



On the Brink Again: Conflict and Ethnic Cleansing in South Kordofan July 2011

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Introduction

Since violence exploded on 5 June following contested elections and a failed disarmament campaign in the North's only oil-producing state, South Kordofan, a series of attacks by the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) have sparked widespread humanitarian suffering and provided cover for serious violations of human rights. Aerial bombardments by the SAF have been accompanied by ground attacks from the SAF and paramilitary forces such as the Popular Defence Forces (PDF), Central Reserve Forces, National

Intelligence and Security Services (NISS), and police. The UN has estimated that 73,000 have been displaced, though there has been little access to displaced communities.¹

The conflict in South Kordofan has been characterised by brutal attacks on perceived supporters of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM), and its Northern partner, the SPLM-Northern Sector, as well as members of the Nuba ethnic group, including devastating bombing campaigns of areas densely populated by the Nuba. In Kadugli, Dilling, and Tolodi, door to door searches were conducted by militias with pre-determined lists of SPLM members and Nuba; many were dragged out of their homes and subjected to arbitrary arrest, torture, disappearances, and extrajudicial killings. There has been widespread destruction of physical infrastructure and churches.²

These events have generated a significant need for humanitarian aid, but the response has been hindered by restrictions put in place by the Sudanese government. Khartoum, the Humanitarian Affairs Commission (HAC), and the Governor Ahmed Haroun have all insisted that aid be channelled through local and national humanitarian organisations; however, many lack the logistical capacity to reach the thousands of displaced throughout South Kordofan. In the absence of official aid structures local host communities were filling the gap, but have since been prevented from delivering aid.

The crisis has attracted international attention, especially as fears circulate around the concurrent conflicts in South Kordofan and Abyei and their potential to spark a return to full scale war. As a result, international pressure helped push the parties to reach a framework agreement concerning political and security arrangements in South Kordofan and Blue Nile on 28 June in Addis Ababa.³ The Addis Agreement, brokered by the African Union, (and signed by Nafie Ali Nafie of the National Congress Party (NCP))⁴ provides a framework for addressing some of the key political and security questions. Politically, the right of the SPLM to continue its operation as an authorized political party in the north was affirmed; furthermore a Joint Political Committee was provided for to oversee future political dialogue through the popular consultations and other mechanisms. In the field of security, it was agreed that individuals who fought with the SPLA from Blue Nile and South Kordofan had a legitimate status in the Republic of Sudan and could be integrated into the national army. It was agreed that disarmament would take place only through pre-arranged mechanisms and would not occur by force.

Since the signing of the agreement, its legitimacy has been seriously undermined. From 30 June to 5 July, daily attacks by armoured gunships continued on the deserted city of Kadugli. On 7 July, the NCP backtracked on the arrangement, stating that negotiations could occur only within the borders of Sudan. President al Bashir was quoted saying that the framework agreement was signed by an illegal body since the SPLM would have no presence in the North post-secession (despite the agreement's explicit recognition of the SPLM's continued role in the North).⁵ The SPLM countered that the SAF wanted to

¹ Sudan Tribune, "UN Condemns Targeting of South Kordofan People 'along ethnic lines'", 22 June 2011.

² The destruction of churches is particularly significant, as several Nuba identify as Christian. During the violence and Islamisation campaign of the 1990s, many Nuba were forcibly displaced to "peace camps", which were in reality little more than camps designed to Islamise Christian Nuba and change the ethnic composition of the group by encouraging SAF soldiers to "marry" Nuba women.

³ Framework Agreement between Government of Sudan and Sudan People's Liberation Movement (North) on Political Partnership between NCP and SPLMN, and Political and Security Arrangements in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan States," Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 28 June 2011.

⁴ Many Sudanese Islamists and hardliners responded negatively to the South Kordofan arrangements suggesting that the NCP had compromised too easily, suggesting a rift within the NCP.

⁵ "NCP Rejects Framework Agreement", *Al-Akhabar*, 7 July 2011.

disarm fighters by force in violation of the agreement.⁶ President al Bashir and South Kordofan governor Ahmed Haroun have since encouraged the SAF's campaign in South Kordofan, and stated that the NISS is completing a "mopping up operation to flush out hostile elements in South Kordofan".⁷

Urgent international attention is needed in order to ensure a durable solution for South Kordofan and to ensure that the situation does not escalate to a full scale war between the Republic of Sudan and its newly independent neighbour to the south. In addition, a comprehensive solution must address the political, military and humanitarian aspects of the crisis. A just and sustainable solution must ensure representation of the Nuba in the North, provide a framework for the integration of former fighters into the national army or their demobilisation, guarantee unhindered humanitarian access and provide a framework for investigation of, and if necessary accountability for, alleged violations which may constitute war crimes and/or crimes against humanity under international law.

Background

A History of Violence: Marginalisation of the Nuba and Popular Consultations

South Kordofan, on the Republic of Sudan's new southern border, has been the site of significant violence and dislocation. Like many other regions of Sudan, the state has suffered from political exclusion and marginalisation. The state includes both groups which identify as Arab, including the Misseriya, and those who identify as African, particularly the Nuba, an ethnic group that identifies as Southerners and is comprised of both Christians and Muslims. Although both groups have grievances, the Nuba have particularly suffered. While the conflict in the Nuba Mountains had many of its own dynamics, the late John Garang's vision of a "new Sudan" in which rights would be respected regardless of ethnicity, religion, and race resonated with many members of the Nuba. A number enlisted in the SPLA. To break Nuba support, the NCP's predecessor, the National Islamic Front (NIF) launched a jihadist campaign against the Nuba aimed at depopulating the Nuba Mountains. Many scholars characterize the large scale atrocities committed against the Nuba, especially during the 1990s, to be acts of genocide.⁸

A ceasefire was reached in 2002. However, since the Nuba mostly reside in territories belonging to the North, they were consequently not allowed to vote in the January 2011 referendum on secession. As a compromise position, vaguely defined popular consultations were extended to South Kordofan and Blue Nile as a way of addressing longstanding issues of marginalisation and ensuring appropriate governance structures, as well as communicating their aspirations for the post-CPA period. These consultations in

⁶ Sudan Tribune, "Sudan's NCP denies collapse of S. Kordofan accord", 7 July 2011.

