

# SUDAN ASSESSMENT

April 2001

Country Information and Policy Unit

## CONTENTS

I	<a href="#">Scope of Document</a>	1.1 - 1.5
II	<a href="#">GEOGRAPHY</a>	2.1 - 2.4
III	<a href="#">HISTORY</a>	3.1 - 3.16
IV	<a href="#">INSTRUMENTS OF THE STATE</a> <a href="#">The Political System</a> <a href="#">The Judiciary</a> <a href="#">The Security Forces</a>	4.1 - 4.4 4.5 - 4.12 4.13
V	<a href="#">HUMAN RIGHTS IN SUDAN</a>	
A	<a href="#">General Assessment</a>	5.1 - 5.4
B	<a href="#">Human Rights: Specific Groups</a> <a href="#">Islamic Sects</a> <a href="#">Christians</a> <a href="#">Ethnicity</a> <a href="#">Women</a> <a href="#">Children</a> <a href="#">Human Rights Groups</a>	5.5 5.6 5.7 - 5.11 5.12 - 5.15 5.16 - 5.20 5.21 - 5.22
C	<a href="#">Human Rights: Specific Issues</a> <a href="#">Prison Conditions</a> <a href="#">Freedom of Political Association and Assembly</a> <a href="#">Freedom of Speech and the Media</a> <a href="#">Freedom of Religion</a> <a href="#">Freedom of Travel</a> <a href="#">Arbitrary Arrest and Detention</a> <a href="#">Use of Torture and other Cruel or Degrading Punishment</a> <a href="#">Interference with Privacy</a> <a href="#">Military Service and the Popular Defence Force</a> <a href="#">Treatment of Refugees</a> <a href="#">Slavery</a>	5.23 - 5.25 5.26 - 5.32 5.33 - 5.37 5.38 - 5.44 5.45 - 5.52 5.53 - 5.59 5.60 - 5.63 5.64 5.65 - 5.71 5.72 5.73 - 5.74

	<a href="#">Medical Care and Health Facilities</a>	5.75 - 5.77
	<a href="#">Humanitarian Aid for Internally Displaced Persons</a>	5.78 - 5.79
	<a href="#">Trade Union Activity and Worker Rights</a>	5.80
VI	<a href="#">INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS</a>	6.1 - 6.8
VII	<a href="#">ANNEXES</a>	
A	<a href="#">GLOSSARY</a>	Pages 28 - 31
B	<a href="#">SPLA FACTIONS</a>	Pages 32 - 33
C	<a href="#">PROMINENT PEOPLE PAST AND PRESENT</a>	Pages 34 - 35
D	<a href="#">CHRONOLOGY</a>	Pages 36 - 52
E	<a href="#">BIBLIOGRAPHY</a>	Pages 53 - 54

## I SCOPE OF DOCUMENT

**1.1** This assessment has been produced by the Country Information and Policy Unit, Immigration and Nationality Directorate, Home Office, from information obtained from a variety of sources.

**1.2** The assessment has been prepared for background purposes for those involved in the asylum determination process. The information it contains is not exhaustive, nor is it intended to catalogue all human rights violations. It concentrates on the issues most commonly raised in asylum claims made in the United Kingdom.

**1.3** The assessment is sourced throughout. It is intended to be used by caseworkers as a signpost to the source material which has been made available to them. The vast majority of the source material is readily available in the public domain.

**1.4** It is intended to revise the assessment on a 6-monthly basis while the country remains within the top 35 asylum producing countries in the United Kingdom.

**1.5** This country assessment has been placed on the Internet in the Home Office website: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk>. An electronic copy of the assessment has been made available to:

Amnesty International UK  
Immigration Advisory Service  
Immigration Appellate Authority  
Immigration Law Practitioners' Association  
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants  
JUSTICE  
Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture  
Refugee Council  
Refugee Legal Centre  
UN High Commissioner for Refugees

## II GEOGRAPHY

**2.1** The Republic of Sudan has a landmass of some 2,505,813 sq km (967,500 sq miles), with the Nile waters entering Sudan just south of Juba, flowing 3,000 km until they reach Lake Nubia on the Egyptian border. Sudan lies in north-eastern Africa and is the largest country in the continent. It is bordered by Egypt to the north, by the Red Sea, Eritrea and Ethiopia to the east, by Kenya, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) to the south, and by the Central African Republic, Chad and Libya to the west. The climate ranges from the desert of the north to the rainy equatorial south, with temperatures varying with altitude and latitude. The River Nile and its tributaries form the basis of much of Sudan's present economic activity. [2]

**2.2** Sudan has a population of approximately 27.5 million, with the ethnic origin of the people mixed. It is still subject to significant immigration by groups from Nigeria and Chad, such as the Fulani. In the south the Nuer, the Dinka and the Shilluki are the most prominent of the Nilotic peoples. The Arab population predominate in the north where the majority of the population are Muslims. In contrast, the population in the south are mostly animists or Christians from black African ethnic groups. Arabic is the official language although other languages are spoken and English is widely understood. [2]

**2.3** Civil war, economic mismanagement, over 4 million internally displaced persons, and to a lesser extent, the refugee influx from neighbouring countries have devastated the country's mostly agricultural economy. Approximately 80% of the labour force is engaged in agriculture. The principal exports are livestock, sesame seed, cotton, groundnuts, gold and sugar and the principal imports were basic manufactures, machinery and equipment, crude materials (mainly petroleum), foodstuffs, transport equipment and chemicals. Private investment in the oil sector led to significant increases in oil production during 2000. Reforms beginning in the early 1990s aimed at privatising state-run firms and stimulating private investment failed to revive a moribund economy that has a huge foreign debt of approximately US \$21.5 billion and a large military expenditure programme. Per capita national income is estimated at US \$900 per year. [1][4]

**2.4** The transport system is underdeveloped and is a serious constraint on economic growth. The country's vast area and the availability of only one major outlet to the sea place a heavy burden on limited facilities, especially on the government-owned Sudan Railways and on the road network. For centuries, the River Nile was the main highway of Sudan and the White Nile is still an important link with the southern region. Port Sudan is the country's main port on the Red Sea. The government-owned Sudan Airways airline operates domestic and international services from the Sudan's main airport at Khartoum. There are several smaller airports, the most important of which are those at Al-Ubayyid and Port Sudan. [6]

### **III HISTORY**

**3.1** Sudan was placed under an Anglo-Egyptian administration in 1899 following the defeat of the Mahdist forces in 1898. Independence as a parliamentary republic was achieved on 1 January 1956. A military coup occurred in November 1958, led by Gen. Ibrahim Abboud. Although achieving some economic success for Sudan, Abboud became unpopular over the degree of military involvement in government, allegations of corruption and his military operations against the Anya Nya rebels in the south. The insurgence of the southern provinces, had begun in 1955 against rule from the north. In October 1964, police fired on student demonstrators in Khartoum and a general strike forced Abboud to hand power over to a civilian committee. A transitional

government, including the Sudanese Communist Party (SCP) and the Muslim Brotherhood, was formed. With internal splits in the government, failure to improve the economic situation, and a worsening of violence in the south, the government was overthrown in a bloodless coup by Col. Gaafar Muhammad Nimeri in May 1969. [1][2]

**3.2** During his first 2 years in power Nimeri adopted socialist policies, renaming Sudan the Democratic Republic of Sudan and created a one-party state under the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU), effectively abolishing all existing political institutions and organisations. Internal dissent was harshly put down. Regional administrative autonomy for the south was stated as a commitment. The announcement in 1970 by Nimeri, Qaddafi (Libya) and Sadat (Egypt) to unite their countries as a single federal state proved unacceptable to the SCP who staged a coup under Maj. Hashim al-Ata in July 1971. Within 3 days, with popular support, Nimeri returned to power and a purge of communists occurred. Fourteen of them were executed. Relations with the Eastern Bloc cooled and Nimeri's popularity rose, leading to him winning the Presidential Elections in October 1971 by a landslide. The Addis Ababa Agreement signed in March 1972 between the government and the Anya Nya rebels introduced regional autonomy for the 3 southern provinces with a regional People's Assembly in Juba. [1][2]

**3.3** The establishment of a National Assembly and a political party widened the government's powerbase and policies introduced throughout 1977 reconciled Nimeri with several of his opponents. During 1983, however, the conflict with the south worsened. In September 1983, the government adopted aspects of Islamic law, the shari'a, with martial law being introduced after April 1984. This provoked the largely non-Muslim south to retaliate and some southerners returned to armed conflict. On this occasion the rebels were organised into the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), with its military wing the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA). A series of battles in Bahr al-Ghazal and Upper Nile occurred in 1983-4. Meanwhile, the economy deteriorated severely and by the end of February 1985 disillusionment with the regime was growing. Charging the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood with sedition and failing to deal with the problems caused by the drought alienated the last vestiges of support for Nimeri. Adopting a conciliatory stance and performing a ministerial re-shuffle also failed to remedy the situation. A general strike occurred in March 1985 and on 6 April Nimeri was overthrown in a bloodless coup led by Lt. Gen. Swar al-Dahab. In December 1985, the country was renamed the Republic of Sudan. [2]

**3.4** A transitional constitution was signed in October 1985 and numerous political groups emerged in preparation for the elections, which took place in April 1986. No single party won outright, however, and a coalition government was formed between the Umma Party (UP), led by Sadiq al-Mahdi and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), led by Osman al-Mirghani, with al-Mahdi becoming Prime Minister. Various attempts were made to negotiate a peace settlement with the southern groups but all were unsuccessful and fighting continued. In late July 1987, amid growing internal instability, a 12 month state of emergency was declared. In January 1988, the government and 17 political parties signed a transitional charter which aimed to move Sudan towards a multi-party democracy. It stipulated the government would return to the 1972 system of administration in the south, and requested the replacement of shari'a law with a new legal code. [1][2]

**3.5** Peace negotiations between the government and the SPLM, began in Ethiopia in April 1988, but by mid-June were deadlocked. During 1988 reports of human rights abuses increased, particularly concerning the war zone. In late 1988, there were signs of widespread discontent in

the army concerning the government's continuing lack of progress in resolving the civil war. A coup by supporters of ex-president Nimeri was foiled in December 1988. On 30 June 1989, a bloodless coup, led by Brigadier Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir (later to become Lt. General) removed al-Mahdi's Government and formed a 15-member Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation (RCC). The RCC declared its primary aim was to resolve the civil war. A state of emergency was declared and President al-Bashir proceeded to dismantle the civilian ruling apparatus, the constitution and the National Assembly. All trade unions and political parties were abolished. Civilian newspapers were closed down. A new 21-member cabinet was announced in early July 1989 including 16 civilians, 4 southerners and several members considered to be sympathetic to Islamic fundamentalism. Several attempts to negotiate a peace settlement to the civil war failed, mainly over the issue of shari'a. The new regime's proximity to the fundamentalist National Islamic Front (NIF) was apparent. [1][2]

**3.6** In February 1991, the 18 administrative regions in Sudan were reorganised into 9 states which were in turn divided into 66 provinces and 281 local government areas. Each of the 9 states had its own Governor, Deputy Governor and Cabinet and were responsible for local administration and collection of some taxes. Central government retained control over foreign policy, military affairs, the economy and other main areas of administration. These structures were intended to bring about an end to the civil war but the SPLM rejected these measures as unacceptable because of the degree of power retained by the central government. At the end of August 1991, splits were becoming evident in the leadership of the SPLA. The split caused the postponement of the first round of peace talks due to be held under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in October 1991, and fierce fighting broke out between rival factions in November 1991. [1][2]

**3.7** On 1 January 1992, President al-Bashir set out plans for a return to democracy with an appointed 300-member Transitional Parliament with powers to propose and pass legislation, ratify treaties with foreign powers and veto decisions by the RCC. The intended popularity of the Parliament's apparent broad base, however, did not prevent widespread political unrest caused by economic austerity measures. While declaring itself prepared for peace talks, the Government launched a military offensive against the SPLA in late February 1992. OAU sponsored peace negotiations in Abuja in May 1992, attended by Garang, Lam Akol and the government resulted in little but a declaration of Sudan as a "multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religious country". A cabinet reshuffle in July 1993 was regarded to have strengthened the NIF in the government. On 16 October 1993, the RCC was disbanded having appointed al-Bashir as President and head of a new civilian administration. In February 1994, by constitutional decree, Sudan was re-divided into 26 states instead of the previous 9. [1][2]

**3.8** During 15-23 June 1995, a conference took place in Asmara, Eritrea, of groups and parties opposed to the Government. The conference, hosted by the Eritrean People's Front for Democracy and Justice and organised by the Asmara-based National Democratic Alliance, was attended by representatives of opposition political parties and the Sudan People's Liberation Army. At its conclusion, the conference issued a communique in which opposition leaders pledged to support the right of self-determination for all Sudanese people based on future referendums once the al-Bashir regime had been ousted and to establish a decentralised government for a four-year interim period. The communique also envisaged the future separation of religion and politics and the abolition of shari'a law. [2]

**3.9** In August 1995, President al-Bashir announced that legislative and presidential elections would now be held in 1996. The first legislative and presidential elections to be held since 1989 took place during 6-17 March 1996. President al-Bashir, appointed as President by the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) in October 1993, was elected for a five-year term. The new National Assembly, which replaced the transitional legislature appointed in February 1992, comprised 400 seats, of which 275 were elective. The remaining 125 seats had been filled directly at a national conference in January 1996 by representatives of what were described as Sudan's "modern forces". Sixty of the elective seats were occupied by candidates who were unopposed. Elections were not held in 10 of the country's southern constituencies owing to lack of security there. In October 1996, deputies were appointed to 8 of these 10 vacant seats. The term of the National Assembly is four years. [2]

**3.10** Following the 1996 elections, the executive and legislative power of the states were expanded and southern states were expected to be exempted from shari'a law. The civil war continued and peace negotiations have remained in stalemate. The main opposition groups did not field any candidates in the 1996 elections alleging that there was a low turnout of voters and electoral malpractice. Al-Bashir gained 75.7% of the vote and Dr Hassan al-Turabi, Secretary General of the NIF, was unanimously elected Speaker of the National Assembly. Claims by the Government that the elections represented a change in political direction were damaged by reports of an attempted coup in March 1996, serious unrest in Khartoum in April 1996, and the announcement that a Cabinet would not be appointed until it was clear whether the UN intended to impose sanctions on Sudan for failure to comply with UN Resolution 1044. The alleged coup plotters arrested in March 1996 were tried and given sentences of between 1 month and 15 years imprisonment. [1][2]

**3.11** In October 1997, a 277-member constitutional committee was formed to draft a new constitution. This document was approved by the National Assembly in April 1998 and then submitted to President al-Bashir. A referendum on the new constitution was held during 1-20 May 1998 and the results were announced in June 1998. The results showed that 96.7% of voters were in favour of the new constitution which came into force on 1 July 1998. Under its terms, executive power was vested in the Council of Ministers, which was appointed by the president but responsible to the National Assembly. Legislative power was vested in the National Assembly. The constitution also provides for freedom of thought and religion and the right to political association within the law. [1][2][7]

