

## **Sudan: A Survey of Terrorism and Human Rights**

By Arika Long

“The politics of fear are fueling a downward spiral of human rights abuses in which no right is sacrosanct and no person safe” (Secretary General Irene Khan, Amnesty International).

### **Introduction**

Sudan is a primary example of a country dominated by terror and human rights violations. Upon the release of Amnesty International’s 2007 annual report, Secretary General Khan described the continuing conflict in Sudan’s Darfur region as a “bleeding wound on the world’s conscience.” In the report, the authors declare that the world has been “impotent” in the face of major crises like Darfur. They state that policies linked to the “War on Terror” are creating a more polarized and dangerous world, with grave effects in Sudan. In addition to the terror and human rights violations permeating the North, frustration also exists over the elusive dividends of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in war-decimated Southern Sudan.

International donors, the U.N., and the government of Southern Sudan struggle to provide the resources necessary for investment in essential post-humanitarian and pre-development support, in addition to services for the estimated hundreds of thousands of people returning to the South. While the government of Sudan, the Sudanese people, and the international community have a once-in-a-generation opportunity to establish a basis for a stable society in southern Sudan, without a sufficient infrastructure, the South faces an imminent health crisis and the possibility of a broader humanitarian crisis.

### **Darfur**

In February of 2003, two guerrilla groups—the Sudanese Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement—took up arms in Darfur against the government of Sudan. In late 2004, cease-fire monitoring troops from the African Union entered the region in an attempt to stabilize the situation. In January 2005, the final North/South Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed, which granted the southern rebels autonomy for six years. In late 2006, peacekeeping troops struggled to stabilize the situation, which has become increasingly regional in scope, and has brought instability to eastern Chad and Sudanese incursions into the Central African Republic (CAR). In 2004, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution labeling the events in Darfur as “genocide.” According to the United Nations, more than 200,000 people have died in Darfur and more than two million have been displaced. The crisis is currently the worst humanitarian disaster in the world.

### **Peace Process**

Although a peace process is technically under way in Sudan, peace negotiations have repeatedly foundered over issues of self-determination for the South, and particularly over the application of

Sharia (Islamic law) in the predominately Christian southern population. The government of Sudan has also hesitated to allow aid into the country from the United Nations. Thus far in the peace process, the Sudanese Government has failed to disarm the *Janjaweed* militia, which attacks civilians in Sudan and in eastern Chad. As a result, civilians continue to face violence, and are inadequately protected by their government. Most notably, conflict continues in the Darfur region of Sudan, despite the Darfur Peace Agreement. Tens of thousands of Darfuris who have escaped the killing, rape, and pillage, live in refugee camps in CAR and Chad, and are unable to return to their villages. According to Amnesty International's 2007 report, at least 200,000 people died and 2.5 million were internally displaced by the end of 2006.

In May of 2007, the semiautonomous government of Southern Sudan, which emerged after the 2005 peace agreement, set up a task force to bring Darfur rebel groups to southern Sudan for peace talks. Its secretary, Achier Deng Akol, said it might take until July of 2007 to convince the rebel groups to meet. In addition, the United Nations Security Council endorsed a resolution to extend by six months the 10,000-member United Nations mission that would help enforce the 2005 peace accord.

## **Terrorism**

Sudan has a long history of protecting terrorists and condoning their actions. In March of 1973, Palestinian terrorists murdered the American ambassador to Sudan. In the early to mid-1990s, Khartoum was home to several well-known international terrorists, including Abu Nidal and Osama bin Laden. Additionally, the Sudanese government was accused in 1995 of complicity in the attempted assassination of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa. In 1993 the United States designated Sudan as a state sponsor of terrorism because of the National Islamic Front's reported links with international terrorist networks. American sanctions were put in place against Sudan in 1997 and the last American ambassador was removed in 1998. In 1998 the United States launched missiles at an alleged chemical munitions factory in Khartoum in response to terrorist attacks in East Africa. Sudan has been accused of providing training facilities for various terrorist organizations. Since 2000, Sudan has officially reversed its policies and begun to cooperate with international counterterrorism efforts.

