

# **COMPROMISING WITH EVIL**

AN ARCHIVAL HISTORY OF GREATER SUDAN, 2007 – 2012

## **Annex I: Timeline of Events 1905—2012**

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## Timeline of Events, 1905 – 2012

This extensive timeline primarily chronicles events of the past two years, but also includes a number of earlier historical moments of significance. For all its length, the timeline is not fully inclusive and has been fashioned with an eye toward guiding readers through the years concentrated upon in this archival history. There are, I believe, clear patterns in diplomatic, political, and military behavior on part of all the parties involved in the peace process for greater Sudan. Responsibility for critical decisions affecting the likelihood of renewed war also emerges more clearly in the context of these moments in recent history.

**1905:** The Dinka Ngok, the northernmost of the three major Dinka groups, are incorporated into the administration of Kordofan by British colonial rulers.

**1950/1960s:** The Dinka Ngok are increasingly marginalized within local and parliamentary government.

**January 1, 1956:** Sudan becomes independent of condominium rule by Great Britain and Egypt; it will be ruled for the next 55 years by three riverine Arab tribes (the Shaigiyya, Danagla, and Ja'alín).

**September 23, 1957:** Sudan becomes a party to the four Geneva Conventions of 1949, which set out humanitarian rules for armed conflicts.

**1964:** The Sudanese Muslim Brothers form a political party, the antecedent to the National Islamic Front.

**1965:** An unknown number of Dinka men women and children are burned alive while in police custody in Babanousa and Muglad (present South Kordofan); this is the first known large-scale massacre of the Dinka by nomadic Arab groups.

**1970s:** This is the period that sees the progressive annexation of Dinka Ngok lands by Misseriya Arabs.

**1970:** On September 17, while on an evening walk near his village, Ngok Paramount Chief Monyak Deng, two of his brothers, and three uncles are shot dead by a Northern military squad of assassins.

**1970:** The Unregistered Land Act is passed in Khartoum: the Act provides a legal basis for large-scale land acquisitions, accelerating the encroachment of mechanized farming in traditional Nuba farmlands.

**1955 – 1972:** The first Sudanese civil war concludes with the Addis Ababa peace agreement, which promises the Dinka Ngok a self-determination referendum, with a choice to rejoin the South.

**1972:** The referendum is never held, as oil is discovered in the region and the Nimeiri regime in Khartoum abrogates the Addis agreement in 1983.<sup>1</sup>

**1977:** Two trucks carrying 84 Dinka Ngok passengers are ambushed twenty kilometers outside Muglad (South Kordofan). Reports of sporadic raids and killings by Misseriya Arab groups from the North are subsequently continuous.

**1980s/1990s:** The process of annexation continues as Khartoum mobilizes Misseriya militias during the second Sudanese civil war (**1983 – 2005**).

**Early 1980s:** The Nuba people increasingly resist the aggressive Islamizing and Arabizing efforts of the regimes of Jaafer Nimeiri, Sadiq el-Mahdi, and finally the National Islamic Front (later renamed the National Congress Party, or NCP).

**April 1985:** Jafaar Nimeiri is overthrown.

**1986:** Al-Sadiq Siddig al-Mahdi becomes Prime Minister of Sudan.

**June 30, 1989:** The National Islamic Front seizes power in a military coup, deposing an elected government and deliberately aborting the most promising chance for a North/South peace since independence in **1956**.

**1990s:** The National Islamic Front wages a genocidal campaign against the people of the Nuba Mountains in South Kordofan; *jihad* is declared in January **1992**, later confirmed by *fatwas* from pro-regime imams in Khartoum (**April 1992**).

**1990s:** Early reports of Antonov bombings:

Ted Dagne of the U.S. Congressional Research Service reports large numbers of bombs were dropped on Nimule while he was present in **1993**; Brian D’Silva of the U.S. Agency for International Development was in Yei in **1997** when it was bombed—attacks did major damage to both Yei’s cathedral and hospital, which was bombed again on **April 7, 1998**. Yei was bombed on 15 different occasions during **1999** and a total of 138 bombs were dropped. Approximately 100 aerial attacks were confirmed in **1999**, causing more than 200 known casualties. The hospital at Kajo Keji in which MSF works is bombed twice in **1999 (January 13; five bombs and December; five bombs)**.

**1995:** The first in-depth reports of the genocidal war in the Nuba Mountains are published; a secret airlift is organized by a small group of aid organizations.

**1998:** Fighting becomes particularly intense in Abyei, the front-line of the “oil war,” with massive civilian destruction and displacement.

**May 1999:** UN human rights report on Sudan (E/CN.4/1999/38/17): “As a Member State of the United Nations, the Sudan is bound by the Charter of the United Nations. Further, it is obliged to respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all persons within its territory, as set out *inter alia* in the following instruments to

which the Sudan has become a party: the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the Slavery Convention, as amended; the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery; the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the Additional Protocol thereto; the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.”

**July 23, 1999:** The villages of Lainya and Loka (Yei County) are bombed with chemical products. The use of chemical weapons by Khartoum has never been properly investigated by the UN; nor has the international community pushed effectively for such investigation.

**August 1999:** The oil pipeline from Heglig to Port Sudan is completed; the first 600,000 barrels of oil are exported in a shipment at the end of August.

**November 1999:** MSF-Switzerland requests an investigation into aerial bombardments, which the organization chronicled in detail in its [February 2000 study](#).<sup>2</sup>

**1999 – 2001** were central years in the period that might be referred to as the “oil war”: heavy fighting between Khartoum’s regular and militia forces and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) was concentrated around Bentiu, in what is now Unity State. The strategy in Khartoum’s bombing in Equatoria and elsewhere was both to destroy civilian morale and to disrupt food production and distribution, making supply for the forward-based SPLA troops as difficult as possible. The same was true for bombings of civilians in Unity State, attacks that began to increase significantly in **2000**.

Also of note in **2000** was an increase in attacks on humanitarian sites outside of Equatoria, including on the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Altogether, for **2000** there were more than 600 known casualties—perhaps many times this number.

**2000:** Brutal, finally genocidal warfare continues in the oil regions of what was then Western Upper Nile.

**November 11, 2000:** One of the most notorious bombing attacks of the war occurred in Yei (now Central Equatoria): 18 to 19 civilians were killed and 53 were wounded (eleven critically), as six (of fourteen) bombs hit the central market at the busiest time of day.

**2001 – 2002:** 2001 and 2002 are years distinguished in part by the first explicitly reported attacks by helicopter gunships against civilian targets, in Koch and Leer counties (especially **January – May 2002**). Aerial attacks against civilians and

humanitarians remain heavy throughout the summer and into the fall, causing more than 500 known casualties for the year.

**January 22, 2002:** A breakthrough ceasefire agreement for the Nuba Mountains is signed by Khartoum and the SPLA-Nuba in Bürgenstock, Switzerland; however, in violation of key terms of this agreement, Khartoum immediately moves two brigades of SAF to the fighting that continues in the oil regions of South Sudan.

**July 2002:** The Machakos Protocol, guaranteeing a Southern self-determination referendum, is signed by the National Islamic Front/National Congress Party (NIF/NCP) regime and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).

**September 21, 2002:** The first confirmed attack by Khartoum's newly acquired MiG-29s, one of the most advanced fighter aircraft in the Russian arsenal, on a Dinka cattle camp outside Mundri, near Lui: more than twenty people are killed, many injured, and there is a tremendous loss of cattle.

**October 2002:** The NIF/NCP regime and the SPLA/M sign a "Cessation of Offensive Hostilities Agreement." Not until further international pressure in **February 2003** is the cease-fire meaningfully observed by Khartoum.

**December 2002:** The people of the Nuba mandate the SPLM to negotiate their "self-determination."

**2003:** Major counterinsurgency warfare begins in Darfur; it quickly becomes genocidal in nature. More than 600 known casualties.

**April 2003:** Khartoum's counter-insurgency campaign in Darfur becomes genocidal following the successful Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) attack on el-Fasher air base; both regular military forces and Arab militia forces (the *Janjaweed*) attack non-Arab/African villages on a massive scale, displacing in the course of several years more than [three million](#) (internally as well as refugees in eastern Chad) and killing as many as [500,000 civilians](#).

**November 29, 2003:** Bombing of el-Geneina, capital of West Darfur, which killed 40 people and wounded an estimated 60 civilians.

**May 2004:** A protocol promising "popular consultations" for South Kordofan and Blue Nile states is signed by Khartoum and the SPLM.

**May 2004:** The [Abyei Protocol](#) is signed, guaranteeing the "residents" of Abyei a self-determination referendum; the Protocol stipulates the formation of an Abyei Boundaries Commission (ABC) to delineate Abyei's borders.

**January 9, 2005:** The Khartoum regime and the SPLM sign the "Comprehensive Peace Agreement" (CPA) in Kenya, including the protocols for Abyei, as well as South Kordofan and Blue Nile.

**July 14, 2005:** The ABC, comprising distinguished students of Sudan—chosen by both sides—submits its report to President Omar al-Bashir; it is never seriously considered by the NIF/NCP leadership.

**July 30, 2005:** Death of John Garang in a helicopter crash. Given Garang’s international stature and vision, his death ensured that the CPA would never come to fruition.

**May 2006:** The “Darfur Peace Agreement” is signed in Abuja, Nigeria by the Khartoum regime and one rebel faction; the agreement is a disastrous failure, and leads to the fragmenting of the rebel movement; Khartoum fails to adhere meaningfully to any terms of the agreement.

**2007:** A grim genocide by attrition had settled over Darfur by 2007, with a profoundly debilitating effect on more than 2 million displaced persons. Insecurity increased rapidly, beginning an extended process of retrenchment by humanitarian organizations and an attenuation of overall capacity.

Approximately 75 aerial attacks on civilians are reliably reported, again the majority in North Darfur, where rebel military resistance is concentrated after the breakdown of the DPA the previous year.

2007 is also the year in which attacks on humanitarians begin a sharp increase, with a corresponding decline in the number of humanitarians working in Darfur. The international community fails to provide an effective security force for Darfur, instead relying on an unprecedented and hopelessly compromised [UN/African “hybrid” mission](#). Since the day on which the force (UNAMID) took up its mandate (**January 1, 2008**), more than 1 million Darfuris have been newly displaced and insecurity has steadily eroded for humanitarian organizations.

**June 17, 2007:** The *Los Angeles Times* reports that despite condemning the mass atrocities in Darfur as “genocide,” Bush administration officials seem more concerned with gathering counter-terrorism intelligence from Khartoum, especially regarding conditions in Iraq. These priorities will be preserved by the Obama administration, which [“de-couples Darfur”](#) (November 2009) from the bilateral issue of Sudan’s continued presence on the State Department list of sponsors of terrorism.

**January 1, 2008:** The official deployment of the UN/African Union “hybrid” force (UNAMID), with its UN Chapter 7 authority and explicit mandate to protect civilians and humanitarians. Khartoum obstructs UNAMID’s movement from the very beginning, a practice that continues to the present, despite a Status of Forces Agreement—signed by the regime in early 2008—that guarantees the UN-authorized force complete freedom of movement.

**May 2008:** Beginning on **May 13**, Abyei town is destroyed by Khartoum’s regular

military and militia allies, with large numbers of casualties, and displacement of as many as 50,000 Dinka Ngok to Agok in South Sudan; A contingent of the UN Peacekeeping force (UNMIS)—equipped with armored personnel carriers—refuses to act, despite a Chapter 7 mandate to protect civilians.<sup>3</sup>

**July 2008:** The AU Peace and Security Council calls for the formation of a “high-level panel” to examine the crisis in Darfur and formulate recommendations on accountability and reconciliation in the region. This panel is led by former South African President Thabo Mbeki; it accomplishes nothing.

**July 7, 2008:** The Khartoum regime and the SPLM agree before the Permanent Court of Arbitration (The Hague) to “final and binding” arbitration in delineating Abyei’s boundaries. “Final and binding” is emphasized on page 1 of the document.

**November 2008:** Khartoum begins heavily arming Arab militias in South Kordofan; the UNMIS commander in Kadugli (capital of South Kordofan), Karen Tchalian, is widely regarded as ineffective and strongly biased toward Khartoum.

**2009:** The year in which UNAMID attempts to declare premature victory and an end to major fighting. In words that would quickly become controversial, outgoing UNAMID military commander Martin Agwai declares in August 2009 that “as of today, I would not say there is a war going on in Darfur,” but rather “very low intensity” engagements.

Sudan also purchases an unknown number of WS-2 multi-launch rockets systems from China. The WS-2, which had not previously been sold in Africa, is the most powerful long-range attack system on the continent at present.<sup>4</sup>

**January 2009:** A wave of heavy bombing and aerial attacks occurs in the Muha-jeriya and Shearia localities. Vast numbers of people from villages in these areas are displaced, many for the second or third time.

**March 4, 2009:** Khartoum expels from Darfur thirteen of the world’s most distinguished humanitarian organizations, who together provide approximately 50 percent of total capacity in Darfur. It is an unspeakably cruel action, justified on the preposterous pretext of “espionage.” Although many tie the expulsions to the International Criminal Court indictment of President al-Bashir for atrocity crimes, the fact is that Khartoum had long been looking for an occasion on which to expel these organizations.

**July 22, 2009:** The Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) in The Hague issues its “final and binding” award on Abyei; the finding is favorable to Khartoum in several respects, significantly reducing the territory of Abyei, thus moving two highly productive oil sites—Heglig and Bamboo—outside the region. The SPLM accepts the

ruling; yet it will be only a matter of months before Khartoum claims that the PCA ruling did not settle the Abyei issue.

**2010:** Throughout 2010 there is increasing military activity in South Kordofan, including the heavy arming of militia forces. The Small Arms Survey in particular details much of this military build-up, beginning in 2008. Julie Flint notes “significant unexplained movements of tanks and troops in recent months,” and the ominous appointment of “Major General Ahmad Khamis as commander of the 14th Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) infantry division in Kadugli. Head of Military Intelligence in the region during the civil war, Khamis has been consistently named as being responsible for detentions, torture, and executions.”

There were approximately 90 aerial assaults reported in 2010. The aerial attacks in 2010 were concentrated in Jebel Marra, especially the eastern part of the region, as well as in the geographically adjoining areas of West and South Darfur (e.g. Deribat).

**August 2010:** The Obama administration signals that Darfur will be “de-emphasized” in U.S. Sudan policy, at the insistence of special envoy Scott Gration. At the same time, Khartoum begins to promulgate its “New Strategy for Darfur,” a blatant attempt to create the pretext for eliminating an international humanitarian presence in Darfur. “Development,” the regime argues, will replace humanitarian services, despite a vast population still in desperate need of food, clean water, shelter, and primary medical care. Thabo Mbeki, chair of the African Union High-Level Panel on Implementation, and U.S. envoy Gration “[strongly support](#)” the “New Strategy.”

**August 8, 2010:** Following a navigational error by a Russian pilot, South Sudan impounds a Khartoum-bound cargo helicopter carrying military men loyal to renegade rebel leader George Athor. The helicopter carries abundant evidence of the regime’s material support for Athor and his forces.<sup>5</sup>

**September 2010:** The NIF/NCP makes clear that it regards Abyei as an issue still up for negotiation, and works to forestall any movement toward the region’s self-determination referendum scheduled for January 9, 2011. The Obama administration and its special envoy Scott Gration appear determined to do whatever it takes to secure Khartoum’s peaceful acceptance of the broader Southern self-determination referendum. In a terrible diplomatic blunder, this effort extends to pushing the South to accept further compromises on Abyei—despite the Abyei Protocol and the ruling of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

**September 16, 2010:** Senior members of the NIF/NCP Party in Khartoum officially ratify the “New Strategy for Darfur.”

**October 2010:** By October, Scott Gration, Senator John Kerry, and Secretary of

State Hillary Clinton are all publicly pushing for compromise. Gration's October plan, a surprise to the SPLM, includes endorsing Khartoum's proposal for yet further division of Abyei between North and South. With this, as Douglas Johnson notes, "the U.S. had abandoned any pretence of addressing the root causes of the dispute and in effect are validating the land grab of the northern settlements and dis-possession of the Ngok during the war." The ambitions of the landmark Machakos Protocol—to end war in Sudan "in a just and sustainable manner by addressing the root causes of the conflict"—are betrayed in deepest consequence.

**October 25, 2010:** Senator John Kerry, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee—and representative of the Obama administration—declares of Abyei that "a few hundred square miles cannot be allowed to stand in the way of progress when the fate of millions of people is at stake." Abyei, as defined by the PCA, is approximately 4,000 square miles, and of enormous historical significance, a fact that seems to escape Kerry entirely. Kerry's destructive diplomatic blunder will serve as background to claims about Abyei made by the Khartoum regime over the next year and more.

**October – November 2010:** Obama administration officials, including Scott Gration and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, bring conspicuous pressure to bear on Juba to compromise further on Abyei, despite the compromises already represented in both the Abyei Protocol and Juba's acceptance of the **July 2009** ruling on Abyei's boundaries by the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Misseriya militia begin to mass around Diffra (Abyei), according to *Africa Confidential* (**November 19, 2010**). This continues a pattern of increasing militia military force that the Small Arms Survey (Geneva) has been tracing in South Kordofan since **2008**.

**November 2010:** Khartoum begins regular bombings of South Sudan, right up to and following the self-determination referendum of January 9, 2011.

**November 8, 2010:** The U.S. State Department officially announces that [Darfur will be "de-coupled" as an issue](#) in bilateral negotiations with Khartoum over the regime's continuing presence on the State Department list of terrorism-sponsoring nations. Khartoum sees the decision as an abandonment of Darfur in the interest of securing the Southern self-determination referendum, scheduled for **January 9, 2011**. This assessment is reflected in the statements of a number of senior regime officials.

**November – December 2010:** Khartoum is emboldened by increasing U.S. desperation and Secretary Clinton's November 16 statement, declaring: "Most urgently, the parties [Khartoum and the southern leadership] must make the tough compromises necessary to settle the status of Abyei."<sup>6</sup> It is during this time that there are significant military developments in and around Abyei. In the run-up to the South-

ern self-determination referendum, Khartoum bombs military and civilian targets in the South on a number of occasions in **November 2010**, **December 2010**, and **January 2011**. Diplomacy, now under the weak and misguided leadership of Thabo Mbeki, makes no progress. The U.S. is joined by the rest of the international community in indulging an expedient “moral equivalency” in speaking of Khartoum and Juba.<sup>7</sup>

**December 2010:** The defection of Minni Minawi from his figurehead position within the Khartoum regime sets in motion extremely violent military conflict between those rebel forces still loyal to Minawi and the SAF, along with its aerial military allies. Minawi was the only signatory to the Darfur Peace Agreement of May 2006; he is himself Zaghawa, as are most of his forces (Zaghawa are a non-Arab or African tribal group).

**December 14, 2010:** With less than a months to the scheduled self-determination referendum, the Southern leadership claims that Abyei is being held hostage.