**3.12** New political laws approved in November 1998 provided for the establishment of an independent election commission, to prepare guidelines for elections and referendums, and of a constitutional court, and for the legalisation of political associations. In January 1999, the age of eligibility to vote was reduced to 17 years. Registration of political parties began in the same month. All political parties were required to have one hundred founding members and these members must not have criminal records to be eligible to be recognised as founding members. [2]

**3.13** In December 1999, President al-Bashir declared a state of emergency and disbanded the National Assembly two days before it was to vote on a constitutional amendment that would have reduced presidential powers. The amendment called for the creation of a Prime Minister who, though appointed by the president, would be accountable to the National Assembly. It also called for direct elections of the state governors, currently appointed by the President and, if approved, would have made their dismissal contingent on parliamentary approval. The

disbanding of the National Assembly reduced the power of the Parliamentary Speaker and chairman of the ruling political party, Hassan al-Turabi. President al-Bashir suspended articles of the constitution and suspended the political activity of Hassan al-Turabi. On 24 January 2000, President al-Bashir formed a new government and in May 2000, he froze all activities of the ruling political party. The political rift between the president and al-Turabi became more apparent in June 2000 when al-Turabi launched his own opposition political party called the Popular National Congress and sought to challenge President al-Bashir, accusing him of trying to separate religion and the state. [2][7][12][13]

**3.14** There was no significant progress toward peace during 2000. Government and SPLM/SPLA delegations met with mediators from the Kenya-based Peace Secretariat four times during 2000 and participated in Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD)-mediated peace talks. The Bahr El Ghazal humanitarian ceasefire, which began in July 1998, was extended by both the Government and the SPLM several times in 1999, and in August 1999, the Government offered a comprehensive ceasefire, which in October 1999 it extended through 15 January 2000. The Government, however, continued its bombing campaign during this period. The SPLM similarly extended its ceasefire through the same dates but effectively limited its offer to the humanitarian ceasefire as agreed to in Bahr El Ghazal. In June 2000, the SPLA launched an offensive in Bahr El Ghazal and fighting between the Government and the SPLM resumed, marking the end of the humanitarian ceasefire. [4]

**3.15** The state of emergency that was first declared in December 1999 and was subsequently extended in March 2000 to 31 December 2000 has been extended for another year. The Sudanese Government has not given any clear indication to explain why the extension of the state of emergency was needed. [32]

**3.16** Presidential and parliamentary elections took place from 13-22 December 2000. Sudan's National Elections Authority (NEA) declared President al-Bashir the winner of the Presidential Election which had four other candidates. Al-Bashir won 86.5% of the votes while runner-up Ga'afar Nimeri won 9.6% of the votes. Sudan's ruling National Congress won 355 out of the 360 National Assembly seats in the Parliamentary Election. The five other seats were won by independent candidates. On 12 February 2001, President al-Bashir was sworn in for his second term of office. [31][42]

## **IV INSTRUMENTS OF THE STATE**

### **The Political System**

**4.1** The current president is Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan al-Bashir who took power from the previous democratically elected government in a coup on 30 June 1989. The Government's cabinet is appointed by the president. The president is elected by popular vote for a five-year term. The legislature is the unicameral National Assembly. Members of the National Assembly are elected by popular vote in parliamentary elections. The June 1989 coup removed the previous al-Mahdi's government and replaced it with a 15-member Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation (RCC). Al-Bashir abolished the constitution, the previous regime's National Assembly, all political parties and trade unions. [1][2]

**4.2** Since 1989, real power has rested with the National Islamic Front (NIF) founded by Hassan al-Turabi, who became Speaker of the National Assembly in 1996. In November 1998, the NIF

renamed itself the National Congress (NC). NC members hold key positions in the Government, security forces, judiciary, academic institutions and the media. In 1990, the RCC rejected both multiparty and one-party systems and two years later, established an entirely government-appointed Transitional National Assembly, based on a Libyan-style political structure with ascending levels of non-partisan assemblies. The essentially powerless appointed legislature was replaced following the 1996 elections by an elected National Assembly. [2][4]

**4.3** The new constitution was passed by referendum in June 1998. There was widespread scepticism about the Government's claims that the constitutional referendum was passed with 96.7% approval and 91.9% national participation. The constitution provides for a wide range of freedoms such as freedom of expression and the press, freedom of religion and freedom of movement but such freedoms are restricted by the Government and has resulted in few changes in practice. [4][5]

**4.4** The 1999 Political Association Act lifted the ban on political parties. The 1999 Political Association Act revised by the 2000 Political Organisational Act allows political parties to be officially recognised provided they register with the Government. The law, however, imposes the restriction that all new parties must adhere to the ruling party's ideology. There are twenty officially registered political parties; however, the legislation included restrictions that effectively prohibit traditional political parties if they are linked to armed opposition to the Government. New political parties are approved at the discretion of the Government's registrar. The registrar is appointed by the president with the approval of the National Assembly. [2][4][7]

### **The Judiciary**

**4.5** The judiciary is not independent and is largely subservient to the Government. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, formerly elected by sitting judges, is now appointed by the president. As the senior judge in the judicial service, the Chief Justice also controls the judiciary. On occasion, some courts display a degree of independence. Appeal courts on several occasions overturned decisions of lower courts in political cases, particularly public order courts. [3][4]

**4.6** The judicial system includes four types of courts; regular courts, both civil and criminal; special mixed security courts; military courts; and tribal courts in rural areas to resolve disputes over land, water rights and family matters. Within the regular court system, there are civil and criminal courts, public order courts, which hear only minor public order issues, appeal courts and the Supreme Court. In December 1998, Parliament passed a law to form a constitutional court and the court's seven members were named that month. The Constitutional Court was established in April 1999 to protect the Bill of Rights enshrined in the constitution. The Court's main function is to examine draft laws to ensure that the National Assembly does not adopt laws that conflict with the constitution. Any individual whose rights have been violated can lodge a complaint with the Constitutional Court when all other remedies have been exhausted. Members of the Constitutional Court are appointed by the President with the approval of the National Assembly. [3][4][7]

**4.7** In 1989, the Special Courts Act created special three-person security courts to deal with a wide range of offences, including violations of constitutional decrees, emergency regulations, some sections of the Penal Code, as well as drug and currency defences. Special courts, on which both military and civilian judges sit, handle most security-related cases. [4]



**4.8** The 1991 Criminal Act, based on an interpretation of shari'a law, governs criminal cases, whereas the 1983 Civil Transactions Act still applies to most civil cases. Military trials, which are sometimes secret and brief, do not provide procedural safeguards. They have sometimes taken place with no advocate or counsel permitted and no effective appeal for a death sentence. Other than for clemency, witnesses may be permitted. Trials in regular courts nominally meet international standards of legal protections. In the case of poor or needy defendants, legal counsel is provided free of charge in cases where the crimes are punishable by death or life imprisonment. In practice, however, these legal protections are unevenly applied. The law allows for bail except for those accused of crimes punishable by death or life imprisonment. [3][4]

**4.9** The Government officially exempts the southern states, whose population is mostly non-Muslim, from parts of the 1991 Criminal Act but the Act permits the possible future application of shari'a law in the south if the state assemblies so decide. Parts of the south and the Nuba Mountains fall outside effective judicial procedures and other government functions. [4]

**4.10** Magistrates in the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army-held areas follow a penal code roughly based on the 1925 Penal Code. In rural areas outside effective SPLM control, tribal chiefs apply customary laws. The SPLM has a judicial system of county magistrates, county judges, regional judges and a court of appeal. This judicial system does not function in many areas due to lack of infrastructure, communications, funding and an effective police force. [4]

**4.11** The SPLM recognises traditional courts or "Courts of Elders" which usually hear matters of personal affairs such as marriages and dowries and base their decisions on traditional and customary law. Local chiefs usually preside over traditional courts. [4]

**4.12** The constitution provides for fair and prompt trials but in practice, however, these legal protections are applied inconsistently. Military trials do not provide procedural safeguards and sometimes have taken place with no advocate or counsel permitted and do not provide effective appeal from a death sentence. Trials in regular courts nominally meet international standards of legal protections. For example, the accused normally have the right to counsel and the courts are required to provide free legal counsel for indigent defendants accused of crimes punishable by death or life imprisonment. [4][5]

### **The Security Forces**

**4.13** In addition to the regular police and the armed forces, the Government maintains an external security force, an internal security force, a militia known as the Popular Defence Force (PDF) and other police forces, including the Public Order Police, whose duties include the enforcing of proper social behaviour in line with Islamic principles. The Popular Police Force, which was made up of nominees from neighbourhood popular committees for surveillance and services was disbanded in 2000. The security forces enjoy immunity from prosecution and are free to act independently and do not need court orders or judicial authorisation to detain, arrest or question Sudanese citizens. [4][9]

## **V HUMAN RIGHTS IN SUDAN**

### **A. General Assessment**

**5.1** The Government's human rights record is poor. Sudanese citizens do not have the ability to change their government peacefully. The security forces have reportedly been responsible for human rights abuses against Sudanese citizens. Security forces have reportedly been responsible for killings and disappearances, torture, beatings, harassment, arbitrary arrest and detention and the rape of women. The Government restricts freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of religion and freedom of movement. Violence and discrimination against women, children, religious minorities and ethnic minorities persist as do the practice of child labour, slavery and female genital mutilation. [3][4][10][11]

**5.2** The civil war continues and is based on the ethnic, religious and cultural divisions between the warring factions and is regarded as a struggle between the Arab-dominated Islamic government in the north and an alliance of northern Arab opposition political parties and non-Muslim black African rebels from the south. Sudan has been in a state of almost continuous war since it became independent in 1956. The current phase of fighting started in 1983 after the government adopted shari'a law. The principal insurgent faction is the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), the political wing of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). The SPLA remains the principal military force in the insurgency. [4][7]

**5.3** People who are not actively taking part in the hostilities have reportedly suffered from human rights abuses committed by all parties to the conflict, internal displacement and widespread disruptions to food supplies. Human rights abuses in the contested areas include indiscriminate bombings, abductions, enslavement and the arbitrary killings of civilians. The civil war has resulted in the internal displacement of 4.5 million people while more than 350,000 Sudanese have sought refuge abroad. In areas of oil exploration, mainly in western Upper Nile and Southern Kordofan, thousands of people have been forced to leave their homes after raids by government forces or allied militia forces. [10][11]

**5.4** The control of oil and the Sudanese oil fields has become the key source of conflict between government forces and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) as the Government uses the revenue from oil sales to fund its war against the rebel forces. There have been reports of serious human rights abuses committed by government forces on the civilian population in the oil producing areas of Sudan. A direct link between the nature of the civil war and guarantees for security for oil exploration by foreign oil companies became most obvious in intensified warfare in the beginning of 1999. Amnesty International has observed a pattern of human rights abuses in those areas in which foreign oil companies have exploration rights. According to the Amnesty International report *Sudan - The Human Price of Oil* - which was published in May 2000, tens of thousands of people have been terrorised into leaving their homes in Western Upper Nile in early 1999. Government forces have used ground attacks, helicopter gunship and indiscriminate high altitude bombardment to clear the local population from oil-rich areas. This massive displacement of the local population followed the deployment of additional weaponry and forces specifically drafted in to protect the oil fields. [25]

## **B. Human Rights: Specific Groups**

### **Islamic Sects**

**5.5** The Muslim population is almost entirely Sunni but is divided into many different groups. The most significant divisions occur along the lines of the Sufi Brotherhood. The Ansar is the

Islamic sect behind the Umma Party but membership of the one in no way necessarily indicates membership of the other. Islamic orders associated with opposition political parties, particularly the Khatimia (associated with the Democratic Unionist Party) are regularly denied permission to hold large gatherings. [27]

## **Christians**

**5.6** Christians account for between 4 and 10 per cent of the population. Christianity first came to the Sudan about the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD and for centuries, thereafter, Christian churches flourished in the ancient kingdom of Nubia. After the establishment of Muslim rule in Egypt and later migrations into Sudan, Christianity declined in Nubia and was gradually replaced by Islam. The process was complete by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Christianity in present day Sudan is a product of European missionary efforts that began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most of these efforts were concentrated in the south and in the Nuba Mountains, rather than among the Muslims in the north. [6]

## **Ethnicity**

**5.7** Sudan's population of approximately 27.5 million is very ethnically diverse. Its population belongs to over 500 Arab and black African ethnic groups with many different languages and dialects. It is still subject to significant immigration by groups from Nigeria and Chad, such as the Fulani. In the south, there are many ethnic groups, the most prominent being the Nuer and the Dinka. The Arab culture and language predominate in the north where the majority of the population are Muslims. Besides Arabs, there are several Muslim but non-Arab groups in the north. The most notable of these are the Nubians who live along the Nile in the far north and in southern Egypt. Most Nubians speak Arabic as a second language. Although they adopted Islam, these pastoral nomads have retained their Bedawiye language. Another non-Arab Muslim people is the Fur; these sedentary agriculturalists live in or near the Marra Mountains in the far west. North of the Fur are the Zaghawa. [3][4][6]

**5.8** In contrast, the population in the south are mostly animists or Christians from black African ethnic groups. The Arab Muslim majority and the Arab-dominated government discriminate against ethnic minorities in almost every aspect of society. Citizens in Arabic-speaking areas who do not speak Arabic experience discrimination in education, employment and other areas. The use of Arabic as the language of instruction in higher education discriminates against non-Arabs. [3][4]

**5.9** There are more than one hundred languages spoken as mother tongues in Sudan. Arabic is the official national language and is the most common medium for the conduct of government, commerce, and urban life throughout the country. English has been acknowledged as the principal language in the south since 1972. The languages spoken in Sudan belong to three families of African languages: Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo. The most important of Afro-Asiatic languages are Arabic and the Bedawiye language of the Beja. The Nilo-Saharan languages, including Dinka, Nuba, Nuer and Shilluk account for the next largest number of speakers. The Niger-Congo family is represented by the Azande, Banda, Sere and many other smaller ethnic groups. To overcome these language barriers, the vast majority of Sudanese are multi-lingual, with Arabic and to a lesser extent, English as a second language. [6]

**5.10** In March 1999, at a grassroots organized peace conference in Wunlit, Bahr El Ghazal, representatives of the Nuer and Dinka tribes signed a peace covenant. The Dinka and the Nuer are the two largest tribes and had been on opposite sides of the civil war since 1991. The Wunlit accord provides concrete mechanisms for peace, including a ceasefire, an amnesty, the exchange of abducted women and children and monitoring mechanisms. The Wunlit accord greatly reduced conflict between the Dinka and Nuer tribes in 1999. Although details generally were unavailable, there were credible reports of civilian casualties as a result of ongoing fighting between ethnic Dinkas and Didingas in the New Cush and Chukudum areas in eastern Equatoria. The January 1999 killing of a Dinka SPLA captain and several officers led to an outbreak of violence among Dinka and Didinga refugees in the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, which resulted in at least six deaths and numerous injuries. The October 1999 killing of a Didinga chief led to a series of retaliatory attacks. [3]

**5.11** The Massaleit, who are black African Muslims, claim that the Government is engaged in a policy of "Arabisation" and that government-sponsored militia groups are trying to eradicate western Sudan of Massaleit and other black tribes. In February 1999, there was significant fighting between Arab pastoralists and African Massaleit tribes in Darfur. Traditional disputes over grazing and water rights were behind some of the fighting; however, the Government reportedly exacerbated the conflict by providing Arab pastoralists with arms. As a result of the fighting, more than 100 persons were killed, more than 40 were injured, approximately 50 villages were burned, and more than 1,000 families were displaced. Members of the Massaleit tribes were affected most heavily. [3][7]

