



Forgotten Wars

Sudan's Periphery Smolders with Focus on South Sudan

By Omer Ismail and Jacinth Planer, January 30, 2014

Escalating violence, displacement, and new political developments in the areas along Sudan's periphery—Darfur, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile—are going largely unnoticed as international attention focuses on violence in South Sudan. Khartoum's recent peace gestures toward separate rebel factions notwithstanding,¹ a relentless, large-scale Sudanese military campaign in these three areas, first announced in November 2013,² continues to exact a punishing toll on hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians within Sudan. Meanwhile, shifting political alliances in Darfur are raising new concerns about worsening violence. In the wake of a burgeoning conflict in South Sudan, global awareness of developments in Sudan has ebbed with less media coverage and a less concerted diplomatic focus.³ A recent warning by U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Hervé Ladsous that war in South Sudan's could undermine efforts to bring peace to Darfur, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile should be heeded.⁴ Policymakers cannot afford to adopt a binary approach to conflict management in the two Sudans. Increased air strikes in Sudan, and worsening humanitarian conditions in camps demand renewed engagement on multiple fronts as conflict in both Sudan and South Sudan worsens.

Worsening air strikes and displacement

In Darfur, security has deteriorated significantly with heavy air strikes in late December. In a region where an estimated 400,000 people were displaced in 2013 alone,⁵ recent aerial bombardments have newly displaced thousands. The mountainous East Jebel Marra region and villages south of Nyala, South Darfur have been pummeled.⁶ Amid accounts of "continuous" air strikes in East Jebel Marra, one aerial attack in the area reportedly included the use of almost 30 "incendiary petrol bombs," that killed large numbers of cattle and burned swathes of farm land in Wadi Toro. In addition, some 75 bombs were reportedly dropped on populous areas west of Jebel Marra, in Rokoro locality, killing and injuring residents and sending many fleeing to remote areas.⁷

Darfur is not the only area in Sudan's periphery that has suffered heavy aerial bombardment and witnessed the flight of thousands. The Sudanese government has intensified air strikes on civilians in Blue Nile and South Kordofan in the wake of government losses and stiff rebel resistance in the ground campaign in South Kordofan.⁸ South Kordofan has seen the highest number of bombings and civilian casualties in more than two years.⁹ One report estimates that almost 25,000 civilians in South Kordofan have fled their homes, particularly from the mountainous northeastern El Abassya and Rashad counties, and the north-central Al Sunut and Delling counties.¹⁰ For instance, a combined ground and air attack on areas near Umm Cham Chaka, in Rashad county, reportedly killed 14, injured 18, and displaced 21,200 in early November.¹¹

Amid military difficulties on the ground across South Kordofan in November and December, in early January the Sudanese government forces suffered a particularly heavy loss of life and military equipment in clashes near the border area of Trogi (or Toroje), located along a road linking South Kordofan with South Sudan.¹² The Sudanese government's military focus has since shifted in recent weeks to Blue Nile. Increasingly frequent air strikes and ground attacks on civilian targets in residential areas are killing and injuring women and children.¹³ For instance, 18 bombs were counted in one reported attack in Khoradar, in Baw county, on December 13, 2013, that resulted in the deaths of seven people and injury of 20.¹⁴ Air strikes in Blue Nile increasingly feature the government's use of deadly new tactics and military equipment, such as the Sukhoi fighter aircraft and parachute bombs.¹⁵

Heavy air strikes and ground attacks in South Kordofan and Blue Nile have displaced hundreds of thousands, increasing both the number and vulnerability of people who are caught between expanding zones of a regional conflict system that transcends international boundaries.¹⁶ There is a critical need for international support for some 200,000 Sudanese refugees in South Sudan. Almost 77,000 Sudanese refugees from South Kordofan's Nuba Mountains live in South Sudan's Yida and Adjoung Thok camps, and more than 123,000 Sudanese from Blue Nile state are sheltering in Kaya, Yusuf Batil, Doro and Gendrassa camps in South Sudan.¹⁷ Thousands from Blue Nile have also sought refuge in Ethiopia.¹⁸ Sudanese refugees from South Kordofan and Blue Nile had previously been able to receive humanitarian assistance in South Sudan that is restricted in Sudan. The violence in South Sudan that erupted in December 2013, however, has caused many humanitarian groups, including the U.N. refugee agency, to withdraw or reduce staff in many border areas.¹⁹ Displaced people in those areas are stranded, surrounded by violent conflict on multiple sides, and they lack access to adequate humanitarian aid.²⁰