**December 16, 2010:** The head of UN peacekeeping warns that resumed war in Sudan could displace 2.8 million civilians.<sup>8</sup>

**December 16, 2010:** UN High Commissioner for Human Rights warns that Khartoum is “blocking aid workers from entering the country ahead of next month’s referendum on independence for the south.” Almost 1,000 aid workers are affected. Given the denial of humanitarian access that will begin in a matter of months, it is difficult not to see in this decision by Khartoum the first outlines of the future campaigns in South Kordofan and Blue Nile.<sup>9</sup>

**December 18, 2010:** Shul Angok, press secretary for the Abyei administration, warns that the SAF “was continuing to increase its military presence in South Kordofan,” in areas from which the assault on Abyei will later be launched.<sup>10</sup>

**December 29, 2010:** Senior NIF/NCP official Nafi’e Ali Nafi’e accuses the UN missions in Sudan of “being the main actor in sustaining internal conflicts,” and asserts that they play “the greatest role in fomenting conflicts in the country.”<sup>11</sup>

## **2011**

**2005 – 2011:** The various terms of the CPA designed to “make unity attractive” for all Sudanese quickly fall apart, as many of the most powerful officials in Khartoum’s security cabal have no intention of fulfilling the terms of the CPA. Southerners quickly find that whatever portfolio they might nominally hold, a “shadow ministry”—staffed by senior regime officials—wields real control over the ministry portfolio. Key meetings are either secret or deliberately conducted in an Arabic

that goes at a pace and with a colloquial content that often makes it difficult even for those with fluent “Juba Arabic” to keep up with important points of discussion. This is the regime’s vision of “power-sharing.”

The CPA was also to have afforded “popular consultations” for the people of South Kordofan and Blue Nile: they were to address key outstanding political issues in these long marginalized regions. Precisely what these “consultations” were to provide, and by what mechanisms, was never adequately specified. But Khartoum’s intentions are easily discerned when in early **May 2011** the regime engineers the election of Ahmed Haroun as governor of South Kordofan. Haroun is under indictment by the International Criminal Court for scores of war crimes and crimes against humanity. He was put in his present position by Khartoum to continue those crimes against the Nuba.

**January 2011:** Abyei is not permitted to hold the self-determination referendum agreed to in the CPA. By means of a series of delays, political obstruction, and unreasonable demands about the “residency” of migratory Misseriya Arabs in Abyei, Khartoum subverts any possibility for the referendum. Four months later, in a move of overwhelming and long conspicuous military force, the regime simply seizes Abyei, declaring that the region “has always been part of the north.”

The northern Sudanese economy begins to tailspin, a process that [continues to the present](#). The IMF projects negative real GDP growth for the northern economy: (-) 0.2% in 2011 and (-) 0.4% in 2012. The economy is burdened by the loss of oil revenue, lack of foreign currency reserves, inflation hovering at 20 percent, an immense (and unserviceable) external debt of \$38 billion, and growing unhappiness among workers, as sugar and petrol subsidies are removed.

Military developments also accelerate. McClatchey News reports that hundreds of Misseriya militia launched an attack on Abyei town that “killed dozens of combatants” from the African south. Khartoum increases its arming and proxy use of Southern renegade militia forces. The clear purpose is to weaken South Sudan, and to tie down SPLA troops and resources. Civilian destruction is the primary ambition of the renegade militias, particularly those of George Athor and Peter Gadet (the latter leads the “South Sudan Liberation Movement” [SSLA] for much of 2011). The Small Arms Survey, inspecting weapons captured from these two militia groups, finds strong evidence that they have been provided by Khartoum. They are predominantly of very recent Chinese manufacture, although some Iranian weapons have also been found.<sup>12</sup>

**First week of January 2011:** Threats of a violent takeover of Abyei are announced in rallies in Muglad.

**January 7 – 9, 2011:** Repeated and well-coordinated attacks on the Abyei village

of Maker (15 kilometers northwest of Abyei town) kill dozens and wound many more.<sup>13</sup>

**January 8, 2011:** The first of the rebel groups of the former Eastern Front merges with the Justice and Equality Movement of Darfur. Eastern Sudan becomes increasingly explosive throughout the year.

**January 9, 2011:** The Southern self-determination referendum is held, peacefully and joyfully, as some 99 per cent of Southerners vote for independence.

**January 13, 2011:** The regime-controlled Parliament in Khartoum passes a law canceling the Sudanese nationality of Southerners in the north. This response to the vote for Southern independence is enormously consequential for the 700,000 Southerners the UN claims remain in the north.<sup>14</sup>

**January 13, 2011:** In the wake of the **January 7-9** attacks on Maker, the first Kadugli Agreement is signed by leaders of the Misseriya and Dinka Ngok communities; it focuses on grazing rights and compensation for the killing of Ngok civilians in 2010. The agreement will fail completely.

**January 14, 2011:** In Khartoum U.S. special envoy Scott Gration—now discredited by all parties to the conflicts except Khartoum, as well as by humanitarian personnel and Sudan advocates—promises the NIF/NCP leadership that the U.S. will remove Sudan from the list of terrorism-sponsoring nations by the end of the Interim Period (**July 9, 2011**) if “everything goes smoothly.” At this point, violence has already accelerated in Abyei, and the region has not held the self-determination referendum promised by the CPA. Evidently because the SPLM has not “compromised” further on Abyei, the issue has been “de-coupled” in U.S. policy as defined by Gration.

**January 17, 2011:** The second Kadugli Agreement is signed, and focuses on migratory routes, Southerners returning to Abyei, and security arrangements. It, too, will fail completely.<sup>15</sup>

**January 27, 2011:** The Satellite Sentinel Project (SSP) issues its first report, based on satellite imagery of the Abyei/South Kordofan region.<sup>16</sup> This report finds that the SAF “has deployed company-sized units of troops equipped with light armor and artillery in areas of South Kordofan around the oil-producing Abyei region and other strategic areas along Sudan’s volatile North-South border.” Special attention is devoted to “SAF deployments, artillery, and fortifications at an outpost near Kharrassana [just north of Abyei].” The second SSP report, in **March 2011**, reports on the first in a series of growing clashes targeting Dinka Ngok settlements: “This emergency report analyzes DigitalGlobe satellite imagery indicative of the intentional destruction of Tajalei village in Sudan’s contested Abyei region.”

**January 30, 2011:** The UN reports eight attacks by Arab militia forces on Southerners returning to the South in the three weeks since the self-determination referendum. The attacks occur north of Abyei, and many others will occur subsequently—most going unreported.<sup>17</sup>

**February 2011:** Tensions continue to escalate as Ngok leaders block traditional migratory routes; except for this year's bountiful pasturage, the situation would have become immediately explosive. Military build-up of SAF regular and Misseriya militia forces continues; Popular Defense Forces (PDF) units are also reported. Khartoum accelerates economic warfare against the South following the vote for independence, blocking many North/South trading routes. These tactics will escalate throughout the year, culminating in the **November 2011** announcement that the regime will sequester a portion of oil produced in the South until exorbitant transit fees are paid. By **June 13** IRIN is reporting serious food shortages as a result of this closure of trading routes.

**February 15, 2011:** The NIF/NCP regime declares that there will be no extension of the UN peacekeeping force (UNMIS) in north Sudan, including South Kordofan, where military activities and deployments are rapidly escalating.

**February 27, 2011:** Late February and March see the worst violence in Abyei since the **May 2008** destruction of Abyei town; 154 are killed. On **February 27** heavily armed Misseriya militias attack police in the village of Todac, 15 kilometers north of Abyei town. Attacks continue **over the next week**, as police positions are overrun at Todac and Maker. The Small Arms Survey reports that the Misseriya militias were armed with heavy machine guns, 60mm mortars, RPGs, and small arms. There is strong evidence of SAF support for the attack, including eyewitness accounts of fighters in SAF uniforms, SAF helicopters ferrying the wounded out of the battle site, and SAF vehicles disguised with mud. The attacks have a strong similarity to militia attacks during the civil war.<sup>18</sup>

**March 2011:** SAF military deployments [captured in satellite photography](#) make unambiguously clear that Khartoum intends to seize Abyei militarily. There is no meaningful response from the international community, which is well aware of what is impending. Violence has become uncontrollable.<sup>19</sup>

**March 4, 2011:** "Satellite Sentinel Project (SSP) has confirmed through the analysis of DigitalGlobe satellite imagery that buildings consistent with civilian infrastructure appear to have been intentionally burned Maker Abior and Todach villages. Some 100 people in the Abyei region have reportedly died in the clashes to date."<sup>20</sup>

**March 5, 2011:** Immediately following a high-level meeting between officials from Khartoum and Juba, the village of Tajelei is attacked and 300 tukuls are burned to

the ground. The JIU stationed some 500 meters away does not respond to the attack, and many thousands of Dinka Ngok flee southward.<sup>21</sup>

**March 10, 2011:** “Following the recent razing of three villages, there has been increased military activity in and around the contested Abyei region of Sudan during the past week. Actors aligned with both the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) appear to have improved their defensive positions and mobilized additional offensive capacity, including, in one case, vehicles consistent with the transport of heavy armor.”<sup>22</sup>

**March 11, 2011:** In an interview with a prominent Arabic news outlet for English speakers, U.S. special envoy Princeton Lyman declares: “*Frankly, we do not want to see the ouster of the [Sudanese] regime, nor regime change. We want to see the regime carrying out reform via constitutional democratic measures.*” This view continues to guide Obama administration policy toward Sudan.

**March 22, 2011:** In another report on ominous military movements by the SAF in and around Abyei, the Satellite Sentinel Project [provides satellite photographic evidence](#) of “the presence of fortified encampments inside Abyei near Bongo, Goli and Diffra.”<sup>23</sup> The report is yet further evidence of Khartoum’s determination to seize Abyei militarily in the near future.

**March 29, 2011:** Various observers, including the Carter Center, warn that **May** elections in South Kordofan are threatened by low registration and confusing procedures. Various other electoral deficiencies are noted.

**March 29, 2011:** A senior UN humanitarian official warns that mines in various parts of the South have been laid by renegade rebel groups “in a pattern capable of taking out convoys of vehicles.” The mines are supplied by Khartoum.<sup>24</sup> The threats posed by mines, to humanitarians and civilians, are a constant refrain in reports throughout **2011**.

**March 31, 2011:** Al-Bashir declares that unless the migratory Misseriya, who spend only a few months in Abyei, are recognized as residents, there will be no self-determination referendum.

**April 2011:** Throughout April 2011 Khartoum’s language over Abyei becomes more insistent and more threatening.<sup>25</sup> By the end of April Khartoum’s ambassador to the UN, Dafallah Al Haj Ali Osman, “warn[s] of the outbreak of war in the Abyei area—disputed between the north and south—in the case of taking any unilateral move by the South [on Abyei].” The “compromising” that had been so important to special envoy Gration and Secretary of State Clinton is explicitly rejected by Khartoum, which has effectively taken military control of Abyei by this time. Nafi’e Ali Nafi’e, the most powerful advisor to President al-Bashir, provides a clear picture

of the regime's intransigence when he declares, "there will be no compromise over Abyei."<sup>26</sup>

**April 7, 2011:** The former governor of Sudan's central bank warns that the economy is in its "weakest state" and needs to be addressed on an urgent basis.<sup>27</sup>

**April 9, 2011:** The new U.S. special envoy for Sudan, Princeton Lyman, warns that conflict over Abyei could lead to "wholesale war." Despite the evidence of severely asymmetric military deployment and strength, Lyman lays blame equally on Juba and Khartoum. This continues a pattern of "moral equivalence" that has hamstrung international Sudan policy for over a decade.

**April 13, 2011:** Arab militia forces loyal to Ahmed Haroun attack el-Feid (al-Rashad Locality), home of Abdel Aziz el-Hilu, who is running for governor of South Kordofan.

**April 14, 2011:** Khartoum and Juba agree in Kadugli to "withdraw all unauthorized forces" from Abyei. A Joint Technical Committee is formed, with a convening date of April 18 in Abyei.<sup>28</sup>

**April 18, 2011:** The meeting of the Joint Technical Committee confirms "an agreement to withdraw all unauthorized forces from Abyei." Khartoum continues to break this agreement.

**April 22, 2011:** Military actions by the renegade forces of Peter Gadet in Mayom County (Unity State) kill an estimated 85 civilians and force thousands to flee.

**May 2011:** Throughout the month military invasion looms ever closer. Southern forces have been powerless to stop the relentless attacks in Abyei by Misseriya and PDF militia forces. The international community refuses to demand, in consequential terms, a rollback of Khartoum's military advances; widespread augmentation of forces, fortifications, logistics, and firepower are unchallenged.

**May 5, 2011:** An account of the momentous shift in the balance of political power in Khartoum, which occurs on **May 5**, has been provided by Julie Flint ([August 2](#)) and confirmed by other sources, including McClatchy News. In a November 2011 brief for the US Institute of Peace, "[Return to War in Sudan's Nuba Mountains](#)," Flint writes:

"On **May 5**, five days after 11 soldiers died in an SPLA ambush in Abyei, the heads of the army and military intelligence presented President Omar al-Bashir with a demand: 'Authorize us to take any necessary action without prior consultation.' Although the ultimatum was explicitly addressed to the international community, felt to be prevaricating over Abyei, it was also implicitly an ultimatum to the civilian leadership, including the president. **Two weeks later**, SAF moved into Abyei with a speed and effectiveness that indicate a pre-planned operation. **Four days** after

that, the chief of general staff, Lt. Gen. Ismat Abdel Rahman al Zain, wrote to his counterpart in Juba informing him that all SPLA forces north of the north-south boundary would be relocated or disarmed by **June 1**” (a time-frame that violates the terms of the CPA, which allows three months after the interim period for disarmament).

“When presidential assistant Nafie Ali Nafie, the most senior civilian hardliner in the regime, signed a framework agreement with the SPLM-N in Addis Ababa on **June 28**, he was overruled by the SAF Command. The implications of SAF’s *de facto* takeover, its power, confidence and autonomy, have yet to be fully acknowledged. But with the end of the rains, the generals are confident that SAF will be able to redress the military balance. Until then, they say privately, there will be no negotiation.” (Flint’s source: “personal communication with a member of the African Union mediation team”).<sup>29</sup>

**May 7, 2011:** Elections in South Kordofan conclude, and Ahmed Haroun is elected in a process that is clearly not credible. Notably, Haroun has been indicted by the International Criminal Court on 51 counts of crimes against humanity and war crimes in Darfur.

**May 18, 2011:** The Carter Center (Atlanta), in a misguided and careless assessment, pronounces the elections to be “generally peaceful and credible.” This judgment will later be disowned by a senior member of the Carter Center team.<sup>30</sup>

**May 19, 2011:** In a chaotic moment, a dispute between an SAF officer and SPLA soldier becomes heated, a shot is fired in the air, and the SAF force—a contingent of some 200 soldiers, nominally under UNMIS escort—immediately responds with immensely destructive firepower, including anti-tank weapons (RPG-7s). The initial account of the incident by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Sudan, Haile Menkerios, relies entirely on an account offered by two SAF officers. It is on the basis of this deeply distorted narrative that the UN hastily condemns the SPLA for “criminal acts.” Convinced that it has a plausible *casus belli*, Khartoum launches the invasion of Abyei the next day.<sup>31</sup>

**May 20-21, 2011:** Khartoum easily moves from its positions of forward deployment to seize Abyei militarily. A year later, the SAF remains in full military control, despite the presence of an Ethiopian peacekeeping brigade with UN auspices.<sup>32</sup>

**May 24, 2011:** Al-Bashir declares, “Abyei is northern Sudanese land. We will not withdraw from it.”<sup>33</sup> Reports begin to emerge of widespread “organized looting” and destruction of Abyei town by Misseriya militia members, assisted by SAF soldiers. SSP ground photographs show “northern soldiers standing by as militia members load trucks full of looted food and other goods.” This is confirmed in an SSP report of **May 26, 2011**, which uses satellite photography as well as ground

photography from Abyei town. Both humanitarian food stores and medical supplies are among the targets of the looters.

**May 25, 2011:** Khartoum declares that it militarily seized Abyei “in implementation of the CPA.”<sup>34</sup>

**May 25, 2011:** UN field reports of “ethnic cleansing” by the SAF and its militia allies are widely reported. There is an uncanny echo of a directive from *Janjaweed* chief Musa Hilal concerning the fate of Darfur and its non-Arab/African population: “Change the demography of Darfur,” he urged his followers, “and empty it of African tribes.”<sup>35</sup> Such “changed demography” has produced hundreds of thousands of civilian deaths and displaced millions

UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon will later declare that the reports of ethnic cleansing “premature.”

**May 26, 2011:** SAF forces destroy the Banton Bridge across the River Kiir, effectively cutting road linkage between Abyei and Agok, South Sudan.

**May 26, 2011:** The U.S. declares that the military seizure of Abyei was “premeditated,” while Khartoum scoffs at U.S. threats to continue sanctions and refrain from helping the regime obtain desperately needed external debt relief.

The SSP reveals satellite photographic evidence showing, “the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) [are] equipped with heavy armor and artillery at the El Obeid Barracks, approximately 270 miles from Abyei town, possibly preparing for deployment to southern areas. Based on analysis of available transportation logistics and the formation of the units, SSP has concluded that the forces there are capable of imminent forward movement.”<sup>36</sup>

Reports of highly distressed fleeing civilians, primarily women and children, become increasingly frequent and urgent. A great many have fled as far as Turelei, 130 kilometers from Abyei; by **May 26** one humanitarian report has 15,000 displaced people living in the open near the town (local officials use a much higher figure). Another 4,000 people are reported in the nearby village of Mayen Abun.

**May 26 and 28, 2011:** Using satellite photography, corroborated by reports from the ground, the Satellite Sentinel Project reports ([May 26](#) and [May 28](#)) that the SAF is aiding in the “organized looting” of Abyei town. “The evidence of alleged looting by apparent uniformed SAF forces and armed, northern-aligned militias represents a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions and can constitute a war crime.”

**May 27, 2011:** The UN Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) offers a devastating picture of the human and humanitarian consequences of Khartoum’s brutal invasion of Abyei:

“We have seen thousands of people—mainly women and children—carrying bags on their heads, or sitting on mats on the side of the road, exhausted by hours of walking. The populations of both Abyei and Agok [40km to the south] have been displaced and are spread out in several different areas: near Turalei, near Mayen-Abun and on the road to Agok,’ said MSF head of mission Raphael Gorgeu.”

“There are severe signs of dehydration among many children who are on the move. We are very concerned about the harsh conditions the displaced population has to endure on the roads. Their health condition can deteriorate rapidly if assistance is not delivered promptly,’ he added.”

The figure for displaced persons rises steadily, and is approximately 80,000 by **June 3.**

**May 27, 2011:** Concerns about the effects of seasonal rains, which are already heavy, mount steadily; IRIN reports that “seasonal rains are among several factors to have exacerbated the crisis sparked by the sudden flight of tens of thousands of civilians from the disputed Sudanese region of Abyei,” and that “most of the roads in Southern Sudan are not passable during the rains and so that will make the movement of food difficult.” Concerns about the impact of heavy rains disrupting the planting season on longer-term food stability are also expressed.

**May 28, 2011:** The Satellite Sentinel Project reports on the “Intentional Destruction of Abyei Town,” confirming the “intentional destruction of approximately one-third of all civilian structures in Abyei town by the Government of Sudan and northern-aligned militia forces.”

**May 29, 2011:** Save the Children/UK estimates that “up to 35,000 children in Sudan’s contested border region of Abyei are among the displaced.”

The lack of fuel is a recurring theme in accounts from UN agencies and non-governmental humanitarian organizations. Khartoum has since the beginning of May closed off two of the three routes to the region by which fuel is transported to the South and Abyei (South Sudan has no refining capacity of its own, even as the vast majority of crude oil refined by Khartoum originates in the South).

