Nubian Kingdoms disintegrated slowly one after another and by the year 1323 began a huge migration specially after the middle Kingdom was destroyed and it's capital fell. The migration or better described as the diaspora took the Nubian to Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and to the west to Chad the Cameroon, Nigeria, Darfore and the present day Nuba Mountains. The first wave settled in the present day Kordofan province as the name given by the Nuba denotes (the Arid land) they lived there for 400 years in exclusion till 1500 when a new wave of the Nuba reached after the destruction of the last Nubian kingdom and their capital Suba by the Arabs. The Arabs penetrating into the hinter land of the Sudan began marrying the Nuba girls thus creating a new Arabized and Islamised generation of the Nuba. These social changes carried with it some problems and social pressure upon the Nuba. They were forced to learn a new language and change their religion and names so as to find suitable place in this new society.

The Nuba Mountains Now:

Geographically it covers the Kordofan region from the North, in the East the Blue Nile, in the South East Upper Nile, in the South West the Baher Elghazal province, to the west the Southern Darfour. The area covers 50,000 square miles from it there are 20,000 square miles fertile land with a proven discoveries of petroleum, gold, uranium and

animal wealth. The area is inhabited by the Nuba, and the Bagara. The Bagara are Arabs, cattle and camel rearers. They are divided into different tribes, some of them Arabized Nuba, Dinka and Falata migrated from West Africa with their tribal divisions.

The administration of the Nuba Mountains throughout the history was changed affecting the life of the Nuba without consultation of the Nuba people. From 1906 to 1934 it was the province of the Nuba Mountains, its capital Taloodi. In 1934 to 1974 it was the province of The Nuba Mountains its capital changed to Kadugli; then the province of the Southern Kordofan. From 1990 to 1998 the province of the East Kordofan. It seems from the steps taken by different government that there were tendency to eradicate the name of the Nuba from the area of their habitat. The program of Arabization and Islamisation and the incursion of aggressive big tribes to the area for gross land is another predicament facing the Nuba and it is determined to their culture and heritage.

Slave trade and the Nuba people-

The course of slave trade among the Nuba people which started in the year 675 continued in a wide scale and from after the incursion of Arabs into the hinter land of the Nuba people. It is documented that the Nuba slaves were hunted down and sold as far as the markets of Morocco. The biggest slave raid came against the Nuba people after Mohamed Ali Basha - the ruler of Egypt - conquered the Sudan. The main reason for the conquest being slave trade. From 1881-1885 under the Mahadia rule the slave trade continued although the Nuba were behind the success of the Mahadia rise till 1898. In 1986 under the third Democracy slave trade among the Nuba continued.

From 1989 till now under Islamic regime of Dr. Hassan Elturabi, the tragedy of modern day Nuba is unraveling. The whole Nuba population is under siege from the regime's military and the popular forces, they are undergoing Islamisation and genocide and dispersed within Sudan and the neighboring countries. The boys and girls are sold and forced to adopt new believe and new names.

The Nuba resistance Movement

During the colonial era the area witnessed more than thirteen revolts which were put down by the superior force of the government.

In 1953 the colonial power established the advisory assembly for

Northern Sudan. No member was chosen from the area to represent its interests although it had a lot of problems. In 1960 the Union of the Nuba Peoples was established to look for the political and economic social interest of the Nuba. In 1972 the Nuba established the Komolo organization, a secret organization, also to work for the interest of the Nuba people. By 1983 the Nuba intellectuals began secret contacts with the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement fighting in Southern Sudan. In 1984 the first delegation of the Nuba people reached Addis Ababa to begin official discussion with SPLM. In 1986 the Sudan National Party was proclaimed. In 1987 commander Yousif Kowa returned with the brigade of Kush; stationed in eastern mountains. In 1991 the Nuba expatriates refugees established in London the Solidarity Organization with Nuba people. In 1992 establishment of Nuba People in Cairo (NOB). In 1993 establishment of (NOB) organization for relief and reconstruction in Nairobi. In 1998 establishment of the solidarity organization with Nuba women, and it is concerned with collecting and sending relief materials to the freed area in the Nuba mountains. The Nuba people are now facing the Khartoum Islamic regime with a military force from the freed area under the leadership of commander Yousif Kowa and rebuilding a new society in the freed areas. Now the reason behind the government actions to disperse the Nuba people and the program of Islamisation and Arabization can be explained by the following :-

- 1- The Arabic culture which describes the Nuba as second rate citizen because of the slave trade issues.
 - 2- The feeling among the Arabs that the land they are living on does not belong to them, therefore they should eradicate the indigenous inhabitant and replace themselves instead.
 - 3 The decrease in the annual rainfall and the desert incursion from north to south and by 2025 the desertification will reach to the present day north Nuba mountains and the Blue Nile province in the east and west to Jabal Mara in Darfour.
 - 4- The annual river flow decreases the fertile land on the banks of the Nile decreasing the cultivatable area.
 - 5- The area cultivated with dura and sorghum in Elgadarif area is decreasing.
- All this makes the Nuba Mountains area as the best and fertile place to inhabit beside the abundance of other minerals resources among them petroleum.
- 6- The geographical remoteness of the Nuba mountains and the

ability of the government to control the Nuba.

7- The landlocked area the Nuba are living in beside the ever decreasing in the number of illiteracy among the Nuba.

8- The nature of the Nuba as peace loving people they do not use force except on self defence. Therefore the Nuba and the Nuba Mountains area is more suitable for the regime in Khartoum to experiment Islamization and Arabization and ethnic cleansing specially the different government wether civilian or military used different means to reach the same end, ethnic cleansing and Arabization and Islamization as pretext to destroy the Nuba people and their heritage.

What can be done to help the Nuba people in their predicament, and to alleviate their miseries and stop genocide ? What is the role of political and social institutions now and in the future ?

1- Military wise they at last reverted to armed struggle in line with other armed resistance movements to stop the Islamic regime in Khartoum to carry out its policies against the Nuba people. Politically the Sudanese National party is becoming a forum for Nuba people to speak for them and present their interest. Socially, they are establishing, social organizations since 1991 to play the great role in resisting the Islamic regime in Khartoum or any other governmental in future tempted to pursue the policy of genocide against the Nuba people. The (NOB) relief organisation is doing its utmost effort to collect relief materials and sending them to the area affected.

2- We advice, as of most importance to work by all possible means to defeat the Islamic regime in Khartoum and dismantle its policies towards the Nuba people.

3- It is also important to assist those fighting and living in the freed areas. All Sudanese Non Governmental Organizations are called upon to render assistance to the Nuba people specially that they are more affected by the Khartoum regime and its policies. It is also advised that political and social organization should put more pressure on Khartoum regime to open the area for International Organizations and relief Organizations to help the needy people in the area.

4- The Nuba expatriates abroad should shoulder the responsibility of helping their people and endorse the diversity of work wether military, political or social.

- 5- During the transitional period the Nuba people advocates join the efforts of the Southern Sudanese to work together for the betterment and development of their areas.
- 6- The practice of the right of self determination after the transitional period should be practiced without the intervention of outside parties.
- 7- To call upon the opposition parties and groups to avoid excluding the Nuba people when discussing the future of the Sudan.

THE U.N COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The UN committee in its meeting Number 46 on 20/4/1994 concerning racial discrimination against minorities and the indigenous population advocated nineteen concepts.

- 1- The full right to lie and enjoy the basic rights announced in the international human rights.
- 2- Equality in freedom in rights.
- 3- Freedom from racial discrimination.
- 4- Right of self determination.
- 5- Right of citizenship.
- 6- To avoid safeguards against racial discrimination, forced removal, ethnic cleansing.
- 7- To avoid acts which leads to Ethnic cleansing or cultural change.
- 8- Confiscation of properties and ownership.
- 9- Non discrimination against them.
- 10- No forcible conscription of the children.
- 11- No policies built on racial, religious, ethnic and cultural superiority.
- 12- Not to enact laws against them or treat them as inferiors.
- 13- They have the right to control the system of development in their areas.
- 14- They have the right to establish good international relations.
- 15- Disarmament of the area.
- 16- To draw a peaceful coexistence and good relationship in the area.
- 17- They have the right to request international advice.
- 18- They have the right to request international assistance.
- 19- The United Nations have the obligation for protection and advancement of their rights.

This document is obligatory upon governments that practices

policies against those minorities and the indigenous populations. From this document the first conference on women of the indigenous population in Africa took place in Agadier in Morocco from 20-26 April 1998, the organization of the Nuba Abroad presented three papers.

- * The first on the historical and political background of the Nuba people.
 - * The role of the Nuba Women in their local community.
 - * The heinous crimes in the Nuba mountains and the program of ethnic cleansing in general.
- At the end of the conference the African Organization of indigenous Women and NOB organization played a role in establishment of the organization to safeguard against Misery in Nuba Mountains in future.

The statement made by Mr. Faisal Obied (Chairman of sudanese National Party Cairo)

The greatest value of the declaration of the human rights lies in specifying those rights whether they are civil rights, political rights, social rights or economic rights. The declaration and its articles were not mere ideas and slogans for consuming bases of measurements for the international law and it is becoming bases of the United Nations and the reports coming from non governmental organizations which are dealing with human rights. Sudan became a member of the United Nations in November 1957 after one year of independence, unfortunately since then different governments whether democratic or military regimes ignored altogether the articles of the declaration of human rights.

Violations of human rights became part of their policies and their legal system.

The propaganda of different governments about the human rights was partly for political purposes for seeking monetary helps from governments and international organizations. The human rights are violated and crushed in the day light and we from the Nuba Mountains, are bent on strongly for our rights and the rights of other people in Sudan. It is a real tragedy that we speak now about the human rights and we are in the twenty first century, and there is an international concern for human rights within the non governmental organizations and concern for human rights studies, and of course the

Sudanese human rights organization is a part of those movements. The Nuba Mountains centred in the heart of Sudan and hence they were always victims of different governments whether democratic or dictatorship. The human rights of the Nuba people were violated since 1885-1889 under the Mahadia government of El Khalifa Abdolahi El Taishei, they were enslaved and forced to scatter to different parts of Sudan. During the condominium rule they revolted against the colonial rule to preserve their tradition and ways of life all were put down ruthlessly, the last being of Sultan Ajabna 1917 who was hanged, the rest were deported to Northern Sudan in Shendi. When Sudan attained its independence, the Nuba had chosen the Sudanese Nationality hence they wanted to be treated like others concerning human rights. When the political parties were established after independence of Sudan, they were established along the line of religion and the rivalry between the two main religious houses. The political parties thus were lacking political concepts and organizational capabilities. They could not plan a strategy of political, social and economic action for the whole country. They only used to incite their followers during the elections to win the race. The Nuba Mountains were part of the election ground but suffered more than the rest of the country for its peculiar situation as the most backward area of the Sudan, and the different races which inhabit the area are with different orientations. The Nuba were forbidden to organize any civic organization to help government to solve many problems facing the Nuba people. I think once we could organize such civic bodies to plan self help programmes we could solve a lot of problems. I know during the period of the democratic government our people wanted to establish a dispensary and pharmacy with their own money and they were denied this right. In asking for the rights of the Nuba people to have their own social, political and economic institutions, we don't deny others from the same rights because we are after the establishment of a country with institutions, law and order not to be governed by an individual.

We are after closing once and for all doors which lead to human rights violations. We should acknowledge the rights of different races which inhabit the Sudan, the Arabs, the Negro and others. We should acknowledge this situation and also our governments should acknowledge these facts and act accordingly. We face also the problems of under development in economic and social fields, and lack of democracy. I want to stress on democracy because when we have a democratic government we can solve problems of different parts of Sudan. Democracy does not negate democracy except that

practiced in Sudan.

In Sudan traditionally political power has two strata, the sovereign which has the decision making power and the other with no value or little. In the democratic government all ministers with the power of decision making were reserved for certain persons or quarters, while minor ministries were left for the Nuba or the Southerners as to beautify the face of the democratic governments.

Hence I can say the violations of human rights are not practiced by dictatorships only, but even democratic governments do. I think many of our own leaders has the culture of enslavement of others hence denying them their right to share with them the power, and that is why the Southerners took arms and that is why the Nuba are fighting. I think this was one of the weak points of the democratic system which lead to its repeated failures.

The Nuba people are of negroid origin, thus they were denied their rights, their culture was not recognized and they were persecuted because of this ethnicity. They were denied their rights to develop their social and economic status by leaving them out side the system. This left them with no options but to carry arms and join the Sudanese People Liberation Movement.

We see the way out from this is by acknowledging the right of every Sudanese to rule, adoption of multi party system in which every body could say and organize his own party which could speak and reflect his interests. We should stress on building a system on institutions. The Nuba people should be given the chance to participate in decision making in their country. We should remember that including human rights and other civil rights in the constitutions does not guarantee preservation of those rights, but strict adherence in practice and application guarantee those rights.

THE STATEMENT OF Mr. ABDUL RASOUL EL NUR

" Ex..Governor of the state of Kordofan and a prominent figure of the Umma National Party "

Those who spoke before me were eloquent and could bring before the audience the true picture of the Misery and the destruction which took place in the Nuba Mountains and involved the human and properties, which were brought by the National Islamic Front in the name of Islamization and Arabization. The speakers in their

enumeration of the destruction which took place confirmed themselves to small part of the area. They did not mention their neighbors, their kin, who witnessed more destruction than the Nuba.

I want to speak frankly to the audience as it is pre-requisite the freedom of speech, pre-requisite and respect to each other to listen to different views.

Therefore I request from the audience to listen carefully to different views with different prospective which could fill the gaps here and there. I would like to tackle some problems which were considered as taboos. Let us speak about them and uncover their truth from else. Those issues which were taken as absolutely true, because of the media coverage of ethnic diversity had hidden other sides of the problems.

The Nuba Mountains does not belong to one or two races. The Nuba Mountains are inhabited with different races, who existed with each other in the same area, living in unity and diversity. There lived and coexisted Arabic tribes for at least 500 years. One of the speakers mentioned that the Nuba came to the area in the year 1323 and it is true, but also it is true that the Arabs settled in the area before them in the year 1217, and both of them lived there peacefully.

Agreements were signed between the diverse tribes of the area. The Arabs for certain requirements had chosen to live in the valley, the Nuba also have chosen to live on the mountains, still agreements were signed with inhabitants of the valleys and the mountains.

There were inter-marriage between different tribes of Arabs and Nubas. They lived side by side peacefully for along time. Therefore when we speak about the Nuba Mountains we have to take into consideration, those facts mentioned above. This area is inhabited by Arabs, the Arabized and non Arabic tribes. This area witnessed the rise of the Tagali Kingdom established by Arabized people who were Arabic speaking and Muslims. In the near by area we find the Jenek tribes, the Domak, the Meiri and other smaller tribes which are not assimilated like the Chack tribes, the Katching. Also we find in the same area the Arabic tribes of Meseria, Hawazama, Awlad Hemeid and Kawahla. It is interesting to know that the Arabic tribe of Kawahla has two administrative centres among the Nuba towns of Kaiwgi and in Terter Om Dereese. It is also interesting to know that the Arabic tribes and the Arabized are the majority in comparison to the Nuba in the area. I am not speaking about races here, because when we speak about the Nuba races we are bordering to racism. Now races are not to

be considered to attain recognition or specify their social standards. Citizenship is to be considered as bases of freedom and rights. The assimilation process which the tribes in the whole of Sudan underwent, since hundreds of years leaves us to say that there is no one tribe which is pure Arab or Nuba or Southerner, but we can say that they are an assimilation of all that. In my thinking to establish an organization to speak for the right of a specific tribe is against human rights. This means that establishing an organization along the line of race, language or religion which gives the right or deprives it, is against international agreements and conventions which says that only the citizenship is the base for all rights.

The Nuba Mountains, therefore are the home of those diverse tribes which inhabited the area for along time, they co-existed, they intermarried and they lived peacefully and in harmony. They exchanged names, cultures and language of each other, therefore if there is a call for self-determination in the area it must involve all those who inhabit the area, and if some groups are tempted to carry the gun to reach their goal, I say this in it self is a call for others to carry the gun and resolve the problems by use of force and here we reach the dangerous point of no return. I think those groups who are carrying the gun were frustrated of interchange of ideas and views of how to resolve the problems facing the people of the Nuba Mountains, hence they took arms as a short way to reach their goals and they should not forget that others are capable of carrying guns and fight for their own rights.

We should admit that the area witnessed a lot of mistakes through out its history. I think there are two ways to rectify those mistakes, we should forget what happened in the past, we can not be judged by the deeds of other people we did not live their times, we don't know their motives, may be some of the incidents were exaggerated therefore we have to forget what happened in the past and look forward.

Let us look to the issue which says that the Nuba people are targeted more than other areas in Sudan, for enslavement, Arabization and Islamization. Let me say that I myself visited the Nuba mountains, mountain by mountain, every city and town, I have close friendships with many figures in the area. I deny categorically that they are targeted for enslavement. They were the back bone of the Sudanese army and could resolve some of the greatest issues in the history of Sudan. I say weak people are not targeted, but the strong are targeted to weaken them for submission. The Nuba people were never looked upon as weak and inferior. In fact many of them were chosen

as leaders and guides. The chairman of the Umma Party in Khartoum University was Abass Barsheem a Nuba. The general in command of the Mahadia Army was a Nuba.

When the system of the local administration was adopted in the area all the Arab tribes were put under the administration of the Nuba. The Messeria tribes were administered from Taloudi, then Kadugli even though the distant was faraway. Awlad Ahmeid and Kenana were administered from Rashad. El Hawazma and Awlad Ali administered from El Dalenj. Hawazma in Om Berimbeitta and Karshwla administered from Rashad. The head quarter administrative council was in Rashad.

Those centres are all Nuba towns, hence all Arabs tribes were administratively under the Nuba, so to speak. Recently when Southern Kordofan became a province its head quarters was in Kadugli.

The Messeria Arabs and some other tribes were administered from Kadugli - a Nuba town. All services for those areas were distributed from the head quarters. When we compare the Nuba people in terms of education and health services with their neighbors, the Messeria Arabs, we find the Nuba people are higher twice that of (Awlad Ahmeid, Hawazma and other Arabs tribes). Hospitals and schools were first established in Nuba centres and then to other centres and towns later on. The first governor of Southern Kordofan was Mohamoud Hasseib - a Nuba, also the second and the third were from the Nuba and when in the first time a Bagara Arabs became a governor, there was protest from the Nuba.

The Shro-Cairo Final Comments on the Symposium

By Dr. Hamouda Fathelrahman (SHRO - Secretary General)

The Sudanese Human Rights Organization - Cairo organized a symposium on the plight of the Nuba Mountains peoples under the head line :- "The Nuba Mountains People Between Ethnic Cleansing and the Future of Peace". In this symposium we emphasized on certain issues to be tackled by the participants and individuals who are well familiar with the problems of the area and who gathered those nights to share concerns.

The Nuba Mountains (NM) area in Sudan witnessed as never had been any part of Sudan wide and unprecedented scale of human rights violations from ethnic cleansing to forced migration of a great number of the Nuba population for reasons of security, economical and social conditions. The invitation extended to the participants aimed at

widening the scope of discussion for what happened and what would happen in the area in the future. We thought we could stir up what became stagnant by bringing this issue to light so that the participants could discuss and reach to fruitful and practical solutions.

Historically the (NM) area enjoyed a certain period of a kind of stability which could be attributed to the nature of the Nuba people who are always peaceful. The Nuba are farmers and cattle rearers and these professions called upon them to cooperate with different peoples and this made the fabric of the society they live in.

All human rights organizations, among them Shro-Cairo, agreed that there is a general tendency from the current fundamentalism regime to commit the most heinous crimes against the Nuba people, and this made us ask seriously, what are the reasons behind this special aggressiveness which forced the Nuba to flee their homeland and migrate and become dispersed in refugees camps extending from Kordofan in the west to Port Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea in the far east, and from Egypt and Halfa in the north to Kenya and Uganda south.

We thought it was necessary to divide the complicated issue into topics to allow freedom of choice for participants to speak on what they think more important.

In the course of history, the NMs people underwent gross violations when the ruler of Egypt Mohamed Ali Basha sent armed raids to bring slaves and gold from Sudan. Also during the Mahadia era under the rule of Khalifa Abdollahi El-taishi they underwent violent violations although they had played a pivotal role in the victories of the Mahadia against the Turkish rule to establish a national identity for all Sudanese. During the Condominium rule the NMs area was considered as closed area and different violations were committed during this period, paradoxically the same is now happening while the area is considered closed area.

Tribal bonds were considered as bases for social relations in the area, but in recent history there appeared modern kind of organizations, political - like the Sudan National Party, The General Union of the NMs and other organizations working in different fields, like the Nuba Solidarity Abroad, Nuba Organization Abroad (NOB), it is of vital importance that these various political and social organizations continue playing their roles now and in the future.

It is also noted that since the formation of the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/A) in 1983 many Nuba youth

had joined the movement, but some accuse the (SPLM/A) of forcing the Nuba to join them by forcibly recruiting children and by liquidating some of the Nuba influential leaders who resist joining the movement. Some went to the extent of accusing the (SPLM/A) of endangering the area equally to the current regime.

On the other-hand the current regime in Khartoum and since toppling the regime by a coup in 1989 adopted a policy of ethnic cleansing, enslavement of young Nuba specially females, enforcing Islamization of children, Nuba villages were burnt and their inhabitants destroyed completely, thousands of Nuba intellectuals were extra-judicially killed or subjected to severe torture or prolonged periods of detentions, and we referred to some examples of these violations in the beginning of this quarterly. The question was and still there, why does the current regime do so ???

In this situation of human right violations forced migration, stoppage of development scheme because of war and migration, and absence of any educational or health institutions or development schemes, peace initiatives are thought, but what are the practical solutions to these problems? What the future has for this area? How the deteriorating situation could be arrested? What are the solutions that could be forwarded to stop the migration and human rights violations? and before that what urgent programmes could be designed to stop the Human tragedy which faces the area? What are the real situations in the area? what is the future of the relationship between the Nuba tribes in the area and the Bagara tribes? what are the urgent needs in the area that should be done urgently even under the current regime..... and after the down fall of the regime?

The symposium was held for two nights. The speakers and those who participated were many and brought up different views and varied, every one tackled the many topics in front of them according to their concepts and knowledge of the area and its peoples. The attendance of the symposium were many and this showed the importance of this issues to many Sudanese. The symposium also attracted a lot of different and varied views and sometimes conflicting, but after all it was very healthy. The Sudanese human rights organization, and out of its conceptual stands believes that frank discussion, even if it is harsh, is the only way to reach the truth and the way to solid and convincing agreements. Also we in the *SEER* want to stress that we forwarded different views concerning the problems facing the area without intervening or changing the views of the speakers. On the other hand we retain our right to make the

introduction and the final comments to reveal the true picture in the area to the reader specially that concerning our purpose in holding the symposium and our point of view.

We start with the purpose of holding the symposium which is to bring more spot light to the plight of the Nuba People. What is happening might have roots to what happened before, but as Sudanese we should not be tied to the history but learn from the past to build a nation on new bases in which we could live and co-exist peacefully with the different ethnic groups that constitute the society in Sudan and to end the war and armed struggle, but even more important to end the re-occurrence of human rights violations.

The second important aim was to save the population from death by starvation or reasons of war and to design ways to introduce to the area relief materials.

The third purpose is to acknowledge occurrence of serious human rights violations in the area and compare it with what is happening now under the NIF regime. The regime rekindle the fire of war and went on forcing Islamization and Arabization and enslaving Nuba youth and mass murdering them. The regime forced the Nuba to choose between carrying arms with it or joining the SPLM or otherwise they were killed or forced to flee to other parts of Sudan and neighboring countries.

The fourth points is that there are some positive changes in the cultures of tribes in the Sudan. Many Arab tribes and Negroid whether Islamized or Christianized came to realize that peace is the better choice. The culture of PEACE is spreading in contrast to the culture of war introduced by NIF regime. There are many agreements signed between different tribes, the Umma party and the SPLM played a very important role in this, and the SHRO - Cairo deemed it necessary to stress this culture in order to supersede and over rule.

All the speakers in the symposium agreed to the need for the peace and the necessity in the future to take action to disarm all the tribes in the area and leave the security in the area under the authority of the government.

The fifth issue was the type of government under which the violations could stop. The speakers agreed on a civil government, which could assure the equality of all citizens before the law, to separate religion from politics, the human rights would be respected to acknowledge the diversity of culture as enriching source of the society and unity, to rehabilitate the destruction which took place under the

NIF regime, the distribution of power and wealth, equality of different parts of the country in building and maintaining their culture and the right for all to obtain an equal infrastructure.

We pointed out in our discussions that it is not acceptable and un-logic to continue speaking about struggle between two blocks (Islamic Arabic versus Christian Negro) the Sudanese society had developed in a way that the two blocks had witnessed movement within these blocks. Different parties have in its rank and Nile Negro Christian as well as Arabs, with different degree in each party. We observe this in the Communist party, in the Umma party, the DUP, the SPLM and the National Sudanese Party. We can also observe the presence of Christian Negro in the regime of NIF, although the regime ideology is a type of a very strict kind of sovereignty and supremacy of Islam and Arab. We find also the Arabs and Islamic leaders like El Sadig El Mahadi and Mohamed Osaman El Mirghani fighting against those who are calling for the sovereignty and supremacy of the Muslim Arabs in Sudan.

We affirmed our concern and the importance of dealing with the human issues first by supplying the area with relief materials through the program of Operation Life Sudan (OLS) and give permission for all organizations working in the field of relief to, establish safe zones for the population to avoid armed raids of the fighting parties. We requested all to depart with what happened in the past, but there are crimes which we could not forget or elapse by time, like the crimes against humanity, war atrocities, enslavement and extra-judicial killing which took place specially under the present regime. There are a lot of documentation and evidences to ascertain those crimes and we should work according to a certain judicial process which is capable of bringing before fair trials those who are held responsible for the heinous crimes. We call for establishment of open court to look into those crimes. Without this the bitterness of every citizen feel towards what happened would not be conducive to build a unity between the people of the Sudan. The bitterness and injustices done will bring back the question of identity in its savage terms and could thus only play a destructive role as base and tool of struggle between the ethnic diversity that constitute Sudan and not as part of the constructive dynamics of the socio - political process that could be directed under a democratic rule to assist in realizing the development and stability of the country and enforcing them.

A STATEMENT ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SUDAN, TO THE U.S. DELEGATION - CAIRO

In June the six 1989 a military coup brought a regime which is unparalleled in the history of modern Sudan. The regime which went on a path of destructive policy both against its own people and others in the neighboring countries. The regime which is composed of religious fanatics aiming at establishing a religious state in a multi-religious, multi-racial and multi-lingual country. To carry out its own design it used every method of deceit, coercion, destruction, killing and genocide, using and twisting verses of Quran (Muslims holy book) to meet its end. To achieve its goals it has to wage a civil war against its own people.