Potentially facing a military threat by the United States following September 11th, because of its relationship to terrorist groups and Al Qaeda especially, Sudan opened talks with the U.S. on counter-terrorism efforts for the first time. Since Sudan began to provide intelligence to the U.S. on Al Qaeda, a rapprochement agreement occurred between Sudan and the U.S. In May 2004, Sudan was removed from the U.S. list of countries deemed as uncooperative in the war against terrorist networks. While the decision was made to remove Sudan from this list it should be noted that this action does not remove Sudan from the State Department's list of terrorist sponsors. Sudan has taken steps to cut off ties with external terrorist networks; according to the U.S. State Department, Sudan has arrested some thirty suspected terrorists.

Although Sudan is making efforts to help the U.S. fight the "War on Terror," within its own borders a dictatorship is waging war on its own citizens, making a strong alliance in the war against terror with the United States difficult. Although Sudan has helped search for Al Qaeda operatives,

many academics, journalists, and advocates argue that the civil unrest and terror campaigns carried out on Sudan's own citizens are leading to instability that could, in fact, have grave impacts for citizens of other states. Sudan's inability to quell the ongoing conflict and escalating terrorism within its own borders has caused destruction in the North, and has halted humanitarian progress in the South, resulting in massive human rights violations and deeper political destabilization. Still, Sudan is a party to all twelve international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism.

## Human Rights

The Government of Sudan has placed significant restrictions on its citizens' freedoms of assembly, speech, religious practice, and political association. Personal rights are often disrespected, especially with regard to women. The judicial system is not independent, but is subject to government interference. Conditions in prisons are harsh, and long sentences are common. Security forces, including the police, routinely disregard basic human rights.

Sudan continues to be a source country for the trafficking of men, women, and children trafficked for forced labor and sexual exploitation. Reportedly, boys are trafficked to the Middle East, particularly to Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, for use as camel jockeys. A small number of girls are trafficked within Sudan for domestic servitude, as well as for commercial sexual exploitation in small brothels in internally displaced persons camps. The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) of Uganda continues to abduct and to forcibly conscript small numbers of children, most notably in Southern Sudan, for use as cooks, porters, and combatants; some of these children are then trafficked across borders into Uganda or possibly the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Furthermore, children have been used by rebel groups and the Sudanese Armed Forces and associated militias in the conflict in Darfur.

During the decades of civil war, thousands of Dinka women and children were enslaved by members of Baggara tribes, and were subjected to various forms of forced labor without remuneration. This exploitation occurred in addition to extensive physical and sexual abuse. Following the cessation of the North-South conflict, there were no known new abductions of Dinka by Baggara tribes. However, inter-tribal abductions of a different nature continue in Southern Sudan, and constitute cases that warrant further investigation. According to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's World Fact Book, Sudan does not fully comply with minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking, and is not making significant efforts to do so.

In May of 2007, judges at the International Criminal Court in The Hague issued arrest warrants for two Sudanese citizens, Ahmad Muhammad Harun, a former security official accused of playing a role in planning atrocities, and Ali Muhammad Ali Abd-al-Rahman, also known as Ali Kushayb, accused of being a former leader of the *Janjaweed* militia in Darfur. The arrest warrants represent the Court's most concrete steps to address the atrocities that have occurred in Darfur. In issuing the warrants, the judges said there were reasonable grounds to conclude that the two suspects were "criminally responsible" for torture, mass rape and the forced displacement of entire villages in western Darfur in 2003 and 2004. It is up to Sudan to arrest the men, but the Sudanese government has asserted that the court has no jurisdiction. Sudan's president has repeatedly insisted that any necessary trials can be handled within the country.

Interestingly, Mr. Harun appeared at a 2007 human rights conference in Egypt in his new capacity as Sudan's Minister for Humanitarian Affairs. He also oversees Darfur's large refugee camps, where international aid agencies have complained he is hindering their access to the needy. Mr. Kushayb, who the Khartoum government said was under arrest pending its own investigation, has been seen traveling under police protection in the Darfur region.