**May 30, 2011:** High-level talks between senior officials from Khartoum and Juba fail to make any progress on Abyei as the NIF/NCP regime refuses to consider military withdrawal from the contested region.

**June 2011:** Throughout June atrocities are reported by eyewitnesses in and around Kadugli, capital of South Kordofan. Many Nuba from the region escape to the South to tell their stories. Journalists reach Kauda, deep in the Nuba Mountains, beginning in **late June**, and report [horrific accounts](#) of aerial bombardment. This

bombardment violates a wide range of international human rights and humanitarian law.

The Satellite Sentinel Project regularly reports on developments in South Kordofan, including the discovery of numerous mass gravesites—potentially holding thousands of bodies.<sup>37</sup>

**June 1, 2011:** More than 110,000 Dinka Ngok, the indigenous population of Abyei, have been forced to flee their homeland for South Sudan. A year later, many of these people still live in extremely dire conditions; very few contemplate returning without a fundamental change in the security situation.

**June 5, 2011:** Khartoum’s regular military and militia forces begin a major offensive in South Kordofan. Ethnically based seizures and extra-judicial executions are widespread, targeting the Nuba people, and aerial attacks against the people of the Nuba Mountains become daily occurrences, continuing to the present.

Aerial attacks at the height of the planting season ensure that there will be no significant harvest in the Nuba areas, even as Khartoum denies humanitarian access, including to UN agencies such as the World Food Program.

**June 20, 2011:** Some 7,000 Nuba who had sought protection at the UNMIS compound are forcibly removed, including by security forces disguised as Red Crescent humanitarian workers. The fate of these people remains unknown to the present day.

**June 20, 2011:** An agreement on military withdrawal from Abyei is signed by Khartoum and Juba in Addis Ababa.<sup>38</sup> As of **May 2012** there has still been no withdrawal by Khartoum’s forces or its militia allies. Conspicuously violating both the letter and spirit of the agreement, Khartoum later insists it will not withdraw until a UN-authorized peacekeeping force (an armored brigade of Ethiopian troops) has fully deployed. As deployment proceeds, Khartoum again adds conditions to withdrawal.

**June 27, 2011:** The UN deputy chief for human rights reports that she has witnessed “utter devastation” during a visit to Abyei. “The utter devastation I saw in Abyei was a chilling warning of what might become of the border area.”<sup>39</sup>

**June 28, 2011:** Princeton Lyman, U.S. special envoy for Sudan, declares in an interview, “I don’t think the North [Khartoum’s SAF] is capable of dislodging large numbers of people on an ethnic basis from the Nuba Mountains. Second, I’m not sure that’s the objective of the government.”<sup>40</sup> As of **May 2012** many hundreds of thousands of people have been displaced in South Kordofan, including the Nuba Mountains, and Blue Nile. Many from the Nuba are streaming into South Sudan. Khartoum continues to deny access to international humanitarian organizations, compelling yet further displacement as people become increasingly desperate for

food. On **December 13** the UN's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) declares that "we consider there are *over one million people* who are quite badly affected by the fighting in Blue Nile and South Kordofan."<sup>41</sup>

**June 28, 2011:** Nafi'e Ali Nafi'e, a senior regime official, signs in Addis a "Framework Agreement" with the SPLA/M-North, covering both South Kordofan and Blue Nile. The agreement recognizes the SPLM-North politically and diplomatically and commits both sides to work toward a cease-fire.

**July 2011:** Throughout July reports of bombings continue to stream out of the Nuba Mountains through various means of communication, including the reporting and photography of journalists. On many days there are multiple bombings, and fields are completely abandoned in wide areas of the Nuba. The aircraft implicated in the bombings are identified in a [June 29 report from the SSP](#).

**July 1, 2011:** Al-Bashir, clearly at the [behest of the newly empowered senior SAF generals](#), renounces the "Framework Agreement" and declares that he has ordered the military campaign to continue until all rebels have been "cleansed" from South Kordofan. Yasir Arman of the SPLM/A-North warns (**July 2**) "There are voices in Khartoum against this framework agreement, those voices are playing with fire," warning that the only alternative "is a war that runs from Blue Nile to Darfur."<sup>42</sup>

**July 1, 2011:** For the first time, the [Satellite Sentinel Project identifies](#) multiple rocket launchers (MRL) with a range of 20 kilometers and extremely destructive capabilities. The SSP report notes that "these rocket launchers can rain devastation on entire communities in a matter of minutes."

**July 1, 2011:** Humanitarian organizations are finally permitted by Khartoum to return to Kadugli, only to find their facilities severely damaged or destroyed.

**July 4, 2011:** Khartoum again declares that it expects UNMIS to leave South Kordofan immediately after **July 9**. Belatedly, the U.S. declares (**July 7**) that it is "extremely concerned" by this demand. No UN resolution of consequence is introduced, despite that concern.

**July 4, 2011:** The *Toronto Star* reports from Khartoum on the consequences of the decision to strip all Southerners of their citizenship in the north—even those who have lived all their lives in the North and speak no languages of the South. The regime's information minister had been blunt about the implications for Southerners in an interview of **Fall 2010**: "They will not enjoy citizenship rights, jobs or benefits. We will not even give them a needle in the hospital." This hostility is increasingly turning towards Christian Sudanese, whose churches are being confiscated, worshipers harassed, and a general hostility has become increasingly palpable, particularly following al-Bashir's declaration that northern Sudan will have an

Islamic constitution and be governed by shari'a law—and that this is permissible because “98 percent” of the northern population is Muslim.

**July 6, 2011:** The previously confidential UN report on human rights abuses in Kadugli and its environs is made public. However, the unedited version [remains available](#), with findings that include three reports of mass graves in Kadugli and Al Gardut Locality in Tillo.

**July 7, 2011:** Al-Bashir quits talks in Addis to end the conflict in South Kordofan, declaring “there will be no more negotiations outside Sudan.”<sup>43</sup>

**July 7, 2011:** Khartoum shuts down six newspapers in a continuing crackdown on what are already exceedingly limited media freedoms. Reporters Without Borders ranks Sudan 172nd out of 178 nations in press freedom.

**July 8, 2011:** In an extraordinary account of UN failure in Kadugli, capital of South Kordofan, *The Independent* (UK) reports that eyewitnesses “described how they saw peacekeepers [part of UNMIS] standing by while unarmed civilians were shot dead outside the gates of a UN base before being dragged away ‘like slaughtered sheep.’” A spokesman for UNMIS in Khartoum denies these eyewitness accounts.

The role of the Egyptians, who predominate in the UNMIS contingent in Kadugli, is severely criticized by many observers with contacts on the ground in South Kordofan. John Ashworth tells *The Independent* that “this isn’t the first time we’re hearing about Egyptian peacekeepers” failing to fulfill their duties.

**July 8, 2011:** The UN Development Program reports on some of the daily conditions in northern Sudan: 46.5 % of the population lives on less than \$1/day; 31.8 % of children under five are malnourished. Indicators are particularly bad in eastern Sudan, which—as represented by the Eastern Front—signed a peace agreement with Khartoum in **2006**. To date there are no significant benefits that have accrued to the people of the east.

**July 9, 2011:** South Sudan celebrates its independence as the world’s newest nation. President Salva Kiir uses the occasion to declare: “I want to assure the people of Abyei, Darfur, Blue Nile, and South Kordofan that we have not forgotten you. When you cry, we cry. When you bleed, we bleed. I pledge to you today that we will find a just peace for all.” The international community as a whole has failed badly in understanding the historical meaning of Abyei for the South.

**July 9, 2011:** UN Resolution 1996 creates the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), with a mandate, *inter alia*, to “deter violence including through proactive deployment and patrols in areas at high risk of conflict, within its capabilities and its areas of deployment, protecting civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, in particular when the Government of the Republic of South Sudan is not

providing such security.” Despite massive violent civilian destruction, the force has yet to prove its willingness to accept responsibility for this mandate.

**July 10, 2011:** The African Union High Level Implementation Panel (originally convened to oversee “implementation” of an envisioned “roadmap” to peace in Darfur) submits its report on South Sudan and the requirements for peace. Chaired by former South African President Thabo Mbeki, the Panel submits a six-page document, publishing it as a list of the agreements so far and what remains to be settled. Reuters describes the document as “remarkably short of dates and deadlines.”

**July 10, 2011:** Khartoum’s minister of information Ibrahim Ghandour declares that “the accusation Sudan Armed Forces deploying in Blue Nile is baseless,” further declaring that such redeployments as are occurring are a “natural activity.”<sup>44</sup> **Seven weeks later** Khartoum launches a well-planned military assault on Blue Nile.

**July 10, 2011:** Malik Agar warns that any attempt to disarm the SPLA-N within his state will result in a return to war. Little heed is paid to this prescient warning.

**July 11, 2011:** Khartoum’s seasoned political secretary, Gutbi al-Mahdi, threatens humanitarian organizations operating in Darfur and South Kordofan with penalties—or expulsion.

**July 11, 2011:** Al-Bashir warns that Abyei could become a source of conflict and even of renewed war with South Sudan “if agreements are not respected.”<sup>45</sup> In short, Khartoum is demanding that Juba accept Khartoum’s military annexation of Abyei as a *fait accompli*. A senior UN official, commenting on Southern concern about Abyei, about Khartoum’s support for renegade militias, and about potential aspiration to seize the oil regions of Upper Nile or Unity State, declares (**July 7**), “*The SPLA is paid to be paranoid.*”<sup>46</sup> This assessment seems remarkably uncomprehending, given the many bombing attacks on Southern territory, the seizure of Abyei, and the brutal campaign in South Kordofan. It surely does nothing to anticipate the **September 1** military assault on Blue Nile, nor the growing encroachment on Southern territory through bombing and cross border operations such as the one at Jau (Unity State) reported in **December 2011**.

**July 12, 2011:** The UN Security Council passes a resolution declaring that countries and groups that attack schools and hospitals will “be named and shamed by the United Nations” and could be subject to sanctions. No mention is made of Khartoum’s [relentless campaign of aerial bombardment](#) that has repeatedly and deliberately attacked hospitals and schools over the past two decades. On **November 10**, the refugee camp at Yida (Unity State in South Sudan) is bombed; one of four bombs does not detonate as it lands immediately outside a school where some 200 students had been in attendance. To date, Khartoum has paid no price for this extraordinarily dangerous attack, and indeed continues to deny the bombing, even as

the attack has been confirmed by the UN and reporters on the ground for Reuters and the BBC.

**July 12, 2011:** The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reports “heavy aerial bombardment in South Kordofan state in recent days”—near Kadugli and the town of Delami.<sup>47</sup> Reports from a range of Nuba sources continue to reach outside South Kordofan. John Ashworth provides the most complete summary of these reports, but they come from many other sources and are simply too numerous to collate accurately.

**July 13, 2011:** The Satellite Sentinel Project reports that it has satellite photography showing mass gravesites, supporting claims that the SAF and allied militias have “engaged in a campaign of systematic mass killing in Kadugli,” which may represent “crimes against humanity.” [Subsequent reports \(August 17 and August 23\)](#) confirm further the existence of mass gravesites potentially holding thousands of bodies. SSP’s findings are fully consistent with eyewitness ground reports they have received and which have been reported by the UN team in Kadugli.

**July 14, 2011:** The Doha Peace Agreement (DPA) is signed in Qatar by the Khartoum regime and one small, factitious rebel group, the “Liberation and Justice Movement.” The LJM is a meaningless organization, without military or political power. It has been cobbled together out of two groups of even smaller splinter groups by U.S. envoy Scott Gration and former Libyan strongman Muammar Gaddafi. The agreement is, as one informed observer put the matter, “Abuja replayed as farce.” By **May 2012**, the farce is conspicuous to all Darfuris: the DPA is regarded with nothing but contempt throughout all Darfur states.

**July 15, 2011:** Valerie Amos, senior UN humanitarian official, declares: “We do not know whether there is any truth to the grave allegations of extra-judicial killings, mass graves and other grave violations in South Kordofan.” Skepticism on the part of UN and U.S. officials about realities on the ground in South Kordofan has become thoroughly untenable.<sup>48</sup>

**July 19, 2011:** Amnesty International reports that a Sudanese employee of the UN-authorized peacekeeping force in Darfur (UNAMID), Idris Yousef Abdelrahman, has been detained since April and is now charged with capital crimes. The arrest violates the Status of Forces Agreement to which Khartoum committed itself—yet another broken agreement.

**July 20, 2011:** In a *Washington Post* interview (“US Government Cannot Confirm Mass Graves in Sudan”), special envoy Lyman declares his general skepticism about the findings of the Satellite Sentinel Project and its report of **July 13** that there is compelling evidence of mass graves. Specifically, Lyman declares, “What they (SSP) identify as body bags, we see those same items in those same places before

the fighting started.” In turn, SSP replies (**August 23**): “The US government has released no eye witness report or imagery in support of [Princeton Lyman’s] assertion. SSP has determined, though, that these same items [white objects identified as body bags and tarps] were not present in those same places on **June 7, 17, or 20.**”

**July 21, 2011:** *The Christian Science Monitor* reports from Juba that 200 - 300 Nuba are now present in the Southern capital. Many were in Kadugli when fighting broke out on **June 5**. A number of them are interviewed and report seeing: helicopter gunships attacking civilians attempting to flee Kadugli when fighting began; summary executions; aerial bombardment of civilian targets; and roadblocks targeting Nuba civilians, regardless of their affiliated with the SPLA/M-North.

**July 22, 2011:** Khartoum announces that it will not withdraw its forces from Abyei until there is full deployment of the UN-authorized peacekeeping force from Ethiopia. This violates both the letter and spirit of the **June 20** Addis agreement.

**July 24, 2011:** UN’s OCHA warns of “grave consequences” if dwindling food-stocks in South Kordofan are not soon replaced. Children, the elderly, and pregnant women are particularly at risk. Ten months after this warning the UN’s World Food Program still has no significant access to South Kordofan, and Khartoum continues to deny that there is a food shortage.

**July 26, 2011:** Governor Ahmed Haroun claims that he and Khartoum are “fully cooperating with the different humanitarian agencies operating in South Kordofan.” He specifies WFP, UNICEF, and WHO. This claim is patently untrue.

**July 27, 2011:** Khartoum acknowledges that “authorities in South Kordofan collected dead bodies on trucks for burial during the course of fighting.” Can there be any doubt that these dead bodies ended up in mass graves of the sort photographed by the Satellite Sentinel Project and reported by numerous eyewitnesses? Princeton Lyman declines to comment on Khartoum’s statement.

**August 4, 2011:** UN reporter Colum Lynch writes in *Foreign Policy* that the UN’s top human rights agency—in a confidential briefing of the UN Security Council—“down-played evidence of Sudanese attacks on civilians and UN personnel in South Kordofan.” Based on a confidential copy of briefing notes for Navi Pillay, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Lynch continues: “the restrained briefing contrasted sharply with the UN’s own grim reporting on the ground in South Kordofan.” In a closed-door briefing of the Security Council on **July 28**, Pillay will say only that “while there is much disturbing information coming from the region, we are regrettably not in a position to verify it.” But of course this simply is not true: indeed, Pillay seems to be saying that the report from the ground by UN investigators is not verifiable: how could it not be? Are these investigators presumed to be lying in their report? Lynch notes as well that Pillay omits “a series of first-hand accounts

of abuses of UN personnel by Sudanese forces that could constitute violations of international law.”

**August 4, 2011:** Khartoum’s SAF threatens to shoot down a UN helicopter trying to evacuate Ethiopian peacekeepers fatally wounded in a landmine explosion in Abyei. This is the embodiment of the regime that Pillay is seeking to mollify with her report to the UN Security Council. It is also a consequence of Khartoum’s refusal to negotiate a Status of Forces Agreement with the Ethiopian mission.

**August 4, 2011:** In testimony before the subcommittee on Africa in U.S. House of Representatives, Andudu Adam Elnail, Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Kadugli, offers this extraordinary narrative:

“A member of my congregation told me that on **June 8**, less than one kilometer south of the Tilo School in Kadugli, he saw an earth mover digging two pits. That evening, he said, he saw trucks driving to the freshly excavated pits. In the trucks were soldiers from the SAF, along with northern militia members, men dressed like Sudan Red Crescent Society workers, wearing white aprons with red crescents, and other men dressed like prisoners from a local prison, He saw 100 or more dead bodies buried in the pits on the evening of **June 8**. Some of the bodies, he said, appeared to be wrapped in white body bags or white, plastic tarps. I believe him.”

This testimony is fully corroborated by satellite photography from the Satellite Sentinel Project.

**August 8, 2011:** Following a meeting of Abdel Aziz el-Hilu of the SPLA/M-North and leaders of the Darfuri rebel groups, they announce a new alliance with a common objective: to change the regime in Khartoum by the use of force and popular uprising. The Beja Congress, the main force in the Eastern Front, will soon join the alliance, to be named the Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF).

**August 17, 2011:** The Satellite Sentinel Project reports evidence of three more mass graves in and near Kadugli.

**August 21, 2011:** The International Crisis Group reports on efforts by Ethiopian Prime Minister Zenawi to defuse the increasingly unstable situation: “Ethiopian Prime Minister Zenawi met with Malik Agar and Al-Hilu in Addis Ababa on **August 21**, and on the same day, he took Malik to Khartoum to negotiate a way out of the danger. However, President Bashir responded by saying his government was unwilling to engage in further external negotiations and would not commit to the rejected framework. The door for direct SPLM-National Congress Party talks was closed.”<sup>49</sup>

Ten days after this foregone opportunity, Khartoum will launch its massive military

assault on Blue Nile—clearly well planned, as were the assaults on Abyei and South Kordofan.

**August 23, 2011:** Al-Bashir declares a “cease-fire” in South Kordofan; yet bombing and fighting is reported within hours, and the non-existence of a “cease-fire” is confirmed the **following week** by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.<sup>50</sup>

**August 23, 2011:** [Satellite photography analyzed by the Satellite Sentinel Project](#) reveals additional compelling evidence of a large “cluster of white bundles in Kadugli consistent with white plastic tarps or body bags.” This evidence directly challenges claims made by U.S. special envoy Lyman that these were not tarps or body bags, and that the “white objects” had been in these locations in Kadugli prior to the photographs published by SSP. They had not, and SSP provides definitive satellite photographic evidence that they were not; this is further confirmed by new eyewitness reports.<sup>51</sup>

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**August 26, 2011:** The U.S. urges the SPLA/M-North to join in the cease-fire that Khartoum that has declared and then immediately violated. With such peculiarly timed urging, the Obama administration looks increasingly out of touch with realities on the ground in the border regions of Sudan.

**August 30, 2011:** One weeks after al-Bashir’s announcement of a “ceasefire,” Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International issue a joint statement on the bombing attacks in South Kordofan:

“The Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) are [despite the ceasefire] indiscriminately bombing civilian areas in the Nuba Mountains region of Southern Kordofan and preventing aid from reaching desperate displaced people, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch said today.”

“Researchers from both groups, during a week-long mission to the area in **late August**, investigated 13 air strikes in Kauda, Delami, and Kurchi areas. Those air strikes killed at least 26 civilians and injured more than 45 others **since mid-June**. The researchers also witnessed government planes circling over civilian areas and dropping bombs, forcing civilians to seek shelter in mountains and caves.”