Humanitarian conditions are also worsening in Darfur, home to the world's largest peacekeeping mission, which has witnessed the killings of civilians, aid workers, and peacekeepers who lack a peace to keep and are unable to protect local populations.²¹ Crime is increasing, as are clashes among many armed groups, including rebels and those with ties to the Sudanese government.²² As violence increases in South Sudan, many South Sudanese are fleeing toward Sudan, straining areas with large numbers of displaced populations who live in deteriorating humanitarian conditions.²³

The return of Musa Hilal

Amid escalating violence, increased displacement, and deteriorating humanitarian conditions in Sudan's periphery, the reappearance of a familiar Sudanese figure has raised new concerns about Sudan's conflicted political and security landscape. Musa Hilal—an influential Darfuri leader accused of participating the Sudanese government's violent campaigns, who had joined but then left the government in Khartoum—has returned to Darfur. Hilal is a wild card in a region of shifting political and armed alliances. He could potentially turn against government forces; for this reason and others, some fear his return to the troubled region could spark greater violence.²⁴

Hilal has been accused of leading government-supported Janjaweed militia attacks against civilians in Darfur beginning in 2003, charges he denies.²⁵ Hilal remains one of the few Sudanese leaders subject to a travel ban and asset freeze under the authority of the United Nations Sudan Sanctions Committee.²⁶ In 2008 Hilal became an advisor on Darfuri groups to the Sudanese Ministry of Federal Affairs, but he has recently broken with the government in Khartoum under circumstances that remain unclear. Since leaving Khartoum, Hilal has begun to criticize the Sudanese government, saying it has exploited the Arab

groups in Darfur.²⁷ Hilal has levied particularly heavy criticism against potential political rival North Darfur governor Osman Mohamed Youssef Kibir, accusing him of fomenting violent conflict between Darfur's Beni Hussein and Rezeigat communities.²⁸

Hilal's criticism of the Sudanese federal government and regional authorities has culminated in the formation of a new political group, the Sudanese Awakening Revolutionary Council, which says it intends to establish a new state in Darfur. The group says it seeks to provide a civil governance structure that includes security agreements to legalize the status of Arab militias. It has also suggested it will coordinate efforts with the Sudan Revolutionary Front, or SRF, rebel alliance,²⁹ particularly if its demands are not fully addressed.³⁰ Hilal's efforts to unify groups in Darfur suggest a bid to rebuild his political position and strengthen his influence among power brokers in Khartoum. He appears to be positioning himself as a reformist and champion of the rights of Darfuri residents who are resisting a government that has pitted communities and ethnic groups against one another. The government may seek to placate Hilal with a political appointment, but such gestures have in the past failed to provide a sustainable and satisfactory solution. Hilal remains an unpredictable actor who is capable of creating sources of pressure on the Sudanese government in Khartoum.³¹

While Hilal's interests could pressure the Sudanese government in ways that benefit the needs of those in Darfur, some fear that in pursuing political gains Hilal could also potentially resort to orchestrating violent acts against Darfuri civilians. Hilal's influence on the national level is weak and has waned, but his influence at the local level is stronger and may become consolidated, perhaps by disrupting alliances between Khartoum and groups in Darfur and undermining local authorities. If Hilal pursues greater political power at the federal level through violent activities at the local level, hundreds of thousands of civilians who live in chronic insecurity and camps with worsening humanitarian conditions will pay the price.³²

Hilal has displayed his military force and potential for disruption in Darfur with his movements. He travels through northern Darfur in convoys of 30 to 40 vehicles, sparking alarm among civilians living in unprotected areas.³³ Such convoys evoke memories of the genocidal attacks of a decade ago. Hilal and his forces have not renewed violent attacks, but their presence heralds the development of a new power dynamic in an insecure region that needs sustained international attention.

A sustained focus on Sudan

As attention centers on South Sudan, the international community risks failing to heed dangerous new developments in Sudan, in part because the violent conflicts tend to be viewed separately. Several million displaced and conflict-affected people in Sudan and South Sudan deserve a comprehensive and integrated, not disaggregated, international approach to the interwoven problems that form this conflict system. With many South Sudanese fleeing into Sudan and Sudanese fleeing into South Sudan, a disconnected perspective on one country, one area, and one group—to the exclusion of others—cannot work. The unions, disunions, and shifting alliances reverberate through conflict areas throughout both countries and directly shape the struggle for control of the state on both sides.

