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# *Background of Darfur Genocide*

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### *Introduction*

The world is passing through a critical period, that have many problems, which may effects existence of human kind on this planet, some of which are related to peaceful coexistence caused by religious disputes and raising of religious political fundamentalism, then there is energy problem, starting from producers control over production to when is it going to depleted? And is the world capable of discovering the renewable alternative energy? Above all, there are problems of the climatic changes! This is causing great thread for our existence in this planet, something started to be realized by the most conscious human groups, and the need for great common efforts to avoid its consequences.

With all these great challenges which required human solidarity to secure continuation of life and welfare to humanity, we find some lacks the least consciousness to realize these dangers. Unfortunately, by illegal control over public resources they managed to carried out goals that dose not related to religious or dominant human values.

Presently, the Sudanese state is facing great crises, resulting from monopoly of power, sovereignty and resources by some, which had reflected negatively on Sudanese people; on the other hand, while defending this false and looted status, it showed how it can carry out inhuman and irreligiously practices, without any care to human values. In this world, where scientific and technological advancements had allowed the Americans in 1980 to read headlines of a newspaper carried by a person in the street of Moscow in the previous Federal Soviet Republics, using highly sensitive camera carried by a satellite on an orbit 300 miles above earth surface, that was before 27 years, now it is commonly used by public, for example anyone can look at more than 1600 burned villages in Darfur using the search engine Google Earth, from which one can imagine the present secretive devices? There is a saying that, you can deceive all people sometimes, and you can deceive some people some time, but you can't deceive all people all the time!

Any genocide was aimed at eliminating racial, religious or ideological group from society. **Auschwitz** and **Pol Pot's** killing fields of Cambodia were committed with lack of third parties, oppositely to **Rwanda's** genocide, lessons of which were implemented in Bosnia.

On early month of 2004 the world start knowing about Darfur, and that *"Africans are fighting to get some shares, while the government backed by Arab militant of Janjaweed are fighting back, duly innocents people killed, displaced and took refuge in neighbor Chad"*.

Thus government position with its allies the Janjaweed and the military oppositions becomes equivalent to extend that some people even tried to describe the movements as equivalent to the

Janjaweed! Within that context truth disappeared, remains only the humanitarian dimensions while the root causes was not traced.

Complication of Darfur tragedy emerged from factors such as the Islamic religion, long interrelations coexistence and intermarriages which bonds Africans and Arabs together, general tolerance, injustice towards the margins particularly in Darfur, and related emergence of Sudan People Liberation Movement (SPLM/A), shortage of resources, identity issue and the Chadian case with consequences of all these on Darfur..

These elements collectively formed this tragedy, everybody wants an end to it, others preferred to run away rather than involved in this dramatic tragedy, while others decided to face the situations aiming at changing that horrible reality.

But how dose the well known good heart Sudanese people, who are tolerated, generous, noble and brotherhood, how dose we got involved in such barbaric madness?

How come the Janjaweed got involved in eliminating such an enormous number of populations in twenty first century, dose Sudanese people knows about that? While African leaders and intellectuals failed even to detect what was going on?

People of Darfur and Sudanese in general were let down by the Arabs, Islamic countries, Institutions, individuals and the International communities, if due to lack of knowledge, the following may fill that gap, it provide background to what had happened in Darfur in the period between 1980 to year 2006, with genuine intention to finding quick solution to this tragedy, for the benefit of both Africans and Arabs people of Darfur and the Sudanese people and reflection of that on humanity.

## ***Darfur***

Darfur means the land of Fur the largest tribe with sovereignty, it is a society that combined many tribes, it is in the western part of Sudan (see the map), bordering Libya in western north, Chad in the west and Central Africa Republic in the southern west, the border extension with Chad alone is 800 kilometers, it covers an area of 493 180 km<sup>2</sup> (196,555 miles<sup>2</sup>). It is largely an arid plateau with the Jebel Marra (Marrah Mountains), a range of volcanic peaks rising up to 3000 m (10,100 ft), in the center of the region. The region's main towns are Al-Fashir, Nyala and Geneina. Darfur has an estimated population of 7.4 million people but majority are living in Khartoum and central Sudan, with economy primarily based on subsistence agriculture, producing cereals, fruits , tobacco and livestock.