This war is waged by the regime on a religious base, the Southerners be Muslims, Christians or animists who are opposed to the Islamic regime are infidels (Kafir) and they live in the land of war (DAR EL HARB) as opposed to the land of peace (DAR EL SALAM). War (JIHAD) should be waged against those living in the land of war, and they should be destroyed, killed or enslaved according to (a Fatwah) which is a religious decree issued by the religious figures of the regime. The regime used this decree truthfully in the Southern Sudan (specially Bahr El-ghazal) and Nuba Mountains. Enslavement is made lawful during the regime's military assaults on towns and villages suspected of collaborating with the opposition. During these raids the regime's regular troops and militia (Popular Defence Forces) were reported to practice destruction of homes, schools and churches, looting of crops, stealing cattle, controlling of the water supplies, raping, killing the old and enslaving young males and females.

The regime in its continuous effort to transform by force the ethnically and religiously diverse parts of the country into Arab and Islamic state, devastated the infrastructure of these regions destroying the people, the economy, the health system, education and communication network. The mass displacement of the population by the effect of war led to starvation, spread of disease and death leading to complete desolation of many areas.

The war had claimed already over 1.5 million lives, displaced over

5 millions. The mass displacement and deaths, aerial bombardment and ground attacks on civilians, slavery, controlling of water supplies, obstructing and manipulating the humanitarian aid constitute gross features of genocide.

The regime had adopted a policy of vigorous Islamisation on the children male and female captured in the war zones, and the institution of chattel slavery continues on a large scale in some government controlled areas. The number of chattel slaves is estimated to be in tens of thousands. The slaves in most cases women and children are forced to provide domestic and agricultural labour and to provide sexual services against their will for a minimum food for survival. They are generally given Muslim names and forced to observe Muslim rituals and they can be bought or sold. Some soldiers moving to north after end of their services in the south bring with them children slaves to be brought up Arabized and Islamized. For this purpose some were given as gifts to Afghan Arabs in the capital city Khartoum. Till December 1997 about 800 slaves were redeemed within a program adopted by CSI. Worth mentioning that the regime in 1996 promised to facilitate independent investigations on the allegation of slavery, but instead it striven to censor critics by accusing them of blasphemy.

The military attacks on civilian targets are intend to uproot communities, displace them and drive them into the so called "Peace Camps" where many boys and girls are forced to attend the regime's controlled fundamentalist Islamic schooling or trained in the (PDF) training camps where they are indoctrinated to become militant Muslim zealots and wage war against their own people. In many of these camps the women are forced to work on farm and to provide sexual services. The food is generally provided on condition of conversion to Islam.

There are many forms used by the regime to starve it's people, either by obstructing and manipulating aid in many parts of the Southern Sudan or Nuba Mountains, denying access by the United Nation Operation Life Line Sudan (OLS); (ICRC) or any other humanitarian body to people in acute need. Another form is by continued bombardments to terrorize civilians and drive them away from their homes or any place where they can get food or medicines, hence most people are reduced to scavenging and searching for roots and nuts. The regime is using policies of starving to achieve genocide of people living in the South and Nuba Mountains.

The regime which eluded it's observers for a long time by it's announcements that it is genuine in settling the war by peaceful

resolutions, is now continuing hunting students (be male or female) and youngsters all over the country to forcibly conscript them and send them in a hurry to war zones without proper training. The students and their parents are opposed to this war. Whenever they find a chance they escape the training camps and many conscripts escaped from the airport when the authorities tried to transfer them by force to Juba, those taken to Juba where used as human shields and many died or seriously injured during the fights. Parents and guardians are keeping their children indoor to avoid street hunts of the regime's councils and loyalists who used to take those children from the streets without their relatives knowledge. There are orders for states governors to provide a certain number of able men and students for army. The process of hunting children and inciting civil service employees is continuing with the aim of recruiting 5 million for the JIHAD war as it was officially announced by the president of the regime and many other officials.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

there is no doubt that the international community has over the past years accorded appreciable attention to the deplorable human rights situation in Sudan. Unfortunately non of the international outcries has proved adequate to move the GOS to amend it's behavior in a civilized manner. so, we in SHRO-Cairo building on the UN Security Council resolutions 1044, believe that some measures of increasing severity would influence the situation for the better should include :-

- (i) Designation of safe zones for displaced civilians in the war affected areas to be off limits to military aircraft or the warring parties.
- (ii) Stricter application of agreements reached within the framework of (OLS) between UN agencies and international NGOs and the Sudan government and SPLM/A regarding unimpeded delivery of relief items to the needy population in the war affected areas throughout the country.
- (iii) Imposition of an oil embargo against the Sudan government subject to allowances to cater for the basic needs of the population.
- (iv) Imposition of an arms embargo against the Sudan government and the rebel groups fighting it, to diminish the war atrocities.
- (v) To investigate the credible reports on slavery, crimes of genocide and those of the regime manufacturing of chemical and germs weapons.

Human Rights Situation In Sudan

Arbitrary Detention & Torture Continued

On Thursday 25th November 1997 the authorities detained S.M.E) 3rd year student at the University of Khartoum, faculty of economy. He was born in Kosti town and aged 26. The victim was taken to one of the new Ghost houses at the base of Blue Nile bridge in Khartoum North.

He was there subjected to severe torture including fire burn, flogging and beating. He was later taken by night thrown in one of the streets unconscious. The medical report confirmed the presence of torture marks, including fire burn bruises and ecchymosis all over the body. His family raised a police case against the security.

Worth-mentioning that the victim was subjected before this to repeated detentions because of his opposition to the regime.

The organization expressed its deep concern for the repeated incidents of short periods of detention with severe torture, reminding with the incidents of extra-judicial killing under torture of Amin Badawi in October 1997, and also the incident of torturing Mr. Hassan Abdel Al-Magid, the secretary of Mr. Abil Alier.

Sudanese citizens Accused of kidnapping a Minister

On Thursday January 15th, 1998 the Sudanese authorities detained the citizens 1- El Sadig Babikr Mohamed (accountant)

2- Mohamed El Mahadi (Student at Al Ahlia University) and his brother. The three were accused of planning to kidnap the minister of higher education prof. Ibrahim Ahmed Omer. The SHRO-Cairo expressed great concern since the first two were reported to be subjected before to frequent detentions and torture in the Ghost houses because of their political stands against the current regime. Also the SHRO-Cairo feared that the accusations might be fabricated, as such crime is not common in the Sudanese communities.

Sudanese Authorities Targeted Ansar

In February 1998 reports to SHRO-Cairo affirmed that the Sudanese authority is launching a planned campaign to persecute a number of leaders of Ansar group.

Abdel Mahmoud Aboo, the secretary general of Ansar affairs Association (AAA) was detained immediately after the Eid prayer and

brought before a summary Court, convicted and sentenced 5 months imprisonment and 500,000 pounds fine. He was transferred to Dabak prison North Khartoum.

Also Imam of Kamelien mosque was tried and sentenced for 5 month and fined by 350,000 pounds.

On Thursday 5th February 1998 Mohamed El Mahadi Hassan Imam of Wad Nobawi mosque and external affairs secretary of (AAA) was detained, released and re-detained the next day and taken to an unknown place.

Adam Ahmed Yousif, secretary of missionary of (AAA) was put under close surveillance following his speech at Gazira Abba mosque.

On July 1998 a number of Ansar leaders were detained amongst them we received the following names :

1- Abdalla Ishag 2- Adam Yousif 3- Mohammed El Mahadi 4- El Fadeil Adam 5- Ismaeil Adam Ali 6- Yagoub Issa 7- Ali al Omda

In Kosti town Sheikh " Awad Amasseib " aged more than seventy, was also detained in September 1998.

A number of Ansar leaders including :

1- Adam Ahmed 2- Mahdi Abdel Rahman 3- Basheir Hamid and others, were accused under articles 62, 65 and 66 of the 1991 Penal Code and were brought before a summary court on the 13th of July.

The organization showed it's great concern and it's deep regret to the frequent incidents of persecuting Ansar group, which is a religious group adopting peaceful means to express it's views and stands and in criticizing the policies of the regime. The organization called for immediate release of the detainees and for a proper and fair trials for the those who were tried by summary tribunals. Also the organization defended the right of all religious groups to express freely their views.

Saleh and Ailafof Massacres

The SHRO-Cairo expressed its deep regret and its concern for the massacres committed by the regime on Thursday and Friday 2nd and 3rd April 1998 at Ailafof conscription camp. According to the resources more than 100 students were either shot dead or killed after sustaining head injuries or drowned in the Blue Nile. The incident followed protest of students against refusal of the camps authorities to permit the students to spend Eid holidays (Holly occasion) with their families.

The special security guards open fire on students, this led immediately to panic disorder and many students jumped into the river without knowing how to swim. The special security continued using life ammunition and some students were shot dead while trying to swim to save their lives.

92 Bodies were encountered from the river on Sunday 5th April, in 19 of them the cause of death was either gun shot or head injuries. 80 bodies were buried secretly in one grave yard in Khartoum.

The organization called for condemnation of the massacres, investigations of the incidence, trial of those held responsible and abandoning of forcible conscription and disclosure of the names of the deceased students. Also the organization led a campaign to disclose the heinous crime and presented documents during the 54th session of the Human Rights Committee at Geneva. Many of the International organizations condemned the massacres and the forcible conscription of students; these organizations include Christian Solidarity International, International Democratic Federation of Youth, Pax Romana, War Resisters Group and many others.

Another Crime of Extra-judicial Killing

The SHRO-Cairo received reliable information that the Sudanese Security had extra-judicially killed the citizen Muawia Awad Khogali, aged 36 and was living in Khartoum North (Shabia) North to the Health centre, House no 34 Block 4/5/T.

He was married with 3 children, Saddam 5 years, Israa 3 year and Awad 2 years.

The deceased was detained by the security on 6/4/1997 and was taken to one of the Ghost houses, there he was severely tortured and his body was immersed in chemicals. He died on 24/4/1997. The authorities pressed his family to keep silent and not to disclose the case.

The organization condemned the crime and called for independent investigation of the case and for the abrogation of Article 38 of the National Security law which furnishes impunity for the security members.

Sudanese Facing Death Penalty

On the 24th of June 1998 Akhbar El-Youm newspaper mentioned that a Sudanese citizen was sentenced to death, being accused of apostasy. The name of citizen was not mentioned. We received

information that the accused is from Nuba mountains and is named El Faki Hassan Koko and had changed his religion three months ago.

The Organization showed it's great concern and called upon the international organizations to intervene to stop the execution of the sentence and called for the right of every Sudanese to adopt and change his religion in accordance with Article 18 of the International Declaration and the Civil and Political Convention. Also the organization called for the abrogation of the 1991 Penal Code.

The Explosive Case

The SHRO-Cairo was following closely the progress and developments of the famous explosive case. In this case 35 were accused and remained in detention for more than 15 months. On the 18th of September 1997 an investigation committee was formed and by the end of November 1997 the case was presented before magistrate Bader EL Din Hassan Bakri and the first session of the court was held on the third of Dec. 1997, that was the first day of the appearance of the defending committee. The detainees were accused of an attempt to ruin the constitutional system, leaking military informations to the enemy abroad and inciting military personals to desert the service.

All accused denied the allegations and showed signs of severe torture to which they were subjected in order to distract confessions which are untrue. The prosecution described the accused as infidels and his prosecution did not include any documents or evidences. The witnesses, in their testimonies showed gross contradictions. The accused told the magistrate about the torture, the threats which extended to the families. In fact the 9th accused inflicted serious wound in his eyes. The 6th accused was wounded in his ear and the 3rd lost some of his teeth. The accused gave informations that the following had supervised and contributed to their torture:

- 1- Major Security Issa Adam Abakar
- 2- Captain Lwaie Salah El-din
- 3- Captain Gommaa
- 4- Captain Hassan

On the other-hand all the newspaper prejudiced to the regime, continued to issue articles to form public opinion against the accused.

The SHRO-Cairo also noticed, with concern, that the prosecution members were all affiliated to the regime and some were security officers. Also all the judges were members of the National Islamic

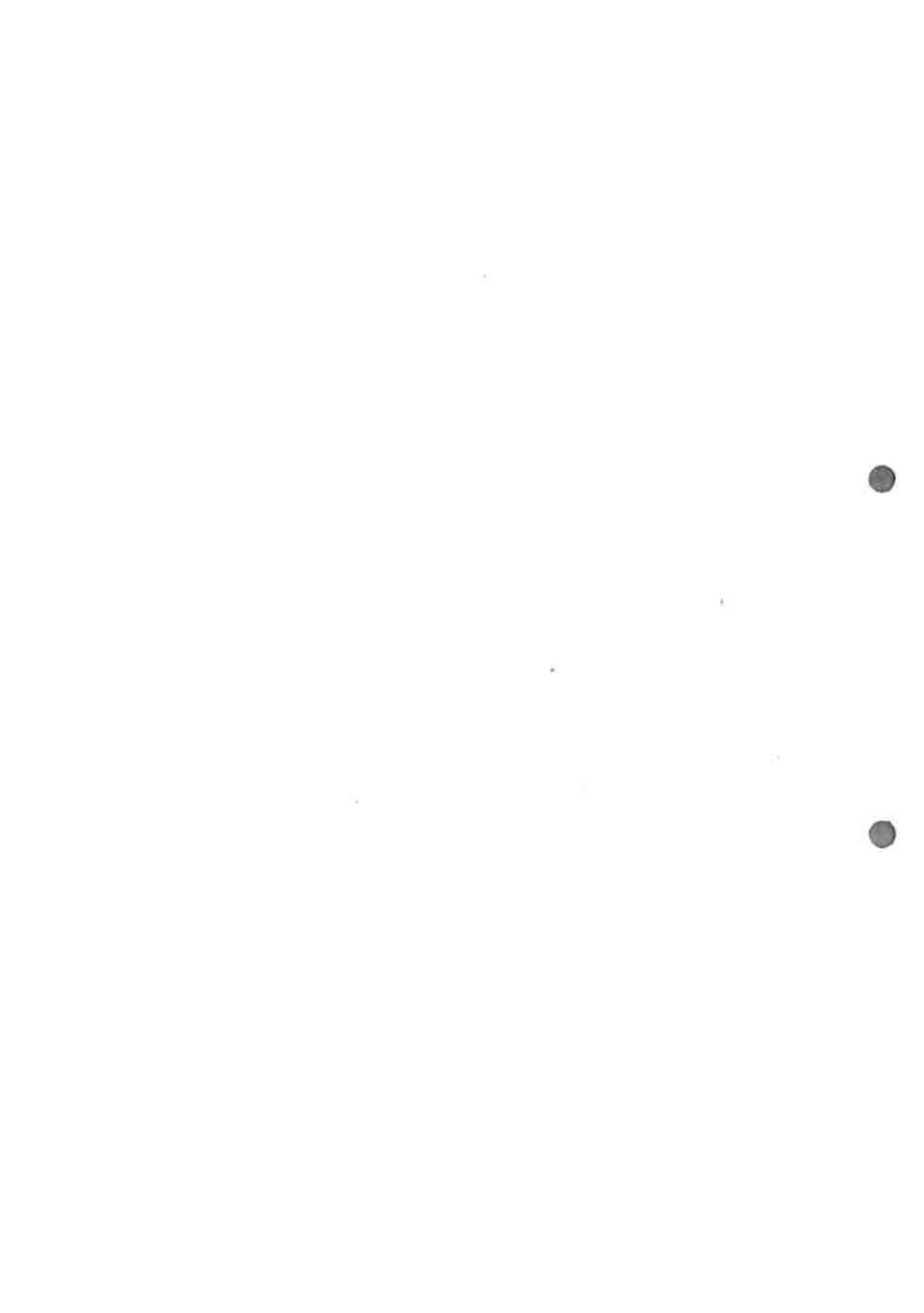
Front ruling Sudan.

The 3rd prosecution witness, Ba'ar El Din Yousif Mohammed Salih -an ex. military member -now a security member was fired from the armed forces because of conviction by corruption.

Despite these facts the accused were convicted and the following sentences were passed :-

- 1.Ex. colonel Khogali Mubarak Khogali 5 years
2. Ex. major Salah Mubarak Khogali 5years
- 3.Abdelaal Gommaa (worker) 5years
4. Yasir Abdelrahim (Student) 5years
5. Atif Mohamed Gasmelseed (Student) 5years
- 6.Kamal Abdelrahman (Lawyer) 5years
7. Saad Tayfoor (merchant) 5years
8. Elkhair Yousif (Student) 5years
9. Elhag Hussein Tabidi (Merchant) Period of detention considred imprisonment

The SHRO-Cairo was, and still, concerned because the prosecution was not independent and was directly supervised by the security headquarters, that the first magistrate had accepted the security reports only and refused the accused testimonies, that a press campaign was organized during the trials by the security and that some of the witnesses were convicted before of corruption.



SLAVERY IN THE SUDAN

الرق في السودان



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Sudan Human Rights Organization - Cairo

SHRO-Cairo is a voluntary non-governmental organization concerned with human rights and is active within the area of Africa and the Middle East. It is a chapter of the Sudan Human Rights Organization whose head office is in U.K.

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Since early 90s, there were reports on cases of disappearances, kidnapping, unpaid employment of children and women, and compulsory Islamization of non-Moslems, who are given Arabic names in stead of their African ones.

A single word to substitute these practices is "slavery", but the word never appeared in the literature of SHRO-Cairo till last summer. It was only then two of its senior officials were there in the mid of the scene to eye-witness the terrible crime.

This issue of the periodical is focused on the subject of slavery in the Sudan, however, other violations of the rights and freedoms are also followed as usual.

Mr. A. Agaw and Dr. H. Fath el-Rahman, who visited southern Sudan and did the report on slavery for SHRO-Cairo, each contributed a story for the periodical. One is written in English while the other in Arabic. Readers of the English text of the periodical will miss the other story, and vice versa.

The Slavery Convention (1926) defined slavery as "(1) the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised. (2) The slave trade includes all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves".

The Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956) correctly noted that slavery, the slave trade and institutions and practices similar to slavery have not yet been eliminated in all parts of the world," and further defined debt bondage, serfdom, and pawning with young persons under the age of 18 as institutions or practices that must be abolished or abandoned towards a complete eradication of slavery.

The Supplementary Convention rendered all these forms of slavery, as well as forced labor as criminal acts of slavery because in each case the enslaved person is "not free to change his or her status." The Forced Labor Convention (ILO, 1930) has earlier pointed out the fact that forced labor is a form of servitude that must be abandoned by law. As Article 2 of the Convention states the term "forced or compulsory labor" shall mean all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily. Article 4 of the Convention requires all States Parties "not to impose or permit the imposition of forced or compulsory labor for the benefit of private individuals, companies or associations".

The existing government of Sudan has continued to violate these provisions since it began to abuse the banner of Islamic Jihad for the enslavement of our citizens in the war zones, especially the Bahr El-Ghazal region.

Earlier in 1997, SHRO-Cairo engaged in an open discussion with NIF representatives in the African Studies Great Debate at the Tennessee State University (USA). The discussion indicated that the ruling regime was simply opposed to any mention of slavery in The Sudan for political reasons at the expense of the humanitarian, social, cultural, and legal aspects of this horrible crime. As well-covered in the report of this debate by AL-Itihadi AL-Dawliya at the time, NIF supporters made a desperate attempt to negate the occurrence of slavery in the war zones, the involvement of state-managers in the crime.

The speaker for Sudan Government in the Great Debate, Dr. Abdel-Azim Siddig Of the Memphis Islamic School, condemned the democratic-government of the former Prime-Minister and Umma Party Leader Sadiq Fihmahdi as being largely responsible for any inappropriate practices in the war zones. "It was the government that armed the inhabitants to fight against each other," as he announced in the debate.

Nonetheless, the same speaker denied any involvement of the NIF existing regime in the ongoing acts of slavery. As he put it in the debate, The Sudanese are Africans. They cannot enslave themselves. No government is invited to rule by any one and this government is not part of any citizens if they choose to enslave themselves. "This statement and others were received with loud criticisms from the Sudanese participants who condemned the shameful involvement of NIF-controlled government in slavery despite the fact that previous governments did not take strong measures to investigate and eradicate the scourge.

The arrogant connotations of the NIF speaker in the debate was self-explanatory. The denial was a persistent ideology to give a blind eye at least to the scourge. And the condemnation of the democratic government was a clear implication that democratic rule is not any alternative to the existing dictatorship of the NIF party.

Most recently, the attitudes of Sudan Government towards the acts of slavery never changed. The government continued to ignore SHRO-Cairo appeals among many other calls by Human Rights Watch (Africa), Amnesty International, AntiSlavery, and Christian solidarity International to take the necessary steps needed to eradicate this shameful practice. The government continued to ridicule reliable reports on the crimes of slavery and forced labor in Sudan and made some attempts to silence SHRO-Cairo abroad.

Contrary to this irresponsible stand by the NIF-controlled regime, the SHRO-Cairo reports on "Compulsory National Service" (Cairo: January 1998) and the "Report on Slavery in The Sudan" (Cairo: 1999) generated an increasing attention in the national, regional, and international arenas.

The honesty of the interviewees, Dinka, Missairiya and Rizaygat, and the eye-witness reporting by the SHRO-Cairo officials, Mr Abedon Agaw and Dr. Mahmouda Fathel-Rahman, on the air bombardments by Sudan Air Forces over the Dinka villages, and the other unlawful dealings encountered in the way Sudan Government continued to violate international human rights norms especially by the direct support state-managers provided for the PDFs against

innocent citizens including women and children, in addition to the brutal killings committed against the men of the Dinka villages, all revealed, beyond any reasonable doubt, the unprecedented involvement of the ruling regime in slavery of its own citizens.

Of particular interest, the lively discussions ensuing in the report throughout the recent meetings held between SHRO-Cairo officials and our Sudanese citizens abroad indicated that the best way to eradicate acts of slavery and forced labor in the Sudan would certainly center on the need to admit the occurrence of the acts, rejection of the acts by condemning all parties involved, government, PDFs, and other individuals or groups, and campaigning for a full eradication of the acts.

Related to these important facts, the NDA as the largest Sudanese democratic opposition is definitely called upon to condemn slavery, as some of its leaders did, and exert a strong national, regional, and international pressures on the existing government to live up to its obligations as a State Party to the international conventions against slavery.

As the SHRO-Cairo observed, there are significant measures awaiting the immediate and prompt application by the United Nations and Sudan Government. Chief of these measures is the fact that the Sudanese citizens suffering this dehumanizing crime have initiated domestic ways in their local markets to free the enslaved sons and daughters through redemption.

Above all, the civil war must be stopped with a permanent and fair peace. To begin with they must be freed from air raids or prevention of humanitarian relief. The war zones, which now embody the Sudan oil fields, must be developed with all modern services, education, health, and development schemes for the inhabitants to respect their noble humanity. The PDFs and all militias must be demobilized. The government must help these citizens regain their enslaved relatives with redemption and compensation. The wrong-doers must be prosecuted by law before an independent judiciary.

Finally, as many Sudanese citizens informed in the SHRO-Cairo meeting with the Southern Sudanese Community led by Brother Benjamin and the SHRO-Washington DC led by the former Ambassador Nouraddin Manan (Alexandria, VA: November 21, 1999). Let us continue the struggle as human rights activists for the insurance of the full enjoyment of human rights to all people of the Sudan, irrespective of race, faith, social status, or political stand.

It is this commitment to the welfare and well-being of all humanity that will defeat all acts against humanity in the final analysis.

Mahgoub El-Tigani
President, SHRO-Cairo

SHRO-CAIRO REPORT ON SLAVERY IN THE SUDAN

The Sudan Human Rights Organization (SHRO-Cairo) Deputy President, Mr. Abdou Agaw, and Secretary-General, Dr. Hamouda Fathelrahman, visited the Bahr al-Ghazal Region in Southern Sudan between the 17th and 22nd of May 1999 to explore the situation of human rights and investigate reports about acts of slavery in that region.

SHRO-Cairo officers were part of a larger team that included a group representing Christian Solidarity International (CSI) and Canadian BC TV and Press. The Organization conducted many interviews with parties directly involved in slavery. These included citizens formerly enslaved, businessmen who participated in the efforts to reunite former slaves with their families, sultans and chiefs of the region, officials of native administration, natives and relatives of those just returned from captivity, members of Arab groups residing in the region, and merchants from the North.

SHRO-Cairo was particularly interested in information it managed to collect directly from children and to appropriately document. The Organization has reached the following conclusions:

(*) Slavery is a centuries-old phenomenon which has been closely related to tribal feuds in the region. Nonetheless, slavery became an issue of increasing concern when it got greatly expanded under the existing regime whose authorities are directly involved in slavery by both organizational and supervisory activities. The authorities recruited a number of Al-Misairiya and Al-Rizaygat people as part of the Popular Defense Forces (PDFs). Each conscript is provided with a horse, a machete, gun, and 50,000 pounds to raid the villages suspected by authorities as supporters of the SPLM/SPLA. The raiders are allowed to keep whoever is taken captive from the victimized citizens, in addition to cattle and other property as booty and loot of the regime's holy war or Jihad.

(*) The authorities locate the villages and rural districts as targets for raiding to deprive SPLM/SPLA from peoples' support and terrorize the inhabitants who are further frustrated and compelled to abandon their land by the burning of their homes. The loot-and-burn strategy as implemented by village-raiding and air bombardment has actually translated the policies of the authorities into systematic acts of genocide.

(*) The Murahil - the name of aggressors according to the natives - include the conscripts in question, members of the PDFs, and members of the

Sudanese Armed Forces. The enslaved citizens, their cattle, and other property, whether captured by the three partners or individually, are subsequently moved to areas within the full jurisdiction of Sudanese authorities.

(*) The enslaved citizens are incarcerated with the other possessions in special areas under custody of disciplinary forces (the Army or the PDFs). These are places located at a walking distance of 5 to 7 hours from the invaded areas. At a later stage, the enslaved citizens are moved to al-Muglad and Mayram via voyages that take 6 to 9 days of travel. During these voyages, a large number of men with their feet shackled and hands tied behind their backs, are beaten as they are marched along. Those who show the slightest sign of resistance are beaten on their heads with heavy sticks to death. Many youngsters are reserved for conscription, and the women are repeatedly raped by guards and men responsible for their movement. Every 9 or 10 citizens are tied together by a long rope.

(*) The enslaved citizens are sold to new masters who use the women without pay for farming, grazing, carrying water from wells to home, grinding sorghum into flour and providing sexual services to the satisfaction of their masters. The status of enslaved women is not changed even if they give birth to children. Their children are never treated in the same way as the children of the master's wives. The enslaved women and children are mostly renamed with Arabic names.

(*) The children are used for herding, child care, and other domestic services in the market. The enslaved people are not allowed to mix up with each other. They sleep away from the master's family, most likely in the barn of animals or stores of the master.