In a troubled region, a crisis response to the urgent security and political needs of South Sudan should not eclipse those of Sudan, which needs a continued focus. There must be a more robust effort aimed at building comprehensive peace processes in both countries that include all stakeholders and consider the

impact each country has on the other's stability. Separate, stove-piped peace strategies pursued by local or international leaders that address the interests of some groups but not others, will not bring peace. Ultimately, if core drivers of violence are not addressed, the wars will continue, and spill across their common border, with dangerous and destabilizing consequences.

Endnotes

¹ Sudanese Foreign Minister Ali Karti has said the government is willing to renew negotiations on South Kordofan and Blue Nile, and SPLM-N Secretary General Yasser Arman confirmed he had received an invitation to Addis Ababa for February 5, 2014. Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir also met on January 26 with the head of Darfur rebel faction Justice and Equality Movement–Bashar to discuss implementation of a peace agreement signed in 2013. Sudan Tribune, “Sudan ready for negotiations on Blue Nile and South Kordofan: FM,” January 27, 2014, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49734>; Sudan Tribune, “Sudanese president to meet Darfur ex-rebels over peace implementation row,” January 26, 2014, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49726>; Sudan Tribune, “Darfur ex-rebels resume implementation of peace deal,” January 27, 2015, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49737>.

² Mohammed Amin, “Sudan launches major offensive against rebels, *Africa Review*, November 13 2013, available at <http://www.africareview.com/News/Sudan-launches-major-offensive-against-rebels/-/979180/2071236/-/rj9vnx/-/index.html>. Speaking from Blue Nile state in January, Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir referenced the offensive in Darfur, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile saying Khartoum had given the rebel alliance “all the opportunities for peace. We now closed all the doors of negotiation about power and wealth sharing, and will negotiate only about their amnesty.” See Radio Dabanga, “Al Bashir closes door to dialogue with rebels, 'opens door to Sudan's revolution,’” January 10, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63951>. Speaking in late December, President al-Bashir described military operations in South Kordofan and Blue Nile that would constitute a “final ending for the rebellion,” and “break the rebellion force.” See Radio Dabanga, “‘Major military campaign to end rebellion in Darfur’: Al Bashir,” December 26, 2013, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/62728>.

³ For additional perspective on this issue see Eric Reeves, “Darfur: Violence and Humanitarian Crisis in South Sudan Further Obscure Relentless Suffering and Destruction,” January 12, 2014, available at <http://sudanreeves.org/2014/01/12/darfur-violence-and-humanitarian-crisis-in-south-sudan-further-obscure-relentless-suffering-and-destruction/>.

⁴ “Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan,” U.N. Doc. S/PV.7100, p. 4, January 23, 2014, available at http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PV.7100.

⁵ With 400,000 displaced in 2013—more than the combined displacement figures for the past two years—the total number of displaced people in the region has risen to nearly two million. See remarks by U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Hervé Ladsous, U.N. Security Council, “Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan,” U.N. Doc. S/PV.7100, p. 3.

⁶ Radio Dabanga, “Sudanese Air Force bombs South Darfur towns,” January 14, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/64229>; Radio Dabanga, “Two children injured in South Darfur air raid,” January 7, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63628>; Radio Dabanga, “Bombing in South Darfur ‘to cover commercial convoy’: rebels,” December 30, 2013, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63023>; Radio Dabanga, “Air raids kill three farmers in Darfur,” January 2, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63250>; Radio Dabanga, “75 bombs on Jebel Marra since Sunday – thousands displaced,” December 31, 2013, <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63102>; United Nations High Commission on Refugees, “2014 UNHCR country operations profile – Sudan,” available at <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/teaxis/vtx/page?page=49e483b76&submit=GO> (last accessed January 2014).

⁷ Radio Dabanga, “Intensive air raids on Darfur’s East Jebel Marra,” December 29, 2013, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/62936>; “75 bombs on Jebel Marra since Sunday – thousands displaced,” December 31, 2013, <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63102>.