During the Sultanate of the Keira Dynasty, the region had developed the demographic structure that would endure for the twentieth century. The agricultural Fur were located in the remnants of the sultanate in the center. Just north of them were the Tunjur, who had ruled before the sultanate. From the northwest came Nilo-Saharan cultivators who also practiced varying degrees of animal husbandry, such as the Berti and Zagawa. The Nubian-speaking Birgid and Meidob peoples, also farmers, came from the northeast. To the west lay Dar Masalit; the Masalit had successfully maintained their independence from Dar Fur because it was the last independent Sultanate recognized under the British and Egyptian coudulant rule in accordance with Glani agreement in1919, that it do have the right to have its own specialization. Bedouin Arabs came from the far northwest, including the Ta'isha, Rizeigat, Habbaniya and Beni Halba. While Arabs in the north continued to herd camels, those who ventured south where there was comparatively abundant rainfall mixed with a later migration of Fula speakers and began to herd cattle, forming the Baggara (literally, "those of the cow"), who settled in the southeast [1].

Part of Darfur was annexed to Sudan in 1916 when the Fur Kingdom was defeated, while Sultanate of Dar Masalit was joined to Sudan as an Emirate under the British protectorate by 1919 agreement.



On right, a map of Sudan showing **Darfur**, on left a map of **Darfur**.

The Grand Darfur includes three states, the Northern Darfur (Shamal Darfur) its capital is Elfashir, Southern Darfur (Janub Darfur) its capital is Nyala and the Western Darfur (Gharb Darfur) its capital is Al-Genyna.

Darfur contains the following two main groups:

- 1- Original African race consists from tribes of Fur, Masalit, Zagawa, Berti, Dagu, Tungur, Midob, Birgid, Albigu, Tama, Bargu, Barnu, Bediat, Myma, Sngar, Mararit and other small tribes, in combine they represents 75% of the region population.
- 2- Arabic race which entered Darfur within the Arabs migrations, it consists of Rizigat in the north they are camels herdsmen, Rizigat in south they are cattle herdsmen, Habanya, Beni-Halba, Taisha, Mahamied, Mahrya, Zayadya, Beni-Hussien, Maalya and other mixtures all of whom represents 25% of the population in Darfur.

The Tables bellow shows towns of each state and the population of its locality, before 2000.

### **Statistics of Great Darfur**

SOUTHERN DARFUR		NORTHERN DARFUR		WESTERN DARFUR	
LOCALITY	NUMBER OF POPULATION	LOCALITY	NUMBER OF POPULATION	LOCALITY	NUMBER OF POPULATION
Nyala	874,235	Alfashir	656,933	Al-Genyna	479,337

Adyla	197,661	Kutom	772,928	Wadi-Saleh	119,411
Aldaien	561,693	Um-Kadada	196,693	Habila	206,875
Buram	336,527	Kabkabya	343,164	Gebel Marra	392,892
Kas	519,046	Malit	184,368	Kulbos	216,778
Ed-Alfursan	438,892			Zalinge	265,852
Tulos	416,444				
Rehad-Albardi	394,474				
Sheiria	321,418				
Total	4,060,390	Total	2,154,086	Total	1,681,145
Total			7,895,621		

Table.1. Number of population in each town and state, before 2000.

### ***Conscious in the Making 1955/80***

Before and after independence in 1956 political activities were carried by northern politicians and local tribal leaders or their sons, on the other hand 35-40% of Sudanese Army consists of soldiers who originated from Darfur, they acquired political consciousness during their assignment inside and outside Sudan, leading them to develop awareness towards their region and Sudan since mid fifties. The activities of political parties among students in Darfur at the end of fifties and Darfurian students, who were been accepted at Juba University in South Sudan in mid seventies, started comparing Darfur status with Southern Sudan under the regional government, where most all administrators were from South Sudan in contrast to Darfur.

That process of awareness arrived through a painful process of Movements started with The Red Flame (*Al-Laheeb Al-Ahmar*) established in 1957, it was an underground movement established just one year after the independence of the Sudan, with main objective of enlightening the people of Darfur. During the military period of Ibrahim Aboud (1958-1964), a Movement by the name of Sooney appeared between 1963/64, which was lead by Darfurian army veterans who fought against Anaya one in Southern Sudan, returning to Darfur with some awareness, the movement was severely crashed by the military junta of Khartoum, where even soldiers working in Southern Sudan were arrested.