**August 30, 2011:** OCHA head Valerie Amos comes to terms with realities on the ground: “[M]ore than 200,000 people affected by the fighting in South Kordofan faced ‘potentially catastrophic levels of malnutrition and mortality’ because of Khartoum denying access to aid agencies.”<sup>52</sup> Eight months later humanitarian ac-

cess is still not secured for UN agencies or international nongovernmental humanitarian organizations.

**September 1, 2011:** Fighting begins in Blue Nile, with Governor Malik Agar's house among the first targets. There is a massive movement of arms, tanks, and soldiers. Sudan analysts asking why Khartoum would choose to open yet another military front tend to agree that Khartoum is trying to forestall the "mobilizing of the new South of the North of Sudan," i.e., to prevent a replication of the enemy the regime faced in South Sudan, only this time within the borders of what is now north Sudan.

**September 1-4, 2011:** Even as aerial attacks rapidly escalate in Blue Nile, they continue relentlessly in the Nuba Mountains, according to numerous regional sources.

**September 5, 2011:** Khartoum announces that State authorities will handle relief efforts in Blue Nile, and refuses access to all international humanitarian organizations. Khartoum also re-affirms that it will not negotiate with Malik Agar, and accuses South Sudan of "stirring up tensions in the region and violating security arrangements." *Sudan Vision*

**September 6, 2011:** Very heavy fighting is reported in Blue Nile.

**September 6, 2011:** Hundreds of people demonstrate in Khartoum, protesting worsening economic conditions. This is the largest to date of a number of demonstrations in the capital.

**September 6, 2011:** The [African Center for Justice and Peace Studies reports](#) on mass arrests of perceived SPLM-North supporters. The report provides names and copious details on the arrests.

**September 7, 2011:** The Khartoum regime again rejects negotiations with the SPLA/M-North in Blue Nile, promising instead to crush the rebellion.

**September 7, 2011:** Two senior UN human rights officials call for the immediate end to Khartoum's air attacks on civilians in South Kordofan.<sup>53</sup> There is no response from Khartoum.

**September 7, 2011:** In another example of the "moral equivalence" that guides U.S. Sudan policy, the Obama administration "urged Sudan and armed opposition groups to end fighting in the Blue Nile border state."<sup>54</sup> This suggests that the two parties are equally responsible; yet Khartoum's SAF is clearly the aggressor as the only party targeting civilians and the only party that refuses to participate in negotiations to end the fighting. This "even-handedness" is finally disingenuousness and inevitably works to Khartoum's advantage, encouraging the regime in its belief that it will not be held appropriately responsible and accountable. The consequences of

this approach culminate most dangerously in the response to Khartoum-instigated fighting in the Tishwin/Heglig (Panthou) border region in **May 2012**.

**September 8, 2011:** Khartoum again agrees to withdraw its forces from Abyei by the **end of September**, and Ban Ki-moon celebrates the agreement. The agreement of course means nothing, and the SAF presence remains undiminished. Khartoum notes only that there are no consequences for yet another abrogated agreement.

**September 8, 2011:** The SPLM/A-North and SPLM/A of South Sudan officially split, making clear that there is a new “south Sudan” problem for Khartoum.

**September 11, 2011:** More than 50 civilians killed in fighting in the Nuba.<sup>55</sup>

**September 12, 2011:** In an interview with Radio Dabanga, special envoy Lyman acknowledges that Khartoum continues to bomb civilian villages in Darfur, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile. But the U.S., he says, is powerless to do anything but “facilitate negotiations.”<sup>56</sup> Bombing of civilian targets has only accelerated in the months since Lyman’s interview.

**September 13, 2011:** Khartoum again targets the “hidden agendas” of humanitarian organizations, accusing Western groups of “[trading] on humanitarian catastrophes” and using them as “a pretext for international intervention in favor of achieving vested neo-colonialist agenda.”<sup>57</sup>

In explaining his thinking about aid organizations, Ahmed Haroun declares, “Foreign aid organizations are involved in negative activities that fuel the war, that is why we stopped them from entering South Kordofan State.” Haroun goes on to note “the improvement of humanitarian situation [in South Kordofan],” adding that “there is no need for aid and relief from such organizations . ”

**September 13, 2011:** Heavy bombing attacks are reported in several locations in the Nuba Mountains.

**September 15, 2011:** The Khartoum regime orders newspapers not report on rebel groups in the country.<sup>58</sup>

**September 16, 2011:** Sudan’s justice minister tells the UN Human Rights Council that the Khartoum regime is the victim not the perpetrator of human rights abuses violations.<sup>59</sup>

**September 22, 2011:** Heavy fighting is reported in various locations in South Kordofan.

**September 23, 2011:** The UN’s World Food Program again requests humanitarian access to South Kordofan and Blue Nile.<sup>60</sup> Khartoum again ignores the request, and access remains denied **as of May 2012**.

**September 25, 2011:** The SPLM-North claims that aerial bombardment carried out

by the SAF in Blue Nile has displaced half of the population in the state. “According to the humanitarian relief secretary of the SPLM-N, Hashim Orta, the air forces of the ‘ruling National Congress Party’ were conducting more than six airstrikes on daily basis in the Blue Nile. Orta said that half of the state’s population had fled due to aerial bombardments.”<sup>61</sup> The population of Blue Nile is estimated to be 1.2 million people.

**September 27, 2011:** The UN High Commission for Refugees reports (from As-sosa, Ethiopia) that “a fresh wave of air strikes since [**September 21**] has sent increasing numbers of refugees fleeing into Ethiopia, with some 1,500 pouring through the Kurmuk border crossing on [**September 23**] alone.

**September 27, 2011:** UN agencies warn that “that newly independent South Sudan will face chronic food shortages next year due to internal and border insecurity, erratic rains and a huge influx of returnees from the North. The UN Food and Agricultural Organization said a Rapid Crop Assessment carried out in **August** showed South Sudan was likely to produce 420,000—500,000 MT of food **this year**—half the required amount.”<sup>62</sup>

Replacing this amount of required food is made exceptionally difficult by logistical challenges and security risks, especially those posed by Khartoum-backed renegade militia forces. The militia forces have been repeatedly and authoritatively reported as laying vehicle-destroying mines.

**September 29, 2011:** Khartoum’s foreign minister Ali Karti declares that humanitarian access to South Kordofan and Blue Nile will be granted only when the SPLA-North stops fighting—in other words, surrenders unconditionally to the aggressor in all three border conflicts: Abyei, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile. This is to demand the inconceivable, but provides the best excuse Khartoum can muster for the continued denial of humanitarian aid to many hundreds of thousands of innocent civilian victims of the conflicts.<sup>63</sup>

**September 29, 2011:** The same day that Ali Karti lays down conditions for humanitarian access, President al-Bashir vows not to negotiate with the SPLA/M-North. In a speech in eastern Sudan, al-Bashir declares, “The rebellion will be put down and the country’s outlaws defeated *Sudan will not repeat the experience of being obliged to negotiate and sign protocols under UN supervision.*”<sup>64</sup>

**September 30, 2011:** In a rare moment of honesty, Ali Karti declares that the northern Sudanese economy faces collapse and desperately needs international help, particularly with its crushing burden of external debt. With truly extraordinary presumption, Ali Karti declares that the “the world could not simply stand back and watch the economy collapse, describing the economy’s woes as ‘really serious.’

Karti's grim economic warning marks a departure from his peers in the government who sought to downplay the magnitude of Sudan's troubled finances."<sup>65</sup>

**October 2011:** In a **November 2011** "Issue Brief" the Small Arms Survey reaches a number of important conclusions about renegade rebel groups in South Sudan as of **October 2011**: "There is strong circumstantial evidence that the forces of Peter Gadet and George Athor have received logistical and materiel support, including small arms and ammunition, from Khartoum and other external sources."

**October 1, 2011:** Al-Bashir rejects foreign mediation in talks related to conflict in South Kordofan and Blue Nile.<sup>66</sup>

**October 3, 2011:** AFP reports that Khartoum's "inaction will lead to famine in eastern Sudan in the coming days because of water shortages, poor crops and spiraling food prices."

**October 5, 2011:** Khartoum's SAF bombs the town of Jau in Unity State, killing three people and wounding 14, according to the Unity State deputy governor.

**October 6, 2011:** The new head of UN peacekeeping, Hervé Ladsous, calls on "Sudan and South Sudan to comply with redeployment agreements and to immediately withdraw their forces from the disputed and oil-rich Abyei region," and declares that he has not received reports of "any significant progress on the withdrawal of armed forces from the area." In fact, this is a deeply disingenuous statement: as Ladsous himself acknowledges, the SPLA is south of the River Kiir, in South Sudan; it is the SAF and its militia forces that remain in Abyei, in violation of multiple agreements negotiated in the past. This refusal to speak honestly about the positions of the two parties is yet again disingenuousness masquerading as even-handedness.

**October 7, 2011:** The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) declares that "Blue Nile and South Kordofan are two of Sudan's main sorghum-producing areas. The latest fighting coupled with erratic rainfall means **next month's** harvest is *expected to generally fail*."<sup>67</sup> The primary reason for this devastating failure is the violence that has so disrupted agricultural life in these regions: few farmers can harvest their lands. In the Nuba Mountains the problem is compounded by earlier relentless aerial bombardment turning the **spring/early summer** planting season. Despite the massive and conspicuous food shortage, Khartoum continues to deny all humanitarian access to Blue Nile and virtually all access to South Kordofan.

**October 12, 2011:** "The [Satellite Sentinel Project \(SSP\)](#) has corroborated multiple eyewitness accounts and United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) reports alleging that the Government of Sudan's Central Reserve Police [also known as "*Abu Tira*"] unit engaged in the unlawful abduction, detention, and extrajudicial killing of civilians in Kadugli, South Kordofan, Sudan."

**October 13, 2011:** Reuters reports from Khartoum that al-Bashir has promised: “Sudan will go ahead with plans to adopt an entirely Islamic constitution and strengthen Islamic law . His comments will add to uncertainty for more than a million southerners who still live in the north and are now treated legally as foreigners. Khartoum has given them until spring to leave or obtain the legal right to stay, a complicated process. ‘Ninety eight percent of the people are Muslims and the new constitution will reflect this. The official religion will be Islam and Islamic law the main source (of the constitution).’”

**October 13, 2011:** Compass News Direct reports: “Local authorities have threatened to demolish three church buildings in Omdurman as part of a long-standing bid to rid Sudan of Christianity.”

**October 13, 2011:** Al-Bashir declares that, “‘there will be no negotiating with the SPLM-North because it was the one that started the war...There are no more negotiations or protocols, this is our position.’” (*Sudan Tribune*)

Here it may be useful to recall the statement of U.S. special envoy Lyman in **September**: the “U.S. can only facilitate negotiations” between Khartoum and the SPLM-North. It is surely difficult to “facilitate” negotiations if one party bluntly and unambiguously refuses to negotiate.

**October 14, 2011:** Khartoum declares that its army will not pull out of Abyei until the **September 8** agreement is fulfilled by the SPLA/M (South Sudan). There is no substantial evidence that the SPLM/A is in violation of the September 8 agreement, while Khartoum’s military presence in Abyei is a flagrant violation of the agreement.

**October 10 – 17, 2011:** Various news organizations with a Kurmuk dateline report in depth on the brutal consequences of Khartoum’s relentless aerial attacks on civilians in Blue Nile.<sup>68</sup>

**October 21, 2011:** Voice of America reports: “Ryan Boyette, an aid worker who has been based in Southern Kordofan for nine years, is predicting a large scale food crisis. He blames Khartoum’s blockade on humanitarian access into rebel areas by Khartoum. ‘The amount of food is extremely low...They are picking grass and leaves from certain trees that they can eat. But now the rainy season is over, so it’s going to become a very drastic problem very soon,’ he said.”

These warnings have been issued for over three months at this point, and humanitarian access is still denied by Khartoum.

**October 24, 2011:** Khartoum effectively condemns “more than 300 Eritreans asylum seekers to ‘certain detention and abuse’ by deporting them to one of the ‘most brutal countries in the world,’” Human Right Watch declares. “Sudan is forcibly

returning men, women, and children to certain detention and abuse in one of the world's most brutal places, said Gerry Simpson, senior refugee researcher at Human Rights Watch.”<sup>69</sup>

Khartoum has every interest in securing favor from the brutal Eritrean regime, not least because a successful rebellion in eastern Sudan is unlikely as long as Eritrea remains an ally of Khartoum.

**October 26, 2011:** Ibrahim Ghandour, secretary for political affairs of the NIF/NCP regime, said his party “has documentary evidence that proves that the oil-rich but disputed Abyei region is part of the north.”<sup>70</sup> This evidence is, of course, never produced, but such a claim is yet another signal that Khartoum has no intention of ever leaving Abyei.

**October 30, 2011:** Khartoum rejects an SPLM offer to negotiate a swap of Abyei for concessions by the SPLM on oil revenue-sharing. Khartoum responds through its spokesman Ibrahim Ghandour: “We will not compromise on Abyei and we will not allow the existence of two armies in our country,” apparently fixing Abyei yet again as permanently in north Sudan.<sup>71</sup>

**November 1, 2011:** The U.S. renews economic sanctions against Khartoum. By contrast, major EU countries have refused to do so, and continue major commercial investments in Sudan, untroubled by the fact that these investments directly benefit the regime. Japan, Brazil, India and other consequential economic powers also refuse to consider sanctions.

**November 1, 2011:** The ENOUGH Project (U.S.) reports on the basis of on-the-ground interviews that SAF “soldiers chased down civilians in the town of Um Darfa (Blue Nile) and in the words of one refugee, ‘slaughtered’ them. Another refugee said pro-government militias captured and raped some women in the town. The refugees said they believed they were targeted because of their black skin.” This is a description of genocide.

**November 2, 2011:** The Khartoum regime rejects a new U.S. proposal on South Kordofan. *Sudan Tribune* reports: “Washington proposed dividing South Kordofan which would result in creation of a new state of West Kordofan which ceased to exist following the **2005** Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Haroun would then be installed as governor of West Kordofan while [Abdel Aziz] al-Hilu would be made the governor of South Kordofan until elections there can be held again.” Khartoum refuses to accept any negotiation that gives renewed political standing to al-Hilu.

**November 3, 2011:** The strategic town of Kurmuk, in southern Blue Nile, falls to the SAF. Yet again, there is massive civilian displacement.

**November 4, 2011:** A confidential humanitarian report indicates that Global Acute Malnutrition rates among children under five in the Dellami area of the Nuba Mountain are in the range of 15 percent; Severe Acute Malnutrition rates are in the range of 5 percent. There are also very high rates of diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and respiratory infections.

**November 8, 2011:** The villages of Yafta and Guffa (variously spelled) in northern Upper Nile State (South Sudan) are deliberately bombed, with numerous casualties; these are in the remote Mabaan region north of Boing. A number of medical personnel are withdrawn from the nearby Doro clinic.

**November 10, 2011:** Khartoum deliberately bombs the refugee camp at Yida, northern Unity State (South Sudan). Four bombs are dropped, one of which lands immediately next to a school where 200 students had been present.

Although the Yida bombing elicits some international outcry, Khartoum is content to have its UN ambassador simply deny the attack altogether, even as the UN itself confirms the attack. The bombing attacks are significant not only because they are deliberately directed against civilians, but because they occur on the territory of South Sudan, thus violating what is now an international border—and recognized as such by the UN.

**November 11, 2011:** The Obama White House declares that “those responsible [for the Yida, Guffa, Yafta bombings] must be held accountable.” What could it possibly mean to suggest that “those responsible” are any but the military leaders of the SAF? They have the only military aircraft in the conflict. And how does the U.S. intend to hold them “accountable”? Such statements do nothing to deter Khartoum, and reveal the U.S. as powerless.

**November 11, 2011:** The [Satellite Sentinel Project](#) reports that the airbase near Kurmuk (captured on **November 3**) has been upgraded for military purposes and that helipads for military helicopters have also been constructed. This significantly increases the radius for air operations, particularly into South Sudan.

**November 12, 2011:** Amnesty International reports that more than 100 opposition activists in and around Khartoum have been arrested in recent weeks. Many of them have been subjected to torture by Khartoum’s security services.

**November 12, 2011:** Formal announcement is made of the Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF), comprising the SPLA/M-North, the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army-Abdel Wahid the SLM/A-Minni Minawi, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)—all three from Darfur—and the Beja Congress in the east (this last joins on **November 16**). The explicitly announced goal of the SRF is regime change.

**November 13, 2011:** *Sudan Tribune* reports that renegade militia elements attacked

the SPLA at Kuek (Upper Nile) on **November 10**.<sup>72</sup> In the wake of these attacks, the large and important humanitarian organization Oxfam announces that it is withdrawing. On **November 11** the renegade militia group SSLA calls on civilians, humanitarians, and UN agencies to withdraw from Renk, Maluth, and Malakal **within a week**, threatening them with military action.

**November 16, 2011:** China pledges to boost military cooperation with the Khartoum regime.

**November 16, 2011:** The UN belatedly confirms the bombing of Yida, already reported by Reuters and BBC. Khartoum responds by declaring that Yida is in northern Sudan and that there are no camps in South Sudan for refugees from South Kordofan.

**November 17, 2011:** AFP reports from Yida on conditions one week after Khartoum's military aircraft bomb the refugee camp in this remote part of Unity State:

“A week after bombs fell near the Yida refugee camp in South Sudan, shortages of supplies are taking their toll on the more than 20,000 people sheltering there. There is growing hunger and illness after many aid agencies pulled out because of fears of more attacks blamed on neighbor Sudan. At Yida's only clinic, local staff are working, around the clock, to try to treat the growing number of refugees needing medical attention. The staff's international colleagues have not returned since the **November 10** bombing.”

**November 18, 2011:** The UN High Commission for Refugees reports that some 1,200 people are arriving daily in Upper Nile from Blue Nile.

**November 18, 2011:** The UN High Commission for Refugees also reports that landmines—laid by renegade militia groups, particularly the SSLA—are thwarting efforts to relocate refugees flooding into South Sudan to escape fighting in South Kordofan and Blue Nile. IRIN also reports (**November 24**) on mining activities. The dangers posed to civilians and humanitarian personnel and vehicles by mines are a constant in reports on conditions in South Sudan. These weapons are viciously indiscriminate.

**November 21, 2011:** The U.S warns South Sudan not to provide support to the SPLM/A-North, without offering a shred of evidence that such support is being provided in any significant quantities. This seems a peculiar U.S. priority, given the overwhelming evidence that Khartoum is supporting the SSLA, George Athor's militia, and other renegade militia groups operating in the South.

**November 23, 2011:** In a bid to resolve the bitter dispute over oil revenue-sharing, the IMF and African Union agree on a figure of \$5.4 billion as appropriate compen-

sation of Khartoum by the South. Khartoum proposes a preposterous \$15 billion—a figure that is not serious and meant only to produce deadlock in the negotiations.<sup>73</sup>

**November 25, 2011:** John Ashworth, a highly informed and experienced Sudan analyst and advisor, conveys reports that Antonov military aircraft have repeatedly flown over Malakal, the most important town in Upper Nile State, South Sudan. This is an extremely provocative military action, and much more deserving of international attention than putative assistance from Juba to the northern rebel organizations.