## **Women**

**5.12** Women are accorded equal rights under the Sudanese Constitution but the 1991 Criminal Act restricts the rights of women by placing restraints on their public behaviour and dress. Various government bodies have decreed on different occasions that women must dress according to modest Islamic standards. This, at the least, entails wearing a head covering. None of these decrees have been the subject of legislation and enforcement of the dress code regulations is not rigorously applied consistently. The Public Order Police have powers to arrest women for wearing un-Islamic dress such as trousers and tee-shirts. In January 1999, the governor of Khartoum State announced that women in public places and government offices and female students and teachers would be required to conform to what is deemed an Islamic dress code. In June 1999, a Khartoum court ordered that 25 students from Ahlia University be flogged; they were charged with disturbances and "obscene acts". These "obscene acts" were the wearing of trousers by the female students. Women cannot travel abroad without the permission of their husbands or male guardians. [3][5]

**5.13** Violence against women in Sudan is a serious issue although there are no reliable statistics. Many women are reluctant to submit formal complaints against such abuse although domestic violence is a legal ground for divorce. The police do not normally intervene in incidences of domestic disputes. The punishment for rape under the 1991 Criminal Act varies from 100 lashes to ten years imprisonment to death. In most cases, convictions for rape are not announced, however, observers believe that sentences are often less than the maximum provided by law. Women from the south are vulnerable to harassment, rape and sexual abuse. The Government has not addressed this issue. There are no specific laws regarding sexual harassment. [4]

**5.14** Some aspects of the law including certain provisions of Islamic law as interpreted and

applied by the Government and many traditional practices discriminate against women. Gender segregation is common in social settings. Under Islamic law, a Muslim woman has the right to hold and dispose of her own property without interference. Women are ensured inheritance from their parents; however, a daughter inherits half the share of a son and a widow inherits a smaller percentage than do her children. It is much easier for a man to initiate divorce proceedings than for women. Muslim men can marry non-Muslims but Muslim women cannot marry non-Muslims unless the man concerned converts to Islam. [4]

**5.15** In September 2000, a decree was issued by the Governor of Khartoum State banning Sudanese women in Khartoum State from working in public places such as petrol stations, hotels and restaurants where they are in contact with men. Police have begun enforcing this decree. This decree does not apply to women outside Khartoum State. Human rights and women's groups, including the pro-government Sudanese Women's Union have condemned this decree. Around 100 women protested against this decree in Khartoum. The Sudanese Group for Human Rights reported that the police caused injuries of various degrees among the demonstrators and arrested 26 of them. The women who were arrested were later released by the police after questioning. [14][15][16]

### **Children**

**5.16** Children continue to be the most vulnerable group in Sudan. They are the principal targets of raids conducted by militias and they are recruited into the armed forces by both the Government and its opponents. As internally displaced persons, they are subject to abuse in camps. [7]

**5.17** The Government provides free primary education from the ages of 6 to 13. Secondary education begins at the age of 14 and lasts up to three years. Boys and girls are treated similarly in the education system. [1][2][4]

**5.18** The Government has forcibly conscripted young men and boys into the military forces. The Government officially requires that young men must enter military service to be able to receive a certificate on leaving secondary school. Such a certificate is a requirement for entry into a university and this official requirement effectively broadened the military conscription base. In April 1999, it was reported by the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, that at least 120,000 under-18s were serving in government or rebel forces within conflicts in Africa. Sudan was one of the ten countries named where the situation is considered at its worst. [4][28]

**5.19** The Government operates camps for vagrant children. Police typically send homeless children who have committed crimes to these camps, where they are detained for indefinite periods. Health care and schooling at the camps are generally poor and basic living conditions are often primitive. All the children in the camps, including non-Muslims, must study the Koran and there is pressure on non-Muslims to convert to Islam. [4]

**5.20** Female genital mutilation, which is widely condemned by international health experts as damaging to both physical and psychological health, is a tradition in Sudan and is practiced widely, especially in the north. It has been estimated that 90% or more of females in the north have been subjected to female genital mutilation, with consequences that include severe urinary problems, infections and even death. The most severe type of FGM - infibulation - is also the

most common type. The practice of female genital mutilation is typically performed on girls between the ages of 4 and 7 in improvised, unsanitary conditions, causing severe pain, trauma and risk of infection. No form of FGM is illegal under the Criminal Act but the health law forbids doctors and midwives from performing infibulation. Reportedly, women displaced from the south to the north increasingly are imposing FGM on their daughters, even if they themselves have not been subjected to it. The Government has neither arrested nor prosecuted any persons for violating the health law against infibulation. [3][4]

### **Human Rights Groups**

**5.21** Due to government restrictions on freedom of association, there is only one independent human rights organisation based in Sudan - the Sudan Human Rights Organisation. There is only one local non-government organisation (NGO) that addresses health concerns related to the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM) and other traditional practices. During 2000, the Government conducted bombing raids that targeted NGOs and often impeded their activities in the south. [4]

**5.22** The Human Rights Advisory Council, a government body whose rapporteur is the Solicitor General for Public Law, continues in its role in addressing human rights issues within the Government. The Council is composed of representatives of human rights offices in 22 government ministries and agencies. Its effectiveness is hampered by lack of co-operation on the part of some of the ministry and agency offices. [4]

### **C. Human Rights: Specific Issues**

#### **Prison Conditions**

**5.23** Conditions in government prisons are harsh, overcrowded and life-threatening. Built before the country's independence in 1956, most Sudanese prisons are poorly maintained and many lack basic facilities such as toilets or showers. Health care is primitive and food inadequate. Minors are often held with adults but female prisoners are housed separately from men; rape in prison is reportedly rare. Prison officials arbitrarily deny family visits. [4]

**5.24** The west wing of Khartoum's main Kober Prison remains under the supervision of the security services, having been removed from Prison Services' control in 1995. While other prison wardens are accountable to courts of law for abuses they perpetrate, security forces are not. Despite the widespread use of torture, the Government has never publicly disciplined any security official for employing it. Treatment in the areas of Kober that remain under the control of the prison services was reportedly better than the area under the control of the security services. [4]

**5.25** Non-Muslim prison inmates are pressured to convert to Islam. High-ranking political prisoners reportedly often enjoy better conditions than other prisoners. The Government does not permit regular visits of prisons by human rights monitors. No independent Sudanese human rights organisations monitor prison conditions. [4]

#### **Freedom of Political Association and Assembly**

**5.26** The constitution provides for the right to freedom of political association. The 1999 Political Association Act lifted the ban on political parties and marked a significant change in government policy as all political parties were banned after the 1989 military coup that brought Omar Hassan al-Bashir to power. The 1999 Political Association Act revised by the 2000 Political Organisational Act allows political parties to be officially recognised provided they register with the Government. The law, however, imposes the restriction that all new parties must adhere to the ruling party's ideology. New political parties are approved at the discretion of the Government's registrar. The registrar is appointed by the President with the approval of the National Assembly. [5][7]

**5.27** The declaration of the state of emergency and of martial law on 30 June 1989 effectively eliminated the right of assembly. The only gatherings the authorities permit are those that have been approved by the Government. Politically oriented gatherings are routinely denied permission or are dispersed. Islamic orders associated with opposition political parties, particularly the Ansar and Khatimia are regularly denied permission to hold large public gatherings. In April 1999, the Muslim Brotherhood, a registered political party, announced that it was denied permission to hold symposiums in Khartoum and Omdurman. In June 1999, 84 persons were detained in Omdurman at the inauguration of the Democratic Forces Front. Eleven politicians present were charged with illegal assembly, disturbing public order and causing a nuisance. They were released on bail and later acquitted. In November 1999, riot police broke up a press conference in the office of human rights activists Ghazi Suleiman. In June 2000, the Independent Students Congress group of Sennar University organised an unapproved political rally at the university. Armed troops intervened and fired automatic weapons on the campus; the troops killed a student, seriously injured another and around 20 students were taken to hospital. [3][4]

**5.28** In June 2000, President al-Bashir decreed a general amnesty for political opponents. The amnesty includes all those who have been involved in anti-government activity since President al-Bashir came to power in June 1989. Under the terms of the amnesty all charges against the opponents will be dropped and those who are already in prison will be freed. To be granted amnesty, however, opponents have to publicly declare their acceptance of the existing constitution and renounce violence. [22]

**5.29** In November 1999, the Government signed a peace accord with the Umma Party which is one of Sudan's main opposition political parties. The Umma Party stated that the accord called for the establishment of a democratic federal system of government in Khartoum and for a referendum on self-determination for the south of the country. The agreement was finalised in Djibouti, where East African leaders met to discuss the long-running war, as well as the conflict in Somalia. In March 2000, the Umma Party left the National Democratic Alliance (alliance of opposition political groups and rebel groups). The premises of the Umma Party, which had been seized by the Government in 1989, was handed back to the Umma Party. In April 2000, thirty exiled leading figures of the Umma Party returned to Sudan in accordance with the November 1999 peace accord with the Government. [18][19][20][21][34]

**5.30** On 23 November 2000, Sadiq al-Mahdi, the leader of the Umma Party, returned to Sudan after four years of exile in Egypt. This was a voluntary return with no pre-conditions attached by the Government and with the full approval of President al-Bashir. A large crowd of Umma Party followers met him on his arrival in Sudan. This is in line with the Umma Party's policy of direct engagement with the Government to achieve the political and constitutional changes it wants.

Despite these recent developments resulting in closer ties with the Government, the Umma Party remains an unregistered political party. [35][36][37]

**5.31** In December 1999, President al-Bashir declared a state of emergency and disbanded the National Assembly two days before it was to vote on a constitutional amendment that would have reduced presidential powers. The disbanding of the National Assembly reduced the power of the Parliamentary Speaker and chairman of the ruling political party, Hassan al-Turabi. President al-Bashir suspended articles of the constitution and suspended the political activity of Hassan al-Turabi. On 24 January 2000, President al-Bashir formed a new government and in May 2000, he froze all activities of the ruling political party. In June 2000, Hassan al-Turabi launched his own political party called the Popular National Congress and sought to challenge President al-Bashir accusing him of trying to separate religion and the state. [2][7][12][13]

**5.32** On 21 February 2001, Hassan al-Turabi and senior members of his Popular National Congress Party (PNC) were arrested by security forces after the PNC signed a memorandum of understanding with the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). He was accused of planning to overthrow the Government with the help of the rebel SPLA and was taken to Kober Prison which is a maximum security prison. A committee set up the Ministry of Justice to look into possible charges against al-Turabi has recommended two criminal charges - inciting hatred against the state and sedition. Both crimes are punishable by death or life imprisonment under the Criminal Act. Al-Turabi has not yet been tried in a court of law. [38][39][40]

### **Freedom of Speech and the Media**

**5.33** The constitution provides for freedom of thought and expression and freedom of the press is allowed according to law. In practice, however, the Government restricts freedom of speech and the press. Government suspensions of newspapers, intimidation and surveillance inhibit open public discussion of political issues. Journalists practice self-censorship. [3][4][5]

**5.34** The Government exercises control of news reporting, particularly of political topics and criticism of the government, through the National Press Council (formerly the National Council for Press and Publications) which is directly responsible to the president. The National Press Council (NPC) applies the 1999 Press Act which gives the NPC the authority to grant licences to the press, register journalists and issue sanctions and penalties. The NPC has the power to revoke licences and confiscate printing presses when serious offences are committed by members of the press. At least three newspapers were suspended on approximately ten different occasions during 1999 for publishing articles criticising the Government. The National Press Council consists of 21 members: 7 selected by the President, 5 from the National Assembly, 7 directly elected by journalists from the Journalists' Union and 2 selected by the Journalists' Union leadership. [4][7]

**5.35** Journalists are subject to harassment, arbitrary arrest, detention and torture. The editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Al-Rai al-Akher" was arrested and detained in June 1999 for harming national security and dissemination of false information after publishing a speech by the president of the NDA that called for resistance to the Government. [4][7]

**5.36** In July 2000, the National Press Council (NPC) suspended an edition of the independent Arab newspaper - the "Al-Rai al-Aam" - from being published as a penalty for publishing an article critical of the activities of the Public Order Police. The NPC made the decision following a complaint from the Public Order Police of defamation by the newspaper. [17]



**5.37** Radio and television are controlled directly by the Government and are required to reflect government policies. A military censor monitors television news broadcasts to ensure that news broadcasts reflect official views. There are no privately-owned television or radio stations. In spite of the restrictions on ownership of satellite dishes, citizens have access to foreign electronic media; the Government does not jam foreign radio signals. In addition to domestic and satellite television services, there is a pay cable network, which directly re-broadcasts uncensored CNN, BBC, Middle East Broadcasting Corporation, Dubai-TV, Kuwait-TV and other foreign TV broadcasts. [4]

### **Freedom of Religion**

**5.38** The constitution allows for freedom of religion but the Sudanese Government regards Islam as the state religion of Sudan and Islamic shari'a law remains as the basis for law in the country. In practice, the Sudanese Government restricts freedom of religion. Sudan is a religiously mixed country although Muslims have dominated national government institutions since independence. The vast majority of the population -75% - is Muslim. Muslims live mostly in the north of the country. There are religious minorities of Christians and practitioners of traditional indigenous religions who mostly live in the south of the country. There are no accurate figures on the sizes of the country's religious populations. The influx of 1-2 million southerners displaced by the civil war has brought large communities of practitioners of traditional indigenous religions and Christians to the north of the country. There are established communities of Greek Orthodox and Coptic Rite Christians around Khartoum. [5][26][27]

**5.39** Religious organisations are subject to the 1994 Societies Registration Act which replaced the 1962 Missionaries Societies Act. It theoretically allows churches to engage in a wider range of activities than did the Missionary Act but churches are subject to the same restrictions placed on non-religious corporations. Religious groups, like all other organisations, must be registered in order to be recognised or to gather legally. Registration reportedly is very difficult to obtain in practice and the Sudanese Government does not treat all groups equally in the approval of such registrations and licences. In recent years, the Roman Catholic Church has not been given permission to build new churches although other Christian groups have received permission. Religious groups that are not registered find it impossible to construct a place of worship or to assemble legally. [26][27]

**5.40** Muslims may proselytize freely in government-controlled areas but non-Muslims are forbidden to proselytize. Non-Muslims may convert to Islam but the 1991 Criminal Act makes apostasy (which includes conversion to another religion) by Muslims punishable by death. Missionaries continue to do other work and a wide range of Christian missionary groups operated in both government and rebel-controlled areas of the country. The Sudanese authorities often harass foreign missionaries and other religiously oriented organisations and delayed their requests for work permits and residence visas. The Sudanese Government is generally least restrictive of Christian groups that historically have had a presence in the country, including Coptic Christians, Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox Christians and is more restrictive of newer arrivals. [27]

**5.41** Restrictions are often placed on the religious freedom of Muslims, particularly on those Islamic orders linked to opposition groups to the Sudanese Government. Islamic orders such as the Khatimia are regularly denied permission to hold large public gatherings. [27]