After October revolution in 1964, the marginalized groups of South Sudan, Nuba, Fung, Bigga, Kordufan and Darfur formed the Union of the Rural, with aim to unite themselves to replace the traditional parties (Umma and National Union Parties), the Union consists of, The Southern Front, All Union of Nuba Mountains, The Union of North and South of Engasana, Beja Union, Kurdufan Renaissance Front and the Darfur Renaissance Front (DRF), it was established in 1964/65, with main objective to demand economic development and independency of political policies.

When Gafar Mahamad Nimari made the military cup in 1969, he was opposed by the main two parties, many followers of which were from western Sudan, they were recruited for military training in Ethiopia and Libya, within that environment, the Western Sudan People's Organization (WSPO) was established 1977/79 lead by Yagoub Ismaiel (the late Cdr Mahamad Gumma Nair was a member of that organization before joining the SPLM/A), they were members of the National Front which tried to took power militarily in 1976, the failure of which had brought terrible consequences to people from western Sudan generally (including the Nuba people).

## ***Darfur Uprising-1980***

In 1980 Nimari established five states in Northern Sudan, he appointed Altyeb Mahamad Almardi (from northern Kordufan) governor for Darfur, the decree was opposed with instant and intense demonstrations calling him to be replaced by a governor from the region, Nimari yielded and appointed Ustaz Ahmad Ibrahim Derage (Fur tribe) as governor. Some Arab intellectuals accused Ustaz Derage of tribalism; Ustaz Derage left Sudan in 1983 when he felt Nimari was not cooperating with his government for dispute over the looming famine of 1984/5.

After April 1985 uprising in Sudan, an election was held in 1986, where the Umma party formed a coalition government with DUP and Abdelnabi Ahmed was appointed governor of Darfur, then followed by Dr. Tjani Sesi.

## **Traditional Tribal Conflicts in Darfur**

Like all human societies, people in Darfur used to oblige to rules and regulations lay down by different Sultanates and Paramount Chiefs that had existed in the area. Presently, people's activities are based on either agriculture or pastorals, accordingly different tribes had inherited specific means, for behaviors between agriculturists and pastoralists, during farming and cultivation, according to specific rules and regulations, which learned since childhood so as to grow with knowledge that strain individuals in different activities, this is how people lived and deals with these sacred inheritances. It happen sometimes, that a pasture becomes negligence by causing damages to farm, in normal circumstances he should be fined, for resulted damages. Sometimes due to human nature, that could cause fighting between the individuals that could cause tribal fighting between two tribes, in such cases other tribes may mediate, to resolve the issue, where different damages could be paid, this also could happen due to breaching towards rules regulating the marahil or masarat (paths).

For that reason, specific paths were opened, with width ranging between 2-8 kilometers, through different tribal lands, for pastorals movement southwards and westwards during summer and northwards and westwards during raining season [2]. Before 1992, different tribal wars in Darfur used to occurs due to problems related to these paths [2], within that context, present Abyei problem could be understood, as it lay within the path of Myseria tribe towards water and pastures during the summer, such problem used to be tackled regardless to political or ethnic dimensions.

## ***Emergence of the Arab Alliance***

In 1988 Some intellectuals from Arab tribes of Darfur representing a committee of the Arab Alliance wrote a letter to then Prime Minister Mr. Alsadiq Almahadi [3] requesting the government to give Arabs of Darfur half of the constitutional post in both the regional and central governments, they claimed to represents the most cultured and civilized group in the region, the letter was condemned by members of national parliament, political parties and trade unions. In that year, weapons were secretly delivered to Arabs groups by the Army Chief of Staff, as verified by the Parliamentarian Investigation committee in 1987/88.

In the same year (1988), Arab Alliance issued another secret memorandum to its members directing them to Disturb Gov. of Dr. Tjani Sesi in Darfur, by creating troubles in the region; cripple services, causing troubles for Africans and creating inter tribal conflicts between African tribes [4].