The following references comprise a survey of information available about terrorism and human rights issues in Sudan. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but is meant to provide the reader with a representative sample of information in the field. The citations are organized by topic. The plethora of entries about Darfur is a reflection of the international community's focus on this area.



### **Background to the Conflict and Broad Analysis**

Akol, J. 2005. "Did Britain divide Sudan?" *New African* (441): 66-66.

Annotation: The author asserts that the British-initiated system of divide and rule in Sudan is misguided. He provides a historical account showing that the north and south regions of Sudan were never united any time before the British arrived, and describes the constant state of war between the regions prior to the arrival of the British. He offers a lengthy account of the implications on Sudanese history.

Central Intelligence Agency. 2006. "[CIA: The World Factbook: Sudan.](#)" CIA World Fact Book.

Annotation: This webpage is an encyclopedia entry for Sudan.

Dagne, T. 2006. "Sudan: Humanitarian Crisis, Peace Talks, Terrorism, and U.S. Policy." *CRS Issue Brief for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, U.S. Library of Congress.

Annotation: The author of this Congressional Research Brief provides an account of recent events in Sudan (as of April 2006). Background and historical information about the conflict, a description of current issues, and information and analysis regarding the crisis in Darfur, are also included. The humanitarian situation in Northern Sudan, the U.S.'s response, the humanitarian crisis in Southern Sudan, and terrorism in Sudan are summarized as well.

De Waal, A. 2007. "The Wars of Sudan." *Nation* 284 (11): 16-20.

Annotation: The author describes the history of violence that has plagued Sudan since the country gained independence in 1956, including its two civil wars and the current crisis in Darfur. The author offers a history of the conflicts, and highlights details related to the role of dissident Islamic factions in the violence in Darfur.

Fadl, Y. and R. G. Hasan. 2002. Religion and Conflict in Sudan. Nairobi: Paulines Productions Africa.

Annotation: In this collection of conference papers, the authors analyze the influence of religion, modernity, and globalization on conflict in Sudan.

IRIN. 2007. "[Republic of the Sudan Humanitarian Country Profile](#)."

Annotation: This website includes basic information about Sudan from a humanitarian perspective. It is updated regularly with links to news and analysis about the humanitarian crises in Sudan.

Johnson, D. 2003. The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Annotation: The author of this book focuses on the differences between Sudan's two civil wars, and highlights the minor conflicts generated by and contained within the larger wars. He examines historical, political, economic, and social factors that influenced Sudan's civil wars and considers humanitarian aid, oil revenue, and terrorist organizations as underlying issues that have exacerbated the violence.

Meyer, G. 2005. War and Faith in Sudan. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Annotation: The author offers a personal narrative of his life among the Nuba people. Meyer lived in a number of Nuba villages and traveled the countryside with them, seeing first-hand the effects of the vicious warfare that the government in Khartoum waged against these people. Senior Sudan scholar, Frances M. Deng, contributes a forward to the book.

Warburg, G. 2005. "The Wingate Literature Revisited: The Sudan As Seen by Members of the Sudan Political Service during the Condominium: 1899-1956." *Middle Eastern Studies* 41 (3): 373-389.

Annotation: The author examines documents from the Wingate administration, and perspectives of the members of the Sudan Political Service (SPS) regarding benefits derived by the Sudanese from British administration under Governor-General Sir Reginald Wingate. He highlights contentions of General Horatio H. Kitchener and colonial administrators that the country required efficient British administration, with little Egyptian interference, despite the signing of the Condominium agreements. He describes animosities in Egyptian-Sudanese relations, as well as Egyptian interference in local politics. The author offers insights about the future political stability of Sudan based on the SPS. He also details the government's Southern Policy and the programs implemented on the non-Muslim Africans in southern Sudan.

Warburg, G. R. 2007. "The Search for the Sources of the White Nile and Egyptian-Sudanese Relations." *Middle Eastern Studies* 43 (3): 475-486.

Annotation: In this article, the author argues it is the Nile Valley that unites Sudan and Egypt diplomatically.

