# NUBA MOUNTAINS/BLUE NILE: ANOTHER DARFUR? WHAT MIGHT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DO?

Fund raising event for humanitarian aid Hon. David Kilgour

(Research by Sarah Otto) Victoria Hills Community Centre Kitchener, Ontario 1 September 2012







Since South Sudan celebrated its first independence day on July 9, 2011, the Bashir regime in Sudan has waged war against the residents of the Nuba Mountains (South Kordofan) and Blue Nile states. Both remain parts of Sudan, but are considered too sympathetic to South Sudan by Bashir and his regime. The brutal bombing campaign appears designed to terrorize the Nubans, who number about one million, into fleeing to South Sudan.

In a recent letter to Obama administration officials, Samuel Totten of the University of Arkansas documented the violence.

Satellite imagery reveals mass graves, razed communities, and indiscriminate low
altitude aerial bombardment of civilian areas in the Nuba Mountains. Eye witnesses
report systematic government shelling and bombing of refugee evacuation routes;
helicopter gunships hunting civilians as they flee their homes and farmland to hide
in caves; and a deliberate and widespread blockage of humanitarian aid. Anecdotal
evidence of perpetrators screaming racist slurs as civilians are raped and/or killed

are well-known to those familiar with what has been happening in Darfur since 2003.<sup>1</sup>



(Nuba Refugees heading toward Yida Refugee Camp) http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/07/09/death\_in\_the\_nuba\_mountains?page=0,10

Many Nuban families earlier hid in caves in the mountains to avoid bombing, but after losing last year's harvest, they now face a more deadly weapon: starvation.<sup>2</sup> Thousands have made their way south to Yida, a refugee camp across the border in South Sudan. The U. N. and its agencies appear to have largely shunned the camp, presumably worried that providing relief would fuel the ongoing conflict. Meanwhile, Bashir refuses to grant aid agencies permission to cross the border, thus allowing him to continue using hunger as a weapon of war.<sup>3</sup> As of August 5<sup>th</sup>, the conflict in South Kordofan had prevented an estimated 500,000 people from receiving food assistance from the World Food Program.<sup>4</sup> There were more than 203,000 Sudanese refugees from South Kordofan and Blue Nile states in camps in South Sudan and Ethiopia by August 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>5</sup>

### **Resolution 2046**

U.N. Security Council Resolution 2046 was adopted on 2 May 2012 to promote peace, human security, and economic prosperity between and within Sudan and South Sudan. A tripartite agreement among the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N), the African Union (AU)/ the League of Arab States (LAS) and the UN on humanitarian assistance to war-affected civilians took effect on 4 August 2012. It gives the three unrestricted and unfettered access to the SPLM-N controlled areas to provide

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Genocide Expert Letter to Obama Administration Officials Concerning Sudan," Last modified August 3, 2012, http://www.operationbrokensilence.org/2012/08/genocide-scholar-letter-to-obama-administration-officials-concerning-sudan/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Trevor Sharp, "Death in the Nuba Mountains," last modified July 9, 2012, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/07/09/death\_in\_the\_nuba\_mountains?page=0,10. <sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "OCHA Weekly Humanitarian Bulletin Sudan [Report]," 30 July- 5 August 2012, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Full%20Report\_900.pdf. <sup>5</sup> ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 2046 (2012), adopted by the Security Council at its 6764th meeting, on 2 May 2012. http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N12/327/77/PDF/N1232777.pdf?OpenElement.

humanitarian assistance to civilians in need."<sup>7</sup> Bashir's commitment to its terms remains highly questionable.

Dr. Norman Epstein, co-chair, Canadians Against Slavery and Torture in Sudan, and Ismail Adam, president, Darfur Association of Canada, add:

There is a pretense that Bashir and his regime are part of the solution, but in fact (they) are the source of the problem. The regime's duplicity is well-known... It has signed peace treaties, demonstrating little desire to implement them completely and participates in peace talks that it has tried to sabotage. The Doha peace process in Qatar to end the conflict in Darfur has been an abysmal failure.