**5.42** In government-controlled areas of the south, there continues to be credible evidence of prejudice in favour of Muslims and an unwritten policy of Islamisation of public institutions. Some non-Muslims have lost their jobs in the civil service, the judiciary and other professions. Few non-Muslim university graduates have found government jobs. Some non-Muslim businessmen have complained of petty harassment and discrimination in the awarding of government contracts and trade licences. [27]

**5.43** There continues to be reports that the security forces regularly harass and at times use threats and violence against persons on the basis of their religious beliefs and activities. Some Catholic priests report that they are routinely stopped and interrogated by police. Security forces also detain persons in relation to their religious beliefs and activities. Generally, detentions based nominally on religion are of limited duration because the practice of religion is not illegal. [27]

**5.44** There have been signs recently that the Government has allowed greater religious freedom. The Public Order Police have been less extreme in their application of the Public Order Act. Women have been seen more commonly without head coverings and wearing trousers. When stopped by the Public Order Police, they commonly were warned rather than detained. On at least some occasions, restrictions on religious visitors and gatherings were relaxed. The Archbishop of Canterbury has visited the country. German evangelist Reinhard Bonnke has also visited the country and held open-air services in Khartoum attended by tens of thousands. Catholic Church representatives have reported that jubilee festivities attended by thousands of persons have routinely taken place in government-held areas without interference or harassment. [27]

### **Freedom of Travel**

**5.45** The constitution provides for freedom of movement and residence and exit from and entry into the country but in practice freedom of movement is arbitrarily restricted. Those persons detained by the security forces are, on their release, obliged to sign an undertaking not to leave the town or village where they live without written permission from the security forces. Movement is generally free for other citizens outside the war zones but travellers who fail to produce an identity card at checkpoints risk arrest. Foreigners need permits, which are often difficult to obtain and sometimes refused, for domestic travel outside of Khartoum. Foreign diplomats can travel to many locations under government escort. Foreigners must register with the police on entering the country, seek permission to move from one location to another, and re-register at each new location within 3 days of arrival. In December 2000, the Government announced restrictions on travel by diplomatic, international, and regional organizations and others into rebel-controlled areas without prior written permission from the Ministry of External Affairs. [4][5]

**5.46** Insurgent movements also require that foreign NGO personnel obtain permission before travelling to areas that they control although they generally granted permission. NGO workers who have worked in government-held territory encounter problems receiving permission to work or travel in insurgent-held territory. In March 2000, the SPLA drew up a memorandum of understanding for NGOs to sign that restricted much of their work in the southern part of the country and as a result many NGOs left the country. [4]

**5.47** Sudanese citizens wanting to leave Sudan must have an exit visa stamped in their passports obtainable from the Ministry of the Interior. Bureaucratic procedures are in place for foreign travel; approval depends mainly on political reasons. In several cases, political opponents or persons who were suspected of opposition activities were prevented from leaving by the security forces while already on the aeroplane they had intended to leave the country in. The Government denies exit visas to certain categories of persons such as doctors and policemen. Political tensions with Egypt has resulted in the Sudanese authorities denying many requests to travel there. [4][9]

**5.48** In general, Sudanese nationals who have been abroad for some time can enter Sudan without any problems. Leaders and high ranking members of opposition political parties, however, may encounter problems with the security forces on return to Sudan although it has been reported that leading members of the Umma Party have returned to Sudan recently without any hindrance by the security forces. Members of the SPLM/A who have been abroad and would like to return to Sudan would be at risk of persecution. People returning to Sudan from countries having strained or hostile relations with Sudan may be questioned about their activities in the country or countries they had been in. [9][21]

**5.49** It is reportedly possible for army deserters and military draft evaders and men of conscription age to be able to leave Sudan via official points of departure by obtaining passports and exit visas by bribing officials. [9]

**5.50** It is reportedly difficult for journalists, lawyers and media reporters to obtain exit visas because the Government suspects people from these professions to be in possession of information the Government does not want the outside world to know about. [9]

**5.51** Many Sudanese refugees seek refuge in neighbouring African countries including Egypt. Sudanese nationals entering Egypt require an entry visa. A visa can be obtained from the Egyptian Embassy in Khartoum or from the immigration authorities in Egypt. In the latter case, the application can be submitted by relatives and acquaintances. The entry visa is valid for one month. It is reportedly difficult to obtain visas from the Egyptian Embassy in Khartoum and from the immigration authorities in Egypt and reportedly visas can be fraudulently obtained. According to the UNHCR, all asylum applicants are protected from expulsion from the date they register with the UNHCR as asylum applicants until a decision is made on their application. Asylum applicants rejected by the UNHCR are allowed to appeal in writing against the decision. Persons recognised by the UNHCR as refugees are issued with UNHCR identity cards which are valid for six months and can be renewed every six months. The card is stamped by the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior which keeps a copy of it. This identity card is recognised by the Egyptian authorities. Anyone in possession of this card has the right of residence in Egypt. [9]

**5.52** All opposition parties and movements of any size, including the Democratic Unionist Party, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the National Democratic Alliance are represented in Cairo. The SPLM/A's Cairo office acts as a Middle East regional office, under the name of the Middle East Chapter and the movement's head office is in Nairobi in Kenya. Any Sudanese national can join the SPLM/A. All members are given a registration number as shown on their membership card. This number also reflects their position in the movement. [9]

### **Arbitrary Arrest and Detention**

**5.53** The constitution prohibits arbitrary arrest and detention without charge but in practice arbitrary arrest and detention by the security forces is common in Sudan. Under the amended National Security Act, which was approved on 15 December 2000 by the Council of Ministers and subsequently made law by presidential decree, when an individual is accused of violating national security, an individual may be detained for 3 months without charge, renewable by the Director of Security for another 3 months. During a state of emergency, the Government is not constrained by the National Security Act and can detain individuals indefinitely without judicial review, which reportedly it has done. During 2000, the Government used the current state of emergency to detain over 100 individuals. [4][5]

**5.54** The law allows for bail except for those accused of crimes punishable by death or life imprisonment. In theory, the Government provides legal counsel for indigent persons in such cases, however, reports continue that defendants do not always receive this right and that counsel in some cases only may advise the defendant and may not address the court. In some cases, courts have refused to allow certain lawyers to represent defendants. [4]

**5.55** The Sudanese authorities continue to detain political opponents of the Government. The Sudanese Human Rights Group (SHRG) reported several cases of this in 2000. A political activist was detained in Atbara for several days in January; two students were detained and beaten because of political activities in February; a lawyer and leading member of the National Democratic Alliance to Restore Democracy (NARD) was arrested and detained in March; Dr. Tobi Madot, Chairperson of the Democratic Forces Front (JAD) was detained in March; four students at the University of Sudan were detained for 4 days in April for union activities; Sid Ahmed Al-Hussein, deputy secretary-general of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), was detained on several occasions in April; six members of the Communist Party were detained in May; five students in Omdurman were detained in June; leading members of the DUP and Umma parties were arrested and detained in June in Sennar City; a lawyer was arrested for political activities in August in Khartoum and a leading DUP member was arrested in September in Khartoum. [4]

**5.56** Over 150 members of Hassan al-Turabi's Popular National Congress Party (PNCP) were detained after allegedly participating in demonstrations against the Government in September and October 2000. In general, the Government detains persons for a few days before releasing them without charge or trial; however, detentions of PNCP and NDA members generally were much longer. There were unconfirmed reports that security forces tortured, detained without charge, and held incommunicado the members of the PNCP. Human rights activist Ghazi Suleiman was also detained several times during 2000. In addition to detentions, government security forces frequently harass political opponents by summoning them for questioning, forcing them to remain during the day without questioning, and then ordering them to return the following day. This process sometimes continued for days. [4]

**5.57** According to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Sudan those most likely to be subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention include human rights workers and leaders of opposition political parties, religious leaders and leaders of student groups. [7]

**5.58** There have been reports that refugees are subject to arbitrary arrest. Security forces also detain persons because of their religious beliefs and activities. Detentions based nominally on

religion were of limited duration because the practice of religion is not illegal and detainees could not be held formally on those grounds indefinitely. To prolong detentions, security forces often resort to accusing those arrested for religious reasons of other crimes such as common crimes and national security crimes. [4]

**5.59** Persons arrested by the security forces are often held for long periods of time in unknown locations without access to their lawyers or family members. An example of this would be the case of the journalist Mohamed Abd al-Seed. He was arrested around 14 April 1999 without charge until 26 May 1999. During most of that time he was held incommunicado. [3]

### **Use of Torture and other Cruel or Degrading Punishment**

**5.60** The constitution prohibits torture but in practice the security forces torture and beat suspected opponents of the Government such as student leaders, lawyers and others. The security forces use excessive force, including beatings and tear gas, to disperse unapproved demonstrations. There have been reports that security forces torture persons in "ghost houses". These are places where security forces detain government opponents incommunicado under harsh conditions for an indeterminate time with no supervision by the courts or other independent authorities with powers to release the detainees. Government forces have been responsible for injuring many civilians during attacks on rebel forces during raids on civilian settlements and while bombing civilian targets. Members of the security forces rarely, if ever, are held accountable for such abuses. [3][4][5]

**5.61** Security forces beat and otherwise abuse youths and student leaders and others whom were deemed to be opponents of the Government. Security forces use excessive force, including beatings, tear gas, and firing of live ammunition to disperse unapproved demonstrations. Several times in September 2000, police used tear gas, batons, and live ammunition to disperse demonstrators and in some instances, beat or otherwise injured numerous individuals. In May 2000, security forces raided Alnasr Technology College twice; they arrested, beat, injured students and fired bullets in the air to disperse a student protest on education issues. Security and police forces used sticks and tear gas in an attack on Juba University in Khartoum in June 2000, arresting and detaining over 120 students. [4]

**5.62** Government forces were responsible for injuring many civilians during attacks on insurgent forces, during raids on civilian settlement and while bombing civilian targets. There were reports that persons abducted during those raids were subjected to torture and rape. In November 2000, during an National Democratic Alliance attack on government forces in Kassala, government soldiers detained and severely beat a foreign International Red Cross worker. He was held incommunicado for two days and then released. [4]

**5.63** In accordance with shari'a (Islamic) law, the Criminal Act provides for physical punishments including flogging, amputation, stonings, and crucifixion - the public display of a body after execution. In a 1999 case involving ethnic clashes in the Darfur region in the west, an emergency court sentenced 10 persons to hanging and subsequent crucifixion. These sentences had not been carried out by the end of 2000. During 2000, there were six reported cases of amputations of limbs as punishment under shari'a law for aggravated cases of theft. [4]

### **Interference with Privacy**

**5.64** The constitution provides for the inviolability of communication and privacy but in practice the Government routinely interferes with its citizens' privacy. Security forces frequently conduct night searches without warrants targeting persons suspected of political crimes. During student demonstrations in September 1999, riot police reportedly broke into private homes to search for demonstrators. Security forces routinely open and read private mail and monitor telephone calls. [3][5]

### **Military Service and the Popular Defence Force**

**5.65** The law governing military service is the National Service Act 1992 which makes national service compulsory for all males aged between 18 and 33. This law was introduced in an attempt to meet the increasing personnel needs of the armed forces. The right to conscientious objection is not legally recognised. National service does not always entail military service as there are alternatives to military service but those called up have no choice as to what kind of national service they do. Persons called for national service must serve in the Sudanese army, the police force, the Public Order Police, in one of the other security forces, in government departments and public projects for social and economic development. People drafted into national service are paid for their services by the Government. Men who have completed their military service receive a certificate stating their national service has been completed and are exempt from future national service call-ups. [9][29][33]

**5.66** There is general conscription into the regular army and the Popular Defence Force. The Popular Defence Force (PDF) was created in 1990 and has its legal basis in the Popular Defence Forces Act 1989. The PDF is a militia force attached to the regular army. PDF training involves military training, civil defence training and patriotic and cultural education. The armed forces only recruit young men whereas the Popular Defence Force recruits both men and women. Older conscripts are mostly used as reservists. The period served in the PDF is 45 days and national service in the regular army lasts for two years. After serving in the PDF, recruits are either returned to their place of education if they are university students or to the front in the south. The penalty for refusing to perform military service is a fine and up to three years imprisonment. It is reportedly difficult to evade military service and a deserter from the PDF on being arrested by the authorities will usually be re-conscripted into the armed forces. [9][29][33]

**5.67** In order to make it easier for the military authorities to recruit students, all students' birth certificates were passed to the military authorities in May 1997. Students who have not completed their national service cannot obtain an exit visa, nor will they be issued the examination certificate which they should have received on leaving secondary school. Students are required to complete military service before they are issued with their examination certificates which are needed if they intend to go onto further education. Virtually all students at Khartoum University have thus completed their military service and many have been deployed at the front in the south. Many students avoid military service by seeking refuge abroad, especially in Egypt, with their families. [9]

**5.68** There are three common forms of recruitment to the Popular Defence Force and the armed forces:

- students (at secondary school) faced with the need to collect their examination certificates;

- round-ups in the street or other public places such as markets, sports grounds, cinemas and bus stations;
- call-up via employers (in both the public and private sectors). [9]

**5.69** The following categories of people are exempt from national service:

- soldiers of the armed forces, police officers, officers of the Public Order Police and officers of the other security forces;
- students of colleges and institutes from which officers graduate for the Sudanese armed forces provided that students continue the training until graduation and in those cases where they fail to do so, the time spent in the college or the institute shall be deducted from the term of national service;
- persons deemed medically unfit for national service. [29]

**5.70** One common military conscription procedure is for the military authorities to send prospective conscripts their call-up papers. If those called up for military service in this way fail to report to the military authorities, they will have their pay withheld at work. If they still fail to present themselves to the military authorities, they will be dismissed from their job. This applies whether the persons concerned work in the public sector or private sector. [9]

**5.71** Recruits are drawn from the Christian minority in the south and those living in the north as well as the Arab majority population in the north. The Christians who are recruited are often humiliated on account of their being Christians and are also put under pressure to convert to Islam as well as having to fight against their own people in the civil war. Not all conscripts are sent to the front. Those well-connected with the regime and other leading figures in the country can avoid military service. This also applies to people whose financial circumstances allow them to buy their way out of military service. In many cases, young men who have managed to do so are sent by their families to the USA and Europe to study. [9]

### **Treatment of Refugees**

**5.72** The law includes provisions for the granting of refugee or asylum status in accordance with the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol. The Government co-operates with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other humanitarian assistance organisations and accorded refugees relatively good treatment. The UNHCR estimated that in 1999 there were approximately 391,500 refugees in Sudan. These refugees came primarily from Eritrea, Ethiopia, Chad, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia. Approximately 150,000 refugees are in camps and the rest are in urban areas throughout the country. There have been no reports of the forcible repatriation of refugees, regardless of their status. [3]

### **Slavery**

**5.73** The constitution prohibits forced or compulsory labour but slavery continues, particularly affecting women and children. There have been frequent and credible reports that Baggara raiders, supported by government soldiers, took women and children as slaves during raids in Bahr el Ghazal State. The Government has not taken any action to halt these practices and

continues to support some Baggara tribal militias. The majority of the victims were abducted in raids on settlements carried out by government-affiliated militias accompanying and guarding troop trains to the southern garrison town of Wau. During the raids, the militias, which frequently are not paid by the Government, obtain alternative payment through these acts by abducting women and children, looting villages and stealing cattle to take to the north. Civilians were often killed and villages were destroyed. Following the raids, there were credible reports of practices such as the sale of and purchase of children, some in alleged slave markets and the rape of women. Abductees are frequently forced to herd cattle, work in the fields, fetch water, dig wells and do housework. Abductees are sometimes subjected to torture and rape and are sometimes killed. These practices all have a pronounced racial aspect as the victims are all black southerners and members of the native ethnic groups of the Nuba Mountains. [4][5]