Williams, P. 2006. "Military Responses to Mass Killing: The African Union Mission in Sudan." *International Peacekeeping* 13 (2): 168-183.

Annotation: The author provides an overview of the military options available to the international community in response to instances of mass killing, and focuses on the military response to the Darfur Crisis. The author highlights the role of the African Union's Mission in Sudan (AMIS) and analyzes AMIS's international legitimacy, its effectiveness in achieving its mandate, and its ability to foster lasting peace in Darfur.

Woodward, P. 2006. US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Annotation: The author examines the relationship between U.S. perceptions of Islamism in Sudan and Somalia and argues that the U.S. has pursued the containment of Sudan and Somalia. He describes the effects of the Eritrean-Ethiopian war, as well as other conflicts, on U.S. policy and posture in the region.

**Darfur**

2006. "CHAD: Janjaweed Attacks Claim." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social & Cultural Series* 43 (5): 16650-16651.

Annotation: The article reports on attacks by Sudanese Janjaweed militias and local Chadian recruits in villages in Chad. According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), more than a hundred civilians were massacred in the cluster of villages west of the Sudan border on April 12 and 13, 2006.

2006. "Sudanese Smoke Screen." *America* 195 (2): 4.

Annotation: This short article is a critique of the creation of a special criminal court by the Sudanese government to investigate crimes in Darfur. The focus of the critique is the Government of Sudan's alleged failure to give justice to the victims of rape and murder.

2007. "Sudan: 'We're all Africans, we're all black', says President Bashir." *New African* (461): 33-33.

Annotation: The article is a presentation of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir's views on the conflict in Darfur, Sudan. Al-Bashir denies the 2006 U.S. "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices," which reported continued genocide in the region. He blames both the U.S. and British governments in exaggerating the crisis. Al-Bashir argues the cause of the problem is the rebellion in the region. He also emphasizes his decision to oppose the deployment of United Nations peacekeepers to the region.

Cockburn, A. 2006. "Gaza and Darfur." *Nation* 283 (21): 13-13.

Annotation: The author argues that a focus on Darfur takes attention away from the ongoing attack of Palestinians in the Gaza strip. According to the author, Darfur is a crisis that Americans can feel good about condemning, as it has no real connection to the U.S.

Faris, S. 2007. "The Real Roots of Darfur." *Atlantic Monthly* 299 (3): 67-69.

Annotation: The author discusses how global warming, and not ethnic hatred, may have contributed to the crisis in Darfur. The author suggests that global climate changes led to fighting between settled farmers and nomadic herders over failing lands.

Grono, N. 2006. "Briefing on Darfur: the International Community's Failure to Protect." *African Affairs* 105 (421): 621-631.

Annotation: The author directs the concept of the doctrine "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) on conflicts of large-scale atrocities, particularly Darfur.

Hagan, J., W. Raymond-Richmond, *et. al.* 2005. "The Criminology of Genocide: the Death and Rape of Darfur." *Criminology* 43 (3): 525-562.

Annotation: Using victimization survey data collected from Darfuri survivors living in refugee camps in Chad, and drawing on conflict theory, the authors present evidence that the Sudanese government has directly supported violent killings and rapes in a lethally destructive exercise of power and control. The data include explicit evidence of the central mediating role played by racism in the attacks. According to the authors, there is little or no evidence from the surveys to support the claim of the Sudanese government that the attacks have been aimed at rebel groups as a counter-insurgency strategy. By the authors' analysis, the Sudanese government claims are not credible as self-defense arguments, but rather exemplify the exercise of power and control through denial. The authors consider additional forms of denial, including the slowness of modern American criminology to advance the study of genocide.

Hanson, S. 2007. "[Crisis Guide on Darfur](#)."

Annotation: This Council on Foreign Relations website provides information on the tragedy in Sudan's Darfur region. Seven photojournalists introduce the site's content through a multimedia essay. The site depicts human, political, military, and historical realities in the region, and provides links to deeper resources from the Council's think tank and other organizations around the world.