#### **Hassan Sharif**

Hassan Sharif of Kitchener, chair of the Nuba Mountains International Association Canada, adds:

- The air bombings by North Sudan's government... and the resulting devastation among residents of the Nuba Mountains are race-based. These civilians are seen as [black] Africans by the Bashir regime, which respects only those it considers Arabs. The residents of the Nuba Mountains- whether Muslim, Christian or animist in religion normally live in harmony.
- Humanitarian aid is not reaching Nuba Mountain residents because of continuing bombing and violence. This is why an immediate no-fly zone is needed and why UN peacemakers with a strong mandate (chapter 7) are needed now. If the international community does not act quickly, the Nuba Mountains could become the next Darfur.

#### Alsanosi, Epstein and Adam view

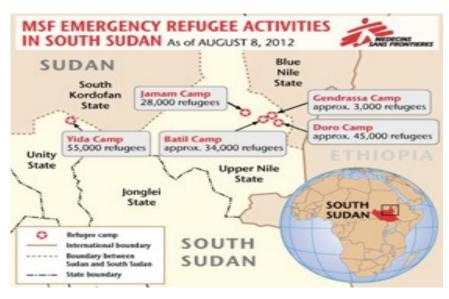
Nubans have long been considered second class citizens by the ruling Arab elite of Khartoum. The Sudanese government declared a jihad against them in 1992, which resulted in the ethnic cleansing and displacement of Nubans. § In a recent Epoch Times article, Shams Alsanosi, co-coordinator of the Nuba Mountains International Association of Canada, Norman L Epstein and Ismail Adam describe the Sudanese regime's racially motivated violence upon Nubans:

• This is not the first time the Nubian people have had to withstand the malicious wrath of the Khartoum regime. In the early 1990s, the government of Sudan systematically ... killed close to 200,000 Nubians, termed a genocide by many. In the current episode, no one knows the actual numbers murdered... a leaked UN report also corroborates these accounts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Memorandum of Understanding between the Sudan People's liberation Movement/North and the African Union/League of Arab States/United Nations Tripartite on Humanitarian Assistance to war-affected civilians in Blue Nile and South Kordofan States," http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article43463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> How Genocides End Project, "Averting Genocide in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan", published December 2006, online at: http://howgenocidesend.ssrc.org/de\_Waal2/.

• (Bashir)... has called for South Kordofan to be 'ethnically cleansed' of [black] African people. (H)is regime has perpetrated repeatedly crimes against marginalized [black] Africans—the Dinka and Nuer in the south, the [Nubans] and the Fur, Masseleit and Zaghawa in Darfur.





(Yida Camp) http://www.bikyamasr.com/72618/health-situation-deteriorating-for-south-sudans-yida-camp/

Earlier this year, Sudanese government authorities stated that they would interpret humanitarian assistance as a hostile act and would retaliate. Fortunately, they have recently allowed the World Food Programme to provide a 3-month supply of aid to approximately 170,000 people in 13 government-held areas in eastern South Kordofan. 9 Khartoum has, however, restricted humanitarian agencies from accessing SPLM-N controlled areas of the South Kordofan and Blue Niles states. 10

On August 4 and 5, separate memoranda of understanding on the assessment and delivery of assistance to war-affected civilians in South Kordofan and Blue Nile States were signed by the Tripartite partners, with the SPLM-N and the Government of Sudan. 11 The SPLM-N negotiating team will propose a meeting on September 4 to review the Memorandum of Understanding one month after it was signed. Opening secure corridors for the transportation of aid across the borders of Ethiopia and South Sudan will be tabled as the only means to stop the deepening misery of the displaced and to end to the use of food as a weapon.<sup>12</sup>



(SPLAM-N Soldiers at a training camp in the Nuba Mountains) http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/07/ 09/death\_in\_the\_nuba\_mountains?page=0,6