**5.74** The Government has denied that slavery is practiced but acknowledges that abductions occur. The Government also denies involvement or complicity in slavery and states that hostage taking often accompanies tribal warfare, particularly in war zones not under government control. [4]

### **Medical Care and Health Facilities**

**5.75** Varying ecological conditions in Sudan, poor hygiene and widespread inadequacies of diet result in a high incidence of fatal infectious disease. The most common illnesses are malaria, dysentery and other gastrointestinal diseases and tuberculosis. Schistosomiasis (snail fever), which occurs in the White and Blue Nile areas, is more restricted geographically but affects a substantial section of the population as does trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) in the southern region. Such diseases as cerebrospinal meningitis, measles, whooping cough, infectious hepatitis, syphilis and gonorrhoea are not uncommon. Many Sudanese people in rural areas suffer from temporary undernourishment on a seasonal basis. The average life expectancy in Sudan is 50 years and the infant mortality rate is 105 per 1,000 births. [6]

**5.76** Most of the country's small number of physicians are concentrated in the urban areas of the north as are the major hospitals. Most trained nurses and midwives are in the north. Medical assistants, who can diagnose common endemic diseases and provide simple treatment and vaccination, are in short supply. [6]

**5.77** On 30 June 2000, the World Health Organisation (WHO) reported that a rapid assessment in Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile had found that infectious diseases accounted for more than 75% of all reported illnesses and that among these, malaria and diarrhoeal diseases are responsible for nearly 40% of all reported illnesses. WHO also reported that it received three epidemic alerts for malaria and acute diarrhoea through its early warning network in June 2000. Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) reported that on 27 June 2000, Bieh State had been struck by several severe health and nutritional problems. The people living in Bieh State have been suffering from food shortages and a meningitis epidemic and a shigella outbreak. According to MSF, Bieh State is without clean water or health services, except for two districts in which MSF is supporting health centres. MSF is responding in this region with an emergency health and nutrition programme. [8]

### **Humanitarian Aid for Internally Displaced Persons**



**5.78** About 2 million people are estimated to have died in Sudan from fighting, famine and disease since the current phase of the civil war started in 1983. The ongoing civil war has caused insecurity and population displacement which have not only interrupted or destroyed most of the trading and production systems but have also seriously impeded relief efforts. The United Nations and numerous non-government organisations are delivering relief assistance by airlifts, airdrops, barges and truck convoys. According to the UN Humanitarian Co-ordination Unit, there are an estimated 4 million internally displaced persons in Sudan. [8]

**5.79** Hundreds of thousands of Sudanese who have fled drought, famine and civil war are living in shanty towns around Khartoum and depend on relief agencies for their survival. In February 2001, in the eastern region of Haya, another 98,000 Sudanese abandoned their villages to escape hunger, as a result of drought which is killing livestock and destroying crops. Around 235,000 people are registered in the camps at Mayo and Jebel Aulia, near Khartoum and in those of Wad al-Beshir and Dar es-Salam, near Omdurman, a big city next to Khartoum. There are another 200,000 people who have not registered as displaced. The overwhelming majority of these displaced people, as opposed to the foreign refugees from neighbouring countries, have come from African communities in southern or central Sudan such as the Nuers, Dinkas or Nubas. Several humanitarian organisations work in Mayo, including France-Sudan Hope 21, a French group employing 12 people and a doctor. Several hundred metres away, the French humanitarian group, Mediciens san Frontieres, has opened a clinic and three nutrition centres, which mainly welcome children. [41]

### **Trade Union Activity and Worker Rights**

**5.80** The constitution provides for the right of organisation for economic or trade union purposes but the Government restricts this right in practice. The Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) abolished the pre-1989 trade unions, closed union offices, froze union assets, forbade strikes and prescribed severe punishments, including the death penalty, for violations of its labour decrees. A 1989 RCC constitutional decree temporarily suspended the right to organise and bargain collectively. These rights were restored to labour organising steering committees in 1996 but government control of the steering committees mean that in practice the Government dominates the process of setting wages and working conditions. The absence of labour legislation allowing for trade union meetings, the filing of grievances and other union activity greatly reduce the value of these formal rights. The law does not prohibit anti-union discrimination by employers. A tripartite committee comprising representatives of the Government trade unions and business set wages. Specialised labour courts adjudicate standard labour disputes, however, the Ministry of Labour has the authority to refer a dispute to compulsory arbitration. [4][5]

## **VI INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**6.1** The status of Sudan's relations with any particular country since 1989 has been determined by the extent to which it opposes or supports Sudan's determination to support Islamic fundamentalist movements and groups throughout eastern Africa and the Middle East. Relations with neighbouring countries, such as Uganda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya and Egypt are characterised either by acrimony or co-operation, often related to the civil war being fought in the country. In the late 1990s and into the new century, Sudan has sought to improve its international relations. This follows years of policies adopted by President al-Bashir's administration which have isolated Sudan from the international community. [2][7]

**6.2** Sudan's alleged involvement in the attempted assassination of President Mubarak of Egypt in June 1995 provoked international outrage. In January 1996, the United Nations Security Council accused Sudan of supporting terrorism, condemned the attempt on President Mubarak's life and unanimously approved Resolution 1044, demanding that Sudan immediately extradite three Islamists implicated in the attack. On 28 April 1996, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1054, imposing sanctions on Sudan for its failure to comply with Resolution 1044. Under the sanctions, the number of Sudanese diplomatic personnel serving abroad was to be reduced and international organisations were requested not to hold conferences in the country. The Security Council stated that the sanctions would remain in force until Sudan complied with Resolution 1044, ceased its support for terrorism and conducted international relations in accordance with the UN charters and the Organisation for African Unity. [2]

**6.3** Sudan's support for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 was a cause of increasing international isolation for the country from the second half of 1990. As a result of this support, Sudan and Iraq now have close relations. A rift developed between Sudan and Iran because of the former's support of Iraq during the 1990-91 Gulf crisis. Since then, however, relations have greatly improved. [2]

**6.4** Relations between Sudan and France experienced a dramatic improvement in August 1994, when French security officials left Khartoum on a French military aircraft with the terrorist Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, better known as "Carlos the Jackal" in their custody. In return for Sudan's co-operation, the French Government reportedly financed the purchase of Airbus aircraft and interceded on Sudan's behalf with the IMF and the UN. In addition, France provided security assistance to Sudan for use in the war against the SPLA. [2]

**6.5** The United States has been one of the severest critics of the present Sudanese Government. On 1 April 1994, Madeleine Albright, the US ambassador to the UN, visited Sudan, and warned President al-Bashir that Sudan faced further international isolation unless it took steps to improve its human rights record. She also accused Sudan of blocking food relief shipments to southern Sudan and indicated that Sudan would remain on the US list of state sponsors of terrorism. In January 1996, the United States announced that it was transferring all of its diplomatic personnel from Khartoum to Nairobi in Kenya, owing to its doubts about the Sudanese Government's ability to guarantee their security. In November 1997, the United States imposed severe economic sanctions on Sudan; humanitarian, diplomatic, journalistic and UN activities were, however, exempt. [2]

**6.6** On 21 August 1998, following bomb attacks on US embassies in Nairobi in Kenya and Dar es-Salaam in Tanzania, the United States launched missile attacks on a factory complex near Khartoum. The US Government claimed that this factory was a chemical weapons complex installation with terrorist links. The Sudanese authorities, however, stated that the factory was producing standard pharmaceutical goods. Sudan offered to open the site to international inspection and withdrew its diplomatic mission from the United States. Following a statement of support for the US action by the British Government, its ambassador to Sudan was asked to leave the country. The British diplomatic mission left Sudan on 28 August 1998. The United Kingdom has since re-opened its embassy in Khartoum. There is currently no United States diplomatic representation in Sudan. The Sudanese Government has tried to improve relations with the United States recently but little diplomatic progress has been made. Sudan made an application for one of the seats in the United Nations Security Council in 2000 which was rejected mainly due to a campaign by the United States to

deny Sudan such a seat. [2][10][23][24][30]

**6.7** Relations between Sudan and Uganda remain poor, largely because of Uganda's support of the SPLA and Sudan's links to Ugandan rebel groups, such as the Lord's Resistance Army and the West Nile Bank Front. For many years Sudan has tried to dissuade Uganda from giving aid to the SPLA by bombing targets in Northern Uganda. In April 1996, the Ugandan Government alleged that Sudanese armed forces had carried out artillery attacks against targets in Uganda and condemned the aggression; and in July claimed that the Sudanese Government was co-ordinating a military campaign waged by Christian fundamentalist rebels with the aim of destabilising northern Uganda. In September 1996, however, following mediation by President Rafsanjani of Iran, Sudan and Uganda were reported to have agreed to restore diplomatic relations. Cross-border tensions continue and subsequent diplomatic efforts to improve relations between the two countries have had varying degrees of success. More recently, in May 1999, the Sudanese Minister of Foreign Affairs stressed the country's readiness to restore and normalise relations with Uganda and to accept dialogue as the means to resolve any problems. [2]

**6.8** Sudan's relations with Eritrea have also been marred by repeated border incidents and deteriorated in December 1993, when Eritrean security forces killed 20 members of the Sudanese-supported Eritrean Islamic Jihad (ELJ) after its units had infiltrated into western Eritrea from bases in eastern Sudan. The ELJ, an Islamic fundamentalist group, reportedly aims to overthrow the Eritrean Government. Over the following months, there were numerous other low-level EIJ cross-border raids into western Eritrea. During 1994, Sudan and Eritrea made at least two diplomatic efforts to resolve their differences but failed as the EIJ continued to raid locations in western Eritrea. In December 1994, Eritrea severed diplomatic relations with Sudan which would not be restored until Sudan severed its ties with the EIJ. Tensions between the two countries continue despite diplomatic efforts to improve relations. [2]

## **VII ANNEXES**

**GLOSSARY**

**Alliance of the People's Working Forces**

Based in Khartoum. The leader is Gaafar Muhammad Nimeri. The acting Secretary General is Kamal ad-Din Muhammad Abdullah

**Beja Congress**

Armed opposition group and part of the NDA.  
Leader - Shaykh/Imam Taha Ahmed Taha

**Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)**

Leader - Mohammad Osman (Uthman) al-Mirghani. Conservative in political outlook. Formed in the late 1960s by a merger between the National Unionist Party and the People's Democratic Party. DUP has its base in the muslim Khatmiyyah sect. DUP is one of the founder members of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) opposition umbrella group. The DUP, however, contains a small faction which remains under the name DUP but to most intents and purposes is a separate party. This faction is led by Zayn al-Abidin el-Hindi (also referred to respectfully as Sharif el-Hindi) and disagrees with the involvement of religion in the DUP and does not form a part of the NDA. The two factions enjoyed a certain degree of co-operation until the return of Sharif el-Hindi to Sudan in June 1997, following which the al-Mirghani DUP disowned him.

**Free Sudanese National Party (FSNP)**

Officially registered as a political party on 13 April 1999. Leader - Philip Abbas

**Islamic-Christian Solidarity**

Based in Khartoum. Founder - Hatim Abdullah az-Zaki Husayn

**Islamic Revival Movement**

Based in Khartoum. Founder - Siddiq al-Haj as-Siddiq

**Islamic Ummah Party (IUP)**

Officially registered as a political party on 13 April 1999. Leader - Wali al-Din al-Hadi al-Mahdi. Despite the similar name, this party is completely separate and independent of the Umma Party.

**Liberation Front for Southern Sudan (LFSS)**

A rival faction to the original SPLM.

**Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces (LC-SAF)**

Formed from dissident military officers from Sudan. It is a part of the NDA. Leader - Lt-Gen Abd al-Rahman Sa'id. Its members are normally military or ex-military officers of some rank.

**Movement of the New Sudanese Forces**

A very small group formed by 4 prominent Sudanese Communist Party (SCP) members in late 1995/early 1996 from two groups; the Sudanese Movement for Democracy and Progress and the Democratic Forum.

### **Muslim Brotherhood**

Based in Khartoum. Islamic fundamentalist. Leader - Dr Habir Nur ad-Din

### **Muslim Brothers**

This group split from the original Muslim Brotherhood. Leader - Sadig Abdallah Abdel Magid

### **National Alliance for Salvation (NAS)**

Founded 1985. Group of professional associations, trade unions and political parties.

### **National Congress**

Ruling political organisation - was known as the National Islamic Front until November 1998. The leader is President al-Bashir.

### **National Democratic Alliance (NDA)**

The NDA is not a political party but is an association of opposition political parties and rebel groups and is based in Asmara in Eritrea. Chairman - Osman al-Mirghani. Sec. Gen. Mubarak al-Mahdi. Member parties of the NDA include the Beja Congress, the Sudanese Communist Party, the Democratic Unionist Party, the Legitimate Command, the Sudan Alliance Forces, the Sudan Federal Democratic Alliance, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and its military wing, the Sudan People's Liberation Army.

### **National Islamic Front (NIF)**

Based in Khartoum. Politico-religious organisation. Widely regarded as the power behind the current al-Bashir regime from 1989 to 1998. It was renamed the National Congress in November 1998.

### **Nile Valley Conference**

Based in Khartoum. Founder - Lt Gen. (rtd) Umar Zaruq

### **Popular Masses' Alliance**

Based in Khartoum. Founder - Faysal Muhahhamd Husayn

### **Popular (or People's) National Congress (PNC)**

This is a new political party set up Hassan al-Turabi in June 2000 after he was expelled from the ruling National Congress.

### **Socialist Popular Party**

Based in Khartoum. Founder - Sayyid Khalifah Idris Habbani

### **Sudan Alliance Forces (SAF)**

Small armed opposition group which appeared early in 1996, it operates out of camps in the Sudan-Eritrea border areas. Reportedly formed from Muslims expelled from the Sudanese army. Leader is Brig. Abdul Aziz Khalid. The SAF is banned and active members may be at risk in the Sudan. The Government clamped down heavily on officers and officials suspected of involvement with the SAF in 1996-97.

### **Sudan African National Union (SANU)**

Malakal; Southern Party; supports continuation of regional rule.

**Sudanese African Congress (SAC)**

Based in Juba.

**Sudanese African People's Congress (SACPO)**

Based in Juba.

**Sudanese Central Movement**

Based in Khartoum. Founder - Dr Muhammad Abu al-Qasim Haj Hamad

**Sudanese Communist Party (SCP)**

Secretary General - Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud - although numerically smaller than the traditional Sudanese parties (DUP and Umma) it exercises its power through the trades unions.

**Sudanese Green Party**

Based in Khartoum. Founder - Prof Zakaraia Bashir Imam

**Sudan Human Rights Organisation (SHRO)**

A well-known non-political independent human rights organisation. Its main aims are the promotion and defence of the human rights and freedoms of the Sudanese people. It was founded in 1984 by a group of Sudanese professionals and scholars as a branch of the Arab Human Rights Organisation. It was officially registered as a human rights organisation in 1985.