**November 28, 2011:** Fighting is reported at the Um Dolwich agricultural project in Renk County, Upper Nile. *Sudan Tribune*, citing southern foreign affairs minister Nhial Deng, declares that four SPLA soldiers were killed in the SAF attack.<sup>74</sup>

**December 2011:** Amnesty International releases the [most comprehensive assessment of the assault on Abyei](#) provided by any reporting organization. Among other findings, the group discovered “Abyei town and surrounding villages literally razed to the ground...[and compounds] of international humanitarian organizations...similarly looted and vandalized.”

“More than six months after the **May 2011** clashes, the displaced Abyei residents are still living in dire conditions in hastily set-up camps or crowding in with relatives in host communities who have little or nothing to share. They are dependent on international humanitarian organizations for shelter, food, water and health care.”

As will become increasingly clear in the days and weeks ahead, Khartoum has no intention of allowing the Dinka Ngok to return to their homes and lands.

**December 1, 2011:** Citing a report from the SPA/M in Blue Nile, Radio Dabanga reports that 43,000 civilians fleeing from Blue Nile have been halted near the border by a severe lack of food, medicine and continuing aerial bombardment.

**December 2, 2011:** The ICC prosecutor’s office requests an arrest warrant for Khartoum’s defense minister, General Abdel Rahim Mohamed Hussein, on charges of atrocity crimes in Darfur.

**December 3, 2011:** Valerie Amos, the UN’s top humanitarian official, is denied entry into Sudan by the Khartoum regime. A UN spokeswoman indicates the Amos was at the international airport in Istanbul, en route to Sudan, when she was informed that “there was no appropriate official available to meet her and she should not come.”<sup>75</sup>

**December 3 – 4, 2011:** Fighting begins in Yau (also Yaw) in Unity State, some 20 kilometers from the now massive Yida refugee camp. The fighting brings forces of the SAF and SPLA into direct conflict and involves Khartoum’s use of bombers and fighter jets, as well as long-range artillery. This is the most serious military

confrontation of the year, and brings Khartoum and Juba closer than ever to resumed war (IPS in Yida). Jau sits on a contested border, but has traditionally been home to the Southern Dinka Panaruu.

**December 6, 2011:** The Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust (UK) reports Global Acute malnutrition rates of 20 – 27 % of children in Heiban (South Kordofan). The figure is approximately the same for child refugees arriving in Yida, HART reports. Highly dangerous Severe Acute Malnutrition rate is reported to be 2 – 9 percent. These figures portend very high infant and child mortality.

**December 6, 2011:** “Hundreds of residents from the region of Abu Zubd in South Kordofan went out on protests near the county building to protest against the government’s decision to confiscate the region’s main water resources to sell it to the Chinese companies operating in the area.”<sup>76</sup>

**December 7, 2011:** Two long-range Iranian missiles are reported to have struck Kauda in the Nuba Mountains.

**December 7, 2011:** [Amnesty International publishes](#) an important two-part account of bombings in the territory of South Sudan, based on reporting by Amnesty researchers on the ground near Blue Nile:

“The closest we could get to Blue Nile State was New Guffa, a village in South Sudan, near the Sudanese border. Air strikes by the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) around the village have displaced hundreds of residents. On the outskirts of New Guffa, we found the small hamlet of Yafta completely deserted.”

**December 7, 2011:** Food inflation increasingly imperils live in the border regions of Sudan. Reuters reports: “Prices have soared in South Sudan’s volatile northern border regions this year, fueled by East African drought, rebel fighting and what some analysts describe as a politically-motivated trade blockade, stinging average South Sudanese.” Khartoum’s role in this dangerous inflation is part of a year of increasingly intense economic warfare against the South.

**December 7, 2011:** The Government of South Sudan pushes for urgent demarcation of the border in the Jau area. There is no international response.

**December 8, 2011:** IRIN reports that an official working for the UN Development Program in Kassala (eastern Sudan) has said in an interview that “the east [of Sudan]” is “a volcano waiting to erupt”; the same UNDP source “predict[s] that conflict on the scale now taking place in South Kordofan and Blue Nile could erupt in Kassala State within a few months.” The same IRIN report gives a sense of why there is such acute anger and unhappiness in the east:

“According to a recent report by Japan’s International Cooperation Agency, ’91 percent of households [in Kassala state] do not have enough food, only 39 percent

have access to safe water and the maternal mortality rate has risen to 1,414 per 100,000 births compared with 500 pre-war.”

In response to such outspokenness, Khartoum declares ominously on December 18 (via the regime’s propaganda organ, *Sudan Vision*) that, “the government has threatened to take decisive measure against some humanitarian agencies operating in eastern Sudan if proved not to be committed to their humanitarian mandates.”

The French journalist who reported on the situation is subsequently expelled from Sudan by the regime.

**December 8, 2011:** Economic warfare against South Sudan escalates with a highly provocative move by Khartoum, reported by Bloomberg:

“Sudan’s parliament approved an amendment to a law to give the Finance Ministry the right to take over a percentage of South Sudan’s oil or any other company that refuses to pay transportation fees, SUNA reported. ‘We will take our share from July until now,’ [SUNA said] and citing Ahmed Ibrahim al-Taher, head of Sudan’s National Assembly. The law will apply to South Sudan and any other country that wants to ‘abuse Sudan’s infrastructure.’”

**December 9, 2011:** South Sudan minister of foreign affairs Nhial Deng, speaking of the SAF military offensive against Jau, declares that the invasion of the town has brought Khartoum and Juba to the “brink of war.”

**December 11, 2011:** The UN’s IRIN reports that 1,000 refugees a day are arriving in Upper Nile from Blue Nile.

**December 13, 2011:** Khartoum’s air force bombs Jau payam and Sheeling in Kura-jjit in Unity State (South Sudan).

Earlier reports from the Sudan Armed Survey in **October** and **November 2011** provide powerful circumstantial evidence that Khartoum is providing weapons and ammunition to renegade rebel groups in South Sudan. Analyses of weapons captured from the SSLA of Peter Gadet (**March 2011**) and George Athor (**February** and **March 2011**) show them to be factory-new and of Chinese manufacture—and consistent with one another as well as with weapons captured from the SAF in South Kordofan (**November 2011**). This extends even to sequential serial numbers in some cases, and highly distinctive weapons in other cases.

**December 13, 2011:** The UN offers its grimmest overview to date of the humanitarian crises along the North/South border, stating that “a quarter of a million people have been severely affected by the conflict in Sudan’s southern border states to which the government continues to deny the world body access.”<sup>77</sup>

The UN estimates that more than 400,000 people have been displaced within Blue

Nile and South Kordofan.<sup>78</sup> This is almost certainly a conservative figure, given the rate at which refugees are daily pouring into Ethiopia and South Sudan, as well as on the move toward international boundaries. The figure does not include the more than 100,000 who remain displaced by Khartoum's military seizure of Abyei on **May 5**.

**December 15, 2011:** In a gesture that is meaningless without cooperation from Khartoum, which is nowhere evident, the UN Security Council expands the mandate of the Interim Peacekeeping Force in Abyei.

**December 16, 2011:** Mireille Girard, UNHCR's representative in South Sudan, speaking in Yida, Unity State—where refugees continue to pour in—declares: “We expect that arrivals will continue for months and months to come.” Hundreds of children in Yida are reported to be severely malnourished. The UN World Food Program warns that “around 2.7 million people in South Sudan will require food aid from **2012** with crop failures and violence hitting Africa's newest country hard” and that “a gathering storm of hunger is approaching South Sudan” (Reuters). This is part of Khartoum's war strategy.

**December 16 – 21, 2011:** Multiple reports from news organizations and highly reliable regional sources, including John Ashworth, report widespread forced conscription of young Southern men. They are given a short training course, and then sent to the South. The BBC reports from Khartoum:

“Young South Sudanese men living in Sudan's capital, Khartoum, are being forcibly conscripted by militia groups, numerous sources have told the BBC. It is alleged they are forced to fight for rebels in South Sudan, which split from the north in July. South Sudan's information minister believes Khartoum is directing the rebel groups and the kidnappings.”

**December 17, 2011:** Reports from multiple reliable sources indicate that large numbers SAF forces and equipment are massing north of Kiir Adem, which lies south of the River Kiir in South Sudan. The SPLA is responding in kind. The river is still too high for the SAF to cross easily but will be low enough by mid-January. This potential flash-point has gone almost completely unreported, despite the immense dangers represented.

**December 18, 2011:** In response to a UN statement about Khartoum's continuing occupation of Abyei, the regime declares that it rejects “any suggestions of being occupiers of Abyei. ‘The army is present north of the **1956** borders which are the dividing borders between the north and south that were endorsed by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement,’ Sudanese foreign minister spokesperson al-Obaid Marwih said. ‘The presence of the army in Abyei region is natural thing and any other foreign forces should be described as occupation,’ he said. He stressed that Abyei

belongs to the north according to the realities of history and geography urging the UN chief to seek accuracy before making public statements.”<sup>79</sup>

**December 22, 2011:** Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières announces it is scaling up to confront a full-scale humanitarian emergency—with food shortage the primary concern—along the border regions of South Sudan.

**December 22, 2011:**The UN Security Council passes a resolution demanding that Khartoum withdraw its forces from Abyei “immediately and without preconditions, and urgently finalize the establishment of the Abyei Area Administration and the Abyei Police Service, as agreed on **20 June**.”<sup>80</sup> To date neither the UN nor the U.S. nor the Khartoum regime itself has offered any evidence that substantial numbers of SPLA forces are north of the River Kiir.

**December 22, 2011:** Continuing intensive bombing is reported from South Kordofan, particularly the areas of Silara, Karko, Senda, Kudjooria and Shifr.<sup>81</sup>

**December 22, 2011:** A diplomatic source speaking to Reuters is grimly pessimistic about negotiations over transit fees for oil from South Sudan to Port Sudan for export: “There is no breakthrough at all in sight. Both are worlds apart.” Here it should be recalled that whereas the IMF and African Union recommended a settlement amount for lost oil revenues of \$5.4 billion (from South Sudan), Khartoum asked for \$15 billion. These are not negotiations that the regime is conducting, but extortion and blackmail.

**December 28, 2011:** The British government intends to forgive more than \$1 billion in debt owed by Sudan over the next few years, according to a report by the Financial Times. The UK Department for International Development defends its debt cancellation policy: “By cancelling debts, we are freeing up money that can then be spent tackling poverty and providing essential services such as schools and hospitals to their people’ it argued.”

The money freed up by debt relief will only strengthen the grip of the regime as well as its ability to purchase advanced weapons systems and wage war on its own people.

**December 28, 2011:** SUNA reports that the senior official of the Palestinian organization Hamas, Ismail Haniya, is in Sudan on an official visit. SUNA also reports that Haniya plans to take part in a forum on the future of Jerusalem: “Haniya was greeted [on December 27] at an airport in Khartoum by Ibrahim Ahmed Umar, an advisor to President Omar al-Bashir.” Hamas remains listed as a terrorist organization by the U.S.

## 2012

**January 1, 2012:** The government of South Sudan accuses Khartoum of bombings in Raja County (Western Bahr el-Ghazal) that killed nearly 40 people.<sup>82</sup>

**January 4, 2012:** Khartoum’s “Social Welfare Minister,” Amira Fadhil, tells journalists that fear for the security of foreigners is the reason humanitarian access is denied to South Kordofan and Blue Nile. The rationale for denying humanitarian access will change continually in coming months.

**January 5, 2012:** Aerial attacks on civilians in South Kordofan continue relentlessly—indeed, on what is frequently described as a “daily basis.” Al Ganaya in Buram locality is attacked on January 5 by Antonov “bombers,” killing nine women and children and wounding 26 others.<sup>83</sup>

The food security coordinator for Doro, al Jamam, and Jahlak camps in Upper Nile State asserts that the number of refugees from Blue Nile State is expected to climb to 250,000 civilians—far beyond present or contemplated humanitarian capacity.<sup>84</sup>

**January 6, 2012:** Yet again, the Obama administration declares that “those responsible for crimes and crimes against humanity have to be held accountable.” But “those responsible” are overwhelmingly senior members of the NIF/NCP political and military leadership, the same leadership that Obama’s Sudan envoy Princeton Lyman declares should not be subject to regime change because they are capable of “carrying out reform via constitutional democratic measures.”

**January 13, 2012:** The Small Arms Survey (Geneva) reports that “recent statements suggest that the army will remain indefinitely [in Abyei].” SAS also reports the statement of **December 15, 2011** by SAF spokesman Colonel al-Sawarmi Khalid Sa’ad, who told reporters in Khartoum that “the army’s presence in Abyei could not be considered an occupation because Abyei lies north of the **1956** border and is thus part of Sudan.” Such a statement represents a complete abrogation of the Abyei Protocol of the CPA. There is no international response to Khalid’s highly provocative assertion.

**January 20, 2012:** South Sudan carefully begins to shut down its oil production facilities following Khartoum’s arbitrary and unilateral sequestration of more than \$800 million “in lieu of what [the regime] called unpaid fees.”<sup>85</sup>

**January 24, 2012:** UNHCR condemns Khartoum for its aerial attack on refugees in South Sudan, which injures one child and leaves 14 other refugees missing. The target is el-Foj in Upper Nile State, 10 kilometers south of the North/South border. The first of the two airstrikes targets a refugee transit site where 5,000 refugees are present. UNHCR notes a number of previous attacks on refugees in South Sudan.<sup>86</sup>

**January 25, 2012:** The [Satellite Sentinel Project](#) confirms that the SAF is attempting to create a choke point to control the main route used by civilians fleeing South Kordofan for the Yida refugee camp in Unity State. This is confirmed by *Sudan Tribune* on **February 19**.

**January 27, 2012:** Regime second vice-president Al-Haj Adam Youssef warns that SAF can “strike as far south as Juba in pursuit of hunting rebels operating in South Kordofan and Blue Nile.”<sup>87</sup>

**January 29, 2012:** Juba announces that it has completed the shutdown of its oil production facilities in response to Khartoum’s theft of oil/oil revenues and its intransigence over transit fees (the regime has proposed a fee of \$36/barrel, a preposterous demand clearly [meant to short-circuit all meaningful negotiations](#). The Southern leadership declares that it will restart oil production only if there is a negotiated agreement covering border security and Abyei.<sup>88</sup>

**January 31, 2012:** Reuters reports that Khartoum has asked the Chinese-Malaysian oil venture firm Petrodar to load 600,000 barrels of South Sudanese crude for export, but the firm refuses to be drawn into the regime’s illegal policy of sequestering Southern oil to compensate for “non-payment” of the extortionate transit fee of \$36/barrel.

**February 2, 2012:** The U.S condemns the **February 1** bombing of a Bible school built by an American Christian aid group. The condemnation follows the release of photographs by Associated Press. There have been many hundreds of confirmed bombings of civilian targets prior to this particular attack; two attacks occur **the following day**, at Buram and Kau Nyaro, with significant casualties. A great many of these attack have been recorded by human rights groups and at [www.sudanbombing.org](http://www.sudanbombing.org).<sup>89</sup>

**February 3, 2012:** Foreign Minister Ali Karti tells a senior U.S. official in Addis: “We will see if you can bring in food by force [to South Kordofan and Blue Nile], and we will not allow food to be brought to the rebels.” Karti also “threatens to use ‘security cards’ against South Sudan and [says that] it is time for Khartoum to move to ‘Plan B.’”<sup>90</sup>

Al-Bashir declares that “Khartoum [is] entitled to 74,000 barrels a day of southern oil. ‘This is our right,’ he said.”<sup>91</sup>

Cabinet member al-Amin Dafallah, in Kadugli, declares that “Abyei is a northern town.”<sup>92</sup>

**February 6, 2012:** *Al Jazeera* reports that “President Bashir said last year that if the Nuba did not accept the results of the Southern Kordofan election [ ], ‘We will force them back into the mountains and prevent them from having food, just as we did

before.” Al-Bashir is referring to the extermination campaign against the Nuba in the 1990s, during which Khartoum embargoed all food aid to the Nuba Mountains.

**February 7, 2012:** Khartoum announces that it accepts and welcomes “in principle” an agreement on international humanitarian deliveries to South Kordofan and Blue Nile. The agreement has been fashioned by the Arab League, the African Union, and the UN. The Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army-North signs the agreement two days later; three months later Khartoum is still “studying” the proposal.<sup>93</sup>

President Salva Kiir declares that “while shutting down oil wells they discovered that there were more wells than were recorded during the transition to an independent state last July.”<sup>94</sup> There are 200 more wells than previously known in Upper Nile and almost 50 more wells in Unity, according to South Sudan’s oil minister Stephen Dheiu Dau.<sup>95</sup>

**February 8, 2012:** Juba accuses the controversial oil trader Trafigura of buying oil “looted” from the South by Khartoum. In 2001 Trafigura was allegedly involved in smuggling 500,000 barrels of oil out of Saddam Hussein’s Iraq.<sup>96</sup>

The UN’s Food and Agriculture Organization and World Food Program predict that without urgent action millions of people in South Sudan will face hunger in the coming year. The number of food insecure people has jumped from 3.3 million in 2011 to 4.7 million in 2012.

President Salva Kiir warns that al-Bashir’s deployment of troops to the North/South border areas indicates an “intention to invade the South and reclaim territory by force after losing oil.” Three months later, this assessment looks increasingly plausible.

**February 9, 2012:** The Sudan People’s Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) formally signs an agreement on aid access to South Kordofan and Blue Nile. The agreement is proposed by the UN, the African Union, and the Arab League.

**February 10, 2012:** Khartoum signs a “non-aggression” Memorandum of Understanding, committing the regime to respecting Southern Sudanese territorial integrity. This does nothing to halt cross-border aerial attacks by the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF). On **February 14** South Sudan reports that Khartoum’s forces bombed and shelled the border town of Jau.<sup>97</sup> On **February 15** *Sudan Vision* reports that the SAF has “confirmed [its] commitment to the non-aggression treaty signed between Khartoum and Juba.” The same day the African Union urges Khartoum and Juba to “respect the provisions of the Memorandum of Understanding on non-aggression signed **February 10.**”<sup>98</sup>

**February 12, 2012:** Auxiliary Bishop Daniel Adwok Kur of Khartoum gives a

detailed account of how young men of “Southern” ethnicity are being forcibly recruited into Khartoum’s armed forces, now desperately short of manpower. Young Christians are reported to be fearful of attending Mass, as this identifies them as “Southern.”<sup>99</sup> On **February 15** *Christian News Today* reports that “two Catholic priests abducted at gunpoint in Rabak, Sudan last month have been released amid a wave of forcible conscriptions into rebel southern militias [fighting the SPLA].”

In an agreement between Khartoum and Juba, 500,000-700,000 “ethnic Southerners” will lose their citizenship in Sudan on **April 8, 2012**. This sets the stage for a [massive culling of the northern Sudanese populations solely on the basis on ethnicity](#).

**February 14, 2012:** The UN Security Council declares that levels of malnutrition and food insecurity in Sudan’s Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States could become a crisis unless *immediately* addressed, expressing “deep and growing alarm” at rising hunger levels. The Council calls on “Sudan and the rebels [SPLM-N] to grant immediate access.” Yet the Council seems unaware that [on February 9 the SPLM-N has signed precisely such an access agreement](#).