### ***The Clashes between Arabs tribes and Fur 1985-90***

Due to ecological, economical and political reasons Mahrya Arab tribe wage war in 1985 against the Zagawa, skirmishes used to take place till 1989 when 27 Arab tribes lodged a war against Fur tribe with an aim to dislodge them from their fertilized land around Jebel Mara, that war had racial and political roots [5], it continued till the military coup d'état in June 30, 1989 carried by the National Islamic Front (NIF) led by President Omar Hassan Albashir under the guidance of Dr. Hassan Abdalla Alturabi.

### ***Daud Yahya Bolad Factor 1989/90***

Daud Yahya Bolad do have great effect in Darfur destiny, as Yousif Kuwa Makki give SPLM/A the national dimensions, Bolad strip religious hatred from it. Bolad was born near Nyala around 1952, into a Fur family, he joined Muslims Brotherhood at secondary school, during his study at Faculty of Engineering, the University of Khartoum, he Chaired the then strong Student Union in 1975/6, he played a coordinating role between leadership of Muslims Brotherhood including Turabi and Ali Osman Muhammad Taha and its cells, planning protests against Nimeiri regime until the reconciliation of 1978 between Nimeiri and Turabi, dully Bolad was frequently detained by Nimeiri's security forces.

After graduation in 1978, he return to Nyala to start a carpentry firm with finance from an Islamic bank, he remained active in building the Muslim Brotherhood, renamed National Islamic Front in 1985 [6].

When Turabi joined Alsadiq Almahadi in the "Islamic trend cabinet" in 1988, Turabi silenced all NIF criticism of Libyan sponsoring the Arabs in Darfur [7].

Before that, both Faroq Ahmad Adam (Graduates) and Abdulgbar Adam Abdulkharim (Garsilla) resigned from NIF, on January 17, 1989 due to its hostile stands towards people of Darfur, as they mentioned [5], they said what is happening in Darfur is not armed robbery, but it is organized political and armed robbery, that it is:

- 1- Forcibly re-shaping Darfur, socially and culturally.
- 2- Arabizing authority in Darfur and Chad in order to support neighbor regime and ruling party in Sudan.
- 3- Using that to overthrow present Chadian authority and to push the Arabian revolution and opening training camps for that in Sudan.

That move caused crisis, which intensified when it become known that the above Arab tribes alliance against the Fur was tacitly backed by the central government, in which the NIF was a coalition partner. When NIF took power in 1989, Bolad met President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir with delegates of twenty one persons; Bashir told them that "South can separate but Darfur No" [8] this turned Bolad against his former colleagues as he defended his Fur tribesmen [6].

Bolad was annoyed by repeated element of anti-African racism existed in Northern society, including the rank of Islamic movement, he had deeply believed that as the Koran says, all men are equal in the eyes of God once they have fully taken part in the Muslim Umma (nation). But his daily practice of life in the Islamic movement had showed him that reality was different and that "even when I go to the mosque to pray, even there, in the presence of God, for them I am still a slave (abid) and they will assign me a place related to my race"[7].

As Bolad decided to side his people, he went to Ethiopia through Cairo around mid 1990. He then returned to Chad to meet with Ustaz Derage and Dr. Karam Aldin; they intended to seek

support from Hissen Habre to start guerrilla war in Darfur, but the three couldn't coordinate their meeting [9]; although some claimed they didn't succeed in that [7].

From Chad he left to Ethiopia to meet with others fellows where he entered South Sudan into Eastern Equatoria to meet Dr. John Garang de Mabiour at Esoka in December 1990, where they joined the Sudan People Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/A).

### ***SPLA in Darfur, a Surprise Move 1991***

SPLM/A was established in May 16, 1983 in South Sudan near Ethiopian border, with an aim of establishing the New Sudan or the Utopia State. At beginning SPLM/A was backed by President Moamar Gadafi of Libya and Mengistu Hila Merriam of Ethiopia, at that period most Northerner Sudanese parties backed SPLM/A to get ride of Nimari regime. Chaired by Dr John Garang De Mabior SPLM attracted Southerners and many of the marginalized in the North particularly from Nuba Mountains lead by the late Cdr Yousif Kuwa Makki and Cdr Abdulazia Adam Alhilu (originally from Masalit in Darfur, but grow up in Nuba Mountains), both established the Komolo secret movement in 1979 while studying at the University of Khartoum, Nuba people were motivated by Komolo in joining SPLM.