⁷ Sudan Democracy First Group, "Ethnic Cleansing Once Again: South Kordofan/Nuba Mountains", 13 June 2011

⁸ For more information, see Alex de Waal, "Averting Genocide in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan", Social Science Research Council, 22 December 2006. The jihadist campaign against the Nuba prompted by a 1992 *fatwa* by six low-level local leaders (with heavy pressure from the NCP's predecessor, the National Islamic Front) in the 1990s was aimed at depopulating Nuba areas in South Kordofan. The government "aimed to defeat the SPLA forces, but also intended a wholesale transformation of Nuba society in such a way that its prior identity was destroyed. The campaign was genocidal in intent and at one point, appeared to be on the brink of success...Local issues such as land ownership intersected with central government security concerns, and the conflict took on a distinct racial character. The war was notable for attacks on civilian targets with forced displacement, rape and killing".

South Kordofan have been stalled, due in part to the lack of a democratically elected government to oversee them stemming from the postponement of the April 2010 elections.

As a result of the failure to deliver on the popular consultations and a widespread view that the SPLM did not sufficiently push Garang's vision of a unified new Sudan in the interim period, many Nuba are disillusioned and frustrated, feeling that the SPLM has done little to protect them. At the same time, the Arab nomadic Misseriya tribe, many of who were mobilised as PDF members by the North during the civil war, began to feel betrayed by Khartoum over the abolition of Western Kordofan (much of which was integrated into South Kordofan, diluting the Misseriya's previous majority in that state and also changing the demographics of South Kordofan), the Abyei Commission, the government's failure to compensate former PDF fighters, the absence of any peace dividend and lack of development.⁹ As such, there are a host of outstanding issues for residents of the two areas that have not been adequately addressed by either the NCP or SPLM, leading one Nuba leader to describe the population of South Kordofan as "prisoners of geography".¹⁰

During the interim period, the PDF began to be organised on a much sharper ethnic basis than it had been in the past. Nuba SPLA members, who were initially supposed to be disarmed by the SPLM in accordance with the CPA, instead braced themselves for the worst.¹¹

The Postponed 2011 Elections

The outbreak of violence was not unanticipated; political tensions and insecurity had been festering for some time, but were fanned by the disputed gubernatorial elections in May 2011.¹² Originally scheduled to be held at the same time as national presidential, parliamentary and gubernatorial elections in April 2010, the South Kordofan parliamentary and gubernatorial elections¹³ were postponed in a compromise between the NCP and SPLM after the latter had disputed census figures which formed the basis of the designation of constituencies. The legislature elected in May, responsible for overseeing South Kordofan's delayed popular consultations, will be hard pressed to meet people's expectations, as continued delays to the elections have drastically limited the time available for the exercise. The representatives were elected to serve at least four years and will have the responsibility of navigating the state through the breakup of Sudan and resolution of South Kordofan's status within Sudan's post-CPA federal structure.

⁹ See Small Arms Survey, "The Drift Back to War: Insecurity and Militarisation in the Nuba Mountains", Julie Flint, August 2008.

¹⁰ Aly Verjee, "Unfinished Business: the May 2011 State Elections in Southern Kordofan", 31 March 2011.

¹¹ See Small Arms Survey, "The Drift Back to War: Insecurity and Militarisation in the Nuba Mountains", Julie Flint, August 2008. In January 2008, the SPLA announced that it had completed the withdrawal of its forces from the Nuba Mountains in accordance with the CPA. The SPLA had linked withdrawal to satisfactory demarcation of the North/South border, and the integration of police and armed forces into Joint Integrated Units. However, communities in the Nuba Mountains which had suffered atrocities during the war were aware how vulnerable this departure made them. This created local resentment towards the CPA, increased feelings of insecurity and neglect, and deepened concern that government hardliners in Khartoum are mobilising ethnic militias to manipulate elections that were initially scheduled for 2009.

¹² See *Sudan Human Rights Monitor, February – March 2011*. The delayed elections were an important benchmark of the CPA and in ensuring good faith between the SPLM and NCP. They were also necessary in ensuring that democratically elected leaders were in place for the CPA-prescribed popular consultation process.

¹³ South Kordofan did, however, participate in national presidential elections in April 2010.

The gubernatorial elections pitted the incumbent NCP candidate Ahmed Haroun against SPLM and Nuba war hero Abdul Aziz al-Hilu. Haroun orchestrated the mobilisation of the *murahileen* militias in South Kordofan during the 1990s, and also played a similar role in Darfur while acting as chair of the Darfur Security Desk. Much of the violence in South Kordofan, particularly the mobilisation of militias along ethnic bases, is reminiscent of Haroun's early days in power. Indeed, many have suggested that Ahmed Khamis Bakheit, a NISS officer in charge of the military in Kadugli, was behind many of the extrajudicial killings and checkpoints in the city. Mr. Khamis previously worked with Haroun in South Kordofan from 1989 – 1991.

Haroun's actions in Darfur became labelled as war crimes and crimes against humanity by the international community, and he is the subject of an arrest warrant issued by the International Criminal Court (ICC). The government of Sudan has refused to surrender Haroun, and instead promoted him from chairman of the HAC to governor of South Kordofan in 2009. However, since assuming office, Haroun has won praise for his ability to manage the sometimes unruly forces of the local NCP while still managing a constructive relationship with al-Hilu, as well as playing a crucial role in several reconciliation conferences between the Misseriya and Dinka.¹⁴

Abdel Aziz al-Hilu is chair of the SPLMN in South Kordofan, and has served as the deputy governor since April 2009. He previously served as the SPLA governor of the Nuba Mountains and signed the 2002 Nuba Mountains Ceasefire Agreement for the SPLM. He enjoys popular support amongst the Nuba for his role during the civil war.

A third candidate was Brigadier General Telefon Kuku Abu Jalaha. Kuku ran as an independent candidate during the May 2011 elections, on a platform critical of the CPA. However, he was detained for dereliction of duty and military insubordination for most of the campaigning period and largely used his candidacy to campaign for his release from prison. He has long accused the SPLM of betraying the Nuba in exchange for independence, and is remembered amongst the Nuba for surrendering Buram to the SAF in 1993.¹⁵

The South Kordofan elections became a symbol of more than the state's governance. A loss for the NCP and Haroun would have been seen as a threat to the popular legitimacy of Haroun, and tantamount to a call for his, and by extension Bashir's surrender to the ICC. The elections were also seen as a litmus test for broader North/South issues such as citizenship, identity, wealth and power sharing, and disarmament.