**Sudan Federal Democratic Alliance (SFDA)**

Very small group launched in London on 5 February 1994. Leader - former Umma Party politician, Ahmed Ibrahim Diraiqe. Liberal democrat in outlook.

**Sudanese National Party (SNP)**

Based in Khartoum. Leader - Hasan al-Mahi - participates in NDA

**Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)**

Opposition movement. Leader - John Garang

**Southern Sudanese Political Association (SSPA)**

Based in Juba; largest southern party; advocates unity of the Southern Region.

**Sudan Victims of Torture Group**

London-based victims of torture rights group.

**Umma Party (UP)**

Mahdist party based on the Koran and Islamic traditions based in the Ansar Muslim sect. Leader - Sadiq al-Mahdi. The party was a member of the NDA until March 2000 when it withdrew its membership. The leader - Sadiq al-Mahdi - returned to Sudan in November 2000 after being in exile.

**United Democratic Salvation Front (USDF)**

Based in Khartoum. Registered in January 1999. Political wing of the Southern Sudan Defence Force. Comprises 5 of the 7 factions that signed the peace accord with Khartoum's government in April 1997. Leader - Riek Machar

**Union of Sudan African Parties (USAP)**

Leading figure - Samuel Aro Bol. Sympathises with the SPLA.

## **SPLA FACTIONS**

### **Background Notes**

The Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), and its military wing, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) was formed under the leadership of John Garang de Mabior in 1983.

The SPLA split in September 1991 into what for convenience is termed the SPLA mainstream which remained under Garang, and SPLA-Nasir under Riak Machar, Kerubino Bol and Lam Akol. In March 1993, SPLA-Nasir was re-named SPLA-United. The breakaway parties favour an independent southern Sudan.

In February 1994, Lam Akol was expelled from SPLA-United and formed another group which remained under the name SPLA-United. In November 1994, the part of SPLA-United which remained under Riak Machar re-named itself the South Sudan Independence Movement/Army (SSIM/A)

In June 1996, a faction of the Central Committee of the Nuba Mountains SPLA under Muhammad Harun Kafi split away from the Nuba Mountains SPLA mainstream and entered into peace negotiations with the government. The remaining faction of the Nuba Mountains SPLA under Yusuf Kuwah remained within SPLA mainstream under Garang.

In April 1996, the SSIM and the faction of the SPLA under Kerubino Bol signed a peace charter with the government. The final peace accord was signed on 21 April 1997, with the Nuba Mountains SPLA faction under Kafi signing a separate accord. The accord was passed into law by the National Assembly on 23 July 1997. Other signatories of the accord were the Bor Independence Group, the Equatoria Defence Force and a faction of SPLA-United. The faction of the SPLA-United still under Lam Akol and the faction of the Nuba Mountains SPLA under Yusuf Kuwah have not signed an agreement with the government. (Yusuf Kuwah died in the UK in 2001). On 1 September 1997, however, Lam Akol's faction of the SPLA-United declared a cease-fire as a prelude to entering into negotiations with the Government on the basis of the Peace Charter. Lam Akol has since signed a peace agreement.

### **List of SPLA Factions**

#### **Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)**

Opposition movement. Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) - military wing of SPLM. Leader - Col. John Garang. It continues to form the main military force in opposition to the current government. Member organisation of the NDA. Members are mostly from the Dinka black ethnic group.

#### **SPLA - Bahr al-Ghazal faction (SPLA-BEG)**

Leader - Kerubino Bol. Signed the Peace Accord in April 1997 and formed part of the Southern Sudan Defence Force (SSDF) fighting on behalf of the Government in the south. In February 1998, however, Bol realigned himself to the SPLA and tried to help take the government-held



town of Wau. Lawrence Lual Lual then took over leadership of the SPLA - Bahr al-Ghazal group.

#### **SPLA - United**

Led by Dr Lam Akol. Although a faction of this group signed the Peace Accord with the Government in April 1997 the faction remaining under Dr Akol, has now also signed a peace agreement with the Government.

#### **Nuba Mountains SPLA - Muhammed Harun Kafi Faction**

A faction of the Central Committee of the Nuba Mountains SPLA which split from the SPLA under Garang in late June 1996 and signed the Peace Charter with the Government. Led by Muhammad Harun Kafi.

#### **Southern Sudan Defence Force/United Democratic Salvation Front for Southern Sudan**

A military group comprising the armed wings of the southern signatories to the Peace Charter. Led by Riak Machar and Kerubino Bol. Fighting broke out, in June and August 1998, between two pro-government factions in Unity State, 530 miles south west of Khartoum. Forces loyal to Riak Machar were attacked by the forces of Paulino Matip. The leader of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army - Bahr al-Ghazal group, Lawrence Lual Lual withdrew from Riak Machar's coalition United Democratic Salvation Front (UDSF) to protest at the actions of Machar. They joined forces with Matip. On 4 June 1999, members of the SSDF said Riak Machar had been deposed as leader of the SSDF and Willis Wal had replaced him.

#### **South Sudan Independence Movement (SSIM)**

A rival faction to the original SPLM. Leader - Riak Machar Teny-Dhuroon. Evolved early 1995 from another faction, the SPLA-United (leader - Kerubino Bol and William Nyuon) The SSIM is now providing forces to reinforce the government garrison and southern capital of Juba. Forms part of the Southern Sudan Defence Force (SSDF).

**PROMINENT PEOPLE PAST AND PRESENT**

**Lt-General Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir** - President of Sudan. Came to power in June 1989 after leading a coup.

**Hassan al-Turabi** - . Former deputy Prime Minister 1989. Leader of the National Islamic Front (renamed the National Congress in 1998) and Speaker of the National Assembly from 1996 until Parliament was dissolved in December 1999. He was expelled from the ruling National Congress in May 2000 by President al-Bashir and formed his own political party called the Popular National Congress Party in June 2000.

**Maj-Gen. Zubeir Mohammad Saleh** - Former First Vice-President and Deputy Prime Minister. Died in a plane crash in February 1998.

**Maj-Gen. George Kongor Arop** - Currently Second Vice-President.

**Ismail al-Azhari** - First Sudanese Prime Minister.

**Abdallah Khalil** - Former Prime Minister.

**Gen. Ibrahim Aboud** - Led military coup November 1958.

**Muhammed Ahmed Mahgoub** - Prime Minister 1965-66 & 1967-68.

**Sadiq al-Mahdi** - Prime Minister 1966-67, 1986-89, arrested on several occasions. Fled from house arrest to Eritrea in December 1996. Leader of the Umma Party and spiritual leader of Ansar. Brother-in-law of Hassan al-Turabi. He returned to Sudan in November 2000 after spending several years in exile abroad.

**Col. Gaafar Muhammad Nimeri** - Led coup May 1969, President from 1969 - 1985. Ousted from power for three days in July 1971.

**Maj. Hashim al-Ata** - Led coup July 1971.

**Lt-Gen. Swar al-Dahab** - Led coup April 1985.

**Dr Gizuli Dafallah** - Organiser of the general strike March 1985, appointed Prime Minister after April coup.

**Ustaz Mahmoud Mohamed Taha** - Spiritual leader of the Republican Brothers, executed for apostasy 1985.

**Ramadan Martyrs** - Group of 28 army officers executed April 1990 after an attempted coup.

**Col. John Garang** - Leader of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) & SPLM military wing the SPLA.

**Lt-Gen. Fatih Ahmed Ali** - Former leader of the Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces (LC-SAF), opposition government in exile with Garang. Died from a heart attack April 1997.

**Riak Machar** - Former member of the SPLA, broke away in 1991 and formed the South Sudan Independence Movement (SSIM). Signed peace agreement with the government.

**Kerubino Kwanyin Bol** - Leader of the SPLA-Bahr al-Ghazal faction.

**Lam Akol** - Leader of the SPLA (United) faction. Largely Nuer and Shillik based faction.

**Muhammad Harun Kafi** - Leader of the Nuba Mountains faction of the SPLA.

**Sharif Zayn al-Abidin el-Hindi** - Leader of the DUP faction not allied to the NDA. Returned to Sudan in 1997 and is now in the National Congress.

**Brig. Abdul Aziz Khalid** - Leader of Sudan Alliance Force (SAF)

**Lt-Gen. Abdal-Rahman Sa'id** - Took over leadership of the LC-SAF after Lt Gen Fathi Ahmad Ali's death.

**Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud Mansour** - Secretary-General of the Sudanese Communist Party (SCP)

**Ahmed Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi** - Internal leader of the Ansar Islamic sect.

**Abdel Aziz Shido** - Minister of Justice and Attorney General.

**Abel Alier** - Southern Statesman and former Vice-President 1971-78. Seen as close to the SPLA.

**Ali Ahmed Sahloul** - Sudanese Permanent Representative to UN in Geneva, former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

**Mohammed Osman Ali al-Mirghani** - Leader of the Khatmiyyah Sect and patron of the DUP. Head of the National Democratic Alliance since 1995.

**CHRONOLOGY**

- 1899** - Sudan ruled as an Anglo-Egyptian condominium, following the defeat of the Mahdist forces.
- 1953** - British & Egyptian authorities set up a plan for independence and elections held. National Unionist Party (NUP) wins.
- Jan 1954** - Ismail al-Azhari becomes first Prime Minister (PM).
- 1955** - Rebellion against rule from the north occurs in southern Sudan.
- 19 Dec 1955** - Parliament unanimously declares Sudan an independent republic.
- 1 Jan 1956** - Sudan becomes a formally independent country.
- 1956** - Soon after independence Azhari's Government replaced by coalition of Umma Party (UP) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP). Abdallah Khalil becomes PM.
- Nov 1958** - Military coup, army takes control of the state. Gen. Ibrahim Abboud takes control.
- Oct 1964** - Police fire on student demonstrators in Khartoum. General strike follows and Abboud forced to hand over power to a civilian committee. Transitional government formed including members of Sudanese Communist Party (SCP) and Muslim Brotherhood.
- March 1965** - Conference in Khartoum fails to reach agreement on country's constitutional future.
- June 1965** - Elections result in UP-NUP coalition. Muhammad Mahgoub becomes PM. Serious rebel activity occurs in south.
- Nov 1965** - Government becomes increasingly right-wing and SCP is banned.
- July 1966** - After split in UP, and defeat on a vote of censure, Maghoub resigns and Sadiq al-Mahdi becomes PM.
- May 1967** - Al-Mahdi defeated in the Assembly and Maghoub becomes PM for second time.
- Jan 1968** - Assembly dissolved following neglect of domestic problems and a series of defeats in parliament.
- April 1968** - Elections lead to Democratic Unionist Party (DUP - formed from merger of PDP and NUP) winning most seats. Maghoub continues as PM.

- May 1969** - Government overthrown in a bloodless coup by Col. Gaafar Muhammad Nimeri. All existing political institutions and organisations abolished. Democratic Republic of Sudan proclaimed. Supreme authority in hands of Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). Nimeri adopts socialist policies and creates a one-party state under the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU).
- 1970** - Announcement by Nimeri, Qaddafi (Libya) and Sadat (Egypt), to unite their countries into a single federal state.
- July 1971** - A single federal state proved unacceptable to the SCP who staged a coup under Maj. Hasim al-Ata. Within three days, with popular support, Nimeri returned to power, and a purge of communists takes place.
- March 1972** - Addis Ababa Agreement signed between Government and Anya Nya rebels, introducing regional autonomy for 3 southern provinces.
- April 1972** - High Executive Council (HEC) for Southern Region established.
- April 1973** - Permanent Constitution endorsed.
- Nov 1973** - Elections to Regional People's Assembly for southern Sudan take place.
- April 1974** - Elections for National People's Assembly.
- 1976** - Diplomatic links severed with Libya after an unsuccessful coup attempt.
- 1977** - A policy of reconciliation was initiated, several of Nimeri's former opponents brought into the administration. Large numbers of political detainees released.
- Jan 1980** - Sudan divided into 5 regions in addition to the south and Khartoum which retained a special status and administrative structure.
- Nov 1981** - Entire Sudanese Government dismissed, however, many individuals later reinstated.
- Dec 1981** - Elections for National People's Assembly held.
- April 1982** - New Southern People's Assembly elected.
- 1983** - North-south conflict worsens.
- April 1983** - President Nimeri re-elected for a third term.
- May/June 1983** - South divided into 3 smaller sub-regions, each with own assembly in order to quell unrest, and prevent Dinka domination.

- Sept 1983** - The government imposes aspects of Islamic Shari'a Law, seen as a betrayal by the largely non-Muslim south. Some southerners returned to armed conflict in what was commonly known as Anya Nya II. In the north discontent reflected by a series of strikes in the public sector.
- April 1984** - Nimeri declares a state of emergency and martial law is introduced.
- May 1984** - Nimeri replaces his Council of Ministers with a 64- member Presidential Council in accordance with the 'Shoura' (consultation) principle of Shari'a law.
- July 1984** - National People's Assembly rejects Nimeri's proposed constitutional amendments to make Sudan a formal Islamic state.
- Oct 1984** - State of emergency lifted.
- Jan 1985** - Ustaz Mahmoud Mohamed Taha, executed for apostasy, provoking international protest.
- Feb 1985** - Leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood charged with sedition.
- March 1985** - General strike takes place in protest at rise in food prices.
- 6 April 1985** - Nimeri deposed in a bloodless military coup, Gen. Abdel-Rahman Swar al-Dahab becomes new leader. Dr Gizuli Dafallah, a prominent trade unionist, appointed PM. In response to coup the SPLM initially declared a cease-fire. However the SPLM refused to negotiate and fighting resumed.
- Sept 1985** - Mutiny in several army units in Khartoum North and Omdurman officially denounced as an attempted coup.
- Oct 1985** - Transitional Constitution introduced. Under its provisions numerous new political groupings begin to emerge in readiness for a general election.
- Dec 1985** - Name of country officially changed to 'the Republic of Sudan'.
- March 1986** - Conference held in Addis Ababa began negotiations between the SPLM and the National Alliance of Salvation (NAS), a semi official group of trade unionists and politicians, in an effort to resolve the civil war.
- April 1986** - Elections result in Sadiq al-Mahdi's Umma Party forming a coalition with the DUP. Sadiq al-Mahdi becomes PM.
- July 1986** - Sadiq al-Mahdi meets with the SPLM leader John Garang to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

- Aug 1986** - All contacts between the government and SPLM discontinued after the SPLM shoots down a Sudan Airways aircraft killing 60 civilians. Later in month SPLM launch new offensive.
- Nov 1986** - Five senior military commanders dismissed, following rumours of unrest in the army.
- May 1987** - Following increased instability in the south a temporary Council for Southern Sudan (CSS) established. Al-Mahdi dissolves his coalition government.
- June 1987** - New, reconstructed, Council of Ministers differs little from its predecessor.
- 25 July 1987** - The government imposes a 12-month state of emergency.
- Dec 1987** - Secret peace negotiations held in London. SPLM reported to have abandoned its demand for a total abrogation of Islamic law as a precondition for talks. No agreement reached.
- Jan 1988** - The government and 17 political parties sign a transitional charter which stresses Sudan's commitment to multi-party democracy.
- April 1988** - Al-Mahdi dissolves his government and resigns as PM, but is returned as PM on 27 April.
- May 1988** - New "government of national unity" is formed comprising of DUP, UP, NIF and some southern parties.
- Nov 1988** - Representatives of SPLM meet senior DUP officials and agree to end the civil war if several conditions are met including the suspension of the Islamic code, and the lifting of the state of emergency.
- Dec 1988** - State of emergency declared amid reports of an attempted military coup. The DUP withdraw from the coalition after al-Mahdi causes political crisis by requesting a national constitutional conference whilst refusing to incorporate the agreement between the DUP and SPLM. Demonstrations and a national strike take place over increases in prices.
- Feb 1989** - Dr Hassan al-Turabi, leader of the National Islamic Front (NIF), becomes Deputy Prime Minister. Later in the month al-Mahdi threatens to resign after row with the army.
- March 1989** - Al-Mahdi agrees to form a new broad based government which would begin peace negotiations with the SPLM. Despite 30 political parties and 17 trade unions endorsing the DUP-SPLM agreement the NIF refuses to endorse the agreement and are excluded from the new government.
- April 1989** - Peace negotiations begin in Ethiopia.