When NIF took power in June 30, 1989 its main aim was to stop the peace process that was to be signed on July 4, 1989 and to crash SPLA militarily, accordingly the war intensified in South Sudan, Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile area. Between 1983/90 many people from Darfur joined SPLM/A convinced by the slogans of building the New Sudan; among them were some intellectuals from Arab tribes of Darfur.

When Eng. Daud Yahya Bolad fall out with NIF due to policies practiced towards his own tribe Fur, based on racial discrimination, he decided to join SPLM/A remembering his old colleges Yousif Kuwa Makki and Abdulazia Adam Alhilu. That decision was a great shift for a leading Islamist, it represents the core of conflicts in Islamic religion, regarding relations between the Arabs and the non-Arabs Muslims, as related to leadership and the position of non-Muslims in the Islamic society, which led many African Kingdoms to claims descending from the prophet Mahamed (peace upon him), it happened to Fur, Funj and Tagali kingdoms in Sudan [10].

SPLM/A contacted Hissen Habre, who understood the situations in Sudan and supplied Fur with weapons which halted Arabs offensives in July 1989, but started again in September after a visit by Brigadier Tigani Adam al-Tahir to Libya aiming at accelerating unity between the two countries, when it didn't materialized Libya started losing interest in Darfur, Dr. John Garang though of exploring collaboration with the Baggara tribes through Hissen Habre, that plane failed by the collaps of regime on December 1, 1990 when Deby's forces entered N'djamena [7].





Inspirer of the New Sudan, Dr, John Garang with Martyr Daud Yahya Bolad with three Comrades at center. On right Cdr James Oth, on left Cdr Fatma Abdelgadir and Cdr Edward Lino, at Nzara , September 1991.

Bolad traveled to South Sudan where he met again with Dr. John Garang at Nzara town on October 11, 1990 (the photo), in that meetings they planed and arranged for a military force to Darfur. Great preparation was made in South Sudan, where an old road linking Tombura with Dem Zubair was opened by a team of the Bright Star Campaign specifically for that mission. The force moved from western Equatorial in South Sudan August 27, 1991 Bolad who later joint the force, was the overall commander, and helped by Cdr Abdulazia Adam Alhilu who latter became the governor of Nuba Mountains replacing the Late Cdr Yousif Kuwa Makki in 2001.

When SPLA entered Darfur, which represents the source of the Sudanese Army fighting machinery, it was met with fierce skirmishes by the Arabs militants, who were been made to believe that SPLM/A hidden agenda is to repeat Arabs history and fate in Spain and Zanzibar.

SPLA force was dispersed, Engineer Daud Yahya Bolad was captured in November 1991 when he insisted to meet a relative who was NIF member (regardless of opposition from Abdulaziz Adam Alhilu and others over that), and the man betrayed him. Al-Tayib Ibrahim Muhammad Kheir, known since university days as Al-Tayib Sikha ("Iron Bar, for his violence"), a former contemporary and underling of Bolad, was the military governor of Darfur, who commanded the forces against the SPLA in Darfur, at that period the government being short of troops, it used Arab Murahleen militiamen to hunt him, confirming the pertinence of his racial analysis [7].

Bolad appeared in a video recording on Sudan television, a battered but composed prisoner, and was accused of treason. However, his past history as an NIF stalwart was extremely embarrassing for the regime, and he died a week later in unexplained circumstances before his trial could take place [6].

Others mentioned that, he was severely tortured to the death in January 1992 [7], Bolad's abandonment of a religionist and outwardly nationalist movement (as seem to be at time) in favor of an SPLM (generally interpreted as ethnic and regionalist), reflects the frustrations and cleavages in Sudan's political culture [6], the present situations in Darfur proved how this could



have been avoided if the Northerners were not ethnically oriented, the lessons of the South was never been grasped.

Later in 1992, when President Jimmy Carter mediated between SPLM and Khartoum government, he requested Dr John Garang to accept a cease fire? Dr John conditioned the release of Engineer Daud Yahya Bolad who was thought to be prisoner of war in Khartoum; later in Khartoum Carter was shock when he discovered Bolad was killed for treason!