## **Call by 89 International Organizations**

There have been calls from international organizations for a hard line to be taken on the enforcement of UN resolution 2046. On June 6, 2012, 89 international organizations urged the UN Security Council to impose consequences as outlined in Resolution 2046 on Sudan if it does not allow immediate access for humanitarian aid into Nuba Mountains/South Kordofan and Blue Nile by June 14, 2012. 13

Resolution 2046 (art. 5) set a three-month deadline on August 2, 2012 for conclusion of negotiations between Sudan and South Sudan over oil, citizenship, the border and Abyei. 14 Compliance presumes all parties will:

- Cease all hostilities, including aerial bombardments,
- Withdraw troops each to their side of the border,
- Activate the Joint Border Verification and Monitoring,

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "IJP, Act for Sudan and Other Signatories Urge UNSC to Implement Resolution 2046," last modified August 3, 2012, http://www.internationaljusticeproject.com/2012/08/03/ijp-act-for-sudan-and-other-signatories-urge-unsc-toimplement-resolution-2046/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> " OCHA Weekly Humanitarian Bulletin Sudan [Report]."

<sup>12 &</sup>quot;Resolutions of the SPLM-N Leadership Council," last modified August 29, 2012, http://www.sudanjem.com/2012/08/resolutions-of-the-splm-n-leadership-council/.

<sup>13 &</sup>quot;IJP, Act for Sudan and Other Signatories Urge UNSC to Implement Resolution 2046."

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

- Cease harboring or supporting rebel groups against the other state.
- Activate the means to investigate allegations,
- Cease hostile propaganda and protect property, religious and cultural symbols and nationals of the other State,
- Implement the June 20, 2011 agreement on Abyei,
- Reach a negotiated settlement between Sudan and the SPLM-N based on the June 28, 2011 Framework Agreement,
- Accept and implement the tripartite proposal by Sudan and the SPLM-North, and
- Protect human rights including those of women and people belonging to vulnerable groups.<sup>15</sup>

#### **Violations of Res. 2046**

Although South Sudan and the SPLM-North have largely complied with Res. 2046, Khartoum's government has not, instead committing the following violations: <sup>16</sup>

- Ongoing bombardment and attacks in South Kordofan, Blue Nile and South Sudan,
- Refusing to create a buffer zone between Sudan and South Sudan,
- Ongoing presence of Sudan military in Abyei,
- Refusal to accept and implement the tripartite proposal...condemning thousands of people to death by starvation, thirst, injury and disease within Sudan and creating a humanitarian crisis outside of Sudan where over 200,000 civilians seek refuge in South Sudan and Ethiopia,
- Refusing to recognize the SPLM-North as a political party, arresting and torturing its members and confiscating their property while refusing to approach negotiations with the SPLM-North in good faith making a negotiated settlement impossible,
- Violating human rights by arresting, torturing and killing peaceful protestors and individuals associated with opposition parties.



(Rekha Village in the Nuba Mountains) http://www.tomokriznar.com/ang/index.php?li=novice

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid.

#### What should the international community do?

Despite the Sudanese government's appalling behavior, as Shams Alsanosi and colleagues note, the "the international community sends a constant parade of envoys carrying 'carrots' to engage the Khartoum regime." They continue:

When will the world finally stand up to this cabal of serial genocidaires? When will the world wield the proverbial stick to rein in this regime's egregious behaviour? There is much that can be done. Certainly a limited no fly zone should be considered in South Kordofan if mass atrocities continue. Are not [black] African lives just as worthy as Libyan lives? The UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), peacekeeping force, should have its mandate strengthened to Chapter VII to intervene proactively to save lives...

(E)conomic measures should be tried first. The government of Sudan has a foreign debt reportedly in excess of 30 billion dollars with a promise by the IMF to forgive it. The IMF could threaten to rescind this if there is not a cessation of hostilities.

All of us here tonight think one good timely step would be for Canada to encourage a greater sense of urgency in international bodies, including the UN, about the catastrophe now affecting so many tens of thousands of innocent people in the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile.

Thank you.