(*) Some of the enslaved women are circumcised by midwives to be "clean" or to prepare them as concubines as a master's wife may wish. This same woman usually supervises over the circumcision process without any use of medical drugs. After circumcision, the enslaved woman suffers excessive bleeding. However, the sick woman is not permitted to rest from work after circumcision. All circumcised women are forced to work on the next day.

(*) Some enslaved citizens are resold to new masters in other cities of the Sudan. Some are used in herding cattle and camels in the Kababish area or in the private service of the master without pay. Some are sold in Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, or in al-Daein town

(*) The efforts to free enslaved people used to take place in the past in accordance with agreements between Dinka and Arabs. The Dinka would pay one cow for an enslaved person. Because the Dinka cattle are now seriously depleted as a result of the civil war, looting and the increase in the

number of enslaved citizens, organizations such as CSI intervened to help in freeing the enslaved people. CSI pays US\$50 for every person redeemed from slavery.

(*) The reunion of the enslaved citizens with their families is mediated by merchants of the Misairiya and Rizaygat people. These businessmen collect the enslaved persons from Arab chiefs who buy them from masters and deliver them to the mediating merchants. The merchants smuggle the enslaved citizens to the Dinka sultans or chiefs. The merchants keep receipts indicating the number of persons surrendered in order to collect the required ransom at a later date.

(*) The Dinka sultans or chiefs announce the names of the emancipated persons. A person's family will only restore the enslaved member if they bring the required cow to the chiefs, who continue in fact to take care of such people until the cows are surrendered to the mediating merchants. Otherwise the person has to remain in the custody of the chief until he is emancipated by CSI. While kept under custody of the sultan or chief, delivered citizens may be visited by their families.

(*) The mediating merchants are considered trustworthy by both Dinka and Arab chiefs who commit themselves to abide by their own agreements concerning the migration of Arabs into the Southern lands with their cattle during the dry season, as well as the agreements on the freedom and protection of business. These treaties are based on cooperation between these societies and far away from any political or administrative influences.

(*) Each merchant brings about the enslaved citizens as might have been earlier collected. The names are checked and ascertained according to the list provided by the Dinka chiefs. The ransom (in Sudanese pounds) is received and the enslaved people are announced free citizens to join their families once again.

(*) The Dinka/Arab agreements, which are strongly supported by Al-Misairiya and Al-Rizaygat people, do not include all Arabs in the Region. The authorities make unrelenting attempts to move Arabs against these agreements. Some are recruited to take part in the raiding of the Dinka villages and rural areas.

(*) There is no reliable evidence that the purpose of enslavement is Islamization or Arabization. The masters who buy the enslaved citizens are only interested in the services they freely obtain without pay. If a master is interested in teaching Islam to an enslaved person, this is usually restricted to rudimentary matters. Masters have no concern for Islamic education to the enslaved ones. This is limited to Arab names, circumcision, and Khalwa or religious school education. This does not mean that the authorities do not

abuse Islamic concepts to continue slave-raiding activities or to recruit Arabs to fight the Dinka in the name of Jihad or holy war.

(*) The children born to masters of enslaved women are called by Arab names. In some instances, they are degraded with epithets such as "al-Abeed" (the men slaves), "al-Jabaida" (the little female slave), or al-Shirmita (the little whore). The fathers of such children never treat them like their own offsprings. Contrarily, the Dinka continue to think of these children as Dinka children who are subsequently attributed to husbands of the women, or they may be renamed after the sultan or master of the clan. They are treated as Dinka people in origin.

(*) The Dinka natives and sultans believe that the restoration of enslaved citizens to the status of free citizens in this way is highly required. They feel grateful to those who free their people or support them. They argue that the only alternative would continue to be unabated acts of slavery, ill-treatment and abuses by slave-masters, especially against the backdrop of sustained aerial bombardment.

AIR RAIDS

While interviewing people of the region, SHRO-Cairo Deputy President and the Secretary-General saw remnants of a bomb that had been dropped on a Dinka village two days earlier. Aerial bombardment has become an everyday experience that is now reflected in the society's awareness. Listening to the sounds of flying aircraft, the natives can easily differentiate reconnaissance planes from fighter bombers or relief aircraft. Furthermore, they have prepared ditches around their homes to protect their families from air raids. On Saturday the 15th of May, natives reported that the Sudanese government authorized the aerial dropping of relief aid at the village of Akak in Gogrial county. However, on Sunday 16th May, the Sudanese airforce bombarded Akak using an Antonov high altitude bomber. Awien Atem Achuar, a girl aged 9 years and 4 of her cows were killed, and Ring Ring Kiir was hurt. The Antonov dropped 61 bombs in that raid. Luckily the natives' homes were saved because the bombing came in a line parallel to their location.

The authorities use primitive bombs to bombard the villages. These are loaded with nails and pieces of iron that spread upto a range of about one kilometer within which they cause serious damage. But because the bombardment is executed from high altitudes, the extent of destruction is usually small.

Bahr al-Ghazal was bombarded several times in January, on February 11th, and during the last days of April 1999. It was bombarded 3 times when we were visiting the region in May. The Sudanese authorities aim to

date the citizens, empty the region of its inhabitants and stop relief aid reaching them. All this certainly amounts to a campaign of genocide against the civil population and the destruction of their property.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

HRO-Cairo is firmly convinced that acts of slavery are widely practiced and direct support and enforcement by Sudanese authorities. Slavery is linked with the concept of holy war or Jihad which the government is waging against its own citizens.

The process of freeing enslaved people is a popular operation that is based on popular efforts and acceptance of citizens as the only solution viable at the present time, and until air raids are completely stopped, they are fully protected, and the government is forced to abandon the existing policies.

The raids are undertaken by a mixture of Misiriya and Rizeyagat peoples. Misiriya attack the Gogrial area and the Rizeyagat attack Aweil. They constitute only a small section of Misiriya and Rizeyagat. The majority of Misiriya and Rizeyagat reject these practices and do resist them in many ways. But the Sudan Government uses many devices to win the cooperation of those who participate in slave raids and related activities. The majority of those who resist government pressures need more and stronger international support.

On this visit alone, 1387 enslaved citizens were redeemed and set free. It is ascertained that a large number of people are still suffering enslavement, and it is possible to save them from the scourge of slavery.

HRO-Cairo condemns in the strongest terms Sudan Government's involvement in acts of slavery and brigandage, the random aerial bombardment, and the operations that aim to eradicate the Dinka People through acts of genocide and the denial of their right to peace and development.

The Organization calls upon all organizations, governments and institutions to take immediate measures to stop all acts of slavery and genocide. The Organization calls in particular upon the Arab and Islamic world to condemn these shameless practices that can only smear the image of Arabs and Muslims, practices that only speak for those who perpetrate or support them.

HRO-Cairo calls upon the competent United Nations bodies, the Arab League and Organization of African Unity to set up fact-finding committees

to ascertain the facts revealed in this and other reports related to the matter of slavery in the Sudan. The Organization calls for the publication of such future investigations on a wide scale as one of the ways to combat these horrific practices.

(*) SHRO-Cairo calls for the implementation of the recommendations included in the Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights Situation in Sudan to the 55th Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights as indicated in Resolution E/CN.4/1999/38, pages 60-61.

Anti-Slavery Recommendations Made to the 55th Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights by Special Rapporteur on Sudan, Leonardo Franco

i. "The Government should ensure that raids by Murahalleen or other militia against the civilian population are prohibited and perpetrators of acts against national and international laws punished.

ii. "In order to put an end to slavery-like practices in the Sudan, it is recommended that the Government of the Sudan take all steps to prevent further perpetration of the acts of raiding villages, killing civilians, raping and abducting women and children. The Government of the Sudan must inter alia:

- a. Cease to support the militia or ensure their integration into the regular forces where they should receive basic training in the respect of humanitarian law and of minimal rules of conduct of warfare;
- b. Prohibit raids against civilians and punish all perpetrators of acts which violate international humanitarian and human rights law;
- c. Encourage and support grassroots activities aimed at the release of abducted women and children, and ensure the cooperation of the international community with such activities.
- d. Establish a joint Sudanese international mechanism for the purpose of tracing the abducted women and children, ensuring their reunification with their families, and providing them with income-generating activities in order to lower their vulnerability and to prevent further enslavement/into slavery-like conditions.
- e. Allow an inquiry into the causes of slavery in order to establish the truth and ensure eradication of the problem. National and international organizations and specialized agencies could participate and provide resources and expertise."

REACTIONS

Sudan Human Rights Organization (SHRO) report on "Slavery in Sudan" gained a great concern and caused wide reactions whether among the official circles in Khartoum or among the Sudanese abroad . . . individuals and groups.

In Khartoum, the government officials accused SHRO of treachery, and considered releasing the report on slavery a part of a campaign that aims deforming the reputation of the ruling regime" and "encourage foreign interference in Sudan". Khartoum apparently requested the extradition of the secretary General of SHRO, Dr. Hamouda Fath el-Rahman, to Sudan expel him from Egypt.

Later, Khartoum officials said that SHRO office in Cairo was closed. The Sudanese Ambassador in Cairo, Ahmed Abdel Halim Mohamed, said that the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Amr Moussa, sent a message to his Sudanese counterpart, Mustafa Osman Ismail, saying the SHRO was operating without licence and had been asked to stop.

A number of newspapers in Egypt (including semi-official ones) and outside reported about the SHRO-Cairo office closure. For example, the semi-official alGanhuria newspaper in Cairo said: Sudan's Foreign Minister received a letter from his Egyptian counterpart informing him of Egyptian decision to ban the organization after it found that SHRO lacked a licence. Reuters news agency reported that a government official, who asked not to be named, said in a telephone interview the organization had no legal status, it he declined further comment.

A number of human rights organization were moved by these news. They criticized the campaign against SHRO, and linked it to the organization's me report on slavery. Cairo Arab Program for Human Rights Activists issued a statement that said, "The beginning of this aggressive campaign goes back to the report issued by the organization on the slave trade in Sudan, with the collaboration of many international and regional organizations, who also issued reports documenting gross violations committed by the Sudanese government. On the 5th of August, the Sudanese Ambassador in Cairo told the London-based "Al-Sharg al-Awsat that he was officially informed by the Egyptian decision of banning SHRO-Cairo. He said his government is satisfied with the decision, and he accused the organization of "creating reports that claim and adhere false accusations to Sudanese government, especially on the issue of slavery."

The Ambassador said, "this considered a serious step from the Egyptian others who have been keen in protecting Sudan". He added that the organization's claims lack evidence and are based on "known objectives".

The Ambassador said that the Egyptian decision included the affirmation of the authorities that "the organization is illegal and did not follow the legal procedures for registration despite the warnings to respect

and be committed to the Egyptian rules and not to practice -on the Egyptian lands- any activities hostile to Sudan".

Nevertheless, everything was going normal in SHRO's office in Cairo. SHRO officials strictly denied the organization has been banned.

On the first of August SHRO-Cairo spokesman, Mohamed Hassan Daoud denied banning the organization by the Egyptian security organs or calling its Secretary General, Dr. Hamouda Fath el-Rahman for interrogation. He said, "like most Sudanese opposition parties and groups, our organization has been tolerated in Egypt since 1991 and we are continuing to function".

Text of his statement ran as follows:

On the 5th of August SHRO-Cairo Secretary General denied - in a statement for the London-based Al-Sharg al-Awsat - the news concerning banning the organization, and described such news as false and groundless. He added that SHRO-Cairo works in accordance to the Egyptian rules and laws, "it never committed an action that justifies its suspension or closure" he said.

Dr. Fath el-Rahman confirm that the organization had not received any notification it had to close. He continued, "and we do not expect such a notification".

Concerning the issue of slavery in the Sudan, which was behind the campaign against SHRO, Dr. Fath el-Rahman said that his organization was the last to deal with the issue. He said the issue of slavery appeared in the report of the UN Special Rapporteur to Sudan, Leonardo Franco, and was confirmed by the UNICEF in its report.

Dr. Hamoud Fath el-Rahman said, "after all these reports, accompanied by SHRO-Cairo Vice-President, Abdon Agaw, I went to Bahr al-Ghazal area in southern Sudan to check our information before releasing". "After investigation, we confirmed Sudan government's sponsorship of slavery in the country". Dr. Fath el-Rahman expressed his satisfaction with SHRO's good relations with the Egyptian government and people. He said that the organization is fully neutral and added, "we do not deal with politics, but human rights only".

On the 11th of August SHRO-Cairo Vice-President, Abdon Agaw, told Reuters in Cairo that the organization did not commit an illegal action, and it was not asked to close. He said it was operating normally, and had done so -with the Egyptian government's knowledge- for seven years.

Reactions caused by SHRO-Cairo report on slavery in the Sudan were not only expressed by the government officials, but also by the Sudanese abroad. Some of them showed their dissatisfaction with its contents, while some others thought it was not the proper time to release the report. Most of those who criticized the report were moved by a misunderstanding. They thought that SHRO accused -in its report- certain tribes of being involved in the slavery trade.

To elucidate the question, SHRO-Cairo Board of Trustees issued a statement under the title "Towards an objective reading of our report on slavery in Sudan". The statement said:

Towards an Objective Reading of Our Report on the Phenomenon of Slavery in Sudan

The report prepared by the Sudan Human Rights Organization (SHRO) after accomplishing a visit to Bahr el-Gazal region in southern Sudan last May for the purpose of investigating the human rights situation and the accusation of slavery, caused wide reactions, some of them were angry.

A part of these accusations went as far as accusing SHRO's report of being subject, and created doubts on its motives and even nationalism!

After looking deeply into these reactions SHRO-Cairo Board of Trustees decided to issue this statement to clarify the issue and put it in its correct context. It sincerely hopes that, this statement will help in an objective reading of our report on the phenomenon of slavery in Sudan.

As the existence of slavery in Sudan and the responsibility of the current regime in making it a wider and more serious practice is beyond the doubts of anyone including those who criticized our report, and is an event confirmed by many international, regional and local organizations and bodies -will be detailed later-, we consider the negative reactions to our report and the cruel judgements a result of either: not reading the report or watching the documentary video tape screened by SHRO, or an emotional misreading.

The negative reactions to the report of our organization, which has gained a sounding reputation among the Sudanese people due to its efforts in defending human rights issues, the deep roots it planted inside the country, and the respect gained on both the international and regional levels, were a result of misunderstanding of the nature of the organization. SHRO is neither a part of the opposition body nor against the regime. For those who classify the organization in the square of opposition we say this is an organization concerned by human rights, an independent organization that agrees or disagrees with any political body in accordance with its human rights record. The history of the organization does certify that it advocated for some who belong to the regime when their rights were violated, and that it criticized some groups that belong to the opposition and are a part of National Democratic Alliance (NDA).

Sudan Human Rights Organization is simply: not against the regime as a political regime, and is not at the side of the NDA as a political forum. Its central assignment is to expose and reveal the violations, regardless to who committed the violations and against whom. This independency is our best asset whether with the political parties or the ruling regime, and far away from

the passions and emotions it made the report on mere, cold facts.

If the issue of slavery is a disgrace not only to the ruling regime but also to the whole Sudanese people, as some reactions said, we do wonder: Can we keep the reputation on the account of a grave inhuman crime committed against a sect of Sudanese people we -in SHRO- are obliged to defend their rights and expose the violations they are subjected to.

Nothing is more graceful than neglecting this obligation.

SHRO exposed the phenomenon of slavery strongly believing that this is the first important and correct step to contain the phenomenon and its negative impacts on the unity of the Sudan, the coherence of its structure and united identity. We have to ask ourselves: Is there anything more graceful than enslaving a Sudanese citizen by an other "brother" Sudanese?

Saying that SHRO serves the plans of "Christian Solidarity International" CSI is denied by many international organizations and institutions, including the United Nations, the Special Rapporteur and the UNICEF, which confirmed the existence of slavery in Sudan. Confirming the existence of this serious crime extends even to the most of the Sudanese organizations and political groups, though some of them do not use the exact term of slavery.

SHRO thinks that connecting it with CSI and its "plans" is not true and is an ideological terrorism which will not function as SHRO will not give up its role.

Some speak about "secret agendas" of the CSI, and we simply know nothing about these agendas -if they exist. Those who know such agendas are kindly requested to let us know, so that we be able to take a position. Till then our being in the front lines with CSI and other human rights organizations is quite natural and is part of our objectives and mission, especially at the early steps of the 21st century.

Because slavery is a most serious crime, the campaigns of accusations that aim at terrorizing SHRO, whatever their political, religious or cultural backgrounds are, will no make us hesitate in exposing the crime. We are human rights activists, who do not know boundaries, and whose concern is to reveal and expose all the violations regardless to the color, race, religion or culture.

Saying that what we have reported about harms every Arab and Moslem is not true, and is based on a fanaticism that leads to nonobjective reading or misunderstanding of the report. Those who say such thing come closer to the vision and mentality of the regime which tries to cover its crimes under a religious dress. Moslems and Arabs have nothing to do with this crime, and we have pointed out this clearly in our report. In this respect, we say that our report has contributed in correcting a common misunderstanding that connects the inhuman behavior of slavery with objectives of compulsory Islamization and Arabization. The report said SHRO did not find an evidence of that.

Moreover, SHRO report did not accuse certain tribes of being involved in the slavery practices, and it is not objective to adopt such a generalization. The report said that the regime recruits some young men of the tribes (including Al-Misairiyya and Al-Rizaigat) but this should not be understood as accusation for the two tribes. In addition, it has been mentioned in the report that the two tribes of Al-Misairiyya and Al-Rizaigat work for the eradication of the phenomenon through arranging the process of freeing those enslaved, and contribute with the Dinka in supporting the peace agreement reached between them. Once again and as cleared in the report, SHRO confirms that slavery is a very serious crime that has no connection with a specific religion or tribe.

Despite all that have been said about slavery in the Sudan, if there is still anyone who denies its existence, let him show his evidence or go to areas where it is practiced to know the truth in stead of reacting enthusiastically and emotionally.

In the recommendations of the report SHRO emphasized on calling the concerned international and regional organizations to form investigation committees, and here we welcome forming any Sudanese/Sudanese committees for this purpose. We call Sudan Government to offer assistance in this concern, and we welcome the declaration of the Sudanese President that said he welcomes the formation of committees to investigate the issue of slavery. We hope that this recent declaration be luckier than an earlier declaration he released in 1996.

SHRO based its report on the phenomenon of slavery in Sudan on a visit to the area of the event, and prepared it in accordance with the facts collected from the field, and it really hopes that the exposure of the phenomenon helps in its eradication. May be SHRO is not in a position to argue about the ethics or feasibility of treating the phenomenon through buying the freedom of those enslaved, and may be such a method encourages the sustainability of the phenomenon, but -unfortunately SHRO can not suggest any other treatment, at least for the time being. Though this is the option available, SHRO supports it as only practical and tangible way to restore the freedom of those enslaved. SHRO confirms that, it is the regime, and not anyone else, that encourages slavery, and sincerely calls all those who are concerned to look for the best way to eradicate this ugly phenomenon.

In the end, SHRO concludes that establishing a healthy national culture and a united country only comes through respecting the realities in all our intellectual, political or cultural practices. Escaping the realities or keeping silent towards them opens more gates for the reproduction of the phenomenon and its impacts, and keeps the Sudanese people within the evil circle of repeated crisis that lead to distrust and on-going fighting.

TESTIMONIES OF SOME FORMER SLAVES

1- ADUT BOL KUOL AGAANY, a young female about 25 years.

I was captured in 1996 in my village Rum Manyiel. This was at the beginning of the rainy season (late April or early May). I had gone to fetch water from a bore-hole when the raid caught us by surprise. The raiders, most of them wearing "jalabiya", came on horseback, with some horses carrying two men. We screamed in panic and ran as hard as we could, trying to escape. But they caught up with us. I was surrounded by six people. I was beaten with a bamboo stick. We were gathered in one place and marched northwards. My hands were tied on one rope with six other people, mainly women and children. On the very first night which we spent in the open in a camp in the middle of the forest I was raped by several people. It was the worst experience of my life and I don't think anything worse than it will happen to me again even if I were to live to be a hundred years.

My father and my uncle Kuol Agaany were among the captured. My father refused to go north so he was slaughtered. My uncle was beaten mercilessly and forced to carry a huge load of our looted property. When he tried to explain that he was too weak to carry the loot he was beaten to death.

Once in Arab land I was distributed to a man called Mohd who took me to their Goz, i.e. a temporary camp used during the dry season by the nomads. I noticed later that this was one of the camps where preparations are made for raids into Dinka territories. I worked for long hours with no pay and very little food. I cooked, cleaned the compound, fetched water and firewood, washed clothes and cleaned the dishes and cooking utensils. But I nearly starved, being given only the left-over food from the meals of the master and his family, which was generally little. I slept outside in the compound. When it rained, I covered my head with a plastic sheet. I was re-named Hawa, but Mohd did not pressure me to become a Moslem and observe Moslem rites and customs. I was not circumcized. Mohd was married but I never saw his wife. I think he did not want her to know that he had a concubine. Mohd was an unkind man. He treated me badly. There were two other Dinka slave women with me in the same Goz. One was called Abuk Deng (who was renamed Fatma) and the other was called Achol Yel (whom her master referred to as Tindel). I am very grateful to the organization that arranged for our release from slavery and also to the Arab middlemen who brought us back to our people.

N.B. The case of Adut is unique. She is the daughter of a former slave.

Her mother was enslaved when she was an adolescent. She was redeemed by a concubine, Aduh, who was the product of that rape. She was subsequently redeemed by her parents and came back with Aduh as a child. History had repeated itself almost to a detail when Aduh was abducted as a young girl, raped and forced to be a concubine. By the time she was redeemed, Aduh had given birth to a daughter whom the Arab master called Fatma, but whom Aduh had since renamed Achol. The other twist to her story is that her mother was enslaved also but during a different raid. However, while en route to Dinka land on the redemption trip, Aduh met her mother who was brought back with other Dinka slaves from another Arab village. They arrived their home together.

2- AKON DIING NGOR (50 years approximately, mother of four).

I come from Wunlang. I was captured in Angot village which is not far from the railway line to Aweil town. This was in 1994 during the dry season. I cannot tell what month of the year it was because I am illiterate. Our Dinka way of marking the time and the seasons is different. We use the sun and the moon, and the cycle of rains.

I had gone to the village bore well to fetch water when the raiders struck. I tried to run but I was no match to their mounted gunmen. They were wearing green uniform, the kind that is worn by government soldiers. I cannot tell if they were government soldiers or Marahileen. They appear the same to me. There was havoc and panic as children screamed and mothers called out for their children. We were rounded up and severely beaten with bamboo cans. We were then marched northwards with women and older children tied to ropes or behind horses. I was one of those tied behind a horse. After a 5-hour walk we reached a collection point in the forest. There we found men wearing "jalabiya". We were stripped of all our clothes and shoes and forced to carry the things that had been looted from our homes. We were then driven almost at a running pace. Whenever we slowed down we were beaten with whips or bamboo sticks. I developed blisters on my feet and could hardly walk. But the Arab raiders mercilessly drove us on until we reached Muglad. I was raped on the way by four men, not standing with my advanced age. The fourth rapist punched me in the mouth and broke 3 of my front teeth. My body is full of scars from the severe beating. (She showed the interviewer scars on her legs and her mouth had only one front upper tooth remaining).

In Muglad I was taken by a certain Mohd Mahmoud who made me his concubine. He lived outside the town in a small village where he owned a shop and kept a herd of cattle. He sold clothes, sugar and other simple household requirements including salt and soap. His home is surrounded by "neem" trees and there is a bore well nearby. I worked from sunrise up to the time Mohd. went to bed. My jobs included pounding dura, fetching water,

cleaning the compound, washing dishes and clothes. If I felt tired and tried to rest Mohd would beat me, calling me slave and other horrible names. I slept in an open space outside the grain store. Mohd would come out by night to rape me. If ever I showed any signs of resistance he would beat me mercilessly. I became pregnant and brought forth a baby son. Mohd named him Ali but he never treated him like his son. To him he was just the son of a slave woman. I have since renamed him Akot Akot Wiir. I never received any money from Mohd. If I had not known the appearance of the Sudanese currency before, I would have come back with the same ignorance. I only saw or handled money after I came back to Dinka land. I am very grateful to the retrievers who paid ransom to Mohd to give me back my freedom. The retrievers treated us very well on the way back to our people. They paid for everything that we survived on while en route to our homes. I pray to God to bless them and all those who contributed in one way or another toward this redemption program.

3- KUOL DIING NGONG (13 year-old boy)

I have spent two years in slavery. I come from Manyiel village. I was captured in Warwar where I had gone to spend the day, being a lively market centre. Many people were killed during the raid, particularly men. Women and young girls and boys were rounded up. We were then marched towards the north. When night fell we camped at a location in the middle of the forest. My hands were tied and I was put on a horse. I and a large number of other Dinka women and children were taken to Mairum. I was distributed to someone called Ali who became my master. He had a shop and a herd of cattle. I was assigned the job of looking after the cattle. I was given a Moslem name, Omar, and required to go to Khalwa (Koranic school) in the evening. We learned the Koran with Arab children. There were three other Dinka boys who went to the same Khalwa with me. I was told that I would become a "Mujahid" i.e. Islamic warrior, to fight against the Dinka whom the teacher, called Faki Ahmed, described as infidels. There was a serious effort to brainwash us and I did not know I would ever come back to my people.

Ali said he would be my father. Whenever I called him by his name, he would get angry and beat me, insisting that I call him "father". Faki Ahmed was rough with us. He used to beat us for any simple excuse. I have now a scar on my chest as a result of one of his beatings. Two of the Dinka boys who were with me were called Deng Deng and Wol Yor. These two have also been redeemed. I have no idea about how our redemption was arranged but I certainly appreciate it and thank those who made it possible for me and my friends to return to our parents. May God give them good health.

4- AJOK KUOT DENG (a young female of about 25 years of age)

I was captured in Korok village, Maltal Yith area in A... West, in 1998. It was government soldiers who captured us because they were official military uniform. Some of them were carrying bamboo canes, obviously for beating us once captured. We were about 300 in our group when we were driven northwards.

I was raped on the way by so many men. We walked for several days before we came to place called Abu Matarik. Here I was given to a certain Ali, who was very unkind to me. He would beat me for any trivial excuse. He raped me and made me his concubine. This baby I am holding in my arms is Ali's son. But he never looked upon him as his own. It is as if he does not have his blood at all. It is difficult for me to understand this kind of inhumanity. Ali used to pour food on the ground and then ask me to eat it. He insulted me and Dinka people, calling them "dogs". I worked from early morning until the time Ali went to bed. I slept in the open in the compound. Ali had two other Dinka concubines, Abuk Akok and Adut Yai. Both of them came from Mayen in Aweil West, and have also been retrieved. I was a widow when I was captured because my husband, Bona Bol Dau, had been killed in 1996 near the railway line by the same Arab raiders. I am very happy to be back in my home and I thank El Nour who brought us back from the north. He treated us very well.