⁸ The Sudan Revolutionary Front, or SRF, rebel coalition conducted several attacks on strategic locations in South Kordofan and North Kordofan states immediately following the Sudanese government's announcement of its offensive on Darfur, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile on November 11, 2013. On November 12 the SRF attacked Delling, South Kordofan, located along the only paved road linking South Kordofan's capital, Kadugli, with the El Obeid air base in North Kordofan, used to launch aerial attacks in South Kordofan. On November 17, the SRF attacked the North Kordofan town of Abu Zabad, located along a north-south railway and key supply route. Nuba Reports has documented a series of SRF and Sudanese government ground clashes from November 12 through December 28. See Nuba Reports, "South Kordofan November - December 2013 Situation Report," January 17, 2014, pp. 2-3, on file with Enough Project; Nuba Reports, "Sudanese Forces are massing for an assault on the SPLA-North heartland, just over a week after SRF forces pushed north towards North Kordofan," November 29, 2013, available at <http://nubareports.org/sudan-prepares-large-scale-attack-as-srf-push-into-new-territory-north/>; Satellite Sentinel Project, "Situation Report: Expanding War in Sudan Threatens Civilians," November 22, 2013, available at <http://www.satsentinel.org/report/situation-report-expanding-war-sudan-threatens-civilians>. The Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (SSRA), the humanitarian wing of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army-North (SPLM/A-N) that addresses humanitarian outreach in areas held by the SPLM/A-N, has also documented aerial and ground attacks. SSRA, "Humanitarian and human rights situation of the IDPs and war affected civilians in the SPLM/A-North controlled area of South Kordofan and Blue Nile States," pp. 4-8, July-December 2013, on file with Enough Project. The Sudanese government has had greater success in isolating rebel forces in Blue Nile state and controlling its military front with ground and air strikes. For in-depth analysis of the relative military positions and strengths of government and rebel forces in Blue Nile see Claudio Gramizzi, "At an Impasse: The Conflict in Blue Nile," Small Arms Survey, December 2013, available at <http://www.smallarmssurveysudan.org/fileadmin/docs/working-papers/HSBA-WP31-Blue-Nile.pdf>.

⁹ The Sudan Consortium reports that human rights monitors found 22 civilians in South Kordofan were killed and 41 were seriously injured between December 15, 2013 and January 15, 2014. Rights monitors documented 56 bombing attacks in South Kordofan in December 2013, a number that tripled from the previous month. The number of recent casualties and bombings attacks are both the highest recorded by Sudan Consortium monitors since 2011. The organization also estimates that 1,600 homes have been destroyed in South Kordofan. The timing, pattern, and location of attacks suggests intent to disrupt planting and harvest of crops in an area without access to humanitarian relief. The Sudan Consortium, "The Impact of Aerial Bombing of Civilian Settlements in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States, Republic of Sudan," January 2014, pp. 2-3, available at http://www.sudanconsortium.org/darfur_consortium_actions/pressreleases/2014/Sudan%20Consortium%20Update%20Jan%202014-FINAL.pdf. Similar findings emerged in SSRA documentation, SSRA, "Humanitarian and human rights situation of the IDPs and war affected civilians in the SPLM/A-North controlled area of South Kordofan and Blue Nile States," p. 6. For news accounts of attacks see Radio Dabanga, "'Sudanese air raids on South Kordofan violate UN Resolution 1261': SPLM-N," January 26, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/65194>; Catholic Radio Network, "Fresh fighting displaces 3,000 civilians in South Kordofan," December 20, 2013, available at <http://catholicradionetwork.org/?q=node/12776>; Radio Dabanga, "Rebels, Sudanese army shell South Kordofan capital," December 15, 2013, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/61723>; Radio Dabanga, "Sudanese forces bomb, shell South Kordofan," December 19, 2013, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/62159>; Radio Dabanga, "Sudan rebels shell Kadugli after army attack," December 17, 2013, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/61965>; Nuba Reports, "On the Ground Update: Fighting Season Begins," November 4, 2013, available at <http://nubareports.org/on-the-ground-update-fighting-season-begins/>.

¹⁰ SSRA, "Humanitarian and human rights situation of the IDPs and war affected civilians in the SPLM/A-North controlled area of South Kordofan and Blue Nile States," p. 4.

¹¹ SSRA, "Humanitarian and human rights situation of the IDPs and war affected civilians in the SPLM/A-North controlled area of South Kordofan and Blue Nile States," p. 5.

¹² See Sudan Consortium, "The Impact of Aerial Bombing of Civilian Settlements in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States, Republic of Sudan," p. 1. For more detailed accounts of the incident in Trogi and photographs provided by the SRF of seized materiel see Radio Dabanga, "Rebels claim victory over army convoy in South Kordofan," January 5, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63460>; Nuba Reports, "The Sudan Revolutionary Front has repulsed a massive assault on their southern territory in Sudan's South Kordofan state.