Contributing to the rise of tensions in the electoral period was the distribution of a petition with thousands of unknown signatories calling for the creation of a nomadic Islamic state within South Kordofan following Southern secession. Many details of the petition are unclear, most likely for the security of its signers. One member of the Nuba ethnic group reported to the African Centre that the proposed state would be in the "motherland" of the Nuba Mountains, saying:

the situation is dangerous and they may target but we don't know when...we believe that we will be attacked when there is a call for Nuba members to be systematically targeted. The

¹⁴ Aly Verjee, "Unfinished Business: the May 2011 State Elections in Southern Kordofan", 31 March 2011.

¹⁵ *Ibid*

government has no need to kill illiterate people.¹⁶ They are easy to control and thus, are perfect for military service. Teachers and those working in the medical profession will be targeted. Ten of them have already been killed and all of them were from the Nuba Mountains.¹⁷

Tensions escalated in the weeks leading up to the elections. On 14 April, clashes took place in SPLM candidate Abdel Aziz Al-Hilu's home area of Al Faid, Al Rashad locality, resulting in 18 deaths and leaving some 40 – 50 people wounded. Hundreds of homes were burnt to the ground. Hawamza militias allegedly responsible were reportedly mobilised by Ahmed Haroun.

Despite these tensions, polling in South Kordofan from 2 – 4 May was generally peaceful. On 10 May, during the tabulation phase of the elections and prior to the announcement of results, the SPLM withdrew from the elections and announced that it would not participate in any government that resulted from the alleged manipulation of the tabulation process and the inclusion of a "bogus" voting centre that was supposedly established using the 2008 census rather than the new one completed in June 2010. On 15 May, the National Elections Commission (NEC) officially announced Ahmed Haroun as the winner, narrowly beating Abdel Aziz Al-Hilu. Haroun was sworn in on 19 May by President Omar al-Bashir.

As the political impasse between the NCP and SPLM became more combustible post-election, the NCP issued an ultimatum that all SPLA units in the state must disarm by 1 June as per the provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).¹⁸ Bashir and Presidential Advisor Nafie Ali Nafie stated publicly that the SAF would have a "free hand" in South Kordofan and that any Southern troops in the North after 1 June would be considered legitimate targets. The SPLM refuted their military presence in the state, stating that the troops were ethnic Nuba and therefore couldn't be recalled to the South.¹⁹ Members of the SAF that were forcibly conscripted or ethnically Nuba began to defect, and violence broke out on 5 June in Um Dorain and Kadugli.

Violence in South Kordofan

The 5 June Disarmament Campaign and Kadugli Clashes

On 5 June, the SAF's Reserve Forces entered Um Dorain, approximately 30 kilometres south of Kadugli, with approximately 21 tanks through the Al-Kuik checkpoint during the morning commute. Shooting began when the Reserve Forces attempted to disarm the SPLA troops at the 1956 border. A Trafrie district resident of Kadugli reported that before the Reserve Forces entered Um Dorain, there were

¹⁶ During the violence of the 1990s, one Nuba leader described the initial violence directed towards educated Nuba as an attempt to keep the Nuba "so primitive that they couldn't speak for themselves". Alex de Waal, "Averting Genocide in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan", Social Science Research Council, 22 December 2006.

¹⁷ Interview with Nuba individual, June 2011.

¹⁸ Sudan Tribune, "SPLA units in the state must disarm by 1 June as per the provisions of the CPA", 31 May 2011

¹⁹ At the time, this seemed to be sentiment that the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) agreed with. SAF spokesman Colonel Alsawarmi Khaled stated that remaining SPLA ex combatants in the state are not seen as militia but citizens: "there are no militias in the full meaning of the word in Southern Kordofan. But there are some people from the area in the SPLA...observers said that the SPLA withdrew from the north by 33% which means that there are 67% still in the north, but in the end they are northerners, so they do not comprise SPLA or militia".

already rumours of an SPLM attack on Kadugli, though these rumours were allegedly started by the NCP as a pretext for entering Um Dorain and Kadugli.²⁰

At 4 AM on 6 June, shooting began throughout Kadugli and unidentified militias, allegedly affiliated with the NCP and recruited from the Al-Hamra district of South Kadugli, began looting military storage facilities belonging to the Department of Land Life and Protection (DLLP). Members of the SPLM flew to Kadugli to arrange a ceasefire and meet with senior NCP leadership, including Ahmed Haroun. An hour after Yasir Arman, leader of the SPLM-Northern Sector, and Governor of Blue Nile Malik Aggar, left Kadugli, Abdel Aziz Al-Hilu, Ramdan Hamzan, and other senior SPLM figures' homes were attacked. Witnesses reported that the clashes were sparked by NCP militias, police, and security firing on SPLM members as they exited the meeting. Residents of Kadugli began to hide in their homes and flee the city.

Police forces in Kadugli fired tear gas into a crowd of 100 Christians gathered inside a church compound in Kadugli. Members of the Central Reserve Forces reportedly used racist language, saying "Black Nuba, today is your day". The same day, military officers began to encourage residents to leave Kadugli. Displaced residents initially travelled to al-Draga and Hajar Alnar.

One man from al-Bajadid, West Kadugli, reported that:

The shooting started at 4am on June 6. We heard unknown people attacking the DLLP storages. The perpetrators belonged to the SPLM. At 10pm on June 7, the NCP brought a convoy of military equipment and soldiers. About 10-17 tanks were brought as well. They rode into the center of the market in Kadugli. People were closing their shops and people were coming back from offices. At 4pm, the sounds of shooting started in west Kadugli where government offices, the houses of al-Hilu and Ramdan Hassan, and the National Security Office are located. The shooting continued and people were scared. On June 8, heavy military guns began firing and were targeting the neighbourhoods and districts of Tafri, Hajar al-Nar, al-Rdif, Gar al-Hajar, al-Zidia, al-Muthalth, and al-Ban Jadid. Officials from the artillery came and told the people to leave their houses. The people headed to the districts of al-Draga and Hajar al-Nar but later they decided to leave Kadugli. On June 8, the aircraft bombardments were very heavy. The planes were flying in formation. The planes dropped bombs on Alsma, Um Btath, and Alburam while tanks fired on al-Mlkia and al-Rdif. All the areas were considered marked districts where civilians in residence supported the SPLM. On June 7 and June 8, the looting was widespread across Kadugli. They looted offices and the markets. Militias looted personal belongings of people fleeing town at checkpoints. Militias broke into the houses of SPLM leaders and looted them. All vendors pillaged were hardware shops, pharmacies, and mobile shops.²¹

Another woman from al-Muthalth area of Kadugli reported that:

At 5pm on June 6 while we [were] at our home, we heard sounds of shooting. It was coming from the area of Al Jable near the residence of SPLM leader Abdul Aziz Al Hilu. The sounds came closer to my home. A few minutes later, we heard sounds of crying. We recognized afterwards

²⁰ SUNA News, 5 June 2011. On 5 June, the state-owned SUNA reported that seven were killed when the SPLA attacked the SAF on the outskirts of Kadugli in South Kordofan. SPLA spokesperson Phillip Aguer denied the report, stating that "we don't have Southern Sudanese in that area. The fighters in Southern Kordofan are members of the Nuba ethnic group. If Khartoum wants to disarm them by force, this is the result.