In the search for the New Sudan, Dr. John Garang and Martyr Eng. Daud Yahya Bolad with some Comrades in Nzara, September 1991.

Martyr Engineer Daud Yahya Bolad died but for humanity he lay down certain values, where he became a legacy among SPLA members and a corner stone for a vision towards more human society in the New Sudan, even his old colleges praised him in the Black Book which appeared in 1999 after the division in the National Congress Party (NCP) between Bashir and Turabi; the following was written about Bolad in that book: *"We are asking God; mercy upon our brother the martyr Daoud Yehya Bolad, and let God accept his efforts, he paid his life price for his far sighted, and redemption for his early consciousness which led him to realize our present situation before several years"*[7].

Bolad case illustrates the role imposed on Africans intellectuals in multi Arab-Islamic societies and leadership, that role is limited to back and execute planes laid out by the Arabs elite, where Islam became merely a means to expand the interests and influence of Arabs racial group and means to force outsiders to total subjection, for these reasons many Southerners were distorted with the idea that Islam is just a Religion for Arabs.

### ***Re-Activation of the Arab Alliance in Darfur 1992***

The attempt by SPLM/A force to have a foot in Darfur in 1991 headed by Bolad and Al-Hilu had failed, but it left great consequences on African tribes with horrible. Results, among them are that [12]:

- 1- The Islamic Movement lost confidence in youth of Darfur who were members of the Islamic Movement, before that both Faroq Ahmad Adam and Abdul-Gabar Tagari who were members of NIF emerge and joined the DUP [5].
- 2- The Africans tribes are not guarantee for the security of the regime.
- 3- Darfur is possibly another gate for SPLM/A.
- 4- Arabs tribes are guarantee, and good keeper for that gate.

The NIF strongly reacted to SPLA transferring war to Darfur, because their justification for waging religious war may undermined, in a region where Islamic faith among the Africans and Arabs represents the core of human activities and a weak point for exploitations, it was considered as determinant factor for winning the war against SPLA, therefore by opening the Darfur front, particularly with presence of a person with capabilities and background of Bolad, that may facilitate in causing core transformations in society, which could led in reduction of backyard area that assists in backing the absolute rules, based on personal or family interpretations.

Thus 1992 represents the turning point towards the implementation of Arabism polices by NIF in Darfur, that coincided with the consequences resulted from the first Gulf war and the formation of the Arab Islamic Popular Alliance headed by NIF leader Dr. Hassan Abdalla Alturabi.

Within that environments of escalated Pan Arabism, NIF leadership reacted severely to Martyr Bolad attempt to create alliance between Darfur and SPLA (the African depth) accordingly in June 1992 Dr. Hassan Abdalla Alturabi reached to the conclusion that:

***"African Muslims tribes start opposing Islamic movement, therefore the Islamic movement new plan should aimed at supporting Arabs tribes through the following procedures: Forcefully dislodging Fur tribe from Jebel Mara and blocking them at Wadi Saleh and completely disarm them, meanwhile to resettle Mahria, Al-Etyfat and Erigat (Arabs tribes) in that land. The Zagawa should not be allowed to posses weapons, and they should be dislodge from Kotom in northern Darfur to Omrwaba (Northern Kordofan), and that Arabs tribes should be armed and financed so as to become the core fore Arab Islamic Alliance" [5].***

Since that attempt, government policy became open by encouraging tribal and racial groups such as the Arabs Alliance to be formed and organized, where in 1992 Dr. Alteyeb Ibrahim Mahamad Khir the governor of Darfur distributed more than 100,000 piece of automatic rifle to the Arab tribes as a reward for defeating SPLA [12].

Thus transformed from critics of civil society and ruling establishment, to blessing and supports of the official ruling authorities, the Arab Alliance issued a top secret Memorandum in 1992 by the name of Qurash Two [13] (a tribe in Arabian peninsula from which prophet Mahamad descend), explaining to its members the general plans of the Arab Alliance, which should be achieved before 2020 under name of Quraish Two, the goal should target area of the six regions of western Sudan, it contain planes, programs and means to achieve that [13].