The battle has cemented rebel control over critical roads into South Sudan and the Yida refugee camp, but also illustrates Sudan's growing desire to push deep into rebel territory," January 6, 2014, available at <http://nubareports.org/srf-repel-saf-attack-hold-road-to-south-sudan/>; Radio Dabanga, "'Military convoys destroyed in South Kordofan': Revolutionary Front," January 6, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63526>; Radio Tamazuj, "Sudan army clashes with JEM rebels in Trogi near South Sudan border," January 6, 2014, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/sudan-army-clashes-jem-rebels-trogi-near-south-sudan-border>; Radio Dabanga, "'Come see Trogi battlefield for yourselves': Sudan Revolutionary Front," January 7, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63642>.

¹³ The Sudan Consortium has documented bombing attacks in rebel-held areas of Blue Nile on farm land and market areas on market days. Sudan Consortium, "The Impact of Aerial Bombing of Civilian Settlements in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States, Republic of Sudan," p. 5. See also Founy Youth Development Association (FYDA), January 2014, press release with names and ages of those injured on file with Enough Project; Radio Tamazuj, "Aerial bombing kills 3 in Sudan's Blue Nile," January 15, 2014, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/aerial-bombing-kills-3-sudans-blue-nile>. SSRA has documented air strikes in Blue Nile from July to December 2013, in the report, "Humanitarian and human rights situation of the IDPs and war affected civilians in the SPLM/A-North controlled area of South Kordofan and Blue Nile States," p. 8. For news accounts documenting the toll of recent Blue Nile air strikes see Radio Tamazuj, "Sudan army clashes with rebels in Nuba Mountains; prices rise," January 8, 2014, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/sudan-army-clashes-rebels-nuba-mountains-prices-rise>; Radio Tamazuj, "No halt to Nuba Mountains bombings," January 1, 2014, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/photos-no-halt-nuba-mountains-bombings>; Radio Tamazuj, "Sudan: three injured in Nuba Mountains air attack," December 26, 2013, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/sudan-three-hurt-nuba-mountains-air-attack>; Sudan Tribune, "Eight people from the same family killed in S. Kordofan bombing: SPLM-N," December 21, 2013, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49267>; Catholic Radio Network, "Aerial attacks kill one, injures another in Nuba Mountains," December 20, 2013, available at <http://catholicradionetwork.org/?q=node/12777>; Catholic Radio Network, "Aerial attack injures 5 in Heiban County," December 17, 2013, available at <http://catholicradionetwork.org/?q=node/12724>; Enough Team, "Humanitarian Needs Assessment in Sudan's Blue Nile State," December 13, 2013, available at <http://enoughproject.org/reports/humanitarian-needs-assessment-sudans-blue-nile-state>.

¹⁴ SSRA, "Humanitarian and human rights situation of the IDPs and war affected civilians in the SPLM/A-North controlled area of South Kordofan and Blue Nile States," p. 8.

¹⁵ An account released by Nuba Reports explains that the first FAB-500-SHN parachute-retarded bombs were observed in the Nuba Mountains in a November 17 attack on Tabanya that killed two and injured five. Twenty total parachute bombs have since been observed. The use of these bombs allows the fighter jets to fly more closely to the ground, drop bombs with greater precision, and then withdraw in the delay between the bomb's release and its explosion. Civilians on the ground who had learned to recognize the size and timing of an aerial attack and take shelter are now being killed and injured with the new bombs that make little noise, fall for a longer period of time, and then explode without warning. See Nuba Reports, "Sudan's Parachute Bombs," January 15, 2014, available at <http://nubareports.org/on-the-ground-update-parachute-bombs-and-new-offensives/>; Robert Perkins, "Sudan: Parachute bombs mark a new threat to civilians," January 16, 2014, report on file with Enough Project. On August 27, 2013, the Satellite Sentinel Project documented the appearance of at least three Sukhoi Su-24 "Fencer" fighter jets at the Sudanese government's Wadi Seidna military air base north of Khartoum. Parts of Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile states are within the 600 kilometer operational range of the supersonic precision Sukhoi bomber. See Satellite Sentinel Project, "Sudan Adds Precision Bomber to Arsenal," August 26, 2013, available at <http://www.satsentinel.org/report/sudan-adds-precision-bomber-arsenal>.