- May 1989** - Col Garang proclaims a one-month cease-fire.
- 30 June 1989** - Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir assumes power after a bloodless coup. A 15 member Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation (RCC) is formed. Al-Bashir rapidly dismantles the civilian ruling apparatus. Civilian newspapers are closed, political parties are banned and a state of emergency declared. 30 members of the former government detained.
- July 1989** - Early in month a new 21 member Cabinet is announced, which includes 16 civilians, 4 southerners and several considered sympathetic to Islamic fundamentalism. Lt-Gen. al-Bashir declares a one-month unilateral ceasefire.
- August 1989** - Peace negotiations in Ethiopia collapse over Shari'a, after announcement for a national referendum on the issue alienates the SPLM.
- Sept 1989** - John Garang refuses to attend further negotiations in Khartoum.
- Oct 1989** - Hostilities resume at end of month, when SPLM capture the town of Kurmuk.
- Dec 1989** - Peace talks in Nairobi, mediated by former US President Jimmy Carter, again collapse over Shari'a.
- Jan 1990** - SPLM achieve considerable military success. An assault on Juba is prepared.
- March 1990** - 57 people, civilians and military arrested for allegedly attempting to seize control of the Government.
- April 1990** - A reshuffle of the Government strengthens the influence of Islamic fundamentalists.
- 23 April 1990** - Claims that a further coup has been foiled, resulting in the execution of 28 army officers on 24 April.
- May 1990** - Attempt by senior US officials to revive the peace negotiations.
- Nov 1990** - Reports of a further coup attempt were denied by the Government after growing internal unrest.
- Jan 1991** - Reports that an opposition government in exile has been formed under Lt-Gen. Fatih Ahmed Ali and Col. Garang.
- Feb 1991** - The RCC enacts a decree which divides Sudan into nine states, which in turn are sub-divided into 66 provinces and 281 local government areas. Al-Bashir introduces a new penal code based on Shari'a law; the Criminal Act 1991. The three southern states appear exempt from the code,



effective from 22 March 1991. The SPLM regarded the application of Shari'a law in the north unacceptable.

- April 1991** - 20 army officers are executed for an alleged coup attempt and 2 RCC members dismissed from their posts without explanation. At the end of the month al-Bashir announces the release of all political prisoners, including Sadiq al-Mahdi, who had been under house arrest, and SCP secretary Muhammad Ibrahim Nugud. A one-month amnesty for opponents to the regime is declared. A national conference is held in Khartoum from 29/4/91 - 2/5/91 to decide Sudan's political future.
  
- 16 May 1991** - Col. Garang invites the Government to participate in peace negotiations, but the offer is declined amid claims that the reforms already introduced represented considerable compromise.
  
- 21 May 1991** - Haile Mariam Mengistu is overthrown in Ethiopia and the SPLA loses its main supporter. Armed clashes occur in Ethiopia between SPLA forces and those of the new government.
  
- 29 May 1991** - The Sudanese Government recognises the new Ethiopian regime.
  
- June 1991** - SPLA fighters in western Ethiopia are given a deadline to either leave the country, disarm or to accept refugee status. The Government announces that it will consider US proposals for a partial withdrawal of its forces from the south, in exchange for the withdrawal of SPLA forces from government-held areas, and the declaration of Juba as an open city.
  
- 14 June 1991** - SPLA declares its support of the Government's proposal that President Babangida of Nigeria should act as a mediator in the southern conflict, however the diplomatic progress made is negated by a new government offensive against the SPLA.
  
- July 1991** - John Garang is reported to be involved in unconditional peace negotiations, but the peace process is further damaged when a prominent Muslim fundamentalist is appointed as Governor of the southern province of Darfur.
  
- August 1991** - An alleged coup attempt results in the arrest of 10 army officers. The NDA and unnamed foreign powers blamed. 15 people are tried in a military court, and 10 death sentences, commuted to life imprisonment, are passed on the army officers. Late August sees a split in the SPLA. The new faction is favoured by the Nuer people, whilst the Dinka still support Garang.
  
- Oct 1991** - Sudan and Ethiopia sign a treaty of friendship and co-operation. Peace talks scheduled for early October under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) are postponed by the split in the SPLA.

- Nov 1991** - Fierce fighting is reported between the two SPLA faction, with several thousand civilians massacred before a cease-fire is negotiated. At the end of the month the Government announces a one-month amnesty for rebels wishing to surrender.
- 24 Feb 1992** - A 300 member, transitional National Assembly is created, comprising of members of the RCC, state Governors, army and police representatives, former DUP and UP members and former aides to Nimeri. The intended popularity of the new parliament does not prevent widespread political unrest, caused by economic austerity measures.
- March 1992** - Government forces launch a new offensive against the SPLA.
- April 1992** - Another alleged coup attempt is foiled.
- May 1992** - OAU sponsors peace negotiations in Abuja attended by Garang, Lam Akol and the Government. The Government refuse a referendum on self-determination for the south. All parties agree to continue negotiations.
- 12 July 1992** - Government forces take Torit, last major town held by the SPLA. The two SPLA factions show signs of reconciliation by launching a counter-offensive. The inhabitants of Juba are left close to starvation after relief flights to the city are suspended.
- Nov 1992** - Relief flights resume to Juba.
- Dec 1992** - Ajuba peace negotiations abandoned due to increased fragmentation of SPLA, and disagreements over which factions should attend.
- Early 1993** - Reports that the NIF are opposed to continued military character of government and they favour dissolution of the RCC.
- Jan 1993** - Mid-January, al-Bashir reshuffles the cabinet, but states there will be no change in policy and the RCC will remain.
- Feb 1993** - Contacts between the Government and the various factions of the SPLA continue.
- March 1993** - Reports that Garang's forces are engaged in fighting with the "Forces of Unity" faction of the SPLA under William Nyoun.
- April 1993** - Peace talks between the Government and Garang's faction of the SPLA resume in Ajuba. Meanwhile talks also take place in Nairobi between a government delegation and SPLA-United. The Ajuba talks result in failure, however, the Nairobi talks result in an agreement for a unified federal state with concessions to allow Shari'a law in the north but not in the south.

- July 1993** - The SPLA under Garang launch a major offensive after alleging it had been attacked by government forces aided by other SPLA factions. A Government reshuffle strengthens the NIF's position.
- Aug 1993** - The Government launches its own offensive attacking SPLA held towns near the Ugandan border. The Nuba people in central Sudan are reported to have been threatened by government forces. The US places Sudan on its list of countries supporting terrorism on 18 August.
- Sept 1993** - The SPLA are reported to have checked the Government forces' advance.
- 16 Oct 1993** - The RCC is disbanded having appointed al-Bashir as President and head of a new civilian administration.
- 19 Oct 1993** - Al-Bashir announces political reforms to pave the way for Presidential and Legislative elections to be held in 1994 and 1995.
- Jan 1994** - The two principal rival factions of the SPLA agree to a ceasefire. Government forces reported to have launched another offensive. Thousands of civilians flee to Uganda.
- Feb 1994** - Sudan is redivided into 26 states instead of nine. The executive and legislative power of the states is expanded. Southern states expected to be exempt from Shari'a law.
- March 1994** - Delegations representing the Government and two factions of the SPLA travel to Nairobi to participate in peace talks, held under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). All parties agree to allow the free passage of relief supplies to southern Sudan.
- 10 April 1994** - Legislation adopted to provide an independent commission, appointed by the President, to supervise the election processes.
- 16 May 1994** - The Government holds a conference in Juba province, that concludes with a declaration that urges national unity and appeals to the rebels to embrace conventional politics.
- 18 May 1994** - A second round of IGADD sponsored talks take place in Nairobi.
- 20 June 1994** - Sadiq al-Mahdi is arrested for allegedly having plotted to overthrow the Government. No charges are brought against him and he is released on 3/7/94.
- 18 July 1994** - Further IGADD talks begin in Nairobi.
- 23 July 1994** - The Government announces a unilateral ceasefire.
- 28 July 1994** - Garang's faction of the SPLA responds with a ceasefire.

- Sept 1994** - Further peace negotiations end in deadlock, but later in month al-Bashir announces the creation of an 89-member peace council.
- Oct 1994** - A government offensive aimed at severing the SPLA's supply lines from Uganda and Zaire goes wrong. The army and PDF forces suffer defeats north of Juba.
- Dec 1994** - Diplomatic links are severed with Eritrea.
- March 1995** - Col. Garang announces that the faction under his command has joined forces with rebel groups in the north, under the title of the New Sudan Brigade. Hopes are that it will unite other insurgent groups against the Government.
- 27 Mar 1995** - Reports that former US President Jimmy Carter has persuaded the Government to declare a unilateral ceasefire for two months. The SPLA and SSIM respond by declaring cease-fires of their own.
- April 1995** - Uganda severs diplomatic links with Sudan following Sudanese attacks on targets in northern Uganda.
- 27 April 1995** - Riak Machar and Garang sign the Lafon declaration which provides for the reintegration of their forces.
- 27 May 1995** - The Government extends its cease-fire for a further two months, however government violations of the ceasefire are reported. Mid-May Sadiq al-Mahdi was again arrested.
- June 1995** - Sudan implicated in the attempted assassination of President Mubarak of Egypt in Addis Ababa. Government strenuously deny any involvement.
- 15 June 1995** - The NDA, including the SPLA, DUP, UP and SCP hold a conference in Asmara and announce plans for self-determination once the al-Bashir regime is ousted.
- July 1995** - Egypt imposes visa and permit requirements on Sudanese visitors and residents amid strained relations between the two countries.
- Aug 1995** - Al-Bashir announces that legislative and presidential elections will take place in 1996. Some political prisoners including Sadiq al-Mahdi are released.
- Sept 1995** - Riots in Khartoum, over the arrest of student demonstrators, lead to the imposition of strict security measures. Ethiopia accuses Sudan of harbouring three terrorists implicated in the assassination attempt on Mubarak of Egypt.
- Oct 1995** - A new SPLA offensive forces government troops to retreat.

- Jan 1996** - US withdraw their diplomatic personnel from Sudan amid fears for their safety. Prior to their withdrawal, the UN Security Council had unanimously adopted Resolution 1044, accusing Sudan of supporting terrorism, and condemning Sudan's role in the assassination attempt on President Mubarak. The resolution also demanded the extradition of three individuals implicated in the incident.
  
- 6/17 Mar 1996** - First legislative and presidential elections since 1989 take place. Opposition groups do not field candidates and al-Bashir returned for further 5-year term. Dr al-Turabi (NIF) elected speaker of the National Assembly.
  
- March 1996** - Government claims that the elections represented a change in political direction are damaged by reports of an attempted coup.
  
- April 1996** - Serious unrest in Khartoum, and the decision not to appoint a cabinet until clarification surrounding the UN's possible imposition of sanctions for failing to comply with Resolution 1044, further damage the Government's earlier claims.
  
- 10 April 1996** - Substantial breakthrough in the southern conflict achieved as Government, SSIM and SPLA-United sign a "political charter for peace". Other opposition groups dismiss the charter as a publicity stunt.
  
- 21 April 1996** - A new Cabinet is announced which retains the military, Islamic character of its predecessor.
  
- 28 April 1994** - The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 1054, imposing diplomatic sanctions on Sudan, for failing to comply with Resolution 1044.
  
- May 1996** - A second faction of SPLA concludes a peace agreement with the Government. May - July many foreign Muslims present in Sudan, including the "Afghan Arabs" and the Saudi national "Usamah Bin Ladin" are allegedly instructed to leave.
  
- June 1996** - Fighting breaks out between the SSIM and the SPLA in eastern Upper Nile. Mid-June the NDA present the Government with a petition requesting it to cede power or face a popular uprising. Two privately owned newspapers are closed for subversion and there is a wave of detentions of trade unionists. A faction of the Nuba Mountains SPLA led by Muhammad Kafi splits from Garang, and signs up to the peace charter in mid-August.
  
- July 1996** - Pro-opposition and pro-NIF students clash during elections for the Omdurman Student Union leading to the closure of the Omdurman National and Ahlia Universities in August, for an indefinite period.

- 16 Aug 1996** - The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 1070 banning all international flights operated by Sudan Airways. A steep rise in the price of bread and petrol is announced along with other austerity measures, bringing protests from the largest union, the Federation of Sudanese Trade Unions, and demonstrations by students at the Nilean University. Demonstrations spread through many of the main cities. Late-August opponents of the Government claim 11 military officers have been executed for taking part in a conspiracy to occupy facilities in Port Sudan.
- Sept 1996** - A mass demonstration in Khartoum is broken up with tear gas. Ethnic clashes between the Reizegat and Zagawa groups break out in Al-Da'ayn province in the north, only dying down a month later. Several members of the Ansar religious order and Umma, who attempt to mediate are arrested.
- Oct 1996** - The NDA hold a conference in Asmara, which calls on regional institutions to topple the Government. Al-Bashir appoints eight deputies to the National Assembly to represent constituencies in the south. Late-October another failed coup is reported, 10-12 officers are detained.
- Nov 1996** - A wave of arrests of oppositionists takes place.
- Dec 1996** - Sadiq al-Mahdi flees the country to Eritrea, several members of the Ansar order are detained.
- Jan 1997** - The President promises a referendum on the new constitution, and releases 249 prisoners. Rebel forces make considerable gains and lectures at Khartoum University are suspended to allow students to join the PDF. Fearing a popular uprising timed to coincide with the military offensive, the authorities detain known oppositionists. Tensions rise between Sudan and its neighbours, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda amid allegations that they had invaded Sudan.
- Feb 1997** - The situation on the eastern front calms but fighting in the south escalates.
- March 1997** - Opposition forces make substantial gains capturing the garrison town of Yei. At the end of the month Garang states he has control of the whole of White Nile and Western Equatoria.
- 21 April 1997** - The southern factions who had signed the peace charter in early 1996 finalise and sign the Peace Accord. Signatories are, SSIM, SPLA-Bahr Al-Ghazal faction, Union of Sudan African Parties, Bor Independence Group and Equatoria Defence Force. The SPLA-Nuba Mountains faction under Muhammad Kafi signs a separate agreement. The SSIM forces start reinforcing the government garrison at Juba. Some political detainees held since early 1997 start to be released.