²¹ Interview with man from al-Bajadid, West Kadugli, June 2011.

that one of my relatives Mohamed Musa Fdal was killed because he was an SPLM member. The shooting continued the whole night which made us sleep on the ground. In the morning, the situation became unsecure and anyone could shoot if they had a gun.²²

On 7 June, militias began a widespread looting campaign in Kadugli, pillaging houses, shops, and offices, mostly belonging to members of the SPLM. Kadugli market was also looted. IDPs belongings were stolen at several checkpoints established outside of Kadugli. One person fleeing the city reported:

On the morning of 8 June, I tried to get out of Kadugli. I took my family and we left our house in al-Rdif. We first went to Hajar al-Mak and then continued north heading to el-Obeid. On the way, we were stopped by Popular Defence Militia. They wore military uniforms and carried Kalashnikovs at the checkpoint. We were searched by them. I wasn't carrying anything except my mobile and asthma medicine. They took both effects. I saw that they had stolen the belongings of others as well. The same was happening in Kadugli town by the militias were sporting civilian clothes. They broke into shops and the houses of SPLM leaders. At the checkpoints, we saw lists including both male and female names. I recognised it as the list of SPLM candidates in the last election. All Nubian males hid from the militias and NCP forces to avoid being arrested and killed.²³

Later in the day, Talodi, Heiban, Kwaleeb, and Katcha were bombed, as well as Jau on the 1956 border between the North and South. Beleinya, Tafarey, Katcha, Daloka, Hajr el-Mek, and Kololo were also bombed.²⁴

Violence quickly spread throughout South Kordofan. On 8 June, indiscriminate bombings of areas densely populated by the Nuba ethnic group occurred in Dellamy, Shat, Korongo, Abdalla, Talodi, Teisay, Buram, Um Dorain, Um Sirdiba, Sarah el-Jamoos, and Silara. Four Antonov and MiG planes from el-Obeid airport were spotted flying in formation over the city, while security forces attacked the city from the ground. Tanks opened fire on areas with dense SPLM support in Haj al-Mozafeen and Alrdif.

On 9 June, Kadugli was evacuated and Bashir declared that the SAF was fighting to free control of South Kordofan from the SPLM and denied all accusations that the NCP had instigated the violence. One resident of Kadugli reported to Human Rights Watch that "Kadugli is an empty city now. Shops were closed, electricity was cut off, no one knows who is fighting whom, heavy shelling is all over the place, but I managed to get my family outside the town. As I speak now I am leaving my house. This place is finished; the city will never be the same again".²⁵

On 13 June, Antinov aircraft were observed flying over the city of al-Obeid, leading to speculation that the al-Obeid civil airport was being used as an air force base to bomb Kadugli. The same day, the bombing campaign continued in Hajr al-Nar in Eastern Kadugli. One resident reported that:

Al-Jaw area was the first that was bombed in the city, and two died and three were injured. Later, bombing spread to Um Dorin, Krongo, and Miry. Many people were not able to leave Kadugli because of the wide instability caused by Central Reserve Forces. We saw the air force

²² Interview with woman from al-Muthalth area of Kadugli, June 2011.

²³ Interview with family fleeing Kadugli, June 2011.

²⁴ Sudan Democracy First Group, "Ethnic Cleansing Once Again: South Kordofan/Nuba Mountains", 13 June 2011

²⁵ Human Rights Watch, "UN, AU: Urge End to Sudanese Abuses in S. Kordofan", 10 June 2011.

bombardments and saw tanks opening fire on houses and streets. From June 8 to June 13, the air force had been bombing Kadugli. Specifically the Al Jaw area was the first area that was bombed in the city. Two died and three were injured in the bombing. Later Um Dorin, Hiban, Krongo, and Miry were bombed as well. On June 13, the air force bombed Hajar al-Nar where civilians lived. Nobody made an attempt to bury or count the dead bodies since most were in a hurry to evacuate the city.²⁶

Little detailed information is available on civilian deaths and the scope of displacement, due to restricted access to affected areas. Al Jazeera journalists were detained by security en route to Kadugli, and some its staff allegedly severely tortured before they were forced to leave the state. An Al Arabiya network team was stopped on their way to Kadugli and told to return to Khartoum. In Khartoum, issues of *Al Sahafa* and *Ajras Alhurria* covering the attacks were confiscated prior to publication.

Targeting of Nuba and SPLM Supporters

Militias at checkpoints outside of Kadugli and patrolling inside the town targeted members of the Nuba tribe (particularly educated Nuba) and perceived SPLM-Northern Sector and SPLM members with lists compiled by local NCP supporters. Survivors reported that the militias wore military uniforms and carried Kalashnikovs and G3 rifles, with police wearing their uniforms.

Other civilians were arrested in Kadugli for not voting for NCP candidates in the April 2010 and May 2011 elections. In Kadugli, Aldaland, Slara, Dilling, Talodi, Tandia, Alntl, Nabila, al-Kargal, Jld, Dlami, al-Jebal, al-Kharbia, Mndi, al-Safia, al-Bram, Trogi, Um Srdba, Krongo, Abdalla, Alfid, Kidira, Fama, Koloklo, al-Tyes, Um Dorin, and Kawda door-to-door searches took place, with several incidents of arbitrary arrest, torture, disappearances, and extrajudicial killings documented. Approximately 100 Nuba were arrested in Kadugli alone. It has been reported that searches were carried out for particular individuals on the basis of a pre-prepared list of Nuba leaders and perceived SPLM supporters. In many cases, those on the list had their throats slit when they answered the door. Other Nuba passing through checkpoints that were not on the list were arrested nonetheless. The brutality of attacks also influenced others to flee the city. A man who escaped from Hajar al-Mak, Kadugli commented that as he was fleeing the city:

I saw dead bodies in the street connecting the cities of al-Obeid and Kadugli. I recognized one of them. He was a policeman called Muhand Ahmed Ajbna. He was an SPLM member and he used to work with the joint forces [which included members of both the SPLM and NCP]. He was also from the Nuba tribe. I saw his body near the Office of Police Traffic. I escaped with all of my family including my mom, an old woman who had been suffering from soreness in her feet. We travelled far and on June 8, the police arrested Eshag Hassan Idris. He was from the Nuba tribe as well. On June 12, I heard from that four of my relatives had been arrested in al-Obeid bus station. There were hundreds dying, both civilians and SPLM members. I saw aircraft bombing the area of Kataja, where SPLM-affiliates were leaving.²⁷

Eight checkpoints were established lining the road from Kadugli to el-Obeid. On 8 June, civilians fleeing Kadugli reported that the Principal of al-Brdab School, Hamid Krtifo, was arrested at a checkpoint. Police

²⁶ Interview with resident of Hajr al Nar, June 2011.

²⁷ Interview with man from Kadugli, June 2011.

arrested Omar Tawr Tiih and beat him severely in front of other civilians at al-Kwik checkpoint on 10 June. One witness from Kadugli described the arrests:

Many of the Nuba tribe members have been arrested and were targeted just for being Nubian. Many have disappeared but there are no statistics. Some are being killed in front of their families. Some of the perpetrators were wearing civilian clothes and were carrying Kalashnikovs. They looked like militias. Central Reserve Forces have committed many crimes and are responsible for what's happened. No trial, just shooting. On June 7, I saw many dead bodies around Kadugli on the ground. On June 8, the medical assistant in Kadugli hospital named al-Shreif was killed in front of the hospital by militia members. The militias mainly targeted the Nuba.²⁸

Those arrested include:

- Mukhtar Hassan Badawi, Nuba political activist, arrested 8 June at 9 PM at checkpoint near el-Obeid;
- Fadwa Hassan Meso and Kash Hassan Meso, arrested and released on 12 June in al-Shair area;
- Omar Taur, arrested and released on 12 June;
- Idris Hassan Idris, arrested 8 June near Kadugli;
- Hamid Krtafo, teacher and principal of Al Brdab School, arrested 8 June;
- Mrjan, arrested 14 June;
- Yasir Haroun and his son, arrested and released on 12 June;
- Salah Omar Kuah, UN Worker, arrested and released;
- Omar Taur Teyah, beaten and arrested at a checkpoint in al-Kuwaik on 10 June;
- 90 civilians arrested in Hay Mwazafin in Kadugli, tortured and reportedly relocated to Khartoum;
- Mohamed Radwan, Executive Director of Abassia Tagli Payam;
- A brother to Butheina Dinar, Minister on SPLM ticket;
- Ibrahim Murada Tutu, UNMIS staffer arrested and reportedly moved to el-Obeid in Northern Kordofan;
- Adam Jibreel, UNMIS staffer arrested and reportedly moved to el-Obeid in Northern
- Babuo Andaia, retired soldier;
- Yajoub El Tigani, lawyer, wounded in his leg and taken to the army compound;
- Mukhtar Hassan Badawi and his wife Mona, arrested after escaping to Um Rwaba;
- Bashir Al Feil, arrested after the attack on the village of Al Faid Um Abdalla;
- Mohamed Idress, the imam of the mosque of Al Faid Um Abdalla;
- Abdulrahman Babiker Shambie, taken to the head of the armed forces;
- Shazali Jaafar Babiker, taken to the head of the armed forces;
- Ahmed Babiker Alameer, Chief of Tagwa tribe, no information after his disappearance;
- Hawa Mando, a member of the State Legislative Assembly, kidnapped from home;
- Abu Obeida Ali Hamad, an engineer, was arrested from his house;
- Akhras Al Badawi, teacher, arrested during house to house search;
- Ahmed Sobahi, arrested in Abu Jeebeiha town;
- Fadal Almoula Abdul Aziz, arrested in Abu Jeebeiha town;
- Masood Ezzeddine, civil society activist, arrested in Abu Jeebeiha town;
- Abdulaziz Kemawie, civil society activist,

²⁸ Interview with individual from Kadugli, June 2011.

- Kordofan;
- Kabbashi Tiya Kabbashi, teacher;
 - Juma Abdel-Gadir, veteran Trade Unionist arrested in Diling;
 - Abdalla Jumma, health worker;
 - Badreldin Bakhit Natu;
 - Hamdan Hussein Himaidan, retired soldier;
 - Mohammed Karteela Atroun, retired soldier;
 - Mohammed Abdul Rahman, soldier;
- arrested in Abu Jeebeiha town;
 - Muhna Bashair;
 - Ibrahim Murad Tutu;
 - Adam Jibriel abu Gotiya;
 - Mukhtar Hassan Badawi and his wife;
 - Basahair Alfiel;
 - Mohamed Idris;
 - Abd Alrahman Babiker Sahami; and
 - Shazali Jafar Babiker.

The following individuals were reportedly subjected to extra-judicial killings on the grounds of their ethnic and political affiliation:

- Juma Bahri, a member of the UNMIS ceasefire monitoring team and an SPLM supporter a handicapped man in a wheelchair, Mr. Bahri was abducted from the UNMIS compound in Kadugli and shot in the head. His body was dumped outside of the UNMIS headquarters;
- Lewis Awjay, UNMIS staffer killed by military intelligence in Kadugli;
- Numeiri Silaik, UNMIS staff, killed in front of the UNMIS headquarters;
- Numeiri Philip Mudawi, originally from Heiban and killed in Kadugli;
- El-Nazeer Bashir el-Fil, killed after the PDF attacks on el-Faid Um Abdalla;
- Abderrahim Mohamed Ahmed, trader; killed after the PDF attacks on el-Faid Um Abdalla village;
- Mohamed Abdel-Rahman Abderrahim, student at Gezira University;
- Abdelrahman Mohamed Mahmoud, teacher;
- Adam Mohamed Mahmoud, killed after PDF attack on El Faid Um Abdalla;
- Adam Abu-Sin, killed after PDF assault on el-Faid Um Abdalla;
- Adam Mohamed Ahmed, killed after PDF assault on el-Faid Um Abdalla;
- Sherif Abdel-Tam, medical worker;
- Fadul Juma;
- Rev. Musa Ereibat;
- El Tayib El-Sir, killed while burying a relative;
- Neil Derek, activist, el-Kwek;
- Daoud Kodi, doctor, Kadugli hospital;
- Mahna Kanu, Kadugli (Kelimo area);
- Fadul El-Azeem Juma Asu, Gaj Hajr;
- Farah Phillip Kalu, teacher, Kadugli (Redif area);
- Hassan Markoni;
- Mohamed Musa Fadal;
- Hassan Bob;
- Jomma Badai;
- Nimari Philip;
- Altayeb Alsir;
- Fatah Alrahman Musa;
- Alnazier Bashair Alfiel;
- Abd Raheem Mohamed Ahmed;
- Mohamed Abd Alrahman Adam Mohamed Mahmoud;
- Abd Alrahman Mohamed Mahmoud;
- Abd Alraheem Ibrahim;
- Riz Allah;
- Algazali Mohamed;
- Al Shrief Abdatam, medical assistant, Kadugli hospital, killed while providing medical aid at Kadugli airstrip;
- Adeeb Anjilo, found and identified amongst dead bodies at Kadugli airport with his hands tied behind his back;
- Bashir Alfeel, SPLM member;
- Muhanad Ahmed Ajbna, SPLM member;
- Muhamed Musa Fadal, NCP member;

- Unidentified male, his body was found shot in the head outside UNMIS headquarters;
- Salah Mahmoud Ajokar, medical assistant at Kadugli Hospital, killed when his car was bombed in Haj Kilmo on 9 June; and
- Unidentified, lawyer and advisor to the deputy governor of South Kordofan.

Displacement

The UN estimates that at least 73,000 people have been displaced by the fighting in South Kordofan. The African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies interviewed a number of displaced persons who described difficult journeys and little assistance. One reported that:

We crossed 17km to Al Shair camp where we walked from 8am to 4pm. In Al Shair camp we received no services. We found more than 10,000 people sharing six tents and only one water tank. After two days of suffering through this, we decided to leave the area without any money. One of the bus drivers took us three to Al Obeid. In the camp we heard a lot of people talking about missing their relatives and family members. In addition, hundreds of dead bodies were in the street and no one was able to bury them. At Al Kuik checkpoint, the police arrested Omar Tawr Tiiy and was beaten in front of us on June 10. We reached Al Obeid. It was a secure place. We are now living with one of our relatives. We are now carrying all of our clothes because we thought we return home after 1-2 days. Some people told me our house had been bombed. I'm worried about my mom and my two sisters with their children. All of them are living in Tafri and I don't have any idea about their state. We are the victims of the politicians' conflicts and now the targets are political. The SPLM targeted NCP (National Congress Party) members and the NCP targeted SPLM members. The central reserve and militias are targeting civilians.²⁹

Some reported that they had travelled to al-Rdaf towards Hajar al-Mak and then to el-Obeid, but were forced to leave quickly. Many people were unable to leave Kadugli because of the insecurity caused by the Central Reserve Forces; instead, they were forced to hide in their homes and hope that humanitarian aid would soon be allowed in. With tanks opening fire on the streets and severe air force bombardments, many had little opportunity to flee depending on where they were when Kadugli was initially bombed from 8 – 13 June. As one woman reported:

We stayed at home, but when two bombs fell near my house, I ran away with my four children. First, we went to Al Mikia School, but it wasn't a secure place because we saw empty bullet shells littered throughout the school. The school was full with people. All civilians of Al muthalth, Al Rdif, and Gar Al Hajar were hiding in the school. We spent the whole night without sleeping. Suddenly one of the people in the school started shooting and so I grabbed my kids and went to a relative's home. We spent the night there and in the morning we took clothes and went back home. I locked my house and we left for Al Shair IDP camp, where the UN offices were. I heard the area became an IDP camp before we went. On the way, the sounds of shooting and air force bombing were very strong and even my kids started to jump to the floor when they heard the sound of a plane.³⁰

²⁹ Interview with IDP, June 2011.

³⁰ Interview with IDP woman, June 2011.

Unfortunately this aid seems unlikely to come. Humanitarian access to the affected region has been severely limited. International staff not working with the United Nations have been evacuated from Kadugli.³¹ UN agencies were also completely cut off from the town for some time, and the stocks of most UN agencies in Kadugli were completely looted. Although the government of Sudan began allowing limited access on 30 June 2011, the UN spokesperson, Farhan Haq, stressed that “unhindered access to the affected population continues to be denied.”³² Although some joint humanitarian assessments were conducted in early July, the UN’s Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (OCHA) reported on 5 July that although humanitarian access to Kadugli had been restored access was still blocked outside the town.³³

Those that managed to flee didn’t face better conditions:

I know most of the IDPs. They’re based in al-Obeid, al-Rhad, al-Kuik. They are living in bad conditions. There is no humanitarian aid. Kadugli is empty after more than 50,000 people have been displaced. Schools have become military bases. Since June 8, there have been no services, no water, and no electricity. The bakeries have stopped producing bread. When the people left, they only carried their children. They gathered in al-Shair IDP camp. There were no services provided for them there.³⁴

Reports from El Obeid stated that lorries carrying between 50-60 people continue to arrive at El Salaheen transport station at the entrance to El Obeid, with roughly 12,000 – 15,000 people in the area. The Sudanese Red Crescent is present and has ordered people to depart to another transport station in Khartoum or to seek shelter with relatives.

From Sunday June 12 to Monday June 13, al-Obeid bus station received hundreds of IDPs from the conflict in South Kordofan. An eye witness reported that all IDPs fled to al-Obeid, al-Rahad in North Kordofan, or al-Kuik. He further stated that all IDPs were living in poor conditions where there is no sign of humanitarian aid. On the evening of June 12 at al-Obeid bus station, thousands of IDPs from Kadugli crowded the bus terminal with hopes of going to Khartoum. Al-Obeid bus station became temporary home to thousands of IDPs, mostly women and children. IDPs were forced to sleep on the ground, both inside and outside bus station. Some reported that they had crossed around 220 kilometres on foot.³⁵

In al-Obeid, many IDPs are housed by relatives. In some cases, up to 70 people are living in one house. Others were living in incomplete houses under construction. An eyewitness reported, “I saw that all of those lying and sleeping on the ground in and around al-Obeid bus station escaped from Kadugli. Most of them were women, children, and boys 13-17 years old.”³⁶ Many reported that men had been specifically targeted during the fighting and it was too risky for them to move with their families.