¹⁶ Nuba Reports, "Refugees flee back to warzone as South Sudan crisis spreads," December 23, 2013, available at <http://nubareports.org/refugees-flee-back-to-warzone-as-south-sudan-crisis-spread/>.

¹⁷ Najda Romeo Peter, December 31, 2013, statement from Yida refugee camp community on file with Enough Project. For exact UNHCR figures on the numbers of Sudanese refugees in camps see United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Refugees in South Sudan Information Sharing Portal," available at <https://data.unhcr.org/SouthSudan/region.php?id=26&country=251> (Unity state's Adjoung Thok, Nyeel, Pariang,

and Yida camps) and <https://data.unhcr.org/SouthSudan/region.php?id=25&country=251> (Upper Nile state's Doro, Gendrassa, Jamam, Kaya, Lelo, Malakal, Renk, and Yusuf Batil camps) (last accessed January 2014).

¹⁸ The U.N. refugee agency has documented 39,896 Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia, with 2,963 in Ashura, 13,402 in Bambasi, 2,684 in local communities, 10,275 in Sherkole, and 10,572 in Tongo. UNHCR, "Sudanese Refugees in Ethiopia - Information Sharing Portal," Assosa area, available at http://data.unhcr.org/Sudanese_Refugees_in_Ethiopia/region.php?id=23&country=65 (last accessed January 2014). SSRA provides similar figures, noting that these Sudanese refugees are from Blue Nile state. SSRA, "Humanitarian and human rights situation of the IDPs and war affected civilians in the SPLM/A-North controlled area of South Kordofan and Blue Nile States," p. 16.

¹⁹ While some humanitarian workers have recently begun to return to these camps, including Yida, the needs of those living in the area have exceeded the capacity. See Radio Tamazuj, "Aid workers begin return to Yida refugee camp," January 12, 2014, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/aid-workers-begin-return-yida-refugee-camp>. For more information on the withdrawals see Radio Tamazuj, "Clashes near Yida refugee camp prompt evacuation," December 22, 2013, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/clashes-near-yida-refugee-camp-prompt-evacuation>.

²⁰ Radio Tamazuj, "Nuba Mountains refugees trapped between two conflicts," January 1, 2014, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/nuba-mountains-refugees-trapped-between-two-conflicts>; Sudan Tribune, "Sudanese refugees in S. Sudan facing difficult humanitarian situation: SPLM-N," December 27, 2013, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49345>. Several humanitarian groups have issued statements about deteriorating security and called for increased protection of displaced people along the border. See, for example, Solidarités International, "South Sudan: A Member of Our South Sudanese Team Has Been Killed," December 22, 2013, available at <http://www.solidarites.org/en/nos-missions/soudan-du-sud/actualites/824-south-sudan-a-member-of-our-south-sudanese-team-has-been-killed>; U.N. News Centre, "Refugee exodus from strife-torn South Sudan picks up momentum, UN reports," January 7, 2014, available at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=46883&Cr=South+Sudan&Cr1=#.UtWw8yQo6B8>. Some Sudanese refugees are finding inadequate shelter and food, prompting their return to Sudan. See Radio Tamazuj, "Children return from Ethiopian camps to Sudan's Blue Nile," January 8, 2014, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/children-return-ethiopian-camps-sudans-blue-nile>.

²¹ Radio Dabanga, "Patients flee from hospital after attack on doctor in Central Darfur," January 6, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63545>; Radio Dabanga, "'Situation significantly worsened for Darfur displaced': Omda," January 2, 2013, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63259>. For a selection of recent attacks in camps for internally displaced persons see, for example, Radio Dabanga, "Women gang-raped, wood gatherers threatened in South Darfur," January 5, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63452>; Radio Dabanga, "Gunfire terrorises camp residents in South Darfur," January 3, 2013, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63361>.

²² See January 23, 2014 reference by UNAMID Joint Special Representative Mohamed Ibn Chambas to "unabated" clashes between government forces and armed movements with "devastating consequences on the civilian populations in the region," available at <http://unamid.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=11027&ctl=Details&mid=14214&ItemID=23160&language=en-US>. Chambas also referred to escalating tensions among ethnic groups and conflict over limited resources as another dimension of insecurity in Darfur. Radio Dabanga, "Rebel forces 'attack army battalion in North Darfur': spokesman," January 5, 2014, available at <https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/63457>.