5- ADUT AJUONG AMET (a young girl of about 16 years)

I was captured in 1998 in Korok village. I was raped on the way by several men, even though I had not reached puberty. We were beaten repeatedly while being driven like animals towards the north. Most of those in our group were taken to Abu Matarik. I was taken by a certain man called Mohd. He had sheep. I was assigned the job of looking after his sheep. At the same time I was required to wash clothes and dishes when the sheep were not grazing. I was forcibly circumcized in the traditional way of the Arabs. A man carried out the operation using a razor which he did not sterilize. I suffered a lot from this experience. It took three months for the wound to heal. The situation was made worse by the fact that I was forced to work the very next day after the operation even though it was still bleeding. It was also made worse by Mohd who raped me only few days after the operation. I thought I would die from the complications of this circumcision. Mohd was a very unkind man. He was a real brute. He sometimes forced me to have sex with him in the nearby bush. His wives were terrified of him. They feared him much and I believe they also hated him. Mohd had told me that if I were circumcized I would no longer be treated as a slave. But nothing changed. I remained a slave until I was redeemed and brought back by El Nour. I am very grateful to him and pray to God to bless and protect all those who made it possible for me to come back to my parents and relatives.

THOSE ACCUSED OF ORGANIZING SLAVERY AND SLAVE TRADE

The organization started to receive information about those held responsible for organizing and supervising the raids, monitoring slave trade. They include army officers, Popular Defence Forces (PDF) officers, merchants and others. So far the organization received information about the following:

1) Colonel Elginaid Hassan Elahmar (from Sorab on the out skirts of Omdurman)

This is the person who is responsible of coordinating all operations involved in slavery, starting with targeting the villages to be attacked, preparing the raids and financing the operations. He is helped by few army officers, PDF officers and merchants. He is also the person in charge of the train from Khartoum to Wau. He made a fortune from using some of the train cars in a private commercial activities and leaving the price of selling and buying slaves for his civilian assistants.

2) Colonel Abdelmoneim Elshigla

He graduated in the military collage (29th group) and was fired in 1982. He was returned to the service with Ibrahim Shamseldin during Sadig Elmahadi rule. He is responsible of the Popular Defence Forces in Elmgulad and his work is directly supervised by Colonel Elginaid

3) Elfaki Nawayi (merchant from Muglad)

He is the right hand of colonel Elahmar. He is the one responsible of recruiting Murahleen militia, making bargains of food, fuel, cars, horses and even weapons. He is also involved in coordinating the slave trade. He made a fortune out of this business.

4) Bari Bushari

He was once collaborating with the SPLM/A and joined the government side in 1997. Since then he is involved in coordinating the activities of the Popular Defence Forces, and the militia (Murahleen) making use of his knowledge about Bahr Elghazal area. He is the first assistant of colonel Elahmar in coordinating the raids and the slave trade markets.

5) Dawood Horgus (merchant from Muglad)

He is the one responsible of coordinating and leading the activities of the Murahleen (Militia), and his work is linked closely to that of Elfaki Nawayi.

6) A number of army officers working closely with colonel Elahmar; they are led by major Hayder Omer the names will follow later.

MARTYRS DIED IN THE COURSE OF OPPOSING SLAVERY

Martyr: captain Mohamed Younis Mohamed

- * Born in 1967 in Tandalti town west to Kosti.
- * From Gawamaa tribe.
- * Joined the Military College in February 1989 (39th group).
- * Graduated in March 1990 in Gabait.
- * He joined the 25th infantry brigade.
- * He participated in the force moving between Bahr Elghazal and Muglad. He saw what the Murahaleen were doing and noticed the collection of women and children in stockades following each raid by the militia. He also noticed that some of the victims were sold and bought in Miram area. He intervened with some of his soldiers from the south. Colonel Elahmar was forced to interfere and return the children and women, but later Captain Younis was suspended and interrogated by the military intelligence.

* His criticism to the raids and slavery and his efforts to combat these heinous acts render him subject to harassment by the army security.

* The government took chance of his disease "Cancer of the Oesophagus" in 1996 and refused to treat him - like all army officers - abroad upon the request of the Medical Committee.

* He was neglected and left to die in pain in October 1998.

Most of his colleagues think that his death is related to his stands against slavery and that he was the only officer to be denied treatment abroad for such a fatal disease.

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS

AXTRA JUDICAL KILLINGS

* In May 1999 a group of government militia from "Abu-Gebeilha" led by someone called "Salah Bank" attacked "Micol" village in Phenom Deit area in the Upper Nile. The village lies near Yeil river 10 km. north east to Malot. The attack took place during the night and many people were wounded, some were killed and many others escaped. Those who were killed were:

1. Aker Gwer
50 years
2. Ayeen Kur
25 years and her child
(married to Manwer Ashon Deng)
3. Nemon Mawer Jow
40 years and her child
4. Achol Adenga
30 years (married to Nagur Thai)
5. Ajot Twang
45 year
6. Nakur Rieng Awool
28 years
7. Niachu Makwaj
30 Years and her two children
8. Deng Akur
45 years
9. Lur Deng Makwaj
35 years
10. Wal Deng Kahur
30 Years
11. Monjaw Alek
35 years

Those who were wounded: -

1. Luwal Kuwat
45 years
2. Choli Abba
40 years and her daughter
3. Daw Way
35 years
4. Lwi Kur
30 years from village "Fakur"

It was also certified that the raiders abducted 15 women. The organization condemned in the strongest terms the acts and demanded a fair investigations of the case.

* On 14/9/1999 security element Elnour Ahmed Mohamed Ali, 19 years was shot dead before the gate of the security headquarter. He was a first year Sudanese student at the University of Sudan for Science and Technology who was recruited to the security forces. At the beginning of September 1999 he was transferred to Omdum area, upon his refusal he was detained and severely tortured. He was also raped by security officer Abdelraheem Al Faki. His general condition deteriorated, hence he was referred to the Police Hospital. He was discharged. On September 14, 1999, when he returned

home he armed himself with an old sword and went, in tears to the security headquarters where he was shot dead.

The death certificate affirmed that he was shot with many bullets resulting in extensive chest and cardiac lacerations.

ARBITRARY DETENTIONS AND TORTURE:

* The Sudanese security summoned on Saturday 9/1/1999 Ms. Nafisa Almilak and Ms. Alia Karar and forced them to sign an undertaking not to participate in any activities to commemorate the execution without trial of 28 army officers in Ramadan 1990.

On Monday 11/1/1999 Ms. Khaldia Elsayed was detained from her home in Khartoum North and released later on bail awaiting trial Wednesday 13/1/1999. Ms. Elsayed was accused of coordinating the peaceful demonstration of the Martyrs Families Organization, which was organized on Sunday 10/1/1999 in Khartoum North.

On January 26, 1999, the authorities arrested a number of Imams of the Ansar. They were arrested after Al-Ansar have organized celebrations commemorating the regaining of Al-Khartoum in 26/1/1885 and the Independence Day on the 1st of January 1956.

The celebration was scheduled for January 26, 1999. Security forces arrived at Al-Imam Abdelrahman Al-Mahadi Mosque in Omdurman and arrested Imam: Ali Shareeg Eldin and at least 40 other prayers immediately after the sunset prayers.

Also other Ansar and Umma Party leaders from different places in Wad Nuhawi town in Omdurman were arrested, names:

- 1- Dr. Omar Ali Omar
- 2- Mustafa Mahadi Azrag
- 3- Khalid Eweas (student, Khartoum University)
- 4- Mutasim Al Gailani (student, Shurq Alneel University)
- 5- Ahmed Musa (student, Sudan University)
- 6- Mubark Siddiq (Drum player)

* On April 2, 1999 Al Haj Mudiawi Mohamed Ahmed, aged 82, a leading member of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and the NDA inside Sudan, was arrested.

* in April 1999 security authorities in Tokar detained the following in secret places:

1- Elsheikh Abdalla Bakheit-Imam of Agatai Mosque south of Tokar.

2- Sulimat Jam 3- Said Mahmoud 4- Mohamed Said Nur Eldin

* Towards the end of June 1999 Sidi Mohamed Hadal "teacher" was arrested from his place of work in "Ariab" area, transferred to Haya, then Dordelb and later to the military zones in the east. From there he was transferred to Port Sudan where he was kept under torture for two weeks before he was released.

Worth mentioning that Mr. Hadal returned from Eritrea in response to a presidential general pardon in 1997.

* On Sunday 4/7/1999 Dr. Hamid Elbashir Ibrahim the regional program officer of UNICEF was detained from his house. The house was searched vigorously, a computer and its disc were confiscated. He was taken to the security headquarter where he was subjected to humiliation, intimidation and was called a spy. His wife, Intisar Mustafa, who is a human rights activist, was kept in the security on Wednesday 6/7/1999 the whole day with her child. She was insulted and accused of helping her husband in smuggling information. Dr. Ibrahim was released on Thursday 8/7/1999.

* Humeid Mustafa 34 years lawyer was kidnapped by an armed group while standing in front of his office on Saturday 31/7/1999. The lawyer resident is in Khartoum "Gerif Sharg" house number 53. He was later released after being tortured.

* During September and October 1999 the SHRO-Cairo received information from different areas in Sudan affirming a wide ranged campaign of detentions, we received the following names:

- 1- Abd Alfadil Hamad Deyab detained on Sunday 19/9/1999.
- 2- Abdulatif Gimiyabi detained on Sunday 19/9/1999.
- 3- Dr. Sid-Ahmed Elkhayb - detained on Friday 24/9/1999 from his house in Atbara town and severely tortured for more than 4 months.
- 4- Isam Mohamed Farah Shorbagi (lawyer), detained from his house in Karima town on Tuesday 28/9/1999.
- 5- Khalid Abdalla Hamid (lawyer) detained on Thursday 30/9/1999 in Khartoum.
- 6- Sadiq Mohamed Elhag (lawyer), detained on Sunday 3/10/1999 in Khartoum.
- 7- Abdel Rahman Nigdalla, detained on 4 /10/1999 and his house was thoroughly searched and his personal computer seized.

8- Ali Al-Sayed (lawyer) was forced to report daily from morning and stay till evening in the security headquarters. During this period he was forced to stand with his hands raised, prevented from food and water and was subjected to provocative acts and offensive talks.

9- Mutasim Ali Altom was forced to report daily to the security headquarters.

10- Najat Satti was forced to report daily to the security headquarters.

In October 10, 1999 a group of 20 security elements stormed into the house of Sadeq alMahdi, "former prime minister". They detained his son "Siddig" with three others found in the house. The detainees were beaten badly. The aiders claimed that they were searching for evidences linking Ansar to the bombing of the Petrol Line in September 1999. The campaign against the Ansar continued and on Monday 14/10/1999 the security raided the location of Ansar in Wadrobawi, confiscated some documents and equipments and detained the following:

- 1- Mohamed Murkaz - Secretary of Services Affaires
- 2- Elna'im Ahmed Yousif - Location Manager
- 3- Salah Dawood - Employee
- 4- Yahia Abdelrahman Goddat - Youth Affaires Secretary
- 5- Awad Elkhateem - visitor
- 6- Mohamed Fadol - visitor
- 7- Dafaulla Mohamed Abdalla - visitor
- 8- Ahmed Hammad Yagoub
- 9- Yagoub Eissa
- 10- Ali Yagoub
- 11- Abdelkhalig Elamin

All were subjected to torture and ill-treatment before being released later. The last four names remained in detention for longer periods.

* During November 1999 the security authorities detained and tortured the following in Kassala town in the eastern Sudan:

- 1- Hassan Dammalla - Northern Waterwheels
- 2- Hussin Ali Elmabasi - Southern Waterwheels
- 3- Ibrahim Wad Elfaki - Tagooq
- 4- Dr. Bakri Abdelrazig - Medical Director Kassala Hospital
- 5- Ali Badi (ex., Major) - Southern Waterwheels
- 6- Ibrahim Hamza Elkhair- Elmirghania
- 7- Nagi Rahmatalla Ali Taha - Southern Waterwheels
- 8- Elahar Bashari (student, Kassala University)

Southern Waterwheels

- 9- Nasir Mohamed Ahmed - Southern Waterwheels
- 10- Hashim Hussein Elfadni - Hai Elarab

Also Kassala town witnessed during November 1999 a campaign of storming into houses and vigorous searching plus arresting young students and non-students to force them joining the conscription camps.

* In the middle of December 1999 Professor Abdel-Moneim Mohamed Atyia and his son Ahmed were detained in a secret place. They were released after a month of detention with severe torture, persecution and intimidation. Worth mentioning that Prof. Atyia was detained more than 5 times since the 1989 coup.

HARASSMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

* The government of Sudan continued its policies of targeting human rights defenders. On Wednesday May 26, 1999 Advocate Ghazi Suliman was convicted and sentenced for one year imprisonment with suspension of sentence, plus two years of good conduct. Suliman was convicted under article 25 of the penal code, being accused of inciting of advocate Salwa Saeed not to sign an undertaking, Ms. Saeed faced a trial under articles 95 and 96.

* In May 1999 Advocate Mustafa Abdelgadir, and Idris Hassan(editor in chief of Elray Elaam newspaper) with the editorial manager of the same newspaper, faced trial under articles 114 and 116 accused of publishing information against public employee when Mustafa criticized the parity examination for lawyers.

* In November 1999 the organization condemned the attack on the meeting held by some human rights activists in the office of advocate Ghazi Suleiman. The security element used extensive force and destroyed part of the furniture of the office, injured some lawyers and cut the electricity and telephone wires. 20 were detained including:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1- Ghazi Suleiman | 2- Dr. Tobj Madut |
| 3- Sati Mohamed Elhag - lawyer | 4- Mohamed Abdelseid - journalist |
| 5- Ibrahim Elsheikh - lawyer | 6- Mamoun Farouk - lawyer |
| 7- Mustafa Sari - journalist | 8- Nazik Mahgoub Osman - lawyer |
| 9- Hatim Abdelrazig - lawyer | 10- Ashwag Yousif - lawyer |
| 11- Nasif Salahelding - Journalist | 12- Adil Ahmed Yousif - lawyer |
| 13- Nafisa salaheldin - journalist | |

Those arrested faced trial, being accused of disturbance of public order and peace.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS

* On February 9, 1999 the security forces arrested Hayder Hallab, director of "Abdel Karim Mirghani Cultural Center", following a symposium held by the center in celebration of the international Woman Day.

Ms. Fatima Shadad and Ms. Nazik Mahgoub, lawyers, spoke on the symposium and gave speeches on the current laws affecting the Sudanese women.

* On the 19th of February 1999 Ali Mahmoud Hussanein, Mohamed Ismail Elazhari, Adil Abdo (journalist), Hisham Elbirair, Elmua'z Hadra and others were kept in detention for more than 8 hours in Elobeid town and hence a gathering was averted as they came from Khartoum for the purpose of a dressing a rally in Kordofan University that night.

* On Tuesday April 13, 1999 the security elements arrested Elbagir Hassabelrasol (lawyer) and Mohamed Abdel Saied (Elsharg Elawsat correspondent).

Both were taken to a secret place and later information affirmed that they were released after being severely tortured.

* In what appeared as a clampdown on the freedom of expression, following the detention of Mohamed Abdel Saied on the 13th of April, the authorities on Sunday April 18, 1999 arrested both Ms. Maha Hassan Ali, an editor for Sudan News Agency and also correspondent of the Egypt's Middle East News Agency, and Abdel Gadir Hafez who is a correspondent of Aljazeera Newspaper.

All of the journalists detained were accused of collaborating with foreign countries. All were released later.

* On the 20th of April 1999 advocate Ghazi Suleiman and Abdelmugeed Imam, Dr. Tobi Madut, Mr. Gabriel Mahor, Mr. Mohamed Elazhari and others appeared before Omdurman central court. They were tried under articles 69 and 77 of the penal code of criminal law 1991.

They were arrested in the office of advocate Abdelmugeed Imam after organizing a meeting to declare the formation of a new political party in accordance with Tawali Law.

* On May 3, 1999 Al Haj Mudawi was arrested after he wrote an article in Al Isbouth Arabic daily newspaper in Khartoum in which he criticized the regime and advocated the opposition's political and military stands.

The public prosecutor charged Al Haj Mudawi under article 63 and 66 of the criminal Law 1996, which considers Mudawi's article as waging war against the state.

Chief Editor of Al Isbouth daily newspaper, Mr. Mohey El Deen Titawi was also facing two charges under press and publishing act for publishing Al Haj Madawi's article.

* On July 26, 1999 the National Press Council suspended Alrai Alakhar newspaper for two days for criticising government media policy. The newspaper had been suspended four times since the beginning of the year.

* On August 10, 1999 President General Omar El Beshir suspended Albayan newspaper for three days for writing a column criticising the ruling National Congress and refusing to suspend the columnist.

* On September 1, 1999 the National Press Council suspended Alrai Alaam newspaper, for two days for an article that criticised the education system and claimed that the secondary schools and universities had become drug markets.

* On September 1, 1999 the National Press Council also suspended Alarbaa newspaper for one day after reporting about food, water, vegetable and fruit contamination in the Sudanese capital. The report said Khartoum hospital was receiving 25 cases of food poisoning every day.

* On September 1, 1999 the National Press Council also suspended Alrai Alakhar newspaper for one week for an article that analysed the future of Sudan in relation to the civil war in the south.

The article said more than 237,000 youths arrested in Khartoum and conscripted had perished in southern Sudan.

* On September 19, 1999 Alrai Alakhar newspaper was closed down by a presidential decree.

* On 17/1/1999 a number of Haag movement members were detained because of their intention to raise a memorandum calling for freedom of expression. They were subjected to harsh treatment before being taken to unknown places. We received the following names:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Al Haj Waraq | 2. Najla Haj Saeed |
| 3. Hiwaida Ahmed Hassab Allah | 4. Omar Farouk |
| 5. Hanan Mustafa | 6. Khalid Al Taher Mustafa |
| 7. Nadir Mohamed Khalid | 8. Al Taher Mustafa |
| 9. Moawia Mohamed | 10. Aisha Ahmed Mahmoud |
| 11. Youmna Mustafa | 12. Wagiallah Altom |
| 13. Abdulaziz Abdulgafar | 14. Ibrahim Abdelrahim |
| 15. Yasir Yousif | 16. Mohamed Al Sadiq |
| 17. Ahmed Abdullah | |

TRADE UNIONS FREEDOM

- * The Sudanese Commercial Bank fired 266 of its employees in April 1999. The employees were prohibited from entering the bank's premises by the police force.
 - * Sudan Shipping Lines fired twenty workers in May 1999 including the chairman of the workers trade union.
 - * The Alms tax Corporation fired 78 workers in May 1999.
 - * According to the ministerial council resolution number 581, more than 1600 workers from the Mechanical Impart Department lost their jobs (700 from Khartoum state and 900 from other states) in May 1999.
 - * In what is considered a serious violation of the trade unions rights, in June the general registrar of the trade unions cancelled the registration of the General Vocational Trade Union. This decision was considered non constitutional and severely endanger the freedom of trade unions and is in contradiction with article "23" of the Declaration and article "22" of the convention on political and civil rights and article "8" of the convention on social, cultural and economical rights.
 - * In June, following a public statement by the teachers in Port Sudan protesting against their deteriorating economical conditions, reliable information affirmed that the security launched, campaign of arrests that included 16 teachers. Later 14 were released, Ali Mirghani and Eltayeb Babikir remained to be tortured for more than three months before they were released.
 - * The National Electricity Corporation after firing 1400 laborers in July 1999, prepared a list of 800 in September 1999 to be fired as part of the reformation process of the corporation.
 - * On September 18 and 19, 1999 the security forces launched a campaign of arrests amongst primary schools teachers, the following were reported:
 - 1 - Ahmed Mohamed Abd Alla Higazy (49)
 - 2- Faysal Hassan Al Shaikh (42) trades unionist.
 - 3- Abd Alrahman Mohamed Abd Alrahman (47)
- The following secondary schools teachers ordered by the security to report to the security headquarters:
- 1- Omer Moody (56) 2- Abd Alrahman Daif Alla (52) 3- Saif Aldain
- * Khartoum Tanning Company fired 230 workers in October 1999, before selling the company to unknown authorities.

* A number of trade unionist leaders were subjected to harassment and forced to report daily to the security headquarter in October 1999, those reported to the organization included:

- 1- Ali Elsayed - lawyer
- 2- Ali Elzebag - worker
- 3- Faisal Ibrahim
- 4- Fadlalla Ahmed

Others were subjected to detention:

- 1- Mohamed Suliman - Nelein University
- 2- Ahmed Ibrahim - Nelein University
- 3- Abdelmoneim Omar Ibrahim - Ahlia University graduate
- 4- Osman Abuegasmir Saud - from Albara, some of the detainees reported that he was in a very bad condition due to torture.

Worth mentioning that all detainees were subjected to harassment and torture before being released on different occasions.

VIOLATIONS AGAINST STUDENTS

* Following the protest of some students in Omdarman Islamic University against the interference of the university administration in the students election, many students were arrested and tortured by the security on Wednesday and Thursday 3-4 March 1999. They were released on Saturday 6/3/1999 except student Abdelrasoul Abdelwahid who was kept longer in detention. Student Salim Abdelrahman was injured badly in his face and eyes. Amongst those detained were:

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1- Mohamed Hassan Osman | 2- Zocinoon Abdelgawi |
| 3- Yasir Dainour | 4- Bashir Humeida |
| 5- Ismail Mohamed Yousif | 6- Abdel Rasoul Abdelwahid |
| 7- Zein Elabdeen Gadim | 8- Balla Adam Mohamed |
| 9- Ali Ahmed Elmasri | 10- Fathelrahman Elfadil |
| 11- Mohamed Elfadil | 12- Ahmed Elgadi |
| 13- Elsadik Ishag | 14- Yasir Yassin |
| 15- Montasir Yahia | |

* On September 25, 1999 the security forces arrested about fifty university students following demonstrations in the centre of Khartoum.

* In September and October 1999 conflicts aroused between students supporting and supported by the government and those students opposing the government. Following those conflicts the security launched a campaign of arbitrary detentions amongst students, SHRO received the following names:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1- Kamal Saadan Eltom | 2- Abdelsalam Abdalla Ibrahim |
| 3- Yousif Abdelwahid | 4- Babikir Ali Gadain |

- 5- Abdelgadir Abdalla
- 7- Musa Elamin
- 9- Waleed Ibrahim
- 11- Mohamed Mustafa Elaur
- 13- Guma'a Abdalla Guma'a
- 15- Abdelgadir Mustafa
- 17- Obeid Mohamed Ali
- 19- Saffia Kabu
- 21- Niddal Yagoub
- 23- Tahani Mustafa
- 25- Wafun Osman
- 27- Mawahib Tagelsir
- 29- Mawahib Mohamed Salih
- 31- Balgis Mahgoub
- 33- Naglaa Ibrahim
- 35- Aeadia Altayeb
- 37- Sohair Ahmed Tahir
- 39- Fathia Abdelrahman

Few days later Abdelmohmoud Ali, Waleed Mohamed, Ali Elnam, Muriam Abbas and Rateeba Osman were also detained. During the conflict student Hisham Khidir Ahmed from Shandi town was stabbed and transferred on 30/9/1999 and admitted to hospital. The medical report confirmed that he sustained a wound on the back of the chest and another on the left side of the chest, which resulted in pleural effusion. An under-water seal and appropriate treatment were given. He was discharged on 9/10/1999.

* In October 1999 we received, with great concern information that some of the government supporter students, using fire weapons, in Gezira University, kidnapped the following students:

- 1- Abubaker Elkadi
- 3- Abdalla Eissa
- 5- Abuhizaifa, plus some other students.
- 2- Khalid Mohamed Osman
- 4- Naser Eldin

Worth mentioning that the Gezira University administration prohibit students from staying in the university after 6 in the evening, which meant their deprivation from using the library and other facilities of learning. When students protested against the decisions, the university dismissed one student, suspended 9 others and warned 27 students.

On the other hand student Mohamed Sir-Elkhatim forwarded claim number "23" against those students who used firearms and kidnapped students, the accused were:

- 1- Hassan Bukhari
- 3- Elgilani Omar
- 2- Elmigdad Adam
- 4- Nazar Abdalla

The organization condemned the Sudanese policies of inciting its supporters to oppress with violence the protests of students in the universities and demanded proper investigations into the allegations.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

* On the 6th of January 1999 Khartoum state declared the beginning of application of a new code that compelled women to wear what is called Shari'a dress. The new code also stated that women shall not sit beside men in public transportation. The code also organized how women and men behave in public places and that no women, being Sudanese or foreigner shall be allowed to enter through any port unless dressed in the proper way. According to this law the government offices, schools and universities are prohibited from admitting and dealing with any women unless dressed in the proper Shari'a dress.

* On January 7, 1999 El Sheikh Abdel Rahman El Amin and Abdel Rahman Mattar, leaders of the Ansar sect in Singa, blue Nile province and Umma Party members were arrested. They were arrested after the Ansar organized celebrations commemorating Badar el Kubra (an ancient Islamic battle victory).

* The security elements prohibited on Wednesday 10/2/1999 a ceremony on the anniversary of Imam Abdelrahman Elmahdi and prevented a delegate of Ansar Association to enter Ellobied town.

* On Friday 23/4/1999 the authorities prohibited a symposium organized by Muslims Brothers Party which is a Tawali registered party. The symposium was supposed to be held in Elkalaka Elgubba.

CONDITIONS OF PRISONS

* In May 1999, SHRO received information that three women prisoners in Omdurman Women Prison went on hunger strike since Saturday 1/5/1999, the names of the prisoners were

- 1- Rilla Ibrahim Mohamed (mother to two girls, Balgeis and Badria)
- 2- Mashaeir Elsawi
- 3- Amira Mohamed Mekhi

The prison authorities did not take any measures to provide them with medical care, instead the prison manager Mr. Awia Osman Elmahdi searched their belonging and confiscated their private dry rations in a step considered as a punishment.

The organization addressed the prisons manager and Omdurman women prison manager to improve the deteriorating prisons conditions and respond to the requests of the prisoners on hunger strike..

CENERAL VIOLATIONS

* SHRO received information in November 1999, that Beja Congress "opposition faction" based in the east part of Sudan arrested the followings:

1- Ahmed Mohamed Humad Betay-governor of the Middle liberated area.

2- Elsheikh Taha Ahmed Taha - Telkok Court Chairman.

3- Dr. Ahmed Elhassan Osheik - Relief Person

* Towards the end of October 1999 Dr. Farouq Kadoda's, daughter Sandra was beaten inside her house by some security elements who knocked on the door during the day asking for the father who was absent at that time. Sandra was left unconscious with a message beside her stating that this was a last warning for Dr. Farouq Kadoda. Worth mentioning that Dr. Kadoda received many warning messages.