³¹ Julie Flint and Mia Farrow, “Opinion: Are We Witnessing the Next Darfur?” *Wall Street Journal*, 22 June 2011.

³² Reuters, “Sudan grants UN limited access to tense border area,” 30 June 2011.

³³ UN OCHA, “Situation Report No. 10,” 5 July 2011.

³⁴ Interview with IDP, June 2011.

³⁵ Interviews with IDPs, June 2011.

³⁶ Interview with IDPs, June 2011.

The population appears to be in urgent need of humanitarian assistance. As a result of heavy bombing from the Sudanese air force, many children have been traumatized and some are showing symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Some are reported to be unable to talk.

Female IDPs are reportedly concerned about their prospects for livelihoods, since many are illiterate and have few job qualifications. Most female IDPs said their husbands and children preferred to stay on the mountains in the Nuba area because they would be targeted and arrested if they attempted to travel to the northern areas.

With an estimated 2,000 to 2,800 IDPs were arriving daily in al-Obeid, the capital of North Kordofan, the government began to take steps to control this most visible element of the crisis. Government officials declared that no IDP camps would be allowed in the area, forcing IDPs to seek refuge with the local population. Similarly, within South Kordofan Governor, Ahmed Haroun also announced on media outlets that his government would not establish crisis displaced assembling centres or camps. He warned the humanitarian agencies against entering and working in the area.

On 8-9 June, the NCP-dominated Popular Committees (PC) began a campaign to count IDPs. The al-Salhin area is widely known to hold a Nubian majority, and PC members started visiting homes in this area. House owners were asked whether they were hosting anyone from Kadugli and were then asked for the names of IDPs. The PC members claimed that this information was to be used for the preparation of humanitarian assistance, but IDPs feared that the questioning was intended to allow officials to more easily arrest men. IDPs also pointed out that because al-Sahlin is far from the centre of town it is more vulnerable to attack.

On 8 June, a first wave of displaced people, mostly women and children, were received at 3 reception centres in Erahad town, Erahad locality, on the border of South Kordofan. These camps have reportedly been forcibly closed and the displaced ordered to travel to Khartoum and stay with relatives or join any relatives in Erahad town. The Sudan Social Development Organisation (SUDO) has speculated that this is due to the Sudanese government being desperate to avoid the creation of IDP camps and to restrict humanitarian activities.³⁷

In the early days of the crisis it was reported that much of the food aid was being offered is by residents of El Obeid. However, restrictions were placed on even this local assistance. One student from al-Dalanj University commented that, “[t]he people from these areas fled to other parts of town and finally decided to leave the city. They left for North Kordofan and Khartoum. There was no sign of humanitarian aid. The students were evacuated thanks to the Student Support Fund. Most of the people who escaped were women and children.”³⁸ Nubian activists, who had escaped earlier to the al-Salhin area south of al-Obeid, tried to provide some assistance to the IDPs but were prevented from doing so by the authorities.

More recently, the government has claimed that the IDP situation is easing and that indeed that returns had begun throughout South Kordofan, with many people returning to their places of origin, particularly in Talodi and Dilling in early June. Blockages to humanitarian access prevented independent confirmation of this information.³⁹

³⁷ SUDO UK, “Press Release – Update”, 11 June 2011.

³⁸ Interview with student, June 2011.

³⁹ UN OCHA, “Situation Report No. 10,” 5 July 2011.

In an assessment in Kadugli, the HAC did not allow questions on the voluntary nature of returns to be asked. Preliminary results indicated that in some portions of the town, up to 80% of the population had returned, while in others only 10%. Some communities were sleeping in schools for security concerns, and avoiding areas of town where there were landmines. One child was reportedly killed in recent days.

In this context, there has been considerable concern about the extent to which return may be voluntary. Particular concern has been voiced about an incident near the UNMIS compound in Kadugli in which an estimated 7,000 ethnic Nuba were coerced to leave by Sudanese government personnel posing as Red Crescent workers. Amnesty International reported that on 20 June 2011, “local authorities entered a camp around the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) compound on the outskirts of Kadugli town, and ordered the displaced seeking refuge there to return to their homes in Kadugli town or congregate either in schools or at Kadugli Stadium. Vehicles were provided by the government to transport them back.”⁴⁰ They expressed serious concerns about the fate of this group, given that international law protects the internally displaced from forcible return.

Government authorities in Kadugli, including Haroun and the Minister of Health made public statements on national TV and radio that Kadugli was safe and citizens who fled should return to their homes, even as aerial bombardments on the city continued.⁴¹ Additional concerns have been expressed about the situation of residents of outlying villages. A number of villages south of Kadugli, in addition to Dilling, Talodi, Heiban, and Kauda have experienced ongoing fighting.

An additional concern related to return has been reports of landmines throughout the city, which are forbidden by Sudan’s international commitments under the 1997 Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production, and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mine and on their Destruction.

Failure of Protection: The Role of UNMIS

Amid the violence in South Kordofan, the international community had a pre-existing presence via the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) which was mandated following the signing of the CPA and tasked with a number of responsibilities relating to assuring implementation of that agreement. A huge number of people turned to the mission for support in the early days of the conflict. An estimated 10,000 people sought refuge around the UN compound in Kadugli.⁴² These individuals were later coerced to leave, as noted above, and on 29 June, UN Deputy High Commissioner of Human Rights Kyung wha Kang said that she was denied access to Kadugli, where she had hoped to learn the fate of this group.⁴³

The troops, however, have reportedly not only failed to protect civilians, but have come under attack themselves. Soon after the violence erupted, an UNMIS patrol was detained by government soldiers. They were subjected to a mock firing squad and warned: “[w]e will kill you if you come back here.”⁴⁴ The

⁴⁰ “South Kordofan’s IDPs ‘coerced’ to return to unsafe areas,” *Sudan Tribune*, 25 July 2011.

⁴¹ Amnesty International, “Insecurity Persists for the Displaced in Southern Kordofan”, 24 June 2011

⁴² AFP, “Sudan forces threaten UN flights: US envoy”, 20 June 2011.

⁴³ “UN Rights Deputy Sees Risk of New War in Sudan,” *The Washington Post*, 29 June 2011.