²³ In comments to the U.N. Security Council on January 23, 2014, Ladsous said malnutrition rates across Darfur have exceeded emergency levels and more than 90 percent of the population lacks access to clean water and sanitation. U.N. Security Council, "Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan," p. 3. For more on food insecurity across Sudan see Famine Early Warning Systems Network, "Food Security Outlook Update Significant deterioration in security in Darfur and South Kordofan," November 2013, available at <http://www.fews.net/east-africa/sudan/food-security-outlook-update/sun-2013-11-10>. See also Sudan Tribune, "DRA chief expresses concern over potential flow of refugees to Darfur from S. Sudan," January 3, 2014, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49428>; Radio Tamazuj, "South Sudanese stuck at Darfur border," January 8, 2013, available at <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/south-sudanese-stuck-darfur-border>. For more

on South Sudanese refugee movements see World Food Programme, “South Sudan Crisis: Cross-Border Impact,” January 22, 2014, available at

<https://ea.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/South%20Sudan%20Crisis%20Cross-Border%20Situation%20Report%2022%20Jan.pdf>; UNHCR, “South Sudan Emergency: Sudan,” January 13, 2014, available at

<https://ea.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/HCR%20Sudan%2013%20Jan%202014.pdf>.

²⁴ For a selection of profiles of Musa Hilal with analysis of his interests and accounts of his activities see Abdullahi Osman El-Tom, “Janjaweed leader Hilal and his search for a new tribal war in Darfur,” *Sudan Tribune*, September 16, 2013, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article48058>; Emily Wax, “In Sudan, ‘a Big Sheik’ Roams Free: Militia Leader Describes Campaign Against Africans as Self-Defense,” *Washington Post*, July 18, 2004, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A58171-2004Jul17.html>, p. A1. In early interviews Hilal emphasized his peaceful relations with Darfur groups, his efforts to “find peace,” and build “relationships of mutual coexistence.” See Samantha Power, “Dying in Darfur: Can the ethnic cleansing in Sudan be stopped?” *New Yorker*, August 30, 2004, available at http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2004/08/30/040830fa_fact1; Lydia Polgreen, “Over Tea, Sheik Denies Stirring Darfur’s Torment,” *New York Times*, June 12, 2006, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/12/world/africa/12darfur.html>; Human Rights Watch, “Musa Hilal in His Own Words,” March 3, 2005, available at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2005/03/02/musa-hilal-his-own-words>; Rebecca Hamilton, “The Monster of Darfur,” *New Republic*, December 3, 2009, available at <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/economy/the-monster-darfur>.

²⁵ Human Rights Watch, “Darfur Documents Confirm Government Policy of Militia Support,” July 19, 2004, pp. 5, 7, available at <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/072004darfur.pdf>; Human Rights Watch, “Darfur: Militia Leader Implicates Khartoum: Janjaweed Chief Says Sudan Government Backed Attacks,” March 3, 2005, available at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2005/03/02/darfur-militia-leader-implicates-khartoum>; Human Rights Watch, “Sudan: Entrenching Impunity: Government Responsibility for International Crimes in Darfur,” pp. 10-16, December 2005, available at <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/darfur1205webwcover.pdf>; U.N. Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005) concerning the Sudan, “List of Individuals Subject to the Measures Imposed by Paragraph 3 of Resolution 1591 (2005)” originally released on April 25, 2006, last updated September 4, 2013, p. 3, available at http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1591/pdf/Sudan_list.pdf; U.N. Security Council, “Report of the Panel of Experts established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005) concerning the Sudan prepared in accordance with paragraph 2 of resolution 1665 (2006),” pp. 34, 41, 63, available at http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/795.

²⁶ U.N. Security Council, “List of Individuals Subject to the Measures Imposed by Paragraph 3 of Resolution 1591 (2005),” http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1591/pdf/Sudan_list.pdf.

²⁷ Sudan Tribune, “Janjaweed leader defects from NCP, establishes new political movement,” January 5, 2014, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49444>.

²⁸ Sudan Tribune, “Sudan’s NCP denies Janjaweed leader mutinied against state,” December 15, 2013, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49185>.

²⁹ Sudan Tribune, “Janjaweed leader defects from NCP, establishes new political movement,” January 5, 2014, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49444>.

³⁰ These demands include strong language on human rights protections and the right of internally displaced people to return to their homes, according to an anonymous Sudan analyst consulted by Enough Project.

³¹ Anonymous Sudan analyst consulted by Enough Project.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.