The International Organization for Migration declares that it will be a “logistical nightmare” to comply with the **April 8** deadline for repatriation of “Southerners” (a designation determined by Khartoum solely on the basis of ethnicity). An estimated 500,000-700,000 civilians in the North are affected. At the same time, Khartoum halts the use of barges that are critical to the transport of repatriated “Southerners” to South Sudan. The **April 8** deadline, IOM declares further, is “irresponsible, unfair, and cruel.”<sup>100</sup>

**February 15, 2012:** The UN warns that refugees from Blue Nile and South Kordofan could reach 500,000 in the coming months. Ryan Boyette, an American aid worker living in the Nuba, warns that “if there is going to be a famine, it’s going to hit very fast and very hard...I just visited a mountain that had more than a thousand IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) on it, mainly women and children. *They had absolutely nothing*. They had been there for two months. They are living in this mountain, literally under rocks, in caves. Women are giving birth just on these rocks. They are very dirty. They are sick. They don’t have any soap to wash their clothes, to wash their kids, to wash their bodies, to wash their dishes.”

**February 15, 2012:** Al-Bashir launches “a fierce attack on international humanitarian organizations, accusing those already operating in [South Kordofan and Blue Nile] of being ‘biased’ and delivering ‘slanted’ aid.”<sup>101</sup>

**February 15, 2012:** Khartoum agrees to delineate and demarcate the North/South border “during the next three months.” Three months later, not a single kilometer has been demarcated.

**February 15, 2012:** Juba accuses Khartoum of confiscating an additional 2.4 million barrels of oil, bringing the total seized to more than 6 million barrels since **December 2011**. Bloomberg News reports on **February 10** that it has obtained documents indicating that Khartoum “ordered companies to load 2.6 million barrels of South Sudanese crude for export” in January, without authority from Juba.

**February 16, 2012:** Amnesty International reports that four bombs were dropped on and around a health clinic in Kurchi, South Kordofan, damaging the clinic, which has few remaining supplies. The clinic is near Kurchi markets with was bombed on **June 26, 2011** in an attack that killed 13 civilians and injured more than 20 others—mostly women and children.

**February 17 – 18, 2012:** Advanced, long-range Chinese WeiShi rockets hit the villages of Um Serdeba and Tabanya in the Nuba Mountains. The identity of the rocket system is established by weapons experts working for Amnesty International.

**February 18, 2012:** Juba reports that SAF ground and air forces are attacking SPLA positions in the “contested” Kafia Kingi enclave in Western Bahr el-Ghazal ([Kafia Kingi is clearly south of the January 1, 1956 border](#)).<sup>102</sup> The *Juba Citizen* reported on **February 15** that the SAF had occupied the town of Balbala near Raja.

**February 19, 2012:** Foreign Minister Ali Karti again declares to Obama administration envoy Princeton Lyman that international humanitarian access will not be permitted to South Kordofan or Blue Nile in order to prevent “the creation of a Darfur-like situation.”<sup>103</sup>

**February 19:** *Sudan Tribune* reports that “Lyman has asked the government of South Sudan to agree to conduct the long delayed [self-determination] referendum in Abyei next August, when the Arab Misseriya nomads are in the area.” This is transparently a capitulation to Khartoum’s claim that the Misseriya, who spend only a few months a year in Abyei, are “residents” and eligible to vote per the terms of the Abyei Protocol. This simply extends the previous year and a half of Obama administration pressure on Juba to “compromise” yet further on Abyei.

**February 20, 2012:** Khartoum continues its crackdown on newspapers in the capital. One day before the independence of South Sudan, Khartoum had suspended six newspapers. This is the regime that Obama administration envoy Lyman is convinced is capable of “carrying out reform via constitutional democratic measures.”

**February 23, 2012:** Khartoum’s UN ambassador accuses aid workers of using UN flight to deliver arms and ammunition to the rebels (in Blue Nile and South Kordofan). The UN insists there is no evidence of such activities.

The UN is forced to halt helicopter flights to Kadugli after one of its aircraft is shot at over territory controlled by the SAF.<sup>104</sup>

**February 26, 2012:** Heavy fighting is reported around Jau, on the border between Unity State (South Sudan) and South Kordofan (Sudan). Jau is in a region that has long belonged to the Panaruu Dinka.

**February 27, 2012:** Senior NIF/NCP official Mustafa Osman Ismail declares that “all options are on the table, including the military one in a response to South Sudan’s ‘aggression.’”<sup>105</sup> In response to a crushing victory by the SPLM/A-North in the Tarogi area of South Kordofan (20 kilometers north of Jau), *Sudan Vision* quotes Mustafa as declaring that Khartoum will respond by attacking South Sudan’s SPLA, which has formally separated from the SPLA-N: “‘The Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) will no doubt respond to the attack. All political, military and security means are available for us to retaliate to the attack.’” In fact, in a press release of **February 26**, the northern rebel military alliance known as the Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF) claims responsibility, and lists in detail the equipment it has captured in the sweeping defeat of SAF forces.

**February 29, 2012:** U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton declares that “with Bashir, we have a very determined effort to try to undo the results of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.” No effort is made to square this assessment with the assessment of U.S. special envoy Princeton Lyman that al-Bashir’s regime is capable of “carrying out reform via constitutional democratic measures.”<sup>106</sup>

**March 1, 2012:** Officials in Juba report that “Sudanese fighter jets have bombed oil and water wells deep inside South Sudan, near Panakuat in Pariang County, and its ground troops have crossed into oil rich border regions.” This marks the first time in recent fighting that MiG fighter jets have been involved in cross-border raids. The attack occurs some 75 kilometers inside the sovereign territory of South Sudan and destroys two oil well-heads.

**March 3, 2012:** Al-Bashir promises to set up camps across the country for training Popular Defense Forces (PDF), the brutal paramilitary force that is responsible for so much of the violence against civilians—in the Nuba, in South Sudan, and in Darfur. The views of the PDF are bluntly expressed:

“[We have] been monitoring the movements of the forces of evil and aggression represented by American imperialism, world Zionism, and neo-colonialism that are trying to eradicate the cultures of people, plunder their wealth and conquer their will.”<sup>107</sup>

On **March 19**, senior officials of the SPLM-North confirm this PDF mobilization and claim that 45,000 paramilitary troops are involved.

**March 5, 2012:** Khartoum threatens to expel the U.S. diplomatic mission in the country because Washington “continues to propagate claims of famine in [Blue

Nile and South Kordofan]. ‘We have informed the U.S. deputy chief of mission in Sudan, Dennis Hankins, that unless they quit their propaganda of famine in the three areas, we will expel them,’ Sudan’s minister of international cooperation [said].”<sup>108</sup>

**March 6, 2012:** The UK’s Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust releases a [report](#) on Abyei, compiled by Tim Flatman in **February 2012**, revealing that more than 100,000 Dinka Ngok remain in South Sudan as refugees, unable to return to their homes and lands because of SAF and militia military presence.

**March 11, 2012:** Mukesh Kapila, the UN’s leading humanitarian official in Sudan during the early stages of the Darfur genocide, reports on his recent visit to the Nuba Mountains:

“Kapila said he had seen evidence that Sudanese troops were destroying crops in the Nuba Mountains. ‘You walk around and the ground is black. Some of that is seasonal burning in time for planting, but the vast tracts are a result of the bombing. This is to stop people from planting.’”

Asked what he saw, Kapila replied: “What did I see?” he asked. “Basically, as you drive in, you see totally deserted countryside, burnt village after burnt village after burnt village.”

“‘[Sudan] hosted the first genocide of the century in Darfur, and the second one is unfolding in Nuba.’”<sup>109</sup>

**March 14, 2012:** U.S. development officials estimate that 130,000 refugees have been driven from the border areas since June 2011, with 360,000 people internally displaced.<sup>110</sup>

**March 14, 2012:** Juba accuses Khartoum of moving its SAF troops 70 kilometers across the River Kiir into South Sudan’s Warrap State.

**March 15, 2012:** The [Satellite Sentinel Project reports](#) satellite photographic evidence that Khartoum is paving and upgrading the airstrip in Talodi to support Antonov “bombers.”

**March 16, 2012:** Luka Biong, co-chair of the Abyei Joint Oversight Committee, declares that, “a week ago I was shocked to know that there was a legal opinion by the UN defining Abyei as part of the north and subsequently all the organizations have to get their visa from the north.” This represents yet further capitulation to Khartoum’s repeated insistence that, despite the Abyei Protocol and PCA ruling, “Abyei has always been part of the north.”

**March 18, 2012:** *Al Jazeera* reports from South Kordofan:

“What is concerning is the attempts to drive a lot of the African tribes off their lands and to deprive them of resources. In [Boram], which used to be an administrative

centre of about 5,000 people, *Al Jazeera* found a ghost town. ‘A few months ago, the Sudanese army came through here and all the villagers fled into the mountainside,’ [reporter Peter] Greste reported from the town. ‘The army destroyed every building. They set fire to each home. They burned the crops, the grain stores. They destroyed the lot.’” And most ominously: “*We saw people up in the hills who are absolutely starving.*”<sup>111</sup>

**March 20, 2012:** The SPLA shoots down an Iranian drone military aircraft over Jau.

**March 21, 2012:** Reuters reports from Doro Camp (Upper Nile): “[Sila] Musa, former commissioner of Kurmuk county in Blue Nile, estimated that up to 100,000 people may be trapped in the state, unable to leave because they cannot carry the food and water they would need for a journey that can take as long as a month.”

“Aid workers and refugees in Doro camp, where some 45,000 people have fled, say food stocks in Blue Nile are likely to run out in the next couple of weeks.”

**March 21, 2012:** Large SAF troop movements north of Tishwin (Unity State) are reported by authoritative sources on the ground. Tishwin is in the area of a major SPLA military base.

**March 22, 2012:** Perhaps in response to these reports, both the U.S. and UK yet again settle on a strategy of “moral equivalence,” demanding that Juba end its support for the SPLM/A-North—without providing evidence of such support in significant quantities. They also urge both Juba and Khartoum “agree on a cessation of hostilities.” No explicit mention is made of the very substantial evidence of Khartoum’s militarily significant support to destabilizing Southern renegade militia forces that have created so much civilian insecurity. There is also a now perfunctory demand that Khartoum cease its relentless bombing of South Sudan.<sup>112</sup>

**March 27, 2012:** Khartoum bombs an area near Bentiu, the major town that is the capital of Unity State. This marks a dramatic escalation in hostilities. The day before, SAF forces attack SPLA positions in the Tishwin area for the first time. A more serious aerial attack on Bentiu will occur on **April 23** that kills and wounds a large number of civilians.

**March 30, 2012:** Speaking in an interview with Khartoum’s state-run radio on **March 30**, the “state minister of media, Sana Hamad Al-Awad, said that Khartoum is no longer pursuing a policy of diplomatic engagement with Juba but rather a policy of ‘war, securing borders, an iron fist and double retaliation.’” Such bellicose language is becoming increasingly common in Khartoum.<sup>113</sup>

**March 31, 2012:** *Al Jazeera* releases a video in which the governor of South Kordofan, indicted war criminal Ahmed Haroun, appears:

“The footage shows Sudanese troops stationed in a captured base involved in a gun battle with rebel forces. Harun is addressing his soldiers before they enter rebel territory by saying: *‘You must hand over the place clean. Swept, rubbed, crushed. Don’t bring them back alive. We have no space for them...Don’t bring them back, eat them raw,’* said Harun.”

**April 1, 2012:** Small Arms Survey reports that anti-personnel mines, captured from the SAF in the seizure of Torogi town (**February 27, 2012**) have Farsi markings, indicating manufacture in Iran. They have been packed in crates with markings from a Sudanese Military Industrial Corporation subsidiary. SAS points out that Khartoum “signed the Anti-Personnel Land Mine Convention (Ottawa treaty) in **1997**, and ratified it in **2003**, banning the use, stockpiling, production, and transfer of landmines.”

**April 2, 2012:** Reliable sources on the ground in Unity State confirm that SAF troops are attacking SPLA positions in Tishwin and Panakwach (Upper Nile). Nearby Lalob and Manga are reported as being bombed at the same time, reports later confirmed authoritatively. AFP reports that on **April 1** the SPLA has responded to the SAF offensive in the Tishwin area by driving Khartoum’s forces back to Heglig to the north.

**April 2, 2012:** Juba indicates that it is not satisfied with the incompetent and biased mediation efforts of the African Union team led by South Africa’s Thabo Mbeki. Spokesman Barnaba Marial Benjamin declares that his government is “disappointed by a report by the AU to the UN Security Council that he said portrayed South Sudan as the aggressor in hostilities between the two countries.”

**April 3, 2012:** Negotiations in Addis Ababa between Juba and Khartoum break down over Khartoum’s insistence that Juba accept its allegations of substantial support to the SPLA/M-North. Issues included an immediate cease-fire, de-escalation of media campaigns, as well as securing the borders and oil production areas.<sup>114</sup>

AFP also reports from Jamam: the Oxfam emergency coordinator in the camps describes not only the overwhelming challenges, but the fact that Jamam has become a “forgotten” emergency. But the world’s forgetting will not halt the rains, or the excruciating human suffering and death that is impending. And the bombs continue to fall in Blue Nile, “day and night” according to Sheikh El Rathi Rajab, a Blue Nile Member of Parliament.

**April 4, 2012:** Even as Khartoum is pulling out of the Addis talks before signing a prepared agreement, authoritative sources from the ground report that significant SAF military activity is occurring near the borders of Upper Nile and Western Bahr el-Ghazal States.

**April 5, 2012:** Radio Dabanga reports that “Sudanese authorities in the Wadi Salih area of West Darfur are reportedly hiring new settlers to destroy the evidence of mass graves in the area...particularly in Mukjar, Bindisi, Arwala, Deleig and Sundu. The groups were reportedly told to burn all traces of bodies and bones to destroy all evidence of extra-judicial killing by the government and its militias. Witnesses told Radio Dabanga Daif al Summah, Al Sadig Salona and Korin Kwei were hired by Ali Kushayb to oversee this operation.” Ali Kushayb is wanted by the International Criminal Court for multiple crimes against humanity in West Darfur; Wadi Saleh was scene of some of the worst mass killings, especially of Fur men and boys, during the early years of the genocide.

**April 10, 2012:** SAF troops attack SPLA positions in the Tishwin area of Unity State for a second time. The SPLA again repulses the attack, and to forestall further such offensive military actions, pushes on to Heglig, epicenter of northern oil infrastructure, encountering surprisingly ineffective military resistance. The SPLA seizes Heglig and continues to push northward for approximately 30 kilometers.

In the process of forcing the SAF from Unity, the SPLA discovers a tie-in pipeline, clearly constructed to siphon oil reserves to Heglig from the South. The 25-kilometer pipeline would have had the capacity to divert 15,000 to 20,000 barrels/day of Southern crude to the main pipelines according to Juba.<sup>115</sup>

**April 10, 2012:** In an indication of strategic planning, Khartoum heavily bombs the village of Abiemnon and other locations in Abiemnom County (Unity State), which sits on a strategic transport road used by the SPLA. A number of civilians, including a child, are injured by the repeated bombings.<sup>116</sup>

The SPLA also reports large movements of regular and militia forces southward toward Unity.<sup>117</sup>

**April 11, 2012:** With expedient haste, the U.S. State Department presumes to settle the location of Heglig vis-à-vis the **1956** North/South boundary, “strongly condemn[ing] the military, offensive incursion to Southern Kordofan State, Sudan, by the SPLA today [**April 11**].”<sup>118</sup>

**April 11, 2012:** In an important account reported only by the BBC, an oil industry worker in the Heglig area tells the BBC that “the [northern] Sudanese attacked first, but they didn’t have as many soldiers, so they were forced to flee.” Neither this nor a great many other highly authoritative reports from the ground—making clear that Khartoum did in fact initiate hostilities—figure in statements by the U.S., the EU, the UN, or the African Union.

**April 11, 2012:** Fighting quickly intensifies, but the SPLA retains control of Heglig and a substantial area northward. Emboldened by international commentary,

Khartoum withdraws from all negotiations with South Sudan.<sup>119</sup> All international pressure remains focused on Juba, including that of the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon. Ban's record in responding to military aggression by Khartoum is regrettably weak.

**April 12, 2012:** Radio Dabanga reports on a series of rape crimes against female camp residents in North, South, and West Darfur. Residents from camp Armankul in West Darfur go to the police, who refuse to file the crimes.

**April 12, 2012:** The claim of "self-defense" by the SPLA is peremptorily dismissed by the U.S. State Department, which still presumptuously and erroneously places Heglig/Panthou definitively in northern Sudan.

**April 12, 2012:** Ibrahim Gambari declares that in Darfur the "security and humanitarian situation have improved."<sup>120</sup>

**April 13, 2012:** Juba pleads with the UN to "deploy to all contested areas and then the parties need to [go to] international arbitration, and a demilitarized buffer zone should be set up." No such effort is initiated anywhere at the UN.<sup>121</sup>

**April 12 – 15, 2012:** Bentiu, the capital of Unity State, is repeatedly bombed by Khartoum's military aircraft, with numerous casualties. This continues a major escalation in the conflict, given the size and population of Bentiu. Among the recovered ordnance and debris, Small Arms Survey finds a "Chinese-made 80-mm rocket fired by a jet." This highlights the difficult position Beijing finds itself in as it attempts to negotiate relationships with both Juba and Khartoum.<sup>122</sup>

**April 18, 2012:** Following the lead of Norway, the International Crisis group declares that, "the UN Security Council must reassert itself to preserve international peace and security. It should mobilise all possible leverage to bring the parties back to negotiations and agreement on the Joint Border Verification and Monitoring Mechanism (JBVMM), as well as encourage implementation of the border monitoring tasks outlined for the UN Interim Security Force in Abyei (UNISFA) in Resolution 2024 (2011), particularly near Heglig and Jau."

More than two weeks later there has been no discernible progress toward taking up these urgent tasks.

**April 19, 2012:** Reuters reports from Khartoum that al-Bashir has vowed to "teach South Sudan a final lesson by force" in the wake of the SPLA seizure of Heglig, a military defeat that the regime is unable to explain to public or political satisfaction. The racism that is always just below the surface in comments on Southerners by senior members of the NIF/NCP regime emerges fully in al-Bashir's remarks, which grimly recall the Rwandan genocide and references to Tutsis as "cockroaches":

"[Al-Bashir] vowed to 'liberate' South Sudan from its ruling party, which he repeat-

edly referred to as ‘insects,’ in a play on its Arabic name...‘*Our main target from today is to eliminate this insect completely.*’”<sup>123</sup>

**April 20, 2012:** The SPLA withdraws from Heglig under heavy international pressure and growing SAF military pressure. Having announced its intention to withdraw, the SPLA is bombed by Khartoum’s forces during this withdrawal. Following the SPLA withdrawal, Khartoum has relentlessly shelled and bombed the Tishwin area where the SPLA are based.

**April 21, 2012:** A Muslim mob in Khartoum, whipped to a frenzy by a radical Islamic cleric, sets ablaze a church in the Al-Jiraif district of Khartoum. Most of those who attend services at the church are “Southerners.” Fear of racial and ethnic assaults is dramatically increasing in Khartoum and its environs.<sup>124</sup>

**April 23, 2012:** Bentiu, the capital of Unity State, is again bombed. A market is hit, setting stalls ablaze and killing one child, according to the Reuters journalist present during the attack.