⁴⁴ Julie Flint and Mia Farrow, “Opinion: Are We Witnessing the Next Darfur?” *Wall Street Journal*, 22 June 2011.

mission headquarters has also been subjected to bombing.⁴⁵ By 20 June, it was reported that the Sudanese army had taken control of Kadugli airport and was refusing landing rights to UN flights and threatening to shoot down any flying overhead.⁴⁶

An additional symbol of the lack of capacity of UNMIS to protect civilians was the abduction of Juma Bahri from the UNMIS compound in Kadugli (mentioned above). Mr. Bahri was shot following his abduction and his body was dumped outside the UNMIS compound, sending a strong message about the impotence of UNMIS protection capacity. Although credible sources reported this incident, the UN DPKO's Alain Le Roy denied this incident on 14 July.

In addition, eyewitnesses reported other incidents:

I saw some of forces from the Central Reserve beating Adeeb Anjelo. They arrested him. All of this happened near the UN base around 12 am. I saw some of the civilian members of the NCP wearing the Central Reserve uniform and they would identify SPLM members to soldiers. They carried name lists and photos of SPLM candidates who ran against the NCP in the last election. At 3:30pm on June 8, Central Reserve Forces attacked the perimeter of the UN base where the IDPs were gathered. The IDPs fled inside the UN base. The Central Reserve Forces found one man outside the fence. They shot him twice in the head. He died immediately. They didn't allow anyone to go near him. They threatened to shoot anyone who touched him. They left him on the ground and left. After a few hours, the Red Cross came and took the body away. After we left Kadugli, we heard about mass graves being prepared for the Nubian people.⁴⁷

Even more disturbing, some have reported collusion between Egyptian peacekeepers and government of Sudan forces and racism in the mission contributing to an assessment that it is "part of the problem."⁴⁸

However, now with the UN Security Council has decided, following demands from the government of Sudan to withdraw following the secession, to pull all UNMIS forces from the Republic of Sudan effective 11 July 2011. Withdrawal is expected to be completed by 31 August 2011.⁴⁹

With the withdrawal of UNMIS there may be even less information about the situation on the ground. In this context, the role of the UN Human Rights Council's independent expert on Sudan will be ever more salient. In addition, urgent international diplomatic efforts need to be made to re-establish access and allow for more effective monitoring.

Civil and Political Rights and Targetting outside Kordofan

In addition to the targeting of ethnic Nuba in South Kordofan reported above, it has become clear that Nuba student activists arranging solidarity campaigns and SPLM-Northern sector members perceived to

⁴⁵ *Ibid*

⁴⁶ Sudan forces threaten UN flights: US envoy, 20 June 2011.

⁴⁷ Interview with IDP, June 2011.

⁴⁸ Julie Flint, "Probe U.N. neglect in South Kordofan," *The Daily Star*, 5 July 2011.

⁴⁹ Security Council Resolution 1997, July 11, 2011.

support Nuba politicians generally. A number of cases of arrests and intimidation (as well as incidents of torture and incommunicado detention) have been documented.

The following violations have been documented in Khartoum and Port Sudan:

- On 12 June 2011, Mr. Al Daw Gamar al Dein Ibrahim, a member of the SPLM-Northern Sector's Executive Youth Committee, was arrested on Biyoyo Kwan Avenue in Khartoum by the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS). His arrest was prompted by a statement published on the SPLM-Northern Sector's website calling for the protection of Nuba civilians in South Kordofan. He was taken to NISS offices near Shendi bus station in Khartoum Bahri where he was beaten severely with black water hoses for two hours while being subjected to verbal abuse and threats to his life. He was released late in the evening, and ordered to return to NISS offices in Khartoum at 10 AM on 13 June.
- On 18 June 2011, Omar Kua Adam, a captain in the Sudanese military of Nuba ethnicity, was shot in the head outside his house in Omdurman.
- On 18 June 2011, the NISS arrested Musa Mohamed Ali, an economics student at Port Sudan University. He was taken to NISS custodies, where he was beaten with water hoses from 2 PM – 6 PM. The NISS accused Mr. Ali of inciting other students to begin a boycott against university exams. Following his release, Mr. Ali was threatened to not seek medical attention for his injuries incurred or file a medical report.
- On 19 June 2011, 16 activists in Khartoum were arrested while demonstrating in front of UNMIS headquarters on the situation in South Kordofan. They were released later in the day, and charged under articles 77 ("public nuisance") of the Sudanese Criminal Code of 1991.
- On 25 June 2011, Mr. Bushra Gamar, a Sudanese X-Ray technician of Nuba ethnicity, was arrested at his home in Omdurman town by the NISS. Mr. Gamar had previously acted as the Director for the Sudan Social Development Organization (SUDO) and as the Executive Director for the Human Rights and Development Organization (HUDO) in South Kordofan. He is currently being held incommunicado. Since Gamar's arrest, the NISS has refused his family access to visit him and withheld information on his whereabouts. He has also been denied access to a lawyer. The African Centre is deeply concerned that Mr. Gamar may have been subjected to torture.

Recommendations

In light of the serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that have been documented in South Kordofan, the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies calls for urgent national and international efforts to address the crisis. In particular:

- The parties must come together to initiate a comprehensive political process that will address the needs and aspirations of all populations in South Kordofan, in particular ethnic Nuba. This should include, but not be limited to, the conduct of an open, effective and robust popular consultations process. International actors have a critical role to play in bringing the parties to the table and facilitating negotiations.
- The UN Security Council must consider ways of not only maintaining a UN peacekeeping presence in South Kordofan following the withdrawal of UNMIS but also to improve its effectiveness. This could build on the findings of an official assessment of the role of the UNMIS since 5 June.

- In addition to international peacekeeping and protection presence, ongoing international monitoring is urgently needed. The international community should consider appropriate mechanisms for this monitoring.
- The government of Sudan must allow full and unhindered humanitarian access to all populations affected by the violence in South Kordofan and elsewhere. The international community must take urgent diplomatic action to ensure that this access is granted.
- There must be accountability for serious violations of international humanitarian law. A full and impartial investigation must be conducted and must, as necessary, propose accountability mechanisms appropriate to the violations which occurred.
- The role that Ahmed Haroun has played in the current violence is an example of the threat to security which can emanate from the failure to address accountability. In this context, execution of the outstanding arrest warrant is critical for both justice and peace.
- Both parties should abstain from using landmines, which are forbidden by Sudan's international commitments.
- The government of Sudan must fulfil its international legal obligations to IDPs under the Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Persons and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region's Protocol on Protection and Assistance to IDPs including by ensuring that return is voluntary and that adequate provision is made to facilitate the provision of humanitarian aid.