Hegland, C. 2007. "Sudan Sanctions Loom." *National Journal* 39 (12): 58-59.

Annotation: The author discusses the plans of the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush to levy sanctions against several Sudanese leaders for their failure and obstinate refusal to curb the violence in Darfur. The author describes events in April, 2006, when the United Nations Security Council targeted four midlevel Sudanese leaders by freezing their assets and banning their travel, a move designed to pressure both the Sudanese government-backed militias and the rebel leaders into protecting civilians in the Darfur region.

Piiparinen, T. 2007. "Reconsidering the Silence over the Ultimate Crime: A Functional Shift in Crisis Management from the Rwandan Genocide to Darfur." *Journal of Genocide Research* 9 (1): 71-91.

Annotation: The author offers a comparison of genocide in Darfur in 2004 and Rwanda in 1994. He analyzes what has stayed the same, what approaches have been made, and what could still be ameliorated by acknowledging and condemning the genocides.

### **Peace Process**

2005. "Lengthening the Arm of Global Law." *Economist* 375 (8421): 38-38.

Annotation: This short article is focused on the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague. It describes three ways the ICC can launch an investigation into a sealed list of 51 suspected war criminals, drawn up by the commission and said to include the names of Sudanese officials, members of state-sponsored militias and Darfuri rebels, given to Luis Moreno-Ocampo, the ICC's chief prosecutor in 2005.

2006. "Text of the Communication of the African Union Peace and Security Council, 46th Meeting, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, MARCH 10th, 2006." *International Peacekeeping* 13 (4): 601-605.

Annotation: This is a transcript of the communication of the African Union Peace and Security Council's meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on March 10, 2006. At the meeting, the council adopted a number of resolutions about the situation in Darfur, Sudan. The council set a number of deadlines for the Sudanese government and parties concerned in the conflict to come to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The council also requested that the Sudanese government comply with a number of previous treaties and agreements.

2007. "Ending Sudan's impunity." *Economist* 382 (8518): 53-54.

Annotation: The article is a description of the International Criminal Court's (ICC) prosecution of two people suspected of atrocities in Darfur. The ICC chief prosecutor, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, has asked that the court issue summons for two men: Ahmad Muhammad Harun, a former junior interior minister and now minister for humanitarian affairs; and Ali Muhammad Ali Abd-al-Rahman, also known as Ali Kushayb. The article includes details of the cases, the death toll of the fighting in Darfur, and a description of the conflict's root causes.

Feinstein, L. 2007. "Darfur and Beyond: What is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities," Council on Foreign Relations.

Annotation: In this report, Council on Foreign Relations Senior Fellow Lee Feinstein points to the U.N.'s acceptance that sovereignty may need to be compromised when a government is unable or unwilling to provide for the basic needs of those within its state borders. He argues that the challenge for the United States and the international community is to translate this principle into practice. To that end, this report recommends that the new U.N. Secretary-General take genocide prevention as a mission statement and mandate, and place it at the center of his and his organization's agenda. He also makes a number of recommendations for the United States and others to build a sustainable capacity for genocide prevention that is substantial enough to deal with inevitable crises, but sustainable given other national security demands. Feinstein makes a strong case that this is workable—if the international community is prepared to do it.

Heyder, C. 2006. "The U.N. Security Council's Referral of the Crimes in Darfur to the International Criminal Court in Light of U.S. Opposition to the Court: Implications for the International Criminal Court's Functions and Status." *Berkeley Journal of International Law* 24 (2): 650-671.

Annotation: The author analyzes the abstention of the U.S. from the decision of the United Nations Security Council to refer the conflict in Darfur, Sudan to the International Criminal Court (ICC). According to the author, the U.S.'s abstention enables the ICC to exercise criminal jurisdiction. The author also describes the political debate over the content of Security Council Resolution 1593 and examines whether the referral of the Security Council actually mandated the Court with full authority to investigate and prosecute the crimes committed in Darfur.

Kagwanja, P. and P. Mutahi. 2007. "Protection of Civilians in African Peace Missions: the Case of the African Union Mission in Sudan, Darfur." Institute for Security Studies.