**April 24, 2012:** Two national NGOs in South Darfur, the Sudan Council of Churches (SCC) and Sudan Aid, are ordered to close their offices. Both NGOs are “implementing partners of the international NGO Norwegian Church Aid (NCA).”<sup>125</sup>

**April 26, 2012:** Bloomberg News reports that two members of the UN peacekeeping operation in South Sudan are being held in northern Sudan, two months after they were abducted from Gok Machar in Northern Bahr el-Ghazal State. The story has been very under-reported, in part because the UN does not want to explain how this intolerable state of affairs, obviously countenanced by Khartoum, continues

**April 26, 2012:** Oxfam reports that in Jamam refugee camp in Upper Nile, “tens of thousands of Sudanese refugees [from Blue Nile] face desperate, life-threatening water shortages and a growing threat of fatal disease.” The camp is already stretched far beyond its limits, yet confronts the prospect of a massive influx of new refugees from Khartoum’s military campaign against civilians in Blue Nile.

**April 27, 2012:** Yasir Arman, secretary-general of the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army-North, declares that “the government of Sudan is holding more than half a million people hostage in Sudan’s Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States.” These people lack food, medicine, and shelter, Arman asserts. In the absence of international humanitarian access and assessment, and given previous UN figures, there is no reason to doubt the relative accuracy of Arman’s estimate.

Khartoum’s propaganda organs report that the regime “has agreed to form a joint mechanism to manage coordination between UN agencies and the Sudanese Humanitarian Aid Commission [HAC].” Those who have followed the actions of HAC in Darfur will recognize this as an immensely powerful stalling mechanism.<sup>126</sup>

**April 27, 2012:** There are reports of a renegade militia force attack on Malakal, the major town in Upper Nile. More generally, there are numerous ominous reports of a military build-up by the SAF in White Nile State near the border with Upper Nile. The SPLA believes that yet another major offensive is imminent; this could put refugees and civilians in Upper Nile at acute risk just as the rainy season makes humanitarian relief most difficult. Renegade militia forces supported by Khartoum, especially that of “Commander” Olonyi, are reported to have been particularly active in recent weeks, and that Khartoum has been unusually active in providing weapons and other equipment. This development is almost completely unreported, despite its immense consequence. Upper Nile is the border state that shares with Unity State virtually all the South’s oil reserves.

**April 28, 2012:** The UN confirms at least 50 casualties from Khartoum’s bombing attacks on the South.<sup>127</sup> The governor of Unity State estimates that 80 civilians have been killed in air raids since the beginning of March 2012.

**April 28, 2012:** Khartoum seizes four international experts working on mine removal for the UN in Pariang County, South Sudan. The regime accuses them of being involved in military activities. A week later they are still being held in Khartoum, despite pleas from the UN for their release. Khartoum’s is an act of contempt toward the international community, and would—if it occurred in South Sudan—produce an entirely different reaction from the UN.

**April 29, 2012:** A group of journalists in Panakuach witness an attack by Khartoum’s SAF on SPLA positions in the town.

**April 29, 2012:** The International Organization for Migration reports 3,400 newly displaced people in Zam Zam IDP camp, North Darfur. “These newly displaced people fled their homes because of inter-tribal fighting between Zaghawa and Birgid tribesmen in Alauna village...that started on **22 February**.”<sup>128</sup>

**April 30 – May 1, 2012:** Reuters reports claims by Juba that Khartoum’s warplanes have repeatedly attacked the oil regions of Unity State.

**May 2, 2012:** The UN Security Council passes Resolution 2046, which demands written commitments within 48 hours from Juba and Khartoum that the SAF and SPLA will observe a cease-fire. The Resolution also supports African Union mediation and its “roadmap” for peace.

**May 3, 2012:** AFP reports: “Sudanese warplanes and long-range artillery bombarded South Sudan border regions Thursday [**May 3**], defying a UN Security Council ultimatum to end hostilities or face possible sanctions, the South’s army said. ‘Their aircraft dropped bombs and artillery was fired targeting an SPLA (Southern army) base this is an indication of preparation for a ground attack,’ said

Southern army spokesman Philip Aguer.” The governor of Unity State, Taban Deng, reports that shelling of the Tishwin area continues on **May 5**—a full day after the 48-hour deadline for the cease-fire to come into effect.<sup>129</sup>

**May 3, 2012:** The brutal treatment of “Southerners” in the north is exemplified by the callous deadline imposed by the governor of White Nile for those seeking to return to the South. Refugees International “condemns Sudan’s decision to force thousands of southerners to leave White Nile state, and [is] calling on Khartoum to extend Saturday’s departure deadline immediately. The state’s governor has declared that 12,000 southerners who have spent months at a way station in Kosti waiting for transport to South Sudan must leave the state by **May 5th.**”

“‘Because of Sudan’s intransigence, these people are not getting enough food, and they are going without shelter and basic health care,’ [Refugees International Statelessness Program Manager Sarnata] Reynolds added.”

**May 1 – 4, 2012:** Encouraged by the international response to military events at Heglig, Khartoum now consistently accuses Juba of military “aggression” and “occupation” of northern territory. In fact, just the opposite is the case, as in Kafia Kingi, Abyei, and other border locations.<sup>130</sup> In addition to reports from Unity and Upper Nile States, there have now been a great many reports of military aggression by the SAF in Warrap, Western Bahr el-Ghazal, and Northern Bahr el-Ghazal States. In short, military flash-points exist along the entire North/South border. The urgent need for border delineation, demarcation, and neutral patrolling has never been greater or more conspicuous.

**May 4, 2012:** [Human Rights Watch issues a report](#) on “Crisis Conditions in Southern Kordofan: Nuba Civilians Suffer Indiscriminate Bombing, Severe Hunger.” Among its findings are egregious violations of binding international human rights and humanitarian law:

“Sudanese government forces are conducting indiscriminate bombings and abuses against civilians in the Nuba Mountains area of Southern Kordofan...Such attacks may amount to war crimes and crimes against humanity, and are creating a humanitarian crisis, exacerbated by the government’s denial of access to humanitarian agencies outside government-controlled towns.” The report also records “almost-daily aerial bombardment by government forces, the destruction of grain and water sources that are critical to their survival, arbitrary detentions, and sexual violence against women.”

**May 5, 2012:** “[Khartoum] maintains that South Sudanese ‘aggression’ continues in the form of direct occupation of other disputed areas along the border, and by support for rebel groups inside Sudan. In its letter to the UN and the African Union, Sudan again repeated an allegation that South Sudanese troops occupy three

points along the Darfur border.”<sup>131</sup> The most conspicuous of these “three points” is Kafia Kingi, an enclave clearly within South Sudan. Yet Khartoum claims that Southern presence amounts to an “occupation.” This illustrates how security issues are actually being defined by Khartoum.

**May 6, 2012:** OCHA reports on the arrest of three relief workers who belong to organizations affiliated with Norwegian Church Aid. All South Sudanese relief workers are being expelled from Darfur by Khartoum.

**May 6, 2012:** OCHA also reports that 5,000 people have been displaced by aerial bombardment of villages in the border region between South Darfur and South Sudan. A UNAMID patrol tries to investigate the bombing, an egregious violation of both international law and UN Security Council Resolution 1591 (**March 2005**); they are, however, stopped at a military check-point, where they are told by Khartoum’s military forces they could not proceed because of “insecurity.”

**May 9, 2012:** NCP leadership council chaired by al-Bashir announces that it “does not agree to elements of a recent United Nations Security Council resolution regarding negotiations with the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N).”<sup>132</sup>

**May 10, 2012:** Khartoum refuses to comply with a UN resolution order to Sudan and South Sudan to pull troops back from their disputed border “until there [is] a border agreement.”<sup>133</sup> Al-Bashir tells Reuters that “the clauses we want to implement, we will implement...Neither the Security Council, nor the [AU] Peace and Security Council, nor the whole world will make us implement [them].”<sup>134</sup>

**May 10, 2012:** Deng Alor, Minister of Cabinet Affairs for the Republic of South Sudan says that his government is still waiting for “Thabo Mbeki, the head of a high-level AU panel tasked with resolving the disputes between Khartoum and Juba, to formally call the two sides to resume talks on a specific date.” Talks are to deal with the “the thorny issues of oil exports, security, border demarcation and citizenship that have remained unresolved” since South Sudan became an independent nation.<sup>135</sup>

**May 10, 2012:** Government forces burn down Numeira village, east of Jebel Marra.<sup>136</sup>

**May 11, 2012:** Fighting breaks out between government forces and opposition groups in Tabet, North Darfur.<sup>137</sup>

**May 11, 2012:** UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay says of Khartoum’s atrocity crimes only that “deliberate or reckless attacks on civilian areas can, depending on the circumstances, amount to an international crime,” echoing the excessive caution and politically motivated skepticism that resulted in Pillay’s

[deliberate evisceration of the UN human rights report](#) on atrocity crimes committed by Khartoum's forces in Kadugli, South Kordofan (**June 2011**).<sup>138</sup>

**May 9 – 13, 2012:** Reports on the famine in Kassab and Kalma camps and the growing food crisis and disastrous consequences of the withdrawal of food rations in El Genina camps. Deliveries of food, especially to West Darfur, have been made intolerably dangerous: many drivers refuse to make the trips necessary to move the food where it is needed. This insecurity is openly countenanced, even encouraged by the Khartoum regime as a way of creating leverage in its dealings with the UN and broader international community.

**May 13, 2012:** Fighting between rebel forces and Khartoum's Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and militia allies in Gereida town. One civilian is killed and thirteen wounded. Gereida has the largest IDP camp in South Darfur (130,000 civilians).<sup>139</sup>

**May 13, 2012:** OCHA reports fighting between the SAF and rebel forces of Minni Minawi in North Darfur. Minawi was the only rebel signatory to the failed Darfur Peace Agreement (Abuja, **May 2006**). Violence between Minawi's forces and Khartoum's regular and militia forces has been constant since late 2010. Because Minawi is of the non-Arab Zaghawa tribe, Khartoum has targeted the Zaghawa in brutal fashion—again, so brutal that [former members of the UN Panel of Experts on Darfur has characterized the violence as “ethnic cleansing.”](#)

**May 15, 2012:** “Pro-government militia looted cars traveling from Tawila to el-Fasher, taking money, mobile phones and food from passengers...Displaced people in Tawila camps have also reportedly been suffering random attacks from Abu Tira (central reserve forces)...[who] have been violently attacking and stealing from displaced people, particularly at night time.”<sup>140</sup>

**May 15, 2012:** The SAF increases the number of Antonov planes taking off hourly from el-Fasher airport in North Darfur.<sup>141</sup>

**May 15, 2012:** Ongoing aerial bombardment by the SAF in Numeira, Kouto, Dali, Crowla and Masalit areas of Tawila.

**May 18, 2012:** Abdul Al Jabar Ab Bakr Adam, a camp leader in Hamidiya camp in Zalingei, is shot and killed in the market. “Witnesses accused security agencies of carrying out the attack, saying that youth leaders and elders of Zalingei camps have previously been threatened through leaflets distributed to the camps.”<sup>142</sup>

**May 18, 2012:** “Hundreds of displaced people have fled back to Neem camp in East Darfur [formerly part of South Darfur] after new settlers on their original lands attacked them, when they returned with state authorities as part of the programme of voluntary return. Witnesses said on Wednesday the old Neem camp residents were taken with authorities including the state governor to resettle on the land they were

originally displaced from. On arrival they said militants started shooting heavily into the air and threatening to kill the returnees if they did not leave the area, even though senior government officials were present.”<sup>143</sup>

**May 20, 2012:** Christopher Cycmanick, the spokesman for the UN/African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), tells Radio Dabanga that the security situation in Darfur is “relatively calm”—a statement at complete odds with events reported over the past few months. He echoes the view expressed on **April 12, 2012** by UNAMID head Ibrahim Gambari that the “security and humanitarian situations [in Darfur] have improved.”

**May 22, 2012:** “The World Food Programme says that 30 percent of the population of Darfur is threatened with food insecurity and in need of urgent aid. The Programme conducted surveys in Darfur finding around 30 percent to be in need of urgent assistance, said WFP Field Coordinator Adham Mesallami to Radio Dabanga.”<sup>144</sup>

**May 22, 2012:** Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) announces that Khartoum’s obstruction of their work is so great that they are suspending all operations in key areas of North Darfur:

“MSF said hurdles to procedures like getting permits and shipping in medical supplies forced it to suspend most of its medical activities in the Jebel Si area, a conflict area in North Darfur state, where it is the only healthcare provider. ‘With the reduction of our activities in Jebel Si, more than 100,000 people in the region are left entirely without healthcare,’ Alberto Cristina, MSF’s operational manager for Sudan, said in the statement.”<sup>145</sup>

**May 23, 2012:** Antonov bombers are spotted flying over Juba.

**May 27, 2012:** A national NGO vehicle is carjacked in el-Geneina, West Darfur. Two people are shot and killed; another is injured. There have been seven carjacking incidents in West Darfur since **January 2012**, resulting in the deaths of six people.<sup>146</sup>

**May 27, 2012:** “The coordinator of internally displaced person camps in North Darfur, Ahmed Atim said the situation of civilians in Jebel Marra is becoming desperate. He said civilians are stranded with no access from humanitarian organisations including the World Food Programme (WFP)...[and that] they are in need of urgent humanitarian intervention.”

“Atim also called for the WFP to review the distribution of cards and registration process, which he said has missed thousands of names of displaced people still living at Abu Shouk and Zam Zam camps without urgently needed access to food. He said among those missing from the list are newborns and children born since the last

census carried out in **2004**. He said the WFP refuses to register these children saying they do not have birth certificates. With the situation in Darfur, many families have not been able to obtain birth certificates for their children, continued Atim. He demanded that the Programme immediately correct this problem and provide food to those who need it without conditions.”<sup>147</sup>

**May 28, 2012:** “Residents of Abu Suruj camp for internally displaced people said they have not received food aid for more than six months...They said the disruption of the planting season has also contributed creating a situation nearing famine, reminiscent of the Darfur famine of **1983**. They call for the WFP coordinator to visit the areas to witness it for themselves.”<sup>148</sup>

**May 30, 2012:** “Reduced fuel shares exacerbate water shortages in Zam Zam IDP camp. An activist from Zam Zam told Radio Dabanga that the camp residents are facing a water crisis as the authorities have reduced the fuel quota for water stations manned by UNICEF and at other privately owned stations.”<sup>149</sup>

**June 3, 2012:** Fighting is reported in an army camp in Wad Ganja in northeastern Darfur between the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and Khartoum. Both sides suffer heavy losses.

**June 4, 2012:** A village near Dali is burned down by militias, forcing residents to flee towards Kebkabiya after gunmen traveling on camels, horses and in cars open fire, killing one resident and wounding several others.<sup>150</sup>

**June 5, 2012:** “Darfuri refugees in eastern Chad [denounce] the statements of Ibrahim Gambari, the head of the UN/African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) saying he witnessed groups of refugees returning from Chad to Darfur. A refugee for eastern Chad...said that when the government and UNAMID refer to the return of refugees, they are actually talking about the new settlers, who have arrived from countries such as Niger and Mali, along with Chadian war refugees in Sudan, who have resettled in displaced Darfuri residents’ land. He said the reasons they had to flee their lands remain the same, as their villages are still insecure and patrolled by pro government militias. He called on Gambari to tell the truth and not lie about the security situation in Darfur.”<sup>151</sup>

**June 8, 2012:** “Sheikh Said Bakr, leader of Neem camp in East Darfur [says that] there are around one million people in the camp that have not received any food rations for a full year...He said they had told the World Food Programme and the Humanitarian Aid Commission but neither have moved to take any action...The Sheikh also said a water crisis is increasing the suffering of camp residents, along with a deterioration in health services after the government suspended Sudan Aid, a body running the health centres across Neem camp.”<sup>152</sup>

**June 12, 2012:** The Special Prosecutor of Darfur Crimes, Ahmed Abdel-Motalib, resigns “less than six months since he was appointed to investigate crimes in the western region. He was appointed to his position on **10 January** with the mandate to investigate war crimes and crimes against humanity allegedly committed in Darfur since the outbreak of the most recent conflict there in **2003**. This is the second Darfur prosecutor to resign since the former prosecutor Abdel Daim Zumrawi quit in **April 2011** citing ‘personal reasons.’ The first Darfur prosecutor, Nimir Ibrahim Mohamed, was sacked by the justice minister in **October 2010** after he attempted to investigate former minister and current governor of South Kordofan State, Ahmad Haroun, who is named by the International Criminal Court (ICC) as a suspect in Darfur crimes.”<sup>153</sup>

**June 13, 2012:** South Darfur deputy governor Abdel Karim Moussa tells a UN team visiting South Darfur that UNAMID should inform the Sudanese authorities before moving “in order to protect its members.” The head of the UNAMID delegation, Tony Prena, responds that “the hybrid mission is dispensed from such requirement and has complete freedom of movement in Darfur as per its mandate which is voted under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Sudan complains that the soldiers of the largest peacekeeping operation and its convoys become the main source of supplies and weapons for the rebel groups who used to stop them without any resistance.”<sup>154</sup>

**June 14, 2012:** Khartoum prevents the UN expert on human rights in Sudan, Mas-hood Adebayo Baderin, from visiting Darfur by failing to grant him a travel permit. At a press briefing in the Sudanese capital, Baderin expresses concerns about press freedom in Sudan, and also says that “in spite of the assurances from the government that the human rights situation in Darfur is relatively improved, I have received contrary representations from other stakeholders.”<sup>155</sup>

**Week of June 21, 2012:** Daily protests and demonstrations—growing in size and intensity—in and around Khartoum. The protests are motivated in part by the scale and acceleration of the inflation rate in Sudan, which skyrockets as the economy implodes for lack of oil revenues and foreign exchange reserves, mismanagement of the agricultural sector, unsupportable military and security budgets, gross self-enrichment by regime members and its cronies, and an unsupportable external debt of almost \$40 billion.

**June 22, 2012:** Khartoum’s negotiators in Doha turn away delegates of the Heidelberg Committee—Darfur academics, activists, and civil society representatives convened in 2008 by the Max Planck Institute (Heidelberg, Germany) and the Peace Institute of Khartoum University. The delegates’ proposals were essential to any just peace for Darfur.

**June 22, 2012:** Amnesty International’s Deputy Director for Africa, Paule Rigaud,

declares that “the Sudanese government is showing zero tolerance for demonstrations and continues to deny the Sudanese people its right to peaceful assembly.”

**June 24, 2012:** *Sudan Tribune* reports that a plan has been accepted to “reduce the number of uniformed personal of the largest peacekeeping mission in the world within 18 month. There are now 17,364 troops, and 591 military observers and, 5,511 police deployed in Darfur besides civilians from different nationalities and local stuff...Recently, Khartoum demand [that the UN] reduce the uniformed personal of the African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur topped the agenda of the mechanism. Sudan said civilians are no [longer] exposed to violence from militias. Hervé Ladsous, UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, said the reduction of peacekeepers will be formalized by the UN Security Council in July. He further added that it would be implemented “during the next 18 months to reflect the reality on the ground.” Ladsous also noted that “Khartoum had deterred the UN largest operation from accessing to areas where there is an urgent need to verify reports on fighting.”

**Week of June 25, 2012:** NIF/NCP shuts down Internet and phone service, sparking a large demonstration on **June 30**—the 23rd anniversary of the NIF military coup that brought the regime to power. Highly significant is the geographic diversity of the protests.<sup>156</sup> Demonstrations of various groups numbering in the hundreds continue to be brutally suppressed with tear gas, truncheons, and mass arrests of activists—[more than 2,000 according to accounts](#) from protesters. Many of these people have disappeared into Khartoum’s notorious “ghost houses,” where they can be tortured and held incommunicado indefinitely.