## **The Origin of Janjaweed!**

When SPLA started the military campaign, some advanced forces went near the village of Gardod in Nuba Mountains, it was attacked by some civilians who underestimated the whole force, later the force retaliated, some people died. Although it happened during the ruling period of Lt General Suar Aldahab, but General Fadlla Alla Burma Nasir who was a member in that military council, and latter became Minister of Defense in government of Mr. Alsadiq Almahadi, used that accident as pretext to armed the Misirya tribe in 1988/86 in order to form a security zone that could protect northern Sudan from SPLA infiltrations. That was in line with President Gaffar Mahamd Nimary, previous backing to General Gordon Kong when he splits from SPLA, by supplying him with arms and ammunition to fighting SPLA in 1984/3.

With the success of that plan, the central government implemented it in Bahar Algazal, where it formed what became known as the peace force, composed of tribes whose leader is friendly with the government, later these forces were established in Upper Nile and Equatoria regions, it carried out many operations, by backing the arm forces in securing major towns and oil fields. Previously, the northern boundary tribes had bought great amount of weapons that had leakage to Sudan after the falling of Idi Amin Dada regime in Uganda in 1979, it was been bought around the boarder town of Kaya. In 1988/6, the government formed the Murahilin militants from boundary Arab tribes, especially after receiving the government weapons, these militants were been given the task of guarding the trains from Babanusa to Wau in Bahar Algazal, because they ride horses which help in the forest and quick movement. These forces also participated in escorting convoys, they coordinated with the arm forces in carrying out common operations in Bahar Algazal, but due to administration independency and lack of disciplines, it committed many atrocities.

As mentioned, when SPLA entered Darfur in 1991, there was no government forces to face the situation, the government mobilized great number of these Murahilin, after finishing their assignment, they were rewarded, where the Arab Alliance appeared once again, may be their elements could have been behind the mobilization of the Murahilin before and during fighting SPLA.

After that, and between 1995/2, the name of Janjaweed start been used in Darfur, where they start appearing as a group well coordinated to carry out specific goals in Darfur.

There was a habit among individuals and groups of tribal societies in central and northern Sudan to practice Hambata (violent robbery), this a kind of robbery where white arms were used to rob the victims, people who were carrying such robbery usually were brave, adventurers and generous, they used to distribute their booty with poor and weak families, for that villagers used to sympathized with them and never direct the police to their hide out.

For that reason, when the Janjaweed started their looting activities, many thought it could only be part of armed robbery or those Hambata, they never thought it is to this extend of seriousness.

The word Janjaweed composed from three words Jan meaning the devil, G-3 the German sub machine gun and Jawad means a horse, the full meaning is "a Devil carrying submachine gun and riding a horse", everyone can imagine what this devil can do, although SLM/A interpretation for the word is that they are "group of disgraced people from different tribes, used by the government", others claimed that the word was used to refer to militants who follows the local guards of local administration, Al-Rezigat tribe in South Darfur interpreted it as a bandage of thieves from several tribes who steals camels and cows for personal interests, while Dr. Tigani Mustafa explained it as "referred to the armed group from Arab tribes [2]".

## ***Strengthening the Arab Alliance in Darfur 1992/2002***

In 1992 the Administration of Military Operators of the Regional Arab Alliance Committee, issued an order, directing its followers to loot all cattle, donkeys, horses and camels from Fur tribe, killing Fur leaders, representatives, intellectuals and to distribute Chadian Arabs who arrived with Idriss Gamous and Hussein Habri in Fur specific area with other measurements [14].

These instructions were carried till 1994, where Fur tribe faced alone the consequence of these policies, thus thousands were killed, others were forced from their villages to settled in larger towns such as Zalingi, Nyala, Alginyna, Alfashir and Khartoum.

The official policy aiming at formation of Arab belt through re-distribution of population in Darfur started in 1994 by dividing the Grand Darfur state into three states (Northern, Southern and Western Darfur). That division was executed with appointment of Mohamed Ahmad Alfadul (Dugshum) governor to western Darfur [7, 12]; he originated from Sinar region in the central Sudan, recalling the demonstrations that took place in Darfur since 1980 (during Darfur uprising) with this appointment, where no body even protested, regardless of general discontent [15]. The new governor issued a decree replacing the old Masalit Sultanate system of tribal administration rules with an Arabian Emirate system without referring to the constitutional institutions or related tribal institutions, the decree divide the Masalit Sultanate authorities into Emirates, something which was not accustomed and never heard about, a model of administration intended to transfer the area to the Arab system of rule [12].