The organizations condemned such acts and consider them as a type of extending harassment that meant to involve the families of the opposers of the government.

OTHERS

* in November 1999 the organization welcomed the declaration of the government that it was intending to release all political detainees and prisoners plus returning confiscated properties and canceling the lists of barring travel of some opponents.

SHRO demanded the bolition of laws that restrict freedom of expression and organization.

١- د. احمد الحسن اوشيك - احد مسئولى الإغاثة.

إن المنظمة السودانية لحقوق الإنسان تدعو لملء عن الإعتقال محاكمة. وتطالب بإطلاق سراح المعتقلين المذكورين وأي معتقلين آخرين، وتدعو لإيجاد آلية محايدة لمراقبة أوضاع حقوق الإنسان، وتطالب بتوفير كافة الضمانات اللازمة للمتهمين وفق العهود والمواثيق الدولية، والتي تشدد المنظمة على ضرورة إحترامها ووضعها قيد التنفيذ.

وفي نهاية أكتوبر تلقت المنظمة السودانية لحقوق الإنسان - القاهرة بإنزعاج شديد معلومات تؤكد بأن مجموعات مجهولة بالطرق على باب منزل المعارض السياسى البارز "د. فاروق كادودة" بالخرطوم، ولم يكن بالنزل سوى ابنته "ساندرا" وحينما علم المجهولون بعدم وجود شخص آخر، قاموا بضربها حتى سقطت مغشياً عليها، وقبل رحيلهم ترك المهاجمون رسالة تخدير لوالدها لسموها "الأخيرة"، جدير بالذكر أن الدكتور "كادودة" كان قد تلقى عدة إنذارات من قبل، من جهات مجهولة.

وأعربت المنظمة السودانية لحقوق الإنسان عن قلقها وإنزعاجها الشديد بشأن هذه الحالة، وقالت إنها تراها ظاهرة مستجدة إستهدفت هذه المرة ضحايا بسبب إنتسابهم الأسرى فقط، وأن الضحية فى هذه الحالة تعرضت لما تعرضت له دون سبب سوى أنها ابنة لمعارض سياسى.

وفى هذا السياق طالبت المنظمة السودانية بسرعة التحرى وضبط الجناة، الذين يتوفر للمنظمة أكثر من شك معقول فى أنهم من أفراد الأمن، وطالبت المنظمة السودانية السلطات بوقف إستهدافها لمعارضيهما وتزويدهم والتكبل بهم وبأسرهم، ودعتهما لإحترام حقوق مواطنيهما وتوفير الحماية لهم، ودعت لشجب وإدانة ظاهرة الإعتداء على الأهل والأقارب.

أخـرى

❖ فى نوفمبر تلقت المنظمة السودانية لحقوق الإنسان - القاهرة، بإرتياح نبيا إعلان الحكومة فى الخرطوم عزمها على إطلاق سراح المحكومين فى قضايا سياسية أو قضائية أمن دولة، وإعادة الممتلكات المصادرة من المعتقلين السياسيين، وإلغاء حظر سفر المعارضين السياسيين.

وقال بيان للمنظمة إنها إذ ترحب بالمنظمة بهذه الخطوة فإنها تدعو الحكومة للمضى خطوات أكثر فى هذا الإتجاه. كما تدعو الحكومة إلى إلغاء القوانين والأوامر والمراسيم القبيحة للحقوق والحريات والتي إستندت عليها فى إنتهاك حقوق وحريات المعارضين السياسيين.

ودعت المنظمة السودانية لحقوق الإنسان فى ذات الوقت إلى إلغاء المحاكم والأجهزة العدالية غير الطبيعية، والأجهزة الأمنية والشرطية التى لا تخضع للرقابة القضائية.

مركز البحوث والدراسات
السياسية والاجتماعية

مركز البحوث والدراسات
السياسية والاجتماعية

مطبوعة شهرية تصدر عن المنظمة العربية للدراسات الاستراتيجية - القاهرة - العدد الثامن يوليو ١٩٩٠

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دار الفكر

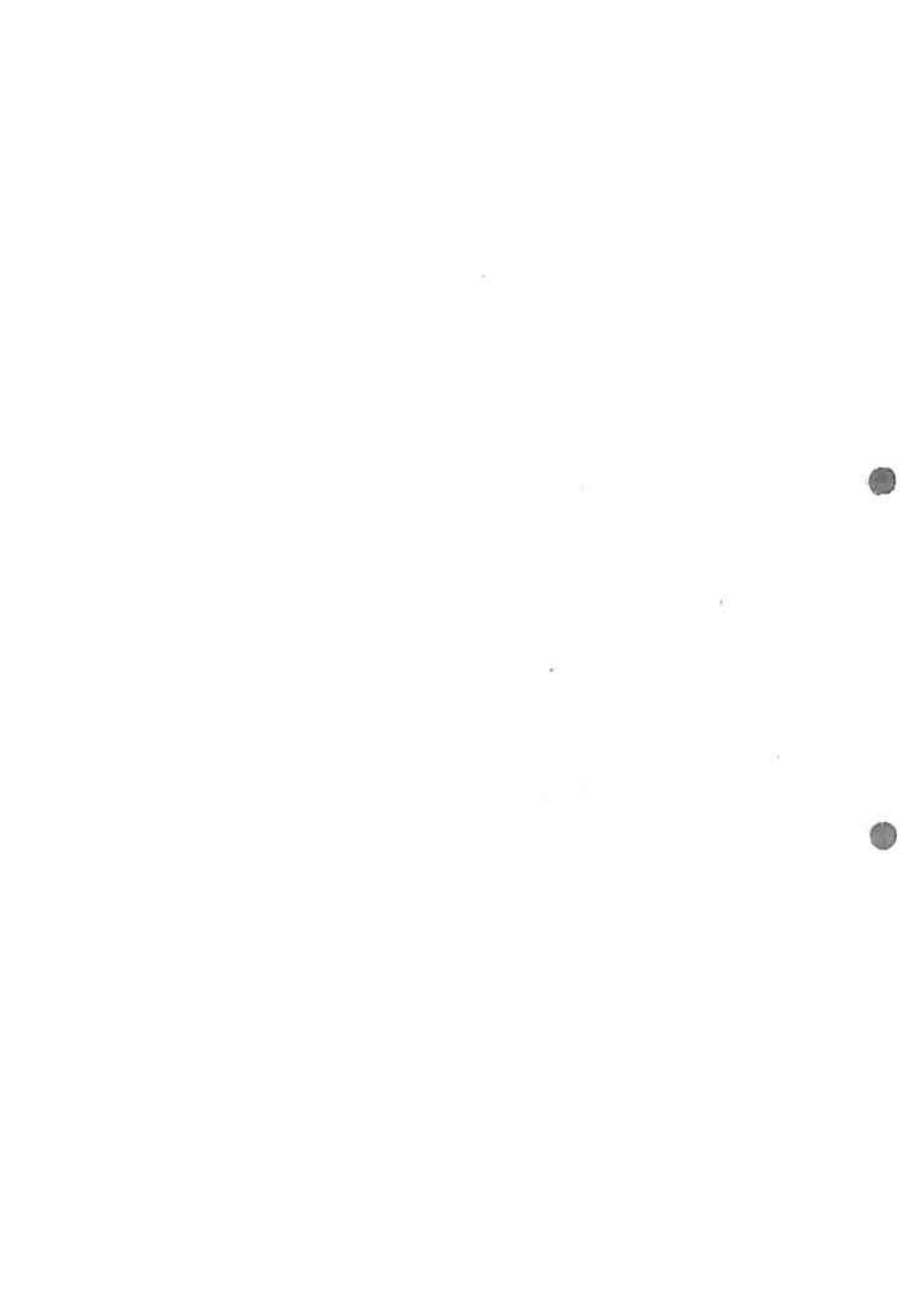
دار الفكر

التحريك الحركية

الصراع المسلح

وانتهكاكات حقوق الانسان

ETHNIC COMPOSITION,
ARMED CONFLICTS
AND VIOLATIONS OF
HUMAN RIGHTS





THE SUDANESE HUMAN RIGHTS QUARTELY

An ad hoc publication issued by Sudan Human Rights Organization
Issue No. 8
July 1999

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THE SUDANESE HUMAN RIGHTS QUARTELY

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This issue is mainly based on symposium held in the SHRO - Cairo office on 8th November 1998 ethnic composition, armed conflicts and violations of human rights in Dar Fur. The symposium was prepared and conducted by Dr. Salah Elzein and Ustuz Mawa Tag Elsir Tabir in collaboration with board of editorial.

The region inhabited by scores of Arab and African tribes, which co-existed peacefully for centuries, has lived since early 1970's a state of unrest associated with grave violations of human rights.

In early 1970's the region was hit by draught and desertification which minimized the scarce resources of the region.

The civil war in Bahr El-Gazal, and the armed conflicts in the neighboring Lybia, Chad and Central Africa made the situation worse.

Above all there are the evil policies and practices of the fundamental military regime in Khartoum.

This issue of the periodical tries to shed light on the situation in Dar Fur.

The history of Dar Fur is deeply rooted in the ethnic, cultural, economic, and political relations of the people of Sudan in that part of the country with the dynastic history of west Africa, the trans-Saharan caravan trade across the east-west Sahel, Bahr alGhazal in southern Sudan, and the Darb al-Arbaeen route along the Nile to Egypt and north Africa.

The kingdoms and sultanates of the Dajum, the Fur, and the Tunjur were composed of many multiethnic groups, including northern Nubians, Arabs, and many other Sudanic people. Dar Fur witnessed a long history of powerful leaders, beginning with Suleiman Solong of the Kunjara who established the Fur Sultanate near Jebel Marra, his brother Mussabba who also ruled Kordofan, and Ali Dinar, the last Sultan of Dar Fur (Dictionary of Sudan by Fluhler-Lobban, Lobban, and Cramer, forthcoming, 1999).

With all these unique characteristics of western Sudan population, composition and relationships, in the mother continent, the Dar Fur history has always been expressive of the independence of Sudanese power structures from foreign domination, the wide range of diplomatic and regional connections, and the strong commitment to the religion of Islam in particular. As the "Dictionary of Sudan" reads, "The Fur Sultanate was committed to the spread of Islam throughout the territory under its rule... The Sultanate promoted the construction of mosques and supported religious teachers who applied Shari'a personal law. The number of advanced students that Dar Fur sent to Al-Azhar university in Cairo was so great that they were housed in a special section of the university known as the "Dar Fur cloister."

Despite this brilliant record in spreading Islam throughout medieval history up to the recent times, Sudanese governments, in general, and the NIF dictatorial rule, in particular, acted poorly in not respecting the freedom of religion and belief in Dar Fur. The strong commitment of Dar Fur people to the concepts of justice and social equity as emphasized by Islamic teachings have not been decently recognized.

For one thing, the tendency of imposing central government policies and orientations was a constant source of harassment to the indigenous ways the people of Dar Fur adhere to in their own religious practices. As Dr. Adam Abdel-Mula, an activist lawyer specializing in international human rights law, correctly depicts, "central governments must respect the right of people to exercise Islamic faith according to their own culture and belief system".

Seen against the long history of Dar Fur in spreading Islam in the whole region in close relationship with the traditions of the West African sultanates of Wadai, Bornu, and the other neighboring West African Islamic kingdoms, in addition to the faith of people in sufi orders such as the Khatmiya and the Ansar sects, one should not fail to assess the significance of Abdel-Mula's statement. The hated NIF regime used all forms of violence to compel the people of Dar Fur to subscribe to its doctrine in vain. For Dar Fur, the freedom of belief is unnegotiable.

Related to the violations of central governments, especially the current NIF rule, and to the long tradition of freedom of faith in Dar Fur, are the bitter

long-standing grievances of Dar Fur population over the issues of economic development and government administration. There are essential needs that the people of Dar Fur view as correlates of the right to determine their own leadership, systems of indigenous governance, and aspirations to keep pace with the rising technological and industrial advancement of the world today.

Dar Fur is potentially rich in minerals such as oil, uranium, and other precious elements, in addition to vast lands for agricultural production, the beauty and richness of Jebel Marra, etc. Judged by the number of agricultural or industrial development projects or schools, colleges and hospitals established in Dar Fur since the first day of Sudan's national independence in 1956 up to this moment, it is evident that so little has been offered by central governments to develop Dar Fur despite the fact that Dar Fur continues to pay huge taxes to Khartoum for the animal wealth, small-scale farming, and trade it maintains.

A region historically famous for the love of education and pursuit of trade and international diplomacy, all governments of Sudan have so far failed to allow Dar Fur the opportunity it deserves to continue these glorious traditions in modern terms. The negligence of central governments of the Dar Fur brilliant history and popular traditions has consistently generated tensions and crises between Dar Fur and central governments, including armed conflicts. The first post-independence central governments used to look suspiciously at all movements of the Dar Fur intellectuals that strongly demanded autonomous rule for the development of Dar Fur within the united Sudan. The succeeding governments were not any better, as they wrongfully continued to suspect and to reject any similar claims by the people of Dar Fur as racial and anti-national.

The NIF government, in particular, has proven to be the most brutal regime ever known in Sudan, and is determined to crush the Dar Fur popular movement which aims to attain political and economic development. Thousands of innocent people and hundreds of political leaders have been either killed or tortured in the ghost houses of the regime all over the region. In this connection, the name of Col. Dr. Al-Tayeb Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir, nick-named Tayeb Sikha, a leading member of the NIF junta that staged the June 30 coup, and former governor of Dar Fur, has become synonymous with the government's brutality against the people of Dar Fur.

The NIF rule has committed another horrible mistake in its dealings with Dar Fur and its people. In a desperate attempt to win the allegiance of the people of Dar Fur away from the Umma, DUP, and other political forces in the region, including the SPLA which had started to make inroads into the region, the NIF regime resorted to the old colonial tactic of divide-and-rule. The regime feverishly encouraged armed conflicts between Dar Fur ethnic groups, including the Fur, Zaghawa, Arabs, Masalit, etc.

Due to these internal feuds, the region was drowned in a wave of massacres for many years, and the government troops took the opportunity to add their own brutalities by launching air raids against the villages of the Zaghawa and the Masalit. The destabilization of Dar Fur by NIF rule was inevitably extended to the neighboring countries. More massacres, violations of our international frontiers, and the distaster of famine and starvation plagued the region.

The miserable condition of the physical infrastructure of Dar Fur, the lack of essential services, specially health and education, and the poor representation of Dar Fur in national decision-making are all new to the region which used to be, until the fall of Ali Dinar Sultanate in 1916, a distinguished and well developed territory by the standards of the time. That Dar Fur continues to be labeled by central governments as an economically backward area should be immediately corrected with a series of serious political and economic measures. Above all, Dar Fur people and history must be fully recognized and taught in Sudanese educational institutions in appreciation of the true contributions of this dear part of our country to our national heritage.

The contribution of Dar Fur to the security and tranquility of the whole Sudan is worthy of notice. A great proportion of the armed forces and police forces comes from Western Sudan, especially Dar Fur. Yet the proportion of commissioned officers from Dar Fur to the soldiers and non-commissioned officers in these disciplinary forces is lopsidedly small. In the next democratic rule of the Sudan, under the NDA charter and political alliance, this serious situation must be fairly tackled. Justice, which is very dear to the people of Dar Fur, must ultimately prevail.

SHRO-Cairo has been increasingly concerned about the situation of human rights and democracy in Dar Fur. The Organization has so far provided several forums for Dar Fur intellectuals and human rights activists to enlighten their counterparts from other parts of the country about the problems Dar Fur faces under the NIF dictatorial rule. A quick glance at the valuable contributions of these distinguished scholars and politicians, including the former governor of Dar Fur, Dr. El-Tigani Sisi and the former MP, Dr. Farouq Ahmed Adam, during the last democratic rule of Sudan (1986-1989), indicates the depth of the problem and the urgent need to salvage Dar Fur from the brutalities and the savage violations committed by NIF elements against the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the region.

SHRO-Cairo strongly calls upon the international community to stop the government of Sudan from committing brutalities against the people of Dar Fur. The wrong-doers, of whom a great many are known by name and address in Dar Fur, must be prosecuted and put on trial according to law. The victims, whose numbers are counted in the thousands, must be fairly compensated for the lives and the property they unlawfully were deprived of.

SHRO-Cairo calls upon the NDA, Sudan's national opposition entity, to take a serious step towards Dar Fur and the people of the region. Special committees must be established to submit a program of economic, cultural and political advancement for the people of Dar Fur. The Dar Fur people, in particular, must compose and lead the committees in question and the NDA must adopt the program for implementation during the next democratic rule of the country.

SHRO-Cairo will continue in the meantime to focus closely on the issues of human rights and democracy in Dar Fur. It is the people's will and determination that ultimately makes the struggle and provides success.

Dr. Mahgoub El Tigani
President SHRO - Cairo

THE HISTORY OF DAR FUR

Saif Elnasr Idris

The Social Fabric, Background to the Conflict

The history of Dar Fur region, (formerly Fur Sultanate) is very long. The Fur Sultanate has a glorious past which goes back tens of centuries during which it built a civilization. This can be deduced from the indelible engravings of symbols on many hills in the region and from the ruins that testify to a great architectural heritage that can still be seen today in Orri, Ain Farah and El Fasher. The region, until recently when it was annexed forcibly to Sudan, had been a sovereign state which maintained its foreign relations and had its currency, with an advanced system of administration and a civic society. It was on this basis of independent statehood that Dar Fur Sultanate entered the First World War on the part of Turkey. After its forcible annexation to the Sudan, Dar Fur experienced total negligence at the hands of all successive governments, be they colonial or national.

It never got its fair share of political power or national wealth, despite its huge multi-ethnic population and extensive land mass. The region therefore became the most backward area in Sudan, a situation which in turn led to ethnic and tribal strife and civil war, dragging the region into more backwardness and underdevelopment. Yet Dar Fur has remained one of the regions of the Sudan which continues to supply the central government with revenue and manpower.

This section shall be divided into the following parts:

- a) Geography and historical background of the region.
- b) Social fabric and inter-tribal relations.
- c) Effects of central government policies, tribal conflicts and civil strife in the region.

The Geography of Dar Fur Region

Dar Fur region lies in western Sudan. To the north it borders the Northern region, to the north-west Libya, to the west the Republic of Tchad, to the south west Central Africa Republic, to the south Bahr alGazal region and to the east Kordofan and Northern regions. It is situated between latitudes 15° N, and 10° S and between longitudes 22 and 27 east. The location of Dar Fur is considered very strategic, having in the past been the trade route linking the ancient Kanem and Borno Kingdoms with central and Nilotic Sudan, and a meeting point for caravans plying that route across Africa.

Dar Fur is a plateau featuring many hills and mountains, the most famous of which is Jebel Marra, the ancestral home area of the Fur people.

Dar Fur region can be divided into three parts. To the north lie some highlands and a plain with a rainfall of 10 inches providing adequate pastures. In the centre lies a mountainous area, becoming sandy at its eastern end with a rainfall of 12 to 25 inches making it suitable for cultivation. In the south lies a flat land traversed by shallow valleys and seasonal streams and which receives a rainfall of 25 to 35 inches, making it good for both agriculture and grazing.

Historical Background

Dar Fur region witnessed the rise of many civilizations. The oral history kept by the people of the region indicates that the Fur people are the original inhabitants of the Dar Fur region. The written history of Dar Fur began during the middle ages when the Dajo people established their sultanate in this area. This was followed by the Sultanate of the Tonjor and then the Sultanate of Fur people which began in the 15th century and was destroyed in 1916 by the colonial power which annexed the region to the Sudan. History kept the name of Sultan Dali of Dar Fur although there were many before him. He is the grandfather of the well known Sultan Suleiman Solong who ruled between 1445 and 1476, and Sultan Omer from 1476 to 1492. The 30th Sultan and the most famous was Ali Dinar who ruled from 1899 to 1916.

The Administration System

In order to ensure the participation of all the ethnic groups in his sultanate, the Sultan of Dar Fur used to assign the majority of ministerial portfolios to representatives of non-Fur groups. The sultanate was divided into "Hawakir" (states), each governed by a "Maqdoom" who had all the powers including the sentencing of people to capital punishment. He was assisted at lower levels by the "Sharuti" and "Damaleg". There were five "Hawakir", namely:

- 1) Aba Dimanga - the area south-west of Jebel Marra
- 2) Teknawi - northern area extending to Meidub territory
- 3) Omonga - south-east of Jebel Marra
- 4) Dalenya - western area extending up to Kabkaabiya
- 5) Dar Fia - area north of Kabkaabiya

During the reign of Sultan Ali Dinar, the Dar Fur Sultanate incorporated Dar Zaghawa, Dar Masalit and Dar Rezcigat. It was ruled in accordance with the "Daali" which means in Fur language "Tongue" i.e. the Tongue of the Sultan and his edicts. This was based on the principle of retribution. Thus, for example, if someone inflicted an open wound on some other person he would be required to pay a roll of "Damur" cloth in compensation, otherwise he might be required to pay half a roll if the injury were considered lighter.

The Social Fabric and Tribal Coexistence

It is generally accepted that except for the Fur tribe, all the tribes inhabiting Dar Fur today, be they Arab or non-Arab, had migrated to it from other places. Most historians maintain that the Fur were found in this area from time immemorial, residing originally on the highlands of Jebel Marra and being then known by the name "Tora", meaning "the Giants".

For instance, the well known traveller, Bart, says that the Dajo migrated to Dar Fur from the region of Fazogli south of present-day Sennar. But historians have differed over the original home of some tribes, e.g. the Tonjor whom some claim to have come from the Tibete highlands while others insist that they are Nubians, and therefore migrated from northern Sudan. The Hilaliq are said to have come from the Dongola region in the northern Sudan. Other tribes came from different places.

It is important to note that the exact number of the tribes of Dar Fur is not known, but they are by no means less than 36. However, it

is common to find writers listing distinct tribes as well as sub-tribes causing confusion as to the exact number of tribes in Dar Fur. For instance, the Zaghawa tribe has nine sub-divisions, while the Fur has 20 branches. Some of these sub-tribes are sometimes cited as if they were independent or distinct tribes on their own. Herebelow is the list of tribes in Dar Fur:

Non-Arab Tribes:

- 1- Fur 2- Tonjor 3- Dajo 4- Zaghawa 5- Masalit 6- Meidoub
- 7- Barti 8- Sambat 9- Gimir 10- Bargo 11- Barno 12- Tama
- 13- Fellata 14- Jebel 15- Kancin

Arab Tribes:

- 1- Rezeigat 2- Missiriya 3- Habaniya 4- Banu Halba
- 5- Ta'asha 6- Banu Jarrar 7- Zeyadiya 8- Ateefat 9- Humur
- 10- Khuzam 11- Khawabeer 12- Hawarah 13- Arizat
- 14- Mahameed 15- Karawiyat 16- Dar Haamid tribes
- 17- Bedeiriya 18- Majaneen 19- Ma'alia 20- Banu Omerin
- 21- Bana Hussein 22- Salamat 23- Banu Fadl 24- Hilaliya

The distribution of these tribes throughout the region has been such that there is extensive interaction. Yet despite the incidence of many inter-marriages between members of these tribes, it would be difficult to assert that there has developed any real assimilation among the tribes. Most of the tribes maintain their original language customs and traditions, a fact which suggests that ethnic conflict could easily be triggered amongst them.

Economic Activities

Dar Fur region is endowed with rich agricultural lands. Most of the population live on agriculture, perhaps up to 65% of the inhabitants. Except for the Meidoub and Zaghawa tribes to the north it is the non-Arab tribes who engage in farming and cultivation. The main crops that are grown in Dar Fur are dukhun (millet), sesame, ground nuts, using natural rainfall. During the dry season, people grow vegetables and certain kinds of fruit, using underground water pumped from artisan wells. The area of Jebel Marra, with its temperate-like climate, is particularly good for growing wheat and citrus fruits.

All Arab tribes and a few non-Arab tribes are pastoralist, rearing cattle, goats, sheep and camels. The region is a major exporter of

camels to Libya and Egypt, while it provides the Omdurman and other riverain cities with cattle, goats and sheep. Pastoralists constitute about 30% of the entire population, while 5% are engaged in local trade. Others are engaged in small industries producing carpets, rugs, and shoes, and handcrafts like mats, baskets and others. Edible oil, macaroni and soap are also produced.

Effects of Central Government Policies, Tribal Conflicts and Civil War on the Region.

Despite the fact that the region never witnessed any significant development during the colonial era, it enjoyed the prevalence of security and stability largely because of the effective presence of central government organs and strong native administration that wielded considerable influence among the various ethnic groups. Even occasional conflicts that erupted between the nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farming communities were very rare because the British administrators had enacted and strictly applied laws that prohibited the movement of animal herds across the territories of the farmers until after January every year when they will have harvested their crops. However, when independence was achieved and national governments took charge of administering the country, such governments never paid attention to the problems of the region, viewing it only as a source of cheap labor and manpower for the army. Dar Fur was therefore totally neglected and remained underdeveloped without schools, health facilities or a usable road network. As a result the role and influence of the state gradually diminished in the eyes of the citizens. Its presence could only be felt in the urban centres. Anarchy and instability started to take hold and the citizen found himself in the grip of fear and terror. As would be expected, the citizen had recourse to the tribe for protection and collective security. The situation was made worse when the government of former dictator Jaafar Nimeiri abolished the system of native administration in northern Sudan. The Chadian civil war right across the border complicated the situation further by throwing the region wide open for weapons trafficking and turning it into a haven for some of the Chadian insurgent groups. The introduction of the regional government system in 1980 accentuated

ethnic and religious sensitivities, so that the mutual reference to the various ethnic groups as "Arab" or "Blacks" became common, further inflaming tribal animosities. Unfortunately, all these problems never seemed to impress the central government in Khartoum which continued to ignore the region and behave like a foreign spectator. In fact the government adopted policies which amounted to the violation of the human rights of the people of Dar Fur. Citizens from Dar Fur who migrated to the national capital, Khartoum, in search of work or educational opportunities were discriminated against and treated like foreigners. The policy of random round-up of dark-skinned people on the streets of Khartoum (known as "Kasha") which was carried out during Nimeiri's era, affected many citizens of Dar Fur who were forcibly deported back to their region. Worse still, the failed attempt by rebels loyal to an opposition group to seize power in Khartoum on 2 July 1976 was turned into a witch-hunt targeted against the people of Dar Fur. Many innocent citizens lost their lives in this outrage.

Yet the region has been used by certain political parties as a stepping stone to acquire a parliamentary majority without providing any services or development schemes for the population of Dar Fur. Instead the region experienced tribal strife encouraged and fanned by outside forces who sponsored the creation and arming of tribal militias for specific tribes, putting other tribes at a clear disadvantage as they had to face such tribes with only white arms. This behavior politicized the tribal conflicts in Dar Fur and transformed them into extensive civil wars which continue to bedevil the region until now.