**June 27, 2012:** Anti-government protests break out following Friday prayers. The “Friday of elbow-licking” takes place in all main cities such as Khartoum, Al Barra, Al Nuhud, Al Obeid, Kassala and Wad Medani amid a severe crackdown by police and security forces. Massive protest takes place in the Ansar Mosque in Wad Nubawi, in Fitihab town and other areas in Omdurman.

Armed security agents raid the AFP bureau in Khartoum and arrest a correspondent who had taken pictures of the protests, AFP reports. An Egyptian correspondent for international news wire Bloomberg, Salma El Wardany, is also deported by Sudan on **June 24**, while trying to cover the country’s widening protest movement

**June 28, 2012:** Radio Dabanga reports that “heavy bombing by the Sudanese Air Force in the the Malam area prevented citizens from leaving their homes eyewitnesses told Radio Dabanga. They said that the Sudanese Air Force bombed the towns of Malam Menawashi, Abu Hamra, Girdeed and Dabba-Nayra in East Jabal Marra in Darfur.”

**June 29, 2012:** Valerie Amos, UN humanitarian chief, says that “while the Su-

danese Government announced its acceptance of the Tripartite Proposal of the African Union (AU), the Arab League and the UN for the delivery of humanitarian assistance in South Kordofan and Blue Nile states, the Government has laid out operational conditions that do not allow for the delivery of assistance by neutral parties in SPLM-N-controlled areas...I therefore continue to call on the Government of Sudan to deliver on its stated commitment: that assistance can reach all Sudanese people in need.”<sup>157</sup>

It is the assistance by neutral relief agencies in rebel-held areas of Blue Nile and South Kordofan that is of course the central point of the Tripartite Agreement. In fact, the conditions laid out by Khartoum are such that nothing changes on the ground, except insofar as the regime chooses to permit. Giving Khartoum the power of “approval” for specific humanitarian organizations would be an appalling mistake. One need only look at the fate of these organizations in Darfur over almost a decade—including the recent suspension of activities by Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders (MSF) in North Darfur.

**June 30, 2012:** Malik Agaar, former governor of Blue Nile and head of the umbrella Sudan Revolutionary Front (which includes the SPLA/M-N), reports that in Blue Nile, “dozens of people were dying each day due to lack of food and medicine.”<sup>158</sup> This number will soon grow to hundreds of people per day, and the ultimate death toll—given the appalling hesitation on the part of the international community—will certainly be tens of thousands. Indeed, it is increasingly likely that in the end hundreds of thousands of lives will be lost.

**July and August 2012** are the most violent months in Darfur for a number of years, and yet UNAMID remains committed to its draw-down of forces.

**July 1, 2012:** Radio Dabanga reports that the SAF bombed areas in east Jebel Marra, “including the towns of Abu Hamra, Dabaneira in the South Darfur state. Radio Dabanga reports has eyewitnesses that the SAF have dropped five to ten bombs per day for seven consecutive days now.”

**July 4, 2012:** Journalists respond collectively to the censorship and outright confiscation of newspaper runs that have increased steadily since the national “elections” of 2010. Many papers have also been put out of business by the exorbitant fines imposed by the regime, and most recently by wildly excessive “taxes” on the supplies necessary for newspaper printing. This year Sudan is again in the bottom ten nations evaluated by Reporters Without Borders for press freedom. Nonetheless, social media—especially Twitter—are providing a steady stream of reports from the ground (see [Girifna](#) and [#SudanRevolts](#)).

**July 7, 2012:** “President Omar Hassan al-Bashir said that Sudan’s next constitution would be ‘100 percent Islamic’ to set an example for neighbouring countries, some

of which have seen religious parties gain power after popular uprisings....Bashir suggested Sudan's new, post-secession constitution could help guide the region's political transformation. 'We want to present a constitution that serves as a template to those around us. And our template is clear, a 100 percent Islamic constitution, without communism or secularism or Western (influences),' said Bashir."<sup>159</sup>

This is the president of the regime that the [Obama administration believes](#) is capable of "carrying out reform via constitutional democratic measures" in Sudan. [But without regime change, and the success of the current uprising](#), al-Bashir gives all too clear an understanding of the future of "constitutional reform" and source of "law" for all in Sudan, Muslim and non-Muslim alike.

**July 8, 2012:** Radio Dabanga reports that Internally Displaced Persons returning to their lands in Kreinik, 36 kilometers east of el-Geneina "found that their properties had been seized by armed militias. A sheik of one of the IDP camps told Radio Dabanga, IDPs returning to cultivate their lands during the rainy season in West Darfur were stopped by militias."

**July 10, 2012:** Protests continue, and constituencies participating are no longer just university students in Khartoum, but lawyers, journalists, and businessmen.

**July 13, 2012:** Radio Dabanga reports that "a group of pro-government armed men assaulted a number of farmers in West Darfur. After insulting and beating them, they burned down their farms. The men driving a land cruiser attacked the farmers on Tuesday evening in Jimmaizat Babiker and Hajer Bager, west of For Baranga. A farmer told Radio Dabanga that the militants expelled them from their lands and threatened to kill him if they returned. The farmer said the armed men warned the farmers the area is meant for grazing and not for agriculture according to our source."

**July 13, 2012:** Radio Dabanga reports on four separate incidents of killing and looting by armed gunmen in North and South Darfur, "indicating a deteriorating security situation in Darfur."

**July 15, 2012:** [There is still no announced breakthrough](#) in the meetings between regime president al-Bashir and Salva Kiir, President of the Government of South Sudan. These meetings are likely the last chance to negotiate a settlement of oil revenue issues, the short-term key to the economies of both countries.

**July 15, 2012:** Radio Dabanga reports that an Antonov bombing attack has killed a number of civilians including "Suleiman Abaker Ahmed and his three children. He and his children named Miriam, aged 3, Magbula, aged 5 and Al Nazir, aged 7, were killed while walking in a field close to Guldo [Jebel Marra in West Darfur]. One of Ahmed's camels was also killed during the attack. A witness told Radio

Dabanga thirteen (13) students were injured when an Antonov airplane dropped a number of bombs near the all-boy secondary school close to Saboon El Fagur. Two of the injured students are Adam Suleiman Abdel Karim and Halima Haroun. In addition, tens of sheep were killed in the area of Bor Basi.”

**July 15, 2012:** “Residents of West and Central Darfur report that displaced people returning to their farmlands in West and Central Darfur are chased from their lands by new settlers. Sheikh Daoud Arbab Ibrahim Younis, head of the high committee for IDPs of the West Darfur state, told Radio Dabanga this issue is especially prevalent in the villages of Hashaba, Kuka, East Kuka, Krobbé and Ajabun. Some of these areas are completely occupied such as Affen Dibbi, Nurei, Tankoa and Takuda and many other areas surrounding el-Geneina and For Baranga. Arab settlers, coming from Chad and Niger, moved to these lands after the outbreak of the war in Darfur in 2003 Sheikh Daoud told Radio Dabanga.”

**July 15, 2012:** Radio Dabanga reports that Khartoum’s military forces have “confiscated the lands belonging to farmers close to a military base in East Darfur. The soldiers claim the eviction is necessary in order for them to safeguard the Sharif Petroleum oilfield. The confiscated lands surround a military base, located 15 km outside of the town Adila. A farmer told Radio Dabanga no kind of financial compensation had been offered in exchange for their eviction.”

**July 31, 2012:** Security forces open fire on demonstrators in Nyala, killing 13 and wounding scores. The demonstrators, including students, are unarmed; the weapons used by the security forces are automatic rifles.

**August 3, 2012 and following:** Kutum (North Darfur) is attacked by Arab militia forces, as is the nearby Kassab camp. Following the attack there is extensive looting of markets and humanitarian supplies, including food and fuel. Many people are killed or raped. The violence is continuous through all of August, and appears to have brought an end to humanitarian relief in this part of Darfur. A humanitarian source on the ground notes “Most of the north part of North Darfur (all the way to Chad) is served from Kutum and now all [humanitarian] organizations have lost all capacity because of the looting, and I do not see the humanitarian community reinvesting in the basic infrastructure because of what has happened.” Additionally, some 30,000 people are displaced, even as UNAMID continues to declare that security has improved in Darfur and proceeds with its draw-down of forces.

## Notes

1 See especially Douglas Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, 2003. Douglas Johnson was a member of the Abyei Boundaries Commission; see also his superb overview of the work of his Commission and his compelling reading of the language of the Abyei Protocol ("The Abyei Protocol Demystified," *Sudan Tribune*, December 10, 2007, <http://www.sudantribune.com/The-Abyei-Protocol-Demystified,25125>). I am indebted to Johnson and several other historians of Sudan for the earlier parts of this historical timeline (see Johnson's "The Road Back from Abyei," January 2011, <http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/showRecord.php?RecordId=34970>).

2 MSF, February 2000, "Under aerial bombardments: Report of an investigation in the Province of Equatoria, Southern Sudan."

3 See a powerful, contemporaneous eyewitness account by Roger Winter ("Abyei Aflame: An Update from the Field," May 30, 2008, at <http://www.enoughproject.org/publications/abyei-aflame-update-field-0>):

"[Abyei town] was empty. You could look the full length of streets and see no one. I counted only 10-12 civilians, several of whom appeared to be mentally unstable. The others, sneaking back to where their homes once stood, were evidently attempting to salvage any remaining blankets or belongings. The market had been looted and burned to the ground. Many structures were still smoldering. Block after block of traditional homes were reduced to ashes. Approximately 25 percent of the town's structures were totally destroyed. Shortly after our visit, we received reliable reports that most of the rest was aflame."

4 *Sudan Tribune*

5 *Sudan Tribune*

6 "Secretary Clinton Delivers Remarks at the UNSC Ministerial Meeting on Sudan," at [http://blogs.state.gov/sudan/index.php/site/entry/clinton\\_unsc\\_sudan](http://blogs.state.gov/sudan/index.php/site/entry/clinton_unsc_sudan)

7 Eric Reeves, "Encouraging Khartoum: South Sudan Victimized by 'Moral Equivalence,'" December 21, 2010, at <http://www.sudanreeves.org/Article291.html>.

8 Bloomberg

9 AP

10 *Sudan Tribune*

11 *Sudan Tribune*

12 The first months of 2011 will see tremendous civilian destruction as a result of Athor's military actions (see a [series of reports](#) from the Small Arms Survey). Authoritative regional sources report that the SSLA is laying anti-tank mines (Chinese T-72 AT-mines) in large numbers in oil-rich Unity State. These indiscriminate weapons also come from Khartoum. Their primary effect is to greatly restrict the movement of humanitarian personnel and civilians.

13 Small Arms Survey, [April 27, 2011](#).

- 14 Khartoum claims only 150,000 remain—a telling discrepancy, revealing an ominous goal rather than a census count.
- 15 For an authoritative account of both agreements, see [Small Arms Survey, April 2011](#).
- 16 SSP
- 17 AP
- 18 Small Arms Survey, April 17, 2011.
- 19 Eric Reeves, “Abyei in Flames: Prospects for Peace Endangered by Diplomatic Incompetence,” March 7, 2011, at <http://www.sudanreeves.org/Article312.html>
- 20 SSP
- 21 Small Arms Survey, April 17, 2011.
- 22 SSP
- 23 Earlier reports have appeared on January 27, February 11, March 8, and March 10 (see all reports at [SSP](#))
- 24 AFP
- 25 Eric Reeves, “Khartoum’s Language on Abyei Becomes More Insistent, More Threatening,” May 3, 2011, at <http://www.sudanreeves.org/Article321.html>
- 26 *Sudan Tribune*, April 4, 2011.
- 27 *Sudan Tribune*
- 28 *Sudan Tribune*
- 29 See also “[A Creeping Military Coup in Khartoum](#),” Eric Reeves, *Dissent Magazine*, August 10, 2011.
- 30 The Rift Valley Institute will issue a scathing critique of the Carter Center assessment on August 23 (“Disputed Votes, Deficient Observation: South Kordofan election report from the Rift Valley Institute”):
- “Based on detailed analysis of observer reports, the study identifies significant misinterpretations on the part both of domestic and international observers. Critical lessons from Sudan’s past electoral history were overlooked, argues Aly Verjee, the author of the RVI report, although these had been chronicled previously by the same election observation organisations. ‘The people of South Kordofan have paid a high price for the failure of the election,’ Verjee writes. ‘Negotiations to end the present conflict will need to acknowledge its problematic aspects if there is to be a chance of a resumption of the democratic process.’” (See also my [May 19 critique](#), written in the immediate wake of the Carter Center’s release of its report when glaring deficiencies were already evident.)
- 31 See my extended account of the events of May 19 at <http://dissentmagazine.org/atw.php?id=457>
- 32 For a detailed timeline of the events in Abyei through late May 2011, see: “An Abyei Timeline:

- The Long Road to Khartoum’s Military Invasion,” at [www.sudanreeves.org/2011/05/27/an-abyei-timeline-the-long-road-to-khartoums-military-invasion/](http://www.sudanreeves.org/2011/05/27/an-abyei-timeline-the-long-road-to-khartoums-military-invasion/)
- 33 [Foreign Policy](#)
- 34 SUNA
- 35 Adam Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*. Second edition. New York: Routledge, 2011. Page 372. [View online text](#).
- 36 SSP
- 37 The reported pre-positioning of body bags and tarps, and the photographing of bodies wrapped in white bags and tarps, offer compelling evidence of mass graves, indirectly confirmed by Khartoum officials much later as necessary “for reasons of public health.” (see [SSP reports for June and July](#))
- 38 [Government of the Republic of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement, “Temporary Arrangements for the Administration and Security of the Abyei Region”](#)
- 39 AFP
- 40 PBS NewsHour
- 41 AFP
- 42 [Sudan Tribune](#)
- 43 Bloomberg
- 44 Sudan Media Center
- 45 BBC
- 46 Bloomberg
- 47 AP
- 48 See my overview of the evidence, [July 17](#).
- 49 ICG, “Conflict Risk Alert: Stopping the Spread of Sudan’s New Civil War,” September 26, 2011.
- 50 Bombing attacks have been reported on a virtually daily basis since fighting began in South Kordofan on June 5. On December 6 Amnesty International publishes a [two-part report](#) that contains searing testimonies of those from Blue Nile who have been targeted mercilessly and indiscriminately.
- 51 See my [article](#) on the Obama administration’s Sudan Policy.
- 52 AFP
- 53 UN News Center
- 54 Reuters
- 55 Bloomberg

56 Radio Dabanga

57 *Sudan Vision*

58 *Sudan Tribune*

59 Reuters in Geneva

60 “So that it can provide assistance to thousands of people affected by fighting. Clashes between the Sudanese armed forces and rebels over the past few months in both states displaced tens of thousands of people. Earlier this month, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs had reported that relief agencies were unable to reach those in need due to movement restrictions imposed by the Government [in Khartoum].” (UN News Center)

61 *Sudan Tribune*

62 IRIN

63 *Sudan Tribune*

64 AFP

65 *Sudan Tribune*

66 Reuters

67 Reuters

68 AFP, IRIN, Reuters.

69 AFP

70 VOA

71 *Sudan Tribune*

72 Kuek is near the border with White Nile State in the north.

73 Bloomberg. For a full account of the contentious negotiations over oil transit fees, see my [January 24, 2012 analysis](#).

74 *Sudan Tribune*

75 *Foreign Policy* on-line, December 6.

76 Radio Dabanga

77 AFP

78 Reuters

79 *Sudan Tribune*

80 UN News Center

81 Radio Dabanga

82 *Sudan Tribune*

- 83 Radio Dabanga
- 84 Radio Dabanga
- 85 Reuters/*Sudan Tribune*
- 86 UNHCR/Reuters
- 87 *Sudan Tribune*
- 88 Reuters
- 89 Associated Press
- 90 *Sudan Tribune*
- 91 Reuters
- 92 *Sudan Vision*
- 93 *Sudan Tribune*
- 94 *Sudan Tribune*
- 95 Reuters, February 2.
- 96 Reuters
- 97 VOA, AFP
- 98 *Sudan Tribune*. See also *The Washington Post*, “Passive in the Face of Sudan’s Atrocities,” February 10.
- 99 *Independent Catholic News*
- 100 Reuters, February 22.
- 101 *Sudan Tribune*
- 102 SPLM statement.
- 103 *Sudan Vision*
- 104 AFP
- 105 *Sudan Tribune*
- 106 AP
- 107 *Sudan Tribune*
- 108 *Sudan Tribune*
- 109 Reuters/*Foreign Policy*
- 110 CNN
- 111 *Al Jazeera*

112 State Department press release, *Sudan Vision*

113 *Sudan Tribune*

114 *Sudan Tribune*

115 Reuters

116 Reuters

117 AFP

118 The location of Heglig has turned into an issue on which there has been a great deal of misinformation and poor reporting; the [best account to date is that of Sudan historian Douglas H. Johnson](#). He concludes that there is no map extant locating Heglig in relation to the 1956 border, but that such ethnographic information as we have would place Heglig/Panthou in South Sudan. What can be said with certainty is that the July 2009 ruling by the Permanent Court of Arbitration did not “place Heglig in northern Sudan,” a claim made repeatedly and erroneously. The PCA established the eastern boundary of Abyei and that is all; it made no mention of Heglig/Panthou, and was not tasked to do so. Nor did the PCA make any determination with respect to the location of the January 1, 1956 North/South boundary: it had no mandate to do so, and did not attempt such delineation.

119 BBC

120 UN News Center

121 Bloomberg News

122 AFP

123 Justice Africa provides a yet fuller account of the racist context for this remark: “[Al-Bashir] repeated part of a famous [poem by] Al Motanbi (7th century) saying ‘don’t buy slave [abid] unless you buy stick with him/her, as slaves are wicked and evil.’ [This] encourage[d] many to follow the same line, as it clear in same Friday [April 20 that] some of the demonstrators celebrating the liberation of Heglig were chanting racist slogans. The race relation in Sudan has suffered severe setback in recent years, as that become a policy not an exception.” Al-Bashir’s racist comments are also noted by *Africa Confidential*.

124 AP

125 OCHA

126 VOA

127 AP

128 OCHA

129 Confidential source

130 AFP

131 AFP, Khartoum

132 *Sudan Tribune*

- 133 AFP
- 134 Reuters
- 135 Reuters [Juba/Khartoum]
- 136 Radio Dabanga
- 137 Radio Dabanga
- 138 AFP
- 139 OCHA, May 13, 2012
- 140 Radio Dabanga
- 141 Radio Dabanga
- 142 Radio Dabanga
- 143 Radio Dabanga
- 144 Radio Dabanga
- 145 Reuters [Khartoum]
- 146 OCHA
- 147 Radio Dabanga
- 148 Radio Dabanga
- 149 Radio Dabanga
- 150 Radio Dabanga
- 151 Radio Dabanga
- 152 Radio Dabanga
- 153 *Sudan Tribune*
- 154 *Sudan Tribune*
- 155 AFP
- 156 Radio Dabanga
- 157 UN News Centre, “UN relief chief voices concern over worsening humanitarian situation in Sudan,” at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42355&Cr=Sudan&Cr1=#.UfKPQK5SQ3U>
- 158 Reuters
- 159 Reuters [Khartoum]