- May 1997** - The opposition makes large gains in the south and more modest gains in the north east. The National Security Council order the release of all political prisoners.
- June 1997** - Sharif Zayn al-Abidin el-Hindi, returns to Sudan, to negotiate with the Government. There are reports of a riot in Kober prison, the usual place of detention for political prisoners. The alleged coup plotters arrested in early 1996 are tried and given prison sentences of between 1 month and 15 years. Reports of a massacre by the SPLA in the Wun Rog area.
- July 1997** - At meeting of the IGADD in Nairobi, al-Bashir accepts the 1994 IGADD principles as a basis for peace negotiations, which is received warmly in opposition circles. The Peace Accord signed on 21 April is passed into law on 23 July as 14th constitutional amendment.
- Aug 1997** - Negotiations on the IGADD principles reach a sticking point as the opposition insist that principles be extended to include discussion between the Government and all elements of the NDA not just the SPLA. The opposition agrees to escalate military action. Riak Machar is appointed Chairman of the southern state's co-ordination council.
- Sept 1997** - UN Special Rapporteur, Gaspar Biro arrives in Khartoum and meets with government representatives. Former rebel Lam Akol, leader of the SPLM-United signs a peace agreement at Fashoda.
- Oct 1997** - President Bashir forms a 377-member commission to draft a new Constitution. Peace talks under the auspice of the IGADD open in Nairobi on 29 October 1997.
- Nov 1997** - IGADD Peace talks which began in October 1997 end. Both sides agree to reconvene talks in April 1998. Two people are killed when suspected muslim zealots attack worshippers at a mosque belonging to the Ansar Sunna sect in Wad Medani.
- Jan 1998** - Sadiq al-Mahdi agrees to talks with the government under certain conditions. Kerubino Bol is appointed Deputy President and Minister for local government and public security in southern Sudan.
- Feb 1998** - Former rebel leader Kerubino Bol, signatory of the April 1997 Peace Charter, returns to the SPLA. First Vice-President Al-Zubier Mohammad Saleh and at least 12 others, including former rebel Arok Thon Arok, are killed in a plane crash. Sudanese Foreign Minister Ali Osman Mohamed Taha is appointed to replace al-Zubier.
- March 1998** - Tribal clashes occur in Darfur region, killing approximately 100. Bashir leavens his Islamist - dominated cabinet with former rebels and southerners.

- April 1998** - A man was fined 10,000 Sudanese pounds and given 40 lashes for not vacating a woman's seat on a bus. President Bashir orders that students should not be forced into military service before finishing university, reversing a decree of more than two years.
- May 1998** - Voting took place between 1 and 20 May in a referendum on the new constitution, results were expected at the end of June. Early May a further round of peace talks were held in Nairobi.
- June 1998** - 76 students flee the Ailafoon military training camp on 12 June, following riots protesting against the military programme. On 29 & 30 June several explosions occur in Khartoum's suburbs, blowing up an oil reservoir. 26 opposition members were arrested, accused of carrying out the explosions. Over 200 people are killed in tribal clashes between the Fur and Massaleit tribes in Darfur.
- Aug 1998** - On 3rd the government announce a ceasefire in all parts of southern Sudan to facilitate relief operations. 10 people were jailed after being found guilty of trying to topple the government. Students clash with government forces during widespread demonstrations over additional fees for student accommodation. On 8th the US closed its embassy. On 20th the US launched an attack on the Shifa factory in Sudan. Leonardo Franco was appointed UN Special Rapporteur for Sudan, to replace Gaspar Biro, who resigned in April 1998.
- Sept 1998** - President Bashir forms a committee on 1 September to investigate the ownership and financial background of the El-Shifa factory. Universities were closed in order to send students to the war front. 2 children were killed on 18 September when a refugee camp in Kassala state was shelled.
- Oct 1998** - The acting Archbishop of the Episcopal Church of Sudan was killed in a car accident in Kampala, Uganda. 1,000 Chadian soldiers were airlifted from Chad to Juba to support the NIF in the civil war. Islamic and Secular Democratic Alliance students clash on 16 November at a university in Khartoum, over student union voting. On 31st the universities reopened. The government and the SPLA renew the ceasefire in Bahr el Ghazal by 3 months. The age range for military service is changed to between 18 and 39 with the government announcing a crackdown on those who failed to report for service.
- Nov 1998** - President Bashir issues a republican decree on 2 November declaring a state of emergency in the greater Darfur states, western Sudan and Northern Kordofan. On 5th a Sudanese military aircraft reportedly bombs the town of Yei, injuring citizens. On 10th suspects in the Wad Medani case are sentenced. On 20th civil servants were airlifted from Juba to Kapoeta.



- Dec 1998** - On 17th Dr Hasan al-Turabi resigned as speaker of the National Assembly only to be elected on the 23rd by the Assembly for the duration of the Assembly's life. On 25th the SPLA seize the town and airport of Koya in Jebel Nubia. The OAU conference on refugees, the displaced and returnees is held from 13th to 15th.
- Jan 1999** - The National Democratic Alliance holds a mass political rally on 1 January in Omdurman. The Political Association Act comes into effect. At least 30 people are killed in tribal clashes between the Maselit and a group of nomads. The ceasefire is renewed for a further 3 months on 15 January. The Sudan Alliance Forces claimed to have killed 53 soldiers in fighting from 17-28 January. 147 rebels are killed in fighting with government troops at Buny in the southern blue Nile region on 28 January. The voting age is changed from 18 to 17.
- Feb 1999** - Sudan and Chad sign a protocol of co-operation. A new dress code for women is announced. The National Congress is the second party to be officially declared a political association, after the Democratic Unionist Party. A news blackout is imposed by the State Minister for Culture and Information. On 21st, President Bashir announces that he would be willing to let the south secede if it would end the civil war. Riek Machar resigns from the National Congress. The new UN Special Rapporteur Leonardo Franco makes his first visit to Sudan.
- March 1999** - On 4<sup>th</sup> the vacant US embassy in Khartoum was attacked by armed gunmen. On 6<sup>th</sup> a campaign was launched to enrol those people avoiding doing their National Service. On 7<sup>th</sup> a ceasefire was achieved between the Dinka and Nuer tribesmen. On 8<sup>th</sup> 85 people were reportedly in prison pending the approval of their death sentences. On 12<sup>th</sup> 3 of the Red Cross workers abducted by the SPLA in February were released. The remaining 4 were executed. On 31<sup>st</sup> Sudanese police stormed the dormitories of students at the University of Khartoum.
- April 1999** - On 14<sup>th</sup> 10 people were sentenced to death by crucifixion for their involvement in tribal clashes in West Darfur. The fourth round of peace talks between the government and rebels were postponed on 18<sup>th</sup>. 3 journalists were arrested for reportedly having contacts with foreign intelligence agencies.
- May 1999** - On 4<sup>th</sup> the bank accounts of Mr Idris, Shifa factory owner bombed in August 1998, were unfrozen. On 27<sup>th</sup> Khartoum signed a treaty banning chemical weapons. On 24<sup>th</sup> the government announced the setting up of a committee aimed at stamping out abductions of women and children for forced labour. Meningitis had reportedly killed over 1,250 since December 1998.
- June 1999** - Education authorities announced on 3<sup>rd</sup> that female students would be required to wear uniforms from October 1999. On 4<sup>th</sup> members of the SSDF said Riek Machar had been deposed as their leader. Willis Wal

was said to have replaced Machar. On 8<sup>th</sup> Parliament passed an amendment to the press law which allowed the administrative punishment of journalists. On 15<sup>th</sup> 25 students were publically flogged. On 22<sup>nd</sup> 3 newspaper editors were charged with printing anti-government material. On 23<sup>rd</sup> a UN humanitarian mission visited the Nuba Mountains for the first time since the early 1980s.

**July 1999** - On 4<sup>th</sup> the National Currency is changed to the Dinar. Peace talks postponed in April are resumed. On 15<sup>th</sup> thousands of people fled Bentiu in the Unity State, following clashes between rival militias.

**Aug 1999** - On 1<sup>st</sup> Sudan's army denied reports that the government used chemical weapons against civilians in the south of the country. On 2<sup>nd</sup> floods swept through Omdurman killing 5 people and destroying homes, leaving thousands homeless. The government declared a two-month comprehensive ceasefire from 5<sup>th</sup> until 5<sup>th</sup> October. On 8<sup>th</sup> difficulties in changing to the new currency are reported.

**Oct 1999** - On 10 October 1999, Sudan's ruling National Congress elected President Bashir as its president and as its candidate for the 2001 presidential elections. Hassan al-Turabi was re-elected as Secretary General and also as Parliament speaker.

**Nov 1999** - Hundreds of southern Sudanese fled to Kampala in Uganda to escape renewed factional fighting within the SPLA. The World Food Programme said that whilst there was no formal camp they were feeding refugees.

On 23 November, President al-Bashir ordered the release of political prisoners, decreed the return of confiscated property to opposition figures, lifted travel bans on opponents and asked the central bank to unfreeze opposition bank accounts. Decrees were issued confirming that all those convicted of political crimes had been pardoned.

On 26 November, the Sudanese government and the opposition Umma Party signed a peace accord which was criticised by the National Democratic Alliance, the Sudan People's Liberation Army and the National Democratic Alliance.

**Dec 1999** - On 12 December, President al-Bashir dissolved Parliament and declared a three-month state of emergency, which he said was to preserve the unity of the country. Emergency laws took effect on 13 December with the promise of presidential decrees to follow.

**Jan 2000** - President Bashir appointed a new government, shortly after reaching agreement with his rival, Islamist Hassan al-Turabi, on proposals to end their power struggle. In the reshuffle, the four key ministers kept their posts. Most of the ministers who have retained their portfolios were Bashir's allies, as were five who were re-shuffled, as well as at least five of the 10

newcomers. It was reported that Uganda had released 72 Sudanese prisoners of war following a peace agreement signed by the presidents of both countries.

- Feb 2000** - Talks between the government and the rebels failed to make any progress. Government air force planes attacked a school in the rebel-held part of the Nuba Mountains.
- March 2000** - Eleven of the biggest aid agencies working in southern Sudan left the region because of a dispute with the main rebel group over their operations.
- The Constitutional Court of Sudan turned down a petition demanding the annulment of President Bashir's decision on 12 December 1999 to declare a state of emergency, dissolve Parliament and freeze some articles of the constitution.
- The Umma Party withdrew from the exiled Sudanese National Democratic Alliance opposition coalition during a meeting of NDA leaders in Asmara.
- The Government extended the state of emergency until the end of 2000.
- April 2000** - Exiled leaders of the Umma Party return to Sudan. Fighting between the SPLA forces and government forces continues.
- May 2000** - Tensions between Hassan al-Turabi and President al-Bashir increase as al-Turabi is suspended as Secretary General of the National Congress. Fighting between Ethiopian and Eritrean troops has forced over 30,000 Eritrean refugees to cross into Sudan's eastern district of Kasala.
- June 2000** - Student demonstration at a university in central Sudan ends in bloodshed as one student was killed by police and six others were wounded.
- President al-Bashir decrees an amnesty for political opponents provided they accept the Constitution and renounce violence.
- Fighting between Government forces and rebel forces in region close to the oil fields reported. Hassan al-Turabi is removed from the position of Secretary General of the National Congress Party and forms new political party called the Popular National Congress.
- July 2000** - President al-Bashir made a cabinet reshuffle in which several ministers swapped portfolios. Reports of fighting between Government forces and rebel forces.
- August 2000** - Reports of fighting between Government forces and rebel forces. Civilian targets attacked by Government offensives. Aid programme hampered by fighting. Reports of violent clashes between Arab and African tribes.

**September 2000** - Women banned from working in public places involving contact with men in Khartoum State. Protest riots follow. Student riots occur throughout Sudan as a protest against renewed military conscription and economic hardship

Reports of fighting between rebel forces and Government forces. Peace talks are held between rebel groups and government representatives.

Sudan's General Elections Commission announced that parliamentary and presidential elections would be held in December 2000.

**November 2000** - Sadiq al-Mahdi returns to Sudan after spending several years in exile with the full approval of President al-Bashir.

**December 2000** - The Presidential and Parliamentary Elections took place from 13-22 December 2000. Sudan's National Elections Authority (NEA) declared President al-Bashir the winner of the Presidential Election which had four other candidates. President al-Bashir won 86.5% of the votes while runner-up Ga'afar Nimeri won 9.6% of the votes. Sudan's ruling National Congress won 355 out of the 360 National Assembly seats in the Parliamentary Election. The five other seats were won by independent candidates.

country's  
independent

President al-Bashir extended the state of emergency in Sudan for another year.

**February 2001** - On 12 February, President al-Bashir was sworn in as President of Sudan for his second term of office.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- [1] Sudan extract from Europa World Year Book 2000
- [2] Sudan extract from Africa South of the Sahara 2001
- [3] US Department of State 1999 Human Rights Report on Sudan
- [4] US Department of State 2000 Human Rights Report on Sudan
- [5] Sudanese Constitution of June 1998
- [6] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* extract on Sudan
- [7] UNHCR Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum Seekers from the Sudan  
- July 2000
- [8] USAID Sudan Information Bulletin No.1 - 13 September 2000
- [9] Danish Immigration Service report on *Human Rights Situation in Sudan and the Position of Sudanese Nationals in Egypt - 2000*
- [10] Human Rights Watch 2001 World Report on Sudan
- [11] Amnesty International 2000 Annual Report on Sudan
- [12] Africa News Online news report dated 27 June 2000
- [13] Sudan Net News report dated 27 June 2000
- [14] BBC News Online news report dated 5 September 2000
- [15] Sudan Net News report dated 6 September 2000
- [16] Sudan Net News report dated 11 September 2000
- [17] Sudan Net News report dated 11 July 2000
- [18] Sudan Net News report dated 16 March 2000
- [19] Sudan Net News report dated 18 March 2000
- [20] Sudan Net News report dated 30 March 2000
- [21] Africa News Online report dated 7 April 2000

- [22] CNN News Online report dated 21 June 2000
- [23] Sudan Net News report dated 20 August 2000
- [24] Sudan Net News report dated 13 September 2000
- [25] Amnesty International report entitled *Sudan - The Human Price of Oil* - May 2000
- [26] US Department of State 1999 Report on International Religious Freedom in Sudan
- [27] US Department of State 2000 Report on International Religious Freedom in Sudan
- [28] Jane's Defence Weekly news report dated 28 April 1999
- [29] Notes on Sudan National Service obtained from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office via the British Embassy in Khartoum
- [30] *Washington Post* Online news report dated 11 October 2000
- [31] Panafrican News Agency report dated 29 December 2000
- [32] Reuters news report dated 3 January 2001
- [33] *Refusing to Bear Arms* extract on Sudan published by War Resisters' International - September 1998
- [34] BBC News Online report dated 26 November 1999
- [35] Panafrican News Agency report dated 23 November 2000
- [36] BBC News Online report dated 23 November 2000
- [37] BBC News Online report dated 24 November 2000
- [38] BBC News Online report dated 22 February 2001
- [39] CNN News report dated 22 February 2001
- [40] United Nations IRIN report dated 12 March 2001
- [41] AFP news report dated 19 February 2001
- [42] United Nations IRIN news report dated 13 February 2001