The foregoing section is only a brief outline of the ethnic composition of Dar Fur and the tribal conflicts that have become very common and have been accompanied by widespread human rights violations. It is the duty of the sons of Dar Fur, particularly the intelligentsia, to recognize the wicked objectives of those who strive to cause sedition among their ethnic groups. They must do every thing possible to thwart their schemes and defeat their policy of divide and rule. The aim behind this policy is to make it easy for those who control the central governments, be they authoritarian or democratic, to exercise full hegemony over the region. The time has come for the people of Dar Fur to initiate an open and honest dialogue among themselves and involving all categories of the population, to discuss the problems of their region and bring an end to the interethnic civil conflicts.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION, ECONOMIC PATTERN AND ARMED CONFLICTS IN DAR FUR

Baballa Haroun Nor Adam

Dar Fur is inhabited by many ethnic groups which can be divided into two main categories: Arab and non-Arab groups. "The consideration of the races who inhabited Dar Fur before the Arabs, on the one hand rendered more difficult by the lack of modern scientific research, and on the other, made more easy by the fact that the Arabs have coalesced so slightly with the older population that it is still easy to pick out the non Arab elements" (MacMicheal 1967:52).

Thus, according to MacMicheal, a former British colonial administrator, the non Arab ethnic groups consist of Bediyat, Zaghawa, Meidoub, Barti, Tonjor, Dajo, Bargu, Gamor, Masalit, Tama, and Fur, while the Arab groups comprise Rizeigat, Habbaniya, Ma'alia, Banu Halba, Ta'aisha, Mahriya, Banu Hussein, and Ziyadiya. Each of these groups inhabits a specific territory which is recognized as its ancestral homeland and within which it exercises self-administration in accordance with its traditions and customs.

The Prevailing Economic Pattern and its Impact on Inter-ethnic Relations

Agriculture and animal wealth are the main pillars of economic activity among the people of Dar Fur. With the exception of the Bediyat and the Meidoub ethnic groups, the non-Arab groups

generally engage in farming, a few of them keeping small numbers of animals as only additional sources of food and income. As for the Arab ethnic groups, animal rearing is the main economic occupation. Some of them do some limited farming. Correspondingly, the Arab ethnic groups are nomadic, moving from place to place with their animal herds as dictated by the seasonal cycle and the availability of water and pastures. The non-Arab groups, with the exception of the Bediyat ethnic group, are permanently settled on their agricultural lands and in clusters of villages. The Arab ethnic groups in the southern part of Dar Fur rear mainly cattle, while their racial cousins to the north rear camels, goats and sheep.

This dichotomy of economic activity has resulted in a situation whereby each ethnic grouping needs the products and services of the other. For instance, the sedentary farmers need milk and meat which can only be provided by the pastoralists in their region, whereas the pastoralists need grain and fodder from the farming communities. The farmer also needs manure from the pastoralists to improve the productivity of his farm. He also requires the hauling capabilities of the camel for fetching firewood and transporting his farm products to the marketplace and to locations of storage. Some farmers in fact do buy cattle or camels and place them in the custody of the nomadic pastoralists on payment of some reasonable fee for looking after them. These mutual interests have produced a complementary economic pattern that has in turn fostered ethnic cooperation and harmony. It was in view of these mutual interests that the movement of the nomadic pastoralists across the areas of the sedentary farming communities was organized in such a way that it took place only after the farmers had harvested and stored away their produce.

Nevertheless, there were times when pastoralists migrated with their herds too early and caused extensive damage to the crops of the farmers on their route. At other times, the rains fell later than usual causing a delay in the cultivation of the crops and consequently resulting in a late harvest which would occur well beyond the time agreed for the transit passage of the herds of the nomadic pastoralists. This frequently triggered violent clashes between the two communities that sometimes resulted in the death of some people. But these were usually quickly contained, thanks to the system of native administration that arranged for amicable settlement within the system that came to be known as the "Rakoba", i.e., a make-shift wood-and-grass shelter under which the leaders of the concerned communities sat to peacefully resolve the conflict.

It is important to note, however, that such clashes have not always occurred along the lines of Arab versus non-Arab ethnic groups. For it is quite normal to witness a conflict between two pastoralist Arab groups competing over pastures or water points, or following the robbery by one group of the camels or cattle of the other. The most dangerous of such clashes have usually occurred between such Arab ethnic groups as the Ma'alia and the Rizeigat or cattle-rearing Baggara to the far north of the region and the ethnic groups from both sides always intervened and successfully played the role of peace makers. Stolen cattle or camels have frequently been restored to their rightful owners through the efforts of the native administration in the region. A system of penalties perfected over the years by the native administration was always effective in checking inter-tribal crimes, with the overall impact that made Dar Fur one of the most peaceful regions in the country, a place where a traveller had only to worry about wild animals. This underscores the fact that native administration understands the problems of Dar Fur better than any other system, and is therefore more qualified to find efficacious solutions to such problems.

Abolition of Native Administration and the onset of insecurity in Dar Fur

Barely two years after usurping power from a democratically elected government, the May regime of general Ja'afar Nimeiri abolished Native Administration, claiming that it was a primitive system that had to be overhauled. It introduced the system of local government run by administrative officers who knew very little about the tribes and communities they were supposed to govern. They knew nothing about the traditions and customs of those tribes. Instead they applied the local government laws that were at times not in conformity with the long-running traditional norms and practices of the indigenous ethnic groups of the area. The result was that dissatisfaction with the local government system grew to the extent that some individuals took the law into their own hands to achieve the justice that they thought had been aborted by the representatives of the central government. Gradually, crime increased, growing more

sophisticated as the perpetrators tried to outwit the law enforcement organs of the local government of the region. Meanwhile the number of emigrants to Libya increased dramatically, while the Chadian-Libyan conflicts escalated and the stand-off between the Sudan government

and Libya intensified. All these developments contributed to the rapid deterioration of the security situation in Dar Fur, after large quantities of modern arms poured into the region.

Many of the migrant workers returning home from Libya after making good money purchased automatic weapons that were generally more sophisticated than those that had long been in use in the region. These weapons encouraged such people to commit crimes with impunity. On the other hand, the Chadian-Libyan conflict forced some of the armed element from both countries to cross into Dar Fur. Many such elements either sold their weapons to indigenous citizens of Dar Fur who used them subsequently to perpetrate illegal acts, or they themselves used their weapons to commit crimes in the region. Furthermore, the Chadian and Libyan forces present part of their own arms arsenal to certain ethnic groups which they considered friendly to them, and who in turn used them to settle scores with other ethnic groups.

The Sudanese-Libyan dispute motivated the Libyan government to support the Sudanese opposition who infiltrated weapons into the country through Dar Fur. It is those weapons that were used in the attempted take-over of the government in Khartoum on 2nd July 1976. But a lot of weapons certainly remained in Dar Fur and were subsequently used in ethnic strife that continues to bedevil the region till today. Armed assaults increase as theft of animal wealth was transformed into armed robbery by thugs who terrorized unarmed victims. But the central government effectively intervened during this period by sending in troops from Khartoum and other locations in Northern Sudan, and this new phenomenon of armed lawlessness was checked, if only temporarily as demonstrated by the anarchy that prevails today.

The Advent of Regional Rule and the Policy of Divide - and - Rule

When southern Sudan acquired regional autonomy following the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972, many areas in northern Sudan started to clamor for regional self-rule. But their demands were not met until 1980 when general Nimeiri issued a decree introducing

government with the aim to oust it from power. Some of the tribes were provided with automatic weapons and the volume of modern arms circulating in the region increased tremendously, further aggravating insecurity and state of violence in the region. In 1988 the citizens of Dar Fur living in the national capital Khartoum, staged a demonstration in protest against the presence of foreign troops on Dar Fur territory, and in denunciation of what was then euphemistically referred to as 'armed robbery' when it was in fact organized attacks by certain armed ethnic groups against other unarmed ones. The Umma Party had done all it could in order to prevent the demonstration from taking place. They had tried, through their Minister for Cabinet Affairs, who had links with Dar Fur, to cause one of the courts to issue an injunction disallowing the demonstration. But the court allowed the demonstration, thanks to the independence of the judiciary at that time.

Such unfair policies accentuated ethnic animosity in the region. They also encouraged Arab ethnic groups in the region to organize themselves under a body which came to be known as "Arab Alliance". The leaders of this organization visited the national capital where they were received by the Prime Minister, and where they held meetings with other organizations with the same background. There was no longer any doubt that this "Alliance" was directed against what came to be referred to as the "Blacks". Since then, the conflict in Dar Fur has proceeded along these ethnic lines.

Despite this polarization, there still remain some common ties among the people of Dar Fur. Since the Mahdiya, the people of Dar Fur were collectively referred to as "Gharanba", meaning "westerners", notwithstanding their different ethnic origins. This discriminatory attitude was clearly demonstrated when the leaders of the riverain Arab tribes which were supporting the Mahdi, objected against his appointment of Abdalla El Ta'ishi as his successor (Khalifa) in 1885, for no other reason than that he was a 'westerner' and not from "awlad al balad" or "sons of the land", i.e. the riverain Arab ethnic groups (Haner 1993).

Dar Fur has been the source of cheap labour for the rest of the country since independence. Special trains are sent to the region to collect laborers who are lured away on false promises of lucrative wages on the Gezira Scheme and other agricultural projects in central and eastern Sudan. They end up receiving very poor wages while many contract Bilharzia which is endemic in these areas. Many of them are forced to remain in those places without any improvement in

their wages and, therefore, become virtual slaves of their employers. The people of Dar Fur are usually deprived of the equal opportunity to enroll in the officer colleges of the regular services, i.e. Army, Police and Prisons. They are only encouraged to enlist in the lower ranks of such forces where they are terribly exploited or ill-treated.

Even parliamentary representatives are imposed on the people of Dar Fur. "In Dar Fur scores of Arab and non-Arab tribes are associated in one way or the other with the Ansaar Sect and the Umma Party. The central leadership of the Umma Party used to determine candidates for the parliamentary constituencies in that region. However, the citizens of Dar Fur have of late started to reject this arrangement and insisted that the right to select candidates for their parliamentary seats is their prerogative alone. Our view is that this expression of a sense of independence is a very healthy development; for the people of Dar Fur will soon learn, through experience, how to choose the best and most qualified from among their ranks" (Mohd Ibrahim Nugud, 1992:16-17).

The people of Dar Fur suffered brutal treatment at the hands of the security organs of the May regime of Gaafar Nimeiri, in the wake of the events of 2 July 1976. Some of the victims were buried alive, while some were arrested at random simply on the basis of their skin complexion. Subsequently, people from Dar Fur were randomly rounded up in the national capital, Khartoum, and packed onto lorries and sent back to their region as if they were not Sudanese citizens.

These are some of the bitter experiences that the people of Dar Fur have gone through without distinction on the basis of their ethnic origin. It is incumbent upon them to shed their passivity and consolidate their ranks so as to collectively find ways of removing the glaring injustices against them. They should become more involved in decision making in issues affecting their interests and start to self-govern themselves like the people of other regions in the country.

CAUSES OF TRIBAL CONFLICTS IN DAR FUR

Dr. Ismaeil Abakr Ahmed

A historical background of the tribal society in Dar Fur

Dar Fur society is a complex and tribal society. The tribe is the centre around which every thing rotates. It is a highly conservative society, rarely influenced by foreign ideas. Nevertheless the tribes have been exposed to such internal and external dynamics as have brought about some recognizable changes. One of the most noticeable changes is a certain degree of assimilation brought about by long years of intermingling and peaceful interaction among the various ethnic groups. This has led to a reduction in the level of ethnic sensitivity, producing a situation whereby the tribe, in the minds of the people of Dar Fur, does not imply or reflect ethnic purity or distinctness. It is common in Dar Fur today to find a group of tribes coexisting peacefully in one area but living in accordance with the norms, traditions and practices of the tribe that is the original owner of the territory they so inhabit. For instance, the Fur tribe, the largest tribe in Dar Fur, now incorporates several small tribes that have long been assimilated and which speak the Fur language and practice its traditions and customs. The same thing could be said about the other well known major indigenous tribes of the region.

Dar Fur tribes can be divided into two wide categories: Arab and non Arab. The known history of the area indicates that the non-Arab tribes inhabited this area before the establishment of the Dar Fur sultanate. These include Fur, Masalit, Marabit, Zaghawa, Bargu, Daju etc., and have definite home territories, tribal institutions and traditions. Most of the Arab tribes migrated into the area from west and north Africa, their destination being the area around lake Chad, before moving further east and finally settling in Dar Fur during the early years of the Fur Sultanate. With the encouragement of the Fur sultans, these tribes settled in designated areas that have since become their historical homelands. Some of these tribes are Rezeigat, Habaniya, Ta'isha, Bani Halba, Messeiriya, Mahaadi, Turjem, Howeita, Ta'alaba and Atriya. One of the oldest documents related to the designation of territories was found in the possession of the Mahaadi tribe that inhabits Um Tajouk and Tikro area in Northern Dar Fur and carries the signature of the Fur Sultan Abdelrahman El-Rasheed (1778 - 1803).

The border of the tribal areas in Dar Fur have undergone many alterations either because of war or migration since their settlement. Following the annexation of Dar Fur to the rest of the Sudan by the British In 1916, the colonial administrators finally drew a detailed map of the tribal homelands in 1922. Dar Fur was divided into six administrative districts, with each district further organized into several administrative units under the native administration of the indigenous tribes. This administrative system was accepted and respected by all the parties concerned.

In view of the complexity of the tribal society and considering the fact that about 85% of the people of Dar Fur live in rural areas, it is easy to see why the system of native administration represents the surest way to maintain harmony and order in the region. The tribal chief is not only a leader of his people, he is also a symbol of authority and justice who is well versed in the norms, traditions and customs of his tribe. He addresses any problem or dispute that arises either between his own subjects or between them and a member of another tribe or ethnic group. Local traditions have always played a central role in the resolution of such conflicts. These traditions now constitute a rich heritage of laws that have cumulatively developed since the Dali Law which is generally believed to have been promulgated during the reign of Sultan Shaw Dorsheit, the last of the Tinjor sultans after whom the sultanate shifted to the Fur tribe. These traditional laws were subsequently improved upon by successive generations of tribal leaders through various conferences. One of the most famous traditional laws that is widely applied alongside the Sharia and civil laws in Dar Fur society is the "Diya" law i.e blood compensation law. This is applied both intra-tribally and inter-tribally in cases involving murder or manslaughter or severe injury amounting to maiming. Such compensation is usually paid in form of cattle assessed both as regards kind and number by a recognized specialist whose verdict is generally respected and accepted by the tribes of the region. This specialist is known as the Dimlig and wields wide influence in the region.

Armed Conflicts and their Causes in Dar Fur

Dar Fur society remains until today a very traditional society in which the population depends mainly on farming and pastoralism for livelihood. In the past, migration and intermingling was relatively limited. Individuals and sub-sections of some tribes migrated to resettle in the traditional areas of other tribes. In all cases such migrants lived in conformity with the traditions of their host tribe. Pastoralist nomads moved across the territories

of other tribes during the dry season, but they strictly adhered to the norms and practices of such tribes as long as they remained on their lands. Problems involving individuals or groups of people that occurred during such transit periods were resolved within and in accordance with the laws and practices of the host tribe.

In 1972, the area of northern Dar Fur was affected by a severe spell of drought and desertification which covered the sub-Saharan African belt as well. This climatic catastrophe affected certain tribes such as the Zaghawa and some nomadic Arab tribes. These tribes started to migrate to the south and south west of the region. Then another spell occurred between 1983-84, causing another wave of migration among the affected tribes, only this time in much greater numbers and with a certain element of permanency.

Sections of the Zaghawa tribe migrated to southern Dar Fur and settled south of El Fasher up to the environs of Bahr El Arab river at the very southern end of the region. They earned their livelihood either from tilling the land in the rural areas or engaging in trade in big villages or towns. These migrant groups did not lose contact with their kinsmen who remained behind in their homeland but continued to maintain very strong ethnic links through associations in towns and large villages. They did not mix well with their host society, remaining isolated and adhering to their customs and traditions. They also engaged in business, particularly trade, in a way that irritated their host communities.

As for the nomadic Arab tribes, most of them moved west and to the south-west with their animal herds in pursuit of water and pastures. These areas are the traditional homelands of the farming tribes of Fur and Masalit. The Arab migrants also did not fit well into their new host communities, as they continued to practice their own traditions and customs without regard to the local practices.

As the migrant groups in Dar Fur increased in numbers, and in the absence of social harmony, tribal frictions developed and culminated in violent conflicts. Many peace conferences between various ethnic groups or tribes were held with the view to restore peace and stability to Dar Fur. Below are some of the peace conferences that were held between 1976 and 1991:

- 1- Peace conference between Bani Halba and Northern Rezeigat, 1976, Nyala
- 2- Peace conference between Ta'aisha and Salamai, 1980, Nyala
- 3- Peace conference between Bani Halba and Northern Rezeigat, 1982, Nyala
- 4- Peace conference between Gomer and Felata, 1987, Nyala
- 5- Peace conference between Shartai Ahmdai and Badiyah, 1989, Um Kedada
- 6- Peace conference between Fur and Arabs, 1989, El Fasher
- 7- Peace conference between Zaghawa and Gomer, 1990, El Fasher
- 8- Peace conference between Ta'aisha and Gomer, 1990, Nyala
- 9- Peace conference between Zaghawa and Ma'alia, 1991, Daein
- 10- Peace conference between Zaghawa and Mararit, 1991, El Fasher
- 11- Peace conference between Zaghawa and Bani Hussein, 1991, Kekabiya

- 12- Peace conference between Zaghawa and Bargu/Mina, 1991, El Fasher
- 13- Peace conference between Zaghawa and Bargu, 1991, Nyala
- 14- Peace conference between Fur and Turjem, 1991, Nyala

Reasons Behind the Escalation of Tribal Conflict under the National Islamic Front Regime

Having acquired their power by staging a military coup, the NIF regime is considered by most Sudanese as not being qualified to rule the country. They have no heritage of political leadership and their ideology is alien to the Sudanese people who have been for ages guided by strong traditions and values. The NIF regime was therefore not welcomed by the Sudanese masses, particularly in the rural areas where the people are generally more conservative.

The ruling NIF regime started from day one to struggle to find a niche in the Sudanese society through which to impose its co-called "Civilizational Project". Translated into common language, this project simply means the Islamization and Arabisation of the Sudanese state and society. It entails the remodeling of the Sudanese society in accordance with the NIF's atavistic vision of Islam, regardless of the traditional values and practices of the various ethnic groups that constitute the Sudanese nation. It requires that the total Sudanese cultural, political and religious heritage that had cumulatively taken shape since time immemorial be abandoned and a new political culture based on NIF ideology be adopted. The regime concentrated on the traditional social forces that are known for their historical allegiance to the two main national political parties in the country i.e. Umma and Democratic Unionist Party. The NIF adopted a strategy which required the dismantling of the system of native administration and its reorganization in such a way that its leadership went into the hands of people who would pay allegiance to the NIF and its regime.

The regime started by breaking the native administration into smaller administrative units under the leadership of people loyal to them. It also set up within the older units of native administration smaller units comprising certain ethnic groups that were previously under other larger tribes. Then it changed the nomenclature of titles of the various ranks of native administration. At the same time it removed certain native administrators and replaced them with new ones loyal to the regime. Most of the new appointees were not qualified for this kind of responsibility because they were alien to the ethnic groups over which they were appointed.

The new system that the regime has introduced in Dar Fur and Kordofan regions is known as the system of "Emirates". Such old traditional tribal titles as King, Demangai, Nazer, Omda and Sheikh have been cancelled and replaced by "Amir". But the local tribes are used to their old

system of native titles which automatically convey a lot about the rank and status of the holder. They intrinsically indicate level of authority and extent of its influence. These titles have been in use for nearly three centuries and have become part of the local political cultural and social value system. It is therefore understandable that the various ethnic groups in Dar Fur are finding it difficult to accept the new system.

It is easy to understand the resentment that the people of the Masalit homeland feel toward this new system. This area had remained, until the introduction of this system, a single administrative unit headed by the traditional leadership of the Masalit ethnic group since the area was annexed to the Sudan vide an agreement between Great Britain and France in 1919. It has now been divided into 13 emirates, five of them belonging to migrant Arab tribes, in accordance with a decree proclaimed by the Wali (governor) in March 1995. The new administrative system has caused chaos and very strong resentment within the entire society. It has brought about serious ethnic discord and animosity. The Masalit feel that they are the ones being targeted by this policy which aims at balkanizing their territory and giving away large portions of land to migrant Arab tribes. This is the real cause of the violent conflict which recently erupted between the Masalit and the Arab tribes in their area. It was such a violent and bloody confrontation that it could only be compared with the tribal conflict that occurred between the Fur and Arabs in 1989. Similar conflicts have occurred in other parts of Dar Fur, such as the one which took place recently between the Habaniya and Abu Darg ethnic groups at a place called Wad Hajam, and during which more than hundred people lost their lives.

The regional and central authorities of the regime have not taken any steps to stem these conflicts. Instead, they have continued providing arms and military training to the youths of some of the tribes involved at the training camps of the Popular Defence Forces. The regime has no intention of reversing its decision regarding the native administration in Dar Fur. All indications are that the regime is determined to impose the supremacy and hegemony of certain ethnic groups over others in Dar Fur by force. This explains why the authorities of Northern Dar Fur area decided in 1993 to make it legal for any citizen in their area to possess and carry firearms.

The regime has organized a number of peace conferences in Dar Fur over the last few years. But all of them have been ineffectual because the regime really never addressed the basic causes of the conflicts. Instead it has tried to exploit such gatherings for propagating its own ideology and policies, seeking to win the support of this or that party. It turned them into fora for sloganeering and sweet talking without really resolving the disputes in issue. It was therefore natural that as soon as such conferences came to an end the situation quickly returned to what it was prior to the conference, sometimes worsening considerably. Some of the recent conferences are:

- 1- Peace conference between Zaghawa and Arabs, 1994, Kutum.
- 2- Bari and Ziadiya, 1995, Malit.

- 3- Zaghawa and Northern Rezeigat, 1997, Daein.
- 4- Zaghawa and Southern Rezeigat, 1997, Gencina.

Party Politics and its Impact on Tribal Conflicts

Given the backwardness of the Sudanese society which all the previous regimes (whether they be dictatorial or democratically elected) failed to address, the influence of the tribe has grown tremendously in the society. Since independence, the tribe has become the political constituency which must be won in order to secure a territorial seat in any general election. It has assumed a crucial role in the national politics of the country since it determines the results of the general elections. Today most tribes have committees that operate in parallel with the native administration, with regard to all aspects of the life of the tribe and at all levels from local, through provincial up to regional, and even at the level of the national capital, Khartoum. Such committees also operate independently of other organizations of civil society. Their activities extend into such areas as socio-economic development and contacts with other tribes. They have a very strong influence on the members of the respective tribes. In the past, such tribal committees were led by people with humble educational background like clerks, junior book-keepers, primary or intermediate school teachers, or nurses. Today their leaders include university graduates and post-graduate professionals.

Whereas the original focus of attention of these ad hoc tribal committees was related to the native administration, their activities have now extended to other fields, including political and administrative matters at the local, provincial, regional or national levels. It is the tribe which now selects its parliamentary candidates, and it is the tribe that decides which of its members should be appointed a minister. The tribe has now a say even in appointments to administrative and executive posts; and their members have virtually assumed the role of watch-dog over the interests of their tribe in the civil service and other government offices. It is one reason why state secrets in the Sudan become easily available to the common man on the street.

It is this new well educated but informal leadership of the various tribes that have taken charge and are now managing the conflicts directly or indirectly. Their objective is to maintain the identity and protect the gains and interests of their tribes, be they social, economic or political. In consequence, tribal conflicts have not only become complicated; they have also intensified.

Despite its vast wealth, Dar Fur is considered one of the most backward regions in Sudan. Its riches have not been properly exploited and its citizens continue to depend mainly on traditional agriculture and animal wealth. The people are therefore strongly tied to the land. But there are hardly any modern development schemes which would bring about meaningful change in the lives of the citizens. A few projects with limited scope include the



Jebel Marra rural development project which focused on agricultural extension in the immediate area. This brought about some improvement in the income of the people who conformed with the projects' directives. Another project was the West Savannah Agricultural Scheme which failed to make a difference. The rest of the projects failed because of one reason or another. These projects included Sag El Na'am project near the town of El Fasher, and the mechanized agricultural schemes at Nyerteti in Jebel Marra area and Um Ajaja near Daein town in southern Dar Fur.

There is only one tarmac road of about 200 km between Nyala - Kas - Zalingi. Although the road between Nyala and El Fasher is an all-weather road, it remains un-asphalted for its entire length of 200 km.

Dar Fur is the second most densely populated region in the country. According to the last census carried out about 3 years ago, its population stood at approximately 5.5 million. The vast majority of these people now live in the southern and south-western part of the region, the people of the northern areas having been forced by drought to abandon their traditional homelands. This huge influx of people to the southern and south-western areas of the region has produced serious competition over the agricultural lands and caused high tension.

Yet the central government has never made any efforts to help the region come out of this crisis. Instead, it has stopped the subventions that were offered the region in the past to help it finance health and educational services, as well as security requirements. The burden for all these services has now shifted to the citizen who must pay multiple taxes levied by the regional and local authorities. Even animal herds are taxed.

As a result of all these hardships, the citizen of Dar Fur feels alienated from the government that purports to serve him. Government representatives are becoming increasingly viewed as colonial rulers. The security situation is nearly out of hand, with armed robbery having increased over the last few years. No single road in Dar Fur is safe for unescorted travel. Local markets are under constant threat of being invaded and robbed by armed gangs. The citizen is in the grip of terror about his personal safety. The people have therefore taken the initiative and turned to their collective security.

It therefore appears that the ground has been prepared for widespread popular rebellion against the government of the Sudan.

DAR FUR..

PRESENT AND FUTURE

ZEIN ELAABDEIN ARBAB

Dar Fur region is situated in the far west Sudan, where it borders Libya to the north, Chad to the west, Central African Republic to the south-west, Bahr El Ghazal region of the Sudan to the south and Kordofan region to the east. It has a land area of about 114,000 square miles. It has a varied climate ranging from desert and semi-arid zone in the north to rich savanna in the south. Its people are either sedentary farmers or nomadic pastoralists. Animal wealth consists of cattle, camels, goats and sheep. Agricultural products include maize, sesame, ground nuts, tobacco, fruits and vegetables. Fruits are grown mainly around Jebel Marra which rises to a height of 3000 metres above sea level.