Annotation: The authors examine the problems of civilian protection created by the war in Darfur, focusing on the role of AMIS and the challenges it has encountered in protecting civilians in Darfur. They examine the challenges that have faced the proposed U.N. force, and the prospects of a hybrid force involving the African Union (A.U.) and U.N. They also explore the role of external players such as the European Union (E.U.), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Arab League and China in resolving the Darfur crisis. The authors argue for the strengthening of the A.U. force in the context of U.N. support, and for the fast tracking of the peace process within Darfur between Khartoum and the Darfur rebels. They also draw attention to the need for dialogue between Khartoum and its neighbors to ensure that the region does not become another haven for extremism and terrorism.

Steidle, B. 2005. "Ceasefire, Sudan Style." *World Policy Journal* 22 (1): 1-8.

Annotation: The author presents a photographic essay on Sudan's Darfur region.

Udombana, N.J. 2007. "Still Playing Dice with Lives: Darfur and Security Council Resolution 1706." *Third World Quarterly* 28 (1): 97-116.

Annotation: The author examines the recent Security Council Resolution 1706 authorizing U.N. peacekeeping in Sudan, in the context of the deteriorating humanitarian crisis in Darfur. He assesses the African Union Mission in Sudan and elaborates on the reasons for its current fatigue and failure. In addition, the author analyzes the proposed mandate of the U.N. force, the organizing principles and rules of engagement and, sadly, the politics that continue to derail efforts at ending the genocide. The author urges the global community, and in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, to unite in an effort to compel the government of Sudan to accept U.N. deployment in order to save the dying and end the tragedy in Darfur.

[United Nations Statute of the Court](#). International Court of Justice, United Nations.

Annotation: The Statute of the International Court of Justice is a primary legal source underlying the international foreign policy debate about Sudan.

Young, J. 2007. "[Sudan People's Liberation Army: Disarmament in Jonglei and Its Implications](#)," Institute for Security Studies.

Annotation: Using the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of January 9th, 2005, and the Juba Declaration of January 8th, 2006, the author analyzes the disarmament campaign of the Lou Nuer of Jonglei State based on research carried out in Juba and Malakal and a week-long stay at the United Nations Mission in Sudan camp in Motot in late August 2006. The camp was the center of the Jonglei disarmament and of the resistance to the campaign. The author includes some analysis drawn from investigations conducted in February of 2006 of a parallel but largely peaceful disarmament campaign carried out in the eastern Upper Nile, among the Jikan Nuer.

## **Terrorism**

Bailey, C. F. 2006. "The Red Sea Terror Triangle: Sudan, Somalia, Yemen and Islamic Terror." *Military Review* 86 (1): 121-121.

Annotation: The authors offer a review of the book [The Red Sea Terror Triangle: Sudan, Somalia, Yemen and Islamic Terror](#), translated by Shaul Shay and Rachel Liberman.

O'Ballance, E. 2000. Sudan, Civil War, and Terrorism, 1956-1999. New York: MacMillan Press.

Annotation: In this book, the author describes Sudan's civil wars and the country's involvement in terrorism in the mid 1990s.

Petterson, D. 2003. *Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict, and Catastrophe*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Annotation: The author, the last American ambassador to complete an assignment in Sudan, offers insight into events that occurred between 1998 and 2003. He describes Americans' experiences in Khartoum after the U.S. government put Sudan on the list of state sponsors of terrorism. Petterson considers Sudan's connections to international terrorists while assessing changes in the relationship between Sudan and the United States after 9/11. He also includes appropriate background information about Sudan.

Institute for Security Studies, 2007. "[Terrorism](#)."

Annotation: This Institute website provides information on on-going initiatives and measures to prevent and combat terrorism in Africa, as well as its effects on the people. The site offers extensive analysis and links to key legislative documents related to terrorism in Africa, such as the "Compendium on International and Regional Legal Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism." The site also provides a calendar, proceedings, and other documents from significant meetings about terrorism in Africa.