Many tribes inhabit Dar Fur, including Fur, Masalit, Daju, Barno, Felata, Gomer, Zaghawa, Rezeigat, Habaniya, Bani Hussein, Salamat, Misseriya, Turjem and Abu Darag. These tribes are usually categorized under two wide groups: Arab and African. Although there is a strong diversity in the cultures of these tribes, they managed in the past to live in perfect harmony. Of late, however, this harmony has been disturbed.

The Fur Sultanate existed as an independent state between 1650 and 1916 when it was annexed by the British colonial power to the rest of the Sudan. Because of lack of academic research about the history of this sultanate and the area it occupies, it is difficult to provide any reliable details about its past history.

The recent history of Dar Fur is characterized by bloody tribal and political conflicts, mostly brought about by outside sedition and interference in the internal affairs of the region. Such conflicts were resolved in the past through the system of native administration manned by tribal chiefs and traditional leaders and mediators. The recent conflicts which were incited from outside the region caused much greater destruction in the area, affecting social and economic resources as well as the general security situation. Most people consider the central government in Khartoum to be responsible for the explosive situation in Dar Fur. For instance, the recent division of Dar Fur into several regions is seen by the citizens of Dar Fur as an

attempt by certain interest group to weaken the unity and solidarity of the indigenous citizens of the region. The decision to carve out certain parts from the region and annex them to other regions is nothing but an act of aggression against the original owners of such areas. The intention is to weaken certain tribes and cause sedition between them and other tribes in the region or other neighboring regions in the country. The overall objective is to impose on the people of this region the hegemony of the centre.

When the May regime of Gaafar Nimeiri was overthrown in a popular uprising in 1985, people of Dar Fur thought that the decentralized system of rule that it had introduced several years earlier would be maintained by the new party government. But this was not to be, as the central government authorities started a counter process of re-centralizing powers, withdrawing some powers from the regional government and institutions. Public utilities such as the electricity corporation and housing department were brought under the control of the central government without even consulting the regional governors. This created problems between the governors of Dar Fur and Kordofan on the one hand and the central government on the other.

The present government tries to deceive people by claiming that it has adopted and implemented a federal system of government. But how could a system like that be implemented in the absence of a constitution approved by the people? There is no supremacy of the rule of law in the country, as the regime rules by decree under a permanent state of emergency. This situation has encouraged the citizens not to recognize the regime and to engage sometimes in violent activities. That is why there is so much insecurity in Dar Fur now. Who could have imagined in the past that a major bank could be robbed in Nyala town in broad daylight?

The regime has made a mockery of its own system of federation by continuing to control everything from the centre. For example, provincial commissioners are appointed by the president of the republic where as such appointments should be part and parcel of the prerogatives of the regional governors and their appropriate regional organs. In the past such appointments were made in accordance with a resolution of the regional legislative assembly. By all accounts, the powers that have evolved to the federal states under the current so-called federalism are far less than those enjoyed by the regions under Nimeiri's regional system which was introduced in 1980.

The Khartoum government has created a major crisis by meddling with the system of native administration. This system was restored by the elected government of 1986, precisely at the time when Mr. Tigani Sisi was governor of Dar Fur. The functioning of the system was

entirely left to tribal chiefs without any interference from the executive authority of the region. But the present government has ignored all these conventions and has completely disrupted the system of native administration, first by changing the age-old titles and then proceeding to appoint "Amirs" in the places of former chiefs at various levels. They now call the new administrative units "Emirates". They have even taken upon themselves the power of appointing someone to be enthroned as the "Sultan" of the Fur country. The regime did the same thing with the Masalit native administration.

There is no doubt that this parallel system introduced by the ruling National Islamic Front is aimed at weakening tribal solidarity and influence so that they can bring the masses of these tribes under their own influence with the least resistance. But resistance to this plan has already been manifested in many acts of defiance carried out in the areas of the tribes so affected. The recent clashes between the Masalit and Arab tribes in the area are a testimony to the rejection of these policies of the NIF.

The NIF regime aims to alter the demographic structure as well as the distribution of economic resources in Dar Fur in favor of ethnic groups that it considers more loyal to it. It plans to put political power in the hands of Arab ethnic groups in Dar Fur. It has applied many strategies to achieve this.

It has cultivated fear among the Arabs by mongering rumors that their African neighbors in the region intend to eliminate them through a campaign of ethnic cleansing, and that they must unify their ranks and cooperate with the central government which will support them in their fight for survival. On its own part, the central government would work to prevent the unity of the "black" tribes by sowing seeds of discord among them. Meanwhile, it would also starve the region of any social services so that its younger people are compelled to leave their homes in pursuit of better services elsewhere. It will make sure that the members of these tribes remain ignorant and poor so that they migrate in search of employment in better served areas. It will also suppress members of these tribes by denying them their rightful places in the various institutions of the country. This policy amounts to the deliberate marginalization of members of the larger ethnic groups of the region.

Those who are inclined to believe the alarmist propaganda of the NIF regime about the threat to the Arabs of Dar Fur need to know that those very Arab ethnic groups have lived peacefully for centuries under African tribal rulers. They need to be reminded about past wars in which the Arabs stood with their African fellows against Zubeir Pasha, an Arab invader from the riverain tribes of northern Sudan.

In order to remedy the situation, the Sudanese must adopt the

right policies for building a democratic nation state, a multi-party state that will strive to achieve justice for all its citizens instead of inciting one ethnic group against another. The Sudanese need a government that will not divide them while classifying some sections of the population as separatists, infidels or racists.

The citizens of Dar Fur must assert themselves so that they occupy their rightful place in the decision-making institutions and start to have a say in the formulation and implementation of policies that affect their lives. They must work to check the hegemony of the centre and restore the powers of native administration to the leaders of the various ethnic groups. The federal system which the regime claims to have adopted must not remain a mere slogan. It should be fully and correctly implemented so that political and executive powers evolve to the regions to enable the people practically govern themselves.

The native administration should not just be restored: it must be developed so as to keep abreast with developments in the centre. It should be supported with the requisite facilities, such as means of transport and communication, to enable it carry out its functions satisfactorily.

There must be balanced development in the economic, social and political fields. At the economic level, the patronizing way in which Dar Fur is treated should be stopped. Dar Fur should be allowed to compete freely in the market as regards prices of goods and export opportunities. On the political level, the people of Dar Fur should enjoy full freedom to establish any civil organizations that they deem necessary. It is now well known that the ethnic groups that monopolise political power in the country always label as racist any regional organization, such as the Dar Fur Development Front, Beja Congress or General Union of the Nuba.

It is necessary for the intellectuals and enlightened segments of the marginalised regions to realise that the solution to Sudan's problems lies in the complete re-structuring of the Sudanese state. The Sudanese nation state must be organized in such a way that no citizen feels alienated. This nation state ought to be founded on the principles of freedom, equality and justice so that every citizen fully enjoys his rights and lives in dignity and peace.

Comprehensive development must be the goal, with priority going to education, health and physical infrastructure. Finally, serious efforts should be made to defuse tribal tension in the contact areas by adopting the correct policies. Our aim must be the prevalence of a just and comprehensive peace throughout the Sudan so that the explosive situation that has been deliberately encouraged by the NIF gives way to harmony and lasting peace.

Text of the Memorandum Presented by Members of the Zaghawa Tribe to the President of the Republic in May 1991

In the name of God,
Most Gracious,
Most Merciful.

Mr. President,

We have been following very closely the recent events which took place in the areas of Khazan Jadid, Shaeriya, Argod, Mawarit and Um Katkot, all of which were tribally motivated and were aimed at undermining the security situation in the region. We hold the Governor of Dar Fur Region responsible for these incidents, together with the security committee, the commanders of the military convoys and leaders of the native administration in the area. There are indications that these incidents were planned. A series of conferences were held, among them:

- 1) Conference of Qesat Jamat from 20 - 22 November 1990.
- 2) Conference of Argod held under very dubious circumstances.
- 3) Conference of Shaeriya which took place after the recent incidents under the auspices of the Governor of Dar Fur Region, on 28/10/1990

All these conferences were shrouded in secrecy, being essentially aimed at causing a state of insecurity and creating discord in the political society of Dar Fur. For if that was not the case why was it that these incidents occurred at the same time that there were noticeable external pressures targeted at the security of Dar Fur?

We would like to assure Your Excellency that the sources directly behind these incidents, who have planted the seeds of sedition among

our people, are not from the Zaghawa tribe as has been maliciously claimed by some circles. It is also not true that these incidents occurred within the context of the campaign against armed robbery in the region. To prove our point, we hereby attach a report about the recent incidents and documents related to some of the conferences which were held previously with the specific aim of planning for the ethnic cleansing of the Zaghawa tribe by creating sedition between it and other tribes. Herebelow are some examples.

First: The Beginning of the Recent Incidents:-

The first incident occurred when a unit of our People's Armed Forces clashed with a group of unidentified gunmen near Abu Shawakil market in Neteiga area east of Nyala. Three members of the Armed Forces and one of the gunmen were killed. The incident was reported immediately and a force of Army and Police units was dispatched to pursue the culprits. In the battle that ensued later, 8 members of the regular forces fell, while 17 more were injured.

Secondly: The Events of Khazan Jadid:

Following the events of Abu Shawaki', the local chief of the area, Omda Mohd Fadol went to El Fasher the next day, 24/9/1990, and returned with an army convoy commanded by Lt. Colonel (P.S.C.) Hussein. On 25/9/1990 the convoy moved towards Zaghawa villages lying within the vicinity of Khazan Jadid and immediately started burning the villages, one after the other. Methodically, the force would enter a village, force out the villagers from their dwellings and then separate the women from men. Then the villagers were forced to lie face down on the ground. The convoy, with the participation of the tribal militia of the chief, then started looting anything and everything of value from the homes of the villagers, including expensive rugs, electronic equipment, jewelry, women 'tobes', home furniture, clothes and money. After that they would set the whole village on fire until it was reduced to ashes. This process was repeated until 22 Zaghawa villages were burnt down. Not a single village belonging to any other tribe (and there were more than 20 villages of other tribes in this area) was burnt down. But the destruction did not stop at material property.

The convoy and the chief's militia slaughtered a young man called Ali

Omer, 25 years old, and a 7-year-old child called Abdalla Adam Ali Juma, who was thrown into the fire of a burning hut. Many other Zaghawa tribesmen were brutally tortured by kicking, beating and lashing with all kinds of things until most of them became unconscious. For instance, citizen Haroun Abaker Wadi was tied up, beaten to the point of unconsciousness, and then thrown into the fire. He was, however, saved by his wife who pulled him away. Among those who were mercilessly whipped are: 1) Salih Suleiman Fadol 2) Ismael Suleiman Fadol 3) Abdalla Idris Fadol 4) Ishag Abdalla and 5) Musa Eissa. Others were tortured in various other ways, among them: 1) Ishag Mohd Suleiman 2) Adam Yousif Mohd Suleiman 3) Omda/ Yousif Mohd Suleiman 4) Ibrahim Khamis Wadi 5) Bakhit Mohd.

The above-mentioned people had come to Khazan Jadid to grind dura to be taken as relief to other Zaghawa victims whose villages had been previously burnt down. They were all stripped of their clothes and left totally naked in the public square where they were then tortured in front of people. Chief Mohd Fadol Jaafar then improvised a new method of torturing people. He ordered that a deep hole be dug. Then each of the men was given a mock burial whereby he was thrown into the hole and covered with earth, to be pulled out after some time. After that the men were ordered to run back and forth and finally made to stand upright while facing the sun.

It is difficult to know the exact extent of the destruction and losses in material property. However, as regards losses in food items and cash money, the following were reported: 1) 4826 bags of dura (sorghum) 2) 742 bags of groundnuts 3) 500 bags of dried okra 4) 497 bags of melon seeds 5) 399 bags of sesame 6) Ls.918,700 (Sudanese pounds)

It is worth mentioning that Zaghawa tribesmen were prevented from grinding their dura at the flour mills in Wadit and Khazan Jadid. Zaghawa traders in Khazan Jadid were also prevented from purchasing dura for their kinsmen whose homes had been burnt down by the convoy. Furthermore, the same convoy moved on to Argod Mararit where they killed two Zaghawa tribesmen, student Ali Musa Inam Ibrahim and Mr. El Sabah Sabi Madibbo.

Thirdly: Nyala Convoy:

Another convoy composed of army and police units moved from Nyala on 24/9/1990 heading for Um Katkot, Khazan Jadid and Shacriya areas. The army unit was commanded by a Lt. colonel while the police component was led by a captain. The convoy burnt down the village of Hamariya which the Zaghawa had inhabited for more

that sixty years. They arrested 11 Zaghawa herdsmen, left their herds of cattle, camels, goats and sheep unattended. One of the arrested men, by the name Omer Bakhit, was tortured to death. Then they took with them the remaining ten. At Khazan Jadid, the convoy arrested two people, Hag/Ismael Abakar Idris and Hag/Nurein Ibrahim Imam. Further ahead in Shaeriya they arrested 5 more people: Moulana/Bakheit Sineen Hassan, Mohamed Sineen Hassan, Ibrahim Juma, Hashim Salih and Madibbo Mohd Hammad.

On 2nd October 1990, the convoy moved to Jebel Dablokoro where they spent the day. In the evening they set free 9 of the herdsmen and took with them 8 other citizens, namely: Hag/Ismael Abakar Idris, Hag/Nurein Ibrahim Imam, Moulana/Bakheit Sineen Hassan, Mohamed Sineen Hassan, Ibrahim Juma, Hashim Salih Abba, Madibbo Mohd Hammad and Abakar Musa Ahmed.

In the evening of 3rd October 1990, people in the villages adjacent to Jebel Dablokoro heard the sound of gunfire. When we started inquiring about the arrested men, the authorities told us that they were in detention in some prison awaiting investigation. But we were suspicious and worried about the safety of our people. So we launched a big search in all the surrounding areas. It took quite a while before the searchers found two newly dug graves. The authorities were informed in Nyala. A representative of the Attorney General's office in Southern Dar Fur was dispatched to the scene to supervise the exhumation of whatever was in those graves. It turned out the two graves were mass graves for our 8 kinsmen mentioned above, four bodies in each grave.

Examination of the decomposed bodies revealed that their hands were tied to the back; they had on them the clothes and shoes they had been wearing, and 9 spent cartridges were found inside the graves.

The supervising attorney then asked the relatives of the deceased to take an oath as to the findings before ordering the reburial of the 8 bodies in the proper way and in the presence of thousands of citizens. It was not lost on those thousands of citizens that while they were going through this sad process of exhumation and reburial, the Governor of Dar Fur was holding a conference in the area of Shaeriya, a mere 30 km away, and never bothered to witness this serious episode.

We here below provide a brief background about each of our murdered tribesmen just mentioned above.

- 1- Hag/Ismael Abakar Idris: was a merchant in Khazan Jadid, the chairman of Ismael Abakar residential area, chairman of chamber of commerce of Khazan Jadid and chairman of Western Sudan Cooperative Society.
- 2- Hag/Nurein Ibrahim Imam: was a merchant in Khazan

Jadid, area representative in the negotiations regarding the selection of labor contractors, chairman of the commodities distribution committee in his residential area and chairman of the self-help committee for development of the area.

- 3- Bakheit Sineen Hassan (47 years): was a merchant in Shaeriya since 20 years, "Muadhin" (Caller to prayer) at the Western Mosque in Shaeriya and member of the self-help committee for construction of the Grand Mosque of Shaeriya, member of the Water Project Committee for Shaeriya, chairman of the Parents Committee for Primary A School, chairman of the Cooperative Society of the Hospital Residential Area and married to two wives with 11 children.

- 4- Ibrahim Juma: was a merchant in Shaeriya for more than 20 years and a father of ten children.

- 5- Hashim Salih Abba: was a merchant in Shaeriya since 15 years before, chairman of the local Police Residential Area, treasurer of the fund for the Water Committee of the area and father of 4 children.

- 6- Mahmoud Sineen Hassan: was the owner of a transport company in Shaeriya, chairman of the cooperative Society of the local Police Residential Area and married to two wives with 10 children.

- 7- Madibbo Mohd Hammad: was a merchant in Shaeriya for more than 15 years, Imam (preacher) of the Police Residential Area mosque, member of the self-help committee for the construction of the Grand Mosque of Shaeriya, member of the Water Project Committee of Shaeriya and married to two wives with 8 children.

- 8- Abakar Musa Ahmed: was a herdsman from Ghorban village.

There were many other incidents that had occurred before the above-mentioned ones. We cite some of them here below:

First: The Incident of Kabkabiya:

During the Ramadan i.e March, 1990, an army convoy commanded by a certain officer called El Hadi Adam Hamid started off from Zalingei, ostensibly to track down a band of criminals. But when the force reached one of the Zaghawa settlements near Kabkabiya, they raided it, looted all valuable property and then burnt down the whole settlement. There was no apparent reason for this barbaric act on the part of the army unit. Six young Zaghawa tribesmen were driven away and were shot dead on the way. They were not taken to any police station, nor brought before any judge.

Subsequently an intensive campaign was launched against the Zaghawa ethnic group throughout the area. No other ethnic group was targeted or affected by the campaign. About 30 members of the Zaghawa tribe were rounded up and detained. It took a lot of pleading from the chiefs and huge sums of money from the community to secure the release of those 30 people. Meanwhile, the officer who perpetrated all these outrageous acts of lawlessness went scot free and, in fact, got promoted to the rank of Lt. colonel.

Secondly: The Incident of Kornoy:

A unit of foreign troops which had infiltrated into Dar Fur kidnapped 96 members of the Zaghawa tribe. Their fate remains unknown until today and our government has not made any effort to secure their release.

Thirdly: The Incident of Tina:

A similar outrage was committed by foreign troops in Tina when they killed in cold blood a medical assistant who belonged to the Zaghawa ethnic group. The government failed to take any measures to bring to book the perpetrators of this crime.

Fourthly : The Incident of Wakham:

A group of seven Zaghawa tribesmen were kidnapped while on their way from Libya returning to Sudan. The kidnappers are known to be Chadian soldiers, but the Government of Sudan has not initiated any diplomatic measures to ensure their release. One of the kidnapped people is called Osman Mohd El Bushra.

Fifthly: The Incidents of Matourat, Koya and Gharyan:

On 19 July 1990 a police unit under the command of a captain raided the above-mentioned villages and burnt them down after looting them. When they finally withdrew from the villages they drove away three elderly villagers, namely: 1) Omar Yacoub popularly known as Muhajir Dhuram, 2) Bakheit Beneiyo and 3)

Adam Harou. Three were all shot dead when the force reached a place called Wadi Bileil. They were buried in the vicinity of that location and their bodies were discovered 56 days later. The government never took any steps to investigate the incident and bring to account those responsible for it.

There were other incidents in 1991 during which a number of Zaghawa tribesmen were killed. Below is a list of martyrs:

Incident of 23/11/1991 at Khazan Jadid:

- 1) Omar Ibrahim Ahmed 2) Abdel Rahman Ibrahim Ahmed
- 3) Dou-El-Beit Suleiman Khamis 4) Musa Hajjar Hassan 5) Ibrahim Yacoub Yunis.

Incident of 2 Ramadan, 18/3/1991 at Wadat:

- 1) Musa Khatir Jar El Nabi 2) Mohd Hassan Khidir 3) Salih Nimeiri Attia 4) Shamin Hary Hamad 5) Abdel-Banat Hary Hamad 6) Abdel-Jabar Tamim.

Incident of 5 Ramadan, 21/3/1991 at Hillat Um Hijara:

- 1) Abdalla Yacoub Hashim 2) Hanifan Manis 3) Mohd Abdalla Adam 4) Ali Harran 5) Abdel-Rahim Jarour 6) Mohd Abdel-Rahim Jarour.

Incident of 5/4/1991 at Khazan Jadid:

The following people were attacked and killed in the compound of Khazan Jadid Mosque as they were just finishing their Friday prayers:

- 1) Fajjar Hassan 2) Ishag Abdalla Abdel-Rahman 3) Zakaria Mohd Baraka 4) Haroun Abakar Wadi 5) Mahmoud Bakheit Ishag 6) Delli Wadi Mohd 7) Adam Khatir Abdel-Rahman 8) Adam Ali Wadi 9) Omar Sebil Mohd 10) Ismail Baraka 11) Ali Abdalla Ishag 12) Ahmed Hassan Ahmed 13) Ahmed Hassan Maneiz 14) Hamid Ibrahim Mursaal 15) Bashir Nur



Ishag 16) Daoud Ibrahim Wadi.

The following are our urgent demands to which we want the government to give immediate attention:

- 1- The culprits who perpetrated the above-mentioned crimes, involving massacres, burning of homes and property, robbery, looting and torture targeting our tribe must be urgently brought to justice.
- 2- The state of siege imposed around the water points and markets of the Zaghawa tribe should be called off and lifted immediately.
- 3- The random search-and-destroy campaigns targeting the Zaghawa tribe should be stopped at once. Our tribe, which is not any less Sudanese than any other tribe, should be treated on the basis of justice and equality.
- 4- The Zaghawa tribesmen who have been detained simply because of their ethnic background should be set free forthwith. We see this practice as one of the many forms of the persecution to which our tribe has been subjected.
- 5- The inhabitants of the burnt down villages have been left homeless and without food. We demand that relief teams be quickly organized to provide them with urgent needs.
- 6- We the leaders of the Zaghawa tribe should be allowed to make contacts with our communities everywhere with the aim to collect donations to be used to provide relief to our destitute people.
- 7- The government must shoulder its responsibility in ensuring the redemption of our tribesmen who have been kidnapped by foreign troops.
- 8- There must be full compensation and indemnification for the property destroyed through burning by government forces.
- 9- We the Zaghawa people insist upon our legitimate right to select our chiefs (mashaikh, omd and sharati) and organize our popular committees and conferences.

The Zaghawa people are all mourning in silence for this tragedy that has befallen them. Yet they are waiting for an urgent and drastic resolution of all the problems that have beset their region in particular and the Sudan in general. We hereby reiterate our commitment to right and justice and call upon the government of our country to bring to book all those who have committed crimes against our people, whether those crimes be murder or any other. We are keen that justice be done and therefore call for fair and public trials where the accused will have the right to defend themselves.

Members of the Zaghawa Tribe in the Capital and the Regions, May 1991

- c.c. Political Supervisor of Dar Fur Region
- c.c. Minister of the Interior
- c.c. Director of State Security
- c.c. Chief Justice
- c.c. Attorney General and Minister of Justice
- c.c. Governor of Dar Fur Region

An Open Letter to the international Community

The Hidden Slaughter and Ethnic Cleansing in Western Sudan.

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The wide-spread and systematic abuses of human rights carried out by the current National Islamic Front (NIF) government in Sudan are well-documented. Most of what is reported by international human rights organizations concerns the extensive abuses, including genocide and slavery, that have occurred in the war-torn areas of southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains. These horrors deserve the attention that they have received but there are other parts of Sudan where the NIF government has pursued similar policies with equally brutal results, although these cases have not been reported on except in the most cursory manner. Here, attention is focused on the brutalities meted out on the Massaleit people of Western Sudan a campaign in which thousands have been killed and tens of thousands forced to flee into neighboring Chad.

The Massaleit are a people who live in the extreme west of Darfur along the border with Chad. They are all Muslims and many of them speak Arabic, although they also speak their local language and continue to practice their own cultural traditions. Like other non-Arab ethnic groups in the region such as the Fur and the Zaghawa, the Massaleit have in recent years comounded systematic attack by NIF sponsored and armed Arab paramilitary militias operating in the area. These militias have repeatedly

massacred non-Arab civilians, burned whole villages to the ground and caused a massive flight of whole non-Arab communities from their ancestral lands. In short, the NIF government in Sudan has actively pursued a policy of ethnic cleansing against the non-Arabs of Western Sudan.

The long-standing civil war in Sudan is often represented as a conflict between the Arab and Muslim North and the African and Christian South. While there is some truth in this dichotomy, it fails to account for the social and cultural complexity of either the North or the South. The NIF government is an Islamist regime and part of its explicit and stated policy is the full Islamization of Sudan. The NIF uses the term "Jihad" to describe its war against the Southern Sudanese rebels who are referred to as "infidels." Yet in Western Sudan, where all the people are Muslims, it has become apparent that the discourse of Islamization is a code word for something else. Behind the banner of Islamization in Northern Sudan is a deeply racist policy of arabization and it is a part of the logic of this policy that the non-Arab ethnic groups of Western Sudan have come under attack. Despite their deep roots in Islam, and their traditional loyalty to the Umma Party, the NIF regime considers non-Arabs to be potential fifth-columnists in the civil war because of their "African" identity and cultural heritage. Consequently, the NIF regime has sought to destroy the traditional bases of authority in these communities and change the ethnic composition of Western Sudan to preempt this imagined danger.

The NIF government argues that the violence in Western Sudan in the 1990s is the result of tribal conflicts which have always existed in the area. It is true that Western Sudan is a multiethnic region where numerous ethnic groups live side by side. It is also true that ethnic tensions and conflicts have periodically occurred because of competition over resources, especially between the seminomadic pastoralist peoples and sedentary farmers. However, traditionally, conflicts of this sort were effectively mediated by traditional means. If the current violence in Western Sudan is but the continuation of long-standing tribal conflict in the region as the NIF argues, one would expect to find that this sort of violence has long characterized the region. But this is not the case. Since as far back as the colonial period, Western Sudan has been relatively peaceful. The real reason that violence has torn apart the lives of so many people in Western Sudan in the 1990s is that it is NIF policy. By arming and financing local Arab paramilitary groups, the NIF has quite intentionally created ethnic (and in fact racial) conflicts across Western Sudan. Furthermore, the NIF has disarmed non-Arab groups making them virtually defenseless against the well-armed government militias. The NIF has instigated nothing short of a racial war against the non-Arab inhabitants of Western Sudan.

The specific troubles of the Massaleit began five years ago when the NIF government created thirty new positions (which carried the title of emir) in the traditional administrative structure of the Dar Massaleit area, and filled the majority of these offices with people from Arab ethnic groups (in particular from the Umm Jalul Arabs). This action by the government was rightly seen by many Massaleit as an attempt to undermine the power of their community and their traditional leadership role in the area by raising

members of militant indigenous Arab groups above them. The Massaleit reacted angrily to this government action and tensions mounted between the Massaleit and local Arabs. Communal hostilities broke out and acts of violence became common. The government reacted to this situation by replacing the governor of Western Darfur Muhammad Ahmad Fadul with General Hassan Hamadein, thereby putting the area under de facto military rule. The new governor began a massive campaign of arrests, imprisonment, and torture targeted at prominent members of the Massaleit community, including those with education, umdas, shaykhs, and Massaleit members of the state council.

In the context of state repression of the Massaleit community, the government-supported Arab militias began to attack Massaleit villages in the area beginning in August 1995. In one of the earliest incidents, a group of Massaleit villages known as Majmari to the east of Geneina, the regional capital, were attacked by Arab militias. These villages were burned to the ground and seventy-five people were killed, one hundred and seventy people were injured, and six hundred and fifty heads of cattle were stolen. In a similar incident, Arab militias attacked the village of Shoshta southwest of Geneina on the evening of July 5, 1996 and at least forty-five people were killed, most of whom were women and children. Similar attacks occurred in other villages including Gadier, Kasay, Bura, Mirmia Kadmoli, and the villages of the Birirbat Mountains.

Most of these attacks were undertaken late at night when the village inhabitants were sleeping. Upon reaching a village, the attackers typically began by lighting fire to all the houses in the village. Those villagers who managed to escape the flames were then shot by the Arab militias as they fled their homes. Furthermore, the timing of the majority of the attacks coincided with the agricultural harvest. In this way, by burning the fields just before they were ready to be harvested, or while the crop lay on the ground after first being cut, the Arab militias destroyed the year's crop and exposed the Massaleit farmers to starvation. In short, the Arab militias quite systematically aimed to destroy the Massaleit people, expose them to famine, and force them to flee their ancestral lands.

This was much more than a tribal or ethnic conflict. These atrocities were well planned and directed by the Sudanese military governor of the area. In one of the worst attacks, on the villages of Mount Junun, a number of militia members were killed by the Massaleit. From the identity cards found on some of the dead bodies, it was confirmed that these attacks were orchestrated by the NIF government itself. Included among the dead was a Syrian named Mahmoud Muhammad Shaghar, a Libyan named Fathy Abdel Salaam, an Algerian named Blunmi Hamaad, and a number of persons from Chad and other areas of Sudan. Thus, the attacks were not only organized by the NIF government, but members of the Muslim Brothers themselves took part in the violence itself. In light of this, the NIF government's claims that these events are merely tribal conflict is sheer nonsense.

On March 26, 1997 the violence escalated when an Arab militia attacked the Bayda area in southwestern Dar Massaleit using horses and Toyota Land Cruisers with mounted machine guns. In the days that followed,

most of the villages of the area were destroyed including Ajrharab, Adiring, Miriamta, Timbili, Haraza, Umm Kharaba, Buyut Thalatha, Ashaba, Sahima, Kaway, Shoshta, Kalkuti, and Kasia. In these attacks more than four hundred and forty people were killed, of which one hundred and fifty were women and fifty were children. A large number of people were displaced and their whereabouts is still unknown, although it appears likely that many were enslaved by the militia members. On April 4, 1997 the commander of the militia who was riding in the Toyota Landcruiser was killed and it was discovered that he was a colonel in the Sudanese Armed Forces.

Later in April 1997, the same tactics and equipment were used to attack the villages of the Asrini area east of Geneina. In the course of five days, approximately one hundred Massaleit villages were burned to the ground, more than five hundred people were killed, approximately three thousand Massaleit were displaced, and four hundred heads of livestock were stolen.

In 1998 at least four major atrocities were carried out by the government-directed Arab militias. These occurred at Gadier, Hashaba Jabal, and Liberi. Approximately four hundred and thirty Massaleit were killed, one hundred and twenty villages were burned, and three hundred and ninety heads of livestock were looted.

Throughout this period, the Arab militias were provided with weapons, equipment, transportation, military training, and military logistics by the government. At the same time, the Massaleit were disarmed, placed under curfew, restricted in their movements, subjected to mass arrests, torture, and extrajudicial killings by the government. Furthermore, Massaleit youths were forcibly conscripted into the Sudanese Armed Forces and sent to Southern Sudan to fight in the "Jihad" against the Southern rebels, while Arab youths were allowed to stay in Western Sudan to carry out further atrocities against the Massaleit elderly, women, and children who remained in the area.

The situation has only continued to escalate and it has become clear that the intention of the NIF government is the full ethnic cleansing of the Massaleit from their ancestral homeland in Western Sudan. On January 17, 1999, on the first day of the post-Ramadan festival "Eidal-Fitr," an incident occurred that sparked a full scale attack on the Massaleit throughout the whole area. On that day, an elderly Massaleit farmer named Al-Hajj Ismail Ishaq Omar, from the village of Tabariek five kilometers from Geneina, found animals belonging to Arab herders grazing in his fields. When he attempted to chase the animals away, he was shot and killed by the owners of the animals. Three Massaleit villagers quickly arrived on the scene and they were also shot. Two were killed (the shaykh of the village Abaker and his son Ishaq Abaker) and the other was injured (a school teacher named Ustaz Osman Sandal). When more Massaleit farmers arrived on the scene, a large confrontation ensued and one of the Arab herders was killed. When some of the tribal heads from the Arab and Massaleit communities came to try to restore calm, they also came under fire from the angry farmers and an Arab chief named Al-Hadi Muhammad Reifa was killed.

When news of this incident reached the government, they turned it

into an opportunity to destroy the Massaleit. The Sudanese Minister of Interior, Abdel-Azim Muhammad Hussein, announced to the media in Khartoum that the Massaleit had assassinated all the Arab leaders in Dar Massaleit. He also declared that the Massaleit were outlaws, opponents of the regime, and constituted a fifth column in Western Sudan in league with the anti-government rebels. With the official encouragement of the NIF government in Khartoum and through the agency of the NIF officials in the state of Western Darfur, the way was clear for the Arab militias to begin a full and final assault on the Massaleit.

A meeting was convened by the Arabs of Western Sudan, Arabs from other parts of Sudan and even Arabs from neighboring countries. War was declared on the Massaleit and the government provided the local militias with more weapons, Toyota Landcruisers, communication equipment, money, etc. The government also seized off the Dar Massaleit area and prevented Massaleit people from fleeing. In the attacks which ensued at the end of January 1999, military helicopters from the Sudanese military were used to support the actions of the militias. More than two thousand Massaleit were killed in these actions and thousands more were wounded. Tens of thousands of Massaleit fled to Chad where there are as many as a hundred thousand Massaleit refugees at the current time. For the Massaleit who remain in Sudan, the campaign against them continues. In mid-March 1999, more than a hundred Massaleit were killed in a typical Arab militia attack.

The conditions for the refugees in Chad is desperate. Because they have received no assistance and protection from international refugee organizations, they face high mortality and the possibility of starvation. Perhaps most daunting for the Massaleit refugees in Chad is the active cooperation which the Sudanese regime receives from Chad in forcibly returning refugees whom the NIF regime considers criminals. In this broad category, any Massaleit leaders or potential leaders can be taken back to Sudan to be imprisoned, tortured, and often times executed.

Less than a month after the beginning of the campaign against the Massaleit in January of this year, the governments of Chad and Sudan concluded an agreement committing the two sides to cooperate in security problems. In a document signed in the Chadian capital of N'Djamena between February 10-13, 1999 by the Sudanese foreign minister Dr. Mustafa Osman Ismail and the Chadian foreign minister Muhammad Salih Nazief, who happens to be a member of the same Arab ethnic group that carried out the attacks on the Massaleit in Sudan, the two sides agreed to police refugees, prevent the Chadian or Sudanese opposition forces from operating in either country, and to strengthen existing extradition agreements so that refugees who are considered criminals in their home country can be extradited. Thus, it is clear that the Massaleit refugees in Chad can expect no protection from the brutality of the Sudanese regime, even in exile.

The Sudanese regime has been remarkably successful in suppressing information about the atrocities committed against the Massaleit in Western Sudan. For this reason, it is all the more important that the news of this systematic and racist campaign reach the ears of the world. This genocide must be stopped. But it will not end unless international pressure is brought to bear on the NIF government of Sudan.

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN SUDAN

EXTRA JUDICIAL KILLINGS

* The SHRO was vested with information that no one knows the whereabouts of some detainees who had been arrested during January and February 1998 during what is recently known as Wau events. We confirm the following:

1 - Dr Charles Beth, the Director of Ministry of Agriculture and Animals Resources, in the Lakes Region, and his brother, were arrested while being at home. The house was, as well, thoroughly searched. Both of them were taken to an unknown place. Numerous attempts were made by the Warab governor, Arab Asher, to identify his whereabouts. Ultimately, the SHRO, was of the opinion that he had been extra judicially killed.

2 - Captain Der Makarthon, of Deer Guard, was arrested and kept, as well, in an unknown place.

3 - Geng Majok, member of the Legislative Assembly of Warab region, was arrested by the militia of Tom El Nour, who later denied this. The SHRO was of the opinion that he had been also extra judicially killed.

4 - Yuel Nol, watchmaker, was arrested by the soldiers in charge of May Institute for Higher Nursing, and was killed and his body was thrown near the Institute.

As well, some of the normal soldiers had destroyed and robbed some of the establishments including:

- 1 - Offices and warehouses of the UNICEF.
- 2 - Offices and warehouses of the Sudanese Council of Churches.
- 3 - Nazarib residential area (South of Wau).
- 4 - Barracks of Police and Prisons Forces.
- 5 - The Government Rest-house.
- 6 - VIP Rest-house (near the Governor house)
- 7 - Residential areas of Jellaba, Dinka, Al Hilla el Gadida, Tolota (North of Wau).

Generally, Wau events were still so ambiguous and lacks information. But according to our sources the attack was launched on Jan. 29, 1998, at 1:00 PM and continued for four hours when Karbino forces retreated while the

fight continued at the police barracks between Ayok Deng forces, on one hand, and the government force, on the other.

Between Jan. 29th and Feb 6th 1998, many civilians were killed or kidnapped by the pro-government Tom El-Nour militia. No results from the investigation committee, regarding this massacre, were availed.

The SHRO called for a popular camping to press the Sudan government to release and disclose information of this massacre and the disclosure of the graves of those killed and for the trial of all those who are involved in these heinous crimes.

* On Sunday 14/6/1998 fourteen of the special guards of the Wali of North Bahr Elghazal plus a young student were detained in Aweil town and taken on the same night to Methyang garison (2 kilometers from Aweil) they were all shot dead by the command of an army intelligence officer named Abdel-hasit, the unfortunate deceased were:

1. Majok Amol
2. Joseph Garang Dot
3. John Garang Bol
4. Santo Maywein Manon
5. James Maleik Manon
6. Peter Deng Dot
7. James Akol Maywein
8. Peter Pol Kuwal
9. Sabit Luwal Kuwal
10. Pol Nagong Deng
11. Marko Maywein Deng
12. Garang Kuwaj Do
13. Maywein Dawo Jong
14. Kor Koor
15. Gal Ajal Deng Gai (student).

* On August 4th, 1998, the Sudanese security had attacked the students campus of the University of Khartoum. Many students were taken to unknown sites and had been subjected to numerous types of torture. As a result, Mohamed Abdel Salaun Babikir, fourth Year, Faculty of Law was killed. He was heavily beaten on the head. The medical examination insured that the incidence of death was a result of internal bleeding caused by heavy beating on the head. Police complain was launched against both the Vice chancellor and the Students Dean. Abdel Salam was arrested by:

- 1 - Amar Bashary, Faculty of Law
- 2 - Ramadan Musa Dirar, Faculty of Law
- 3 - Amar Mubarak.

The three of them are pro security and had under the leadership of Abdel Gafar ElSharief and Faisal Adlan, personally accomplished the torture procedure.

* On the night of September 1st, 1998 Hassan Hafiz Ibrahim age 73 year was returning to his home when he was stopped by security patrol and as he was not taking his ID card he was beaten to death. The security elements took the body to the hospital, the deceased family insisted on police investigations and they accused two of the security men.

* Mahgub Humaida was detained on July 1998 with other trade unionists and he was tortured till death.

* On September 1998 a group of citizens were detained in Adaryeil area and all of them were transferred on the first week of October to Khartoum where they were kept in a house facing the Arab Fund building with 6 detainees arrested from Khartoum. All of them were severely tortured and as

a result three of them died :

- 1 Mohamed Nourain - student at Nasr Technology College in Omdurman - died in the police hospital in Khartoum (Buri).
- 2 Mohamed Rostum (Prayer Caller) and another person named Osama, died in Adaryell area under torture before the group was transferred to Khartoum.

DETENTION AND TORTURE

* The Sudanese citizen Basi Saleem Aged 40 is in detention since 6/6/1997 without being brought for trial.

* Detention after the explosive case in June 1998:

Al Haj Modawi Mohamed Ahmed	Abdel Rahman Nogdalla
Seid Ahmed El Hussein	Amin Elrabia
Abdel Nabi Ali Ahmed	Farouq Ismaeil
Abdel Fatah El Refay	Mohamed Mahgoub Gaim Eldin
Mustafa Abdel Gadir	Awad Basheir
Mohamed Alfadel	Mohamed Abdel Rahman
Khalid Seid Ahmed	Dr. Adam Mousa Madibo
Fadelalla Burma Naser	Alhaj Karoum
El Rashid Shadad	Zahara El Refay
Hashim Babikr Telib	Hamd Elnil Dafa-alla
Baha Eldin Hassan Osman	Abu Bakr Abas
Ata-alla Hussein	Dr. Ali Hassan Tag Eldin
Dotor Negeib Negm Eldin	Ali Mohamoud Hassnein
El Sadig Adam	Ismacil Abu Hamidin
Abdel Aziz El Refay	Suliman Al Khedir
Ali Al Awad	Ahmed Abdalla
Nasr Eldin Elsadig Elmahadi	Abdalla Malik
Mohamed Mahgoub M. Ali	Abdel Mahmoud Alhaj Saleh
Saudi Daraj	Khalid Omer El Sadig
Abdel Mohmoud Aboo	Ishag Ageib
Ali Mahgoub	Osman Abdel Gadir
Hamad Alraher Taour	Mustafa Saleh Ibrahim
Mahgoub Mohamed Ahmed	

* Detention of Leaders of Sudan Workers (legitimate) Trade Unions

Federation:

Mahgoub Ahmed Alzobier	Yahia Ali Abdalla
Nasr Mohamed Nasr	Johon Makam
Manalla Abdel Wahab	Kamel Abdel Rahman Elsheikh
Basheir Hamed	Sedig Yahia
Gasim Karamalla	Mahmoud Kharif
Elsheikh Mohamed Alimam	Bona Agani
Abas Alobeid	Fisal Ibrahim

Had Alrid Elmah

* Number of Ansar leaders including Adam Ahmed - Mahadi Abdel Rahman - Basheir Hamid and others, were accused under articles 62, 65 and 66 of the 1991 Penal Code and were brought before a summary court on the 13th. of July 1998.

* Oct. 14th 1998 Civilians Tried Militarily Khartoum government accused 26 Civilians accused of being involved in exploding some areas in the capital, Khartoum on the 30th of last June. The accused are:

Father Henry Bom Sultane	Libo Odera	Hassan Abdalla	Kina
Louis Ogery	Noak Lual	Francis Mebur	
Hassan Abuadan	Saint Lino Arok	Andrews Angoia	
Charles Domeng	Khalid Yang	Patreel Maragan	
Sabit Domaneek	Peter Kong	Kual Lual	
Lual Lual	Joseph Againe	Babikr Fadelalla	Abdalla
Babikr Hassan Idris	Karakon Dawoud	Abdalla Chwal	
Fawostino Fawdew	Grang Yak	Take Flak	
Mustafa Chamson	Noon Anyang		

According to our sources, we suspect that the explosions were undertaken by the regimes security to justify its aggression against the political opposition.

* Reliable information affirmed the arbitrary detention of two prisoners of conscious in Singa town on October 1998:

- 1- Iz-eldin El-gizoli El-halgani, 34 years, graduated at Beirut Arab university in 1991, now working in a cafeteria.
- 2- Khalid Ahmed Nagilla, 29 years, teacher.

The whereabouts of both is not know. We have every reason to believe they are now under torture and maltreatment and their lives may be at stake.

* On October 1998 the Sudanese security detained two groups, the first in Khartoum and the second in Adaryell area in the eastern Sudan. Those detained in Khartoum included :

- 1- Dawoud Eldai - money dealer - residence in Umbada, detained on 6/10/1998.
- 2- Osman Adlan - trade unionist in a weaving factory, aged 50 years, residence in Umbada detained on 8/10/1998.
- 3- Mustata Zaki Elhakim - engineer, residence in Elgerief west Khartoum detained on 8/10/1998.
- 4- Salah Ahmed Yousif - private job, from Wadmedani - detained on 10/8/1998
- 5- Elsir Aieia - blacksmith from Wadmedani - detained on 10/8/1998.
- 6- Amin Mohamed Ali - private job, from Wadmedani detained on 10/8/1998.

They were all detained in a building opposite to the Arab Eund building in Khartoum under the supervision of the executive branch of the special operation section of the security. All of them were physically and psychologically severely tortured, beaten by water hoses, prevented from sleeping etc they were first accused of belonging to a banned party, this was later changed to collaboration with Israeli intelligence force. They were

released on 14/11/1998

* On September 1998 a group of 22 persons were arrested in Adaryeil and transferred on the first week of October to Khartoum and detained in the special operation section of the security. On 21/10/1998 they were transferred to the positive security section and then to a prison outside Khartoum. They were accused of being a fifth columnists working in collaboration with the Northern opposition and SPLM/A and also of working with the Israeli Mousad, they are:

1- Mohamed Mustafa 2- Manan 3- Awad Ibrahim Awad (security soldier) 4- Abdebrahim - resides in Khartoum North in Kober, was working with the positive security section, his brother was killed in the operation zones in eastern Sudan 5- Mohamed Normian, student in Nasr Technical College Omdurman, died as a result of torture in the police hospital in Buri 6- Mohamed Rustum, pryers caller, died while under torture in Adaryeil 7- Osama, died while under torture in Adaryeil

Brigadier Ibrahim Zakaria in the executive branch and officer Salah hamdoun undertook the torture in Khartoum, in Adaryeil security officer Mustafa undertook the torture.

* We received confirmation that seven people have been ordered to report to the security forces headquarters in Khartoum on a daily basis. Since 26 November 98 they have been asked to report at 8:00 A M and left to stay until 5:00 P.M. The seven individuals are:

(1) Rashad Hamed Alsayed (an agricultural inspector) (2) Ali Khalifa (a trade unionist) (3) Dr. Nageeb Nagm Aldeen (secretary general, doctors union) (4) Altiyeb Abdalkafi (bussinesman) (5) Hassan Osman (an ex-employee of Sudan Airways) (6) Mohammed Osman Mahjoub (a journalist) (7) Hassan Shamati

This is a new method of detention, with the specific intention of causing increasing psychological stress to the opponents and trade unionist leaders

* On 1st of Dec. 1998 students from the university of Juba, faculty of natural resources were arrested from inside the university in Wad Elmagboul and were taken blindfolded with their hands tied to an unknown location from 1 in the afternoon to one thirty next morning. Medical examination revealed marks of severe torture, including cuts and broken ribs. The students are:

1- Hassan Balla Ali 24 years, he sustained a fracture of the left foot after he was shot by a Palestinian fanatic student .
2- Ismael Ibrahim Babikir, 21 years, second year student
3- Mouawia Bushra Elhag Saeed, 25 years, fifth year student.
4- Bito Akol

* Mr Mohamed Abdel-karim Elsheikh - Imam of Nur eldayim Mosque (Elshagara-Khartoum) was arbitrarily detained on December 22, 1998 and released on the first day of January 1999. All this period he was not faced by any accusation. On January 3, 1999 (only two

days following his release) he was detained again from the mosque while praying, his belongings were confiscated - this included his books. He was released on January 5, 1999 and was ordered to report the next day where he was threatened and asked to stop all his religious activities.

* Mr Mohamed Mahgoub Mohamed Ali (accountant, aged 65) was detained on the 27th last December and was taken to one of the Ghost houses, his family does not know the whereabouts of his detention and is fearing that he might currently be under torture .

Mr Ali is one of the prominent and active leaders of the NDA inside Sudan and was subjected to frequent detentions and torture before, the last was on the 26th of June 1998. He was one of the signatories of the famous NDA memorandum to the president of the regime on December 29, 1998.

A journalist was also detained while trying to cover the press conference of the NDA and was released the next day(30/12/1998) after his camera was confiscated.

USING HUMAN BEING AS FODDER IN THE WAR ZONES

Shiro - Cairo interviewed some prisoners of war last December and we were shocked finding that some of them were not trained and were sent in a hurry to the front lines of the war zones, amongst those interviewed were :

1- Elsadig Idris Adam, 25 years. He was studying in Elmanagil secondary school He was caught in the high way between Khartoum and Wad-medani and sent immediately to a training camp only for two months. He lost one of his hands in the war, and was is now captured in Munge army camp in western Equatoria.

2- Einagi Hajo, he was trained for only 45 days in Seleit camp and was transferred with other 1200 conscripts. He was also caught from the street with other 50 youngsters. They were in a spying operation when they were captured near Ay, two of them died. All of them had never shot a rifle, because they do not know how to use it properly .

3- Imam Mohamed Jum'ma Wenies. He had no training, caught from the street on 8/12/96 and was transferred to Juba on 24/12/96, captured moving from Kaya near Yaei in 13/3/97. He is from Abugebeha in Kordofan province. He was told that the Martyrs would be sent directly to paradise, but he said he is never sure of that .

4- Hafiz Suliman Mohamed, 22 years, he was trained only in the battle area for 45 days in Juba .They were 1500 conscripts trained in using Klashnokof rifle. They were captured moving from Kaya.

5 Ahmed Abdel-hameed, 24 years, from Southern Darfur. He is from the police corporation, never trained for fighting in battle zones .

CASE OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

Mr. Isaac Kejok Atep Padiet, holder of Sudanese passport No.227995 arrived at Cairo on 26th November 1998. He was working as a national leader with the Door Humamitarian Aid Project organization which is working in Sudan in programs aiming at supporting the displaced who are mainly from the Southern Sudan and Nuba Mountains. He was subjected to harassment, persecution, intimidation and was lobbied to collaborate with the security to spy on the organization. He was detained and taken blindfolded to a secret place where he was asked about the reasons behind providing aid to the Christians and infidels only.

Government of Sudan is Encouraging Violence in Universities

Shro Cairo received information affirming that the Government of Sudan is encouraging it's fanatic supporters to terrorize opponent students in universities by organized aggression and intimidation.

In Kassala, the regime supporters after loosing second term election of the Students Union attacked the celebrating gatherings of the opposition groups. The attackers were armed with iron bars and some of them were carrying pistols. Many students were seriously wounded, among them was Isam Awad Ibrahim, 4th year medical student. He sustained fracture of his left heel joint. The fanatic regime supporters later tried to attack him while admitted to hospital on September 4, 1998 while Ibrahim was returning from his internal medicine exam, he was attacked by three students fanatics and was injured in different parts of his body which was conformed by a medical report. He raised a police case, but paradoxically, when he went to court he found himself turning into a defendant before a security element instead of a victim. He was, ironically, convicted and sentenced one month imprisonment and fined 5,000 Sudanese pounds.

At Gezira University the fundamentalist fanatics attacked a gathering of students, who were protesting the extra judicial killing of student Mohamed Abdel-salam Babikir who was killed under torture while in detention in August 1998. Here also, many students were injured, amongst them was Osama Awad Ibrahim, third year student in the faculty of agriculture. Some of the students were later forcibly prevented from attending their exams by the fanatics and some of them, as a result, lost their educational year.

مشروعاً بديلاً. وقد أنكر المتهم صلته بحزب التحرير الذي يتهم بالترويج لافكاره. وذكر أنه حصل على الكتاب ككافئ. ويقوم بالدفاع عن المتهم مجموعة من محامين مكورة من ١٧ محامياً. برطاسة الاستاذ/سيد احمد الحسين، ولا يزال المتهم رهين الحبس لأكثر من اربعة شهور. ولم يطلق سراحه بالضمان حسب طلب دفاعه.

وقد أكدت المنظمة إدانتها لأسلوب تقديم المثالفين للرأي للمحاكم تحت مواد قد تصل عقوبتها للإعدام، بالرغم من أنهم لم يفعلوا شيئاً أكثر من التعبير عن آراءهم بطرق سلمية، ودعمت المنظمة السلطات السودانية لإطلاق سراح المواطن المذكور والكف عن اعتقال المواطنين بسبب آرائهم، كما دعت كافة الهيئات والمنظمات المعنية بحقوق الإنسان للتدخل لإطلاق سراح المواطن المذكور وكافة معتقلي الرأي والضمير.

القصف الأمريكي لمصنع بالسودان

تابعت المنظمة يعلق بالغ نتائج القصف الأمريكي الذي استهدف أحد المصانع في العاصمة الخرطوم، والذي قامت الولايات المتحدة بالربط بينه وبين حادش تجسير السفارين الأمريكيين في نيويورك ودار السلام.

لقد ظلت المنظمة يمبر دائماً عن قلقها المتزايد تجاه انتشار ظاهرة الإرهاب وأعمال العنف، خاصة التي ترتكبها السلطات السودانية أو الجماعات المتطرفة التي أتاح لها النظام الدخول والتواجد على أرض السودان لتتأخر أعمالاً تنتاقض وطبيعة الشعب السوداني، وبعضها تورط في أعمال إرهابية داخل السودان وضد دول مجاورة. وقد تجمعت لدينا معلومات حول معسكرات التدريب، وعن تصنيع الأسلحة الكيماوية والبيولوجية في جنوب السودان وجبال النوبة، وطالبنا بتكوين لجان تحقيق دولية حول هذه المعلومات التخل لمنع إستخدامها. وقد نهينا مراراً لضرورة الضغط على النظام الحاكم للكف عن إنتهاكاته لحقوق الإنسان، ولمحاصرة بؤر الإرهاب والفتور، وطالبنا في عام ١٩٩٣ بضرورة فرض عقوبات تصاعديّة بواسطة المجتمع الدولي مع مراعاة عدم بضرر المواطنين، وذلك لإرغام النظام لتحسين أوضاع حقوق الإنسان والكف عن ممارساتها.

بالرغم من إقتناع المنظمة بوجود مبررات ولسباب كافية لإتهام النظام الحاكم بدعم الإرهاب وإستخدام أسلحة كيماوية ضد المدنيين، ونشاطه في إنتاج وتطوير هذه الأسلحة، وعلى الرغم من دعواتنا للمجتمع الدولي مراراً للتدخل لدره الإخطار التي يمثلها النظام، إلا أن المنظمة لا تتفق مع أي أعمال منفردة خارج إطار الشريعة الدولية ضد هذا النظام.

وقد أبدت المنظمة تشوقها من أن تؤدي مثل هذه الأعمال لنشيت الجهود الدولية التي يجري بذلها لمكافحة الإرهاب، وإلى تهميش دور المنظمات المعنية، وقد جددت المنظمة دعوتها إلى المجتمع الدولي مثلاً في الأمم المتحدة ومجلس إلى التحرك دون إبطاء لإتخاذ الإجراءات الخطوات الفاعلة لمكافحة الإرهاب عبر تنشيط وتقوية الآلية الدولية الشريعة.