Dar Masalit in western Darfur is the home of Masalit tribe who are very peaceful society, they are well known for generosity and braveness. They joined Sudan in 1919, while having a deep rooted ruling system based on the Sultan who is the King of whoever is living in that part. The decree gave great number of emirates to Arabs tribes than that for Masalit who owned the land, eight to Arabs and pro-Arabs while five to the Masalit [7, 12], the decree was issued, then president Omar Hassan Al-Bashir visited the state, so in a great public rally, the Emirates were announced, and president Bashir handle flags of recognitions to the new Emirs (princes) [12].

That was an odd behavior, because Arabs doesn't represents 20% of the population of western Darfur and those who were recognized and given flags some were refugees who fled the war in Chad, the decree immediately **ignited problems in that state** [7, 12].

In the Northerner part of Darfur, Zagawa were forcefully driven from their home, where great area from the state bordering both Egypt and Libya inhabitant by the Midob tribe, was striped from the state and joined to Northern state.

As mentioned, both Africans and Arabs tribes of Darfur were intensively used by Army machinery for the benefits of the central governments, although the NIF government extensively misused the population by the introduction of the religious dimension. Like Martyr Bolad, many of NIF leaders were from Darfur, they were behind the success of 1989 military takeover, although they were majority, but they were marginalized and denied any sense of success. That odd relation within the NIF exploded in 1999 through the dismissal of Parliament, Governors and the Central committee of the National Congress Party (NCP), by President Bashier, it caused great blow to NIF philosopher Dr. Hassan Abdalla Turabi, the odd thing about that division is that it occurred along racial line, in an Islamic state.

Between 1997 and 2000, missions were sent by the Arab Alliance to Chad, Niger and Mauritania in west Africa inviting Arabs to immigrate for settlement in Darfur, many arrived where they were been issued with identity cards, trained and joined to the Janjaweed, these groups in

particular are the worst who committed great atrocities, because they lack the sense of citizenship and related humanity.

### ***The Resistance and Establishment of SLM/A and JAM***

Although some leading politicians and activists were aware about the racial attempts by some Arabs groups to cause troubles in Darfur but they never thought the state and some foreigners can get involved in such inhuman and shameful activities. Some of the leading politicians in Darfur preferred peaceful settlements, which failed; some were humiliated even killed [12]. Others decided to carry guns, where Democratic Federal Alliance was established in London in 1<sup>st</sup> January 1994 by Ustaz Ahmad Ibrahim Derage, Mr Abakar Mahamad Abulbashar (Sudani), Dr Suliman Rahal, Dr Sharif Harrir and Mr Ahmad Rahal. In November 1994 Mr Abakar Mahamad Abulbashar established military camp in the eastern part of Sudan, where in 1997 the Democratic Federal Alliance officially joint the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), represented by Dr Sharif Harrir [9], they also carried out some military operations in Darfur in 2002, and they played some roles in SLA establishment [16].

In 1994, the New Sudan Brigade (NSB) was formed by SPLM/A in eastern Sudan under the coalition of NDA, where some troops were lifted to Eastern Sudan from the South headed by Cdr Pagan Amom and Cdr Abdulazia Adam Alhilu, originally from Darfur, Al-Hilu presence attracted many people from Darfur who were displaced in the north, joined NSB in hundreds with presence of great securities, it reflects their readiness, just waiting for the opportunity.



Some Arabs leaders in a meeting with Cdr Yousif Kuwa Makki and Abdulaziz Adam Alhilu, between them Abdulaziz Albushra, on right is Mahamad Ismaeil, Cdr Ahmad Kobur Gibreil and Haj Esmaeil Altoj, Kampala January 2001.

Meanwhile, the consequences of government policies in Darfur, forced groups from Fur, Zagawa, Masalit and other tribes to reject the general trends of wasting times through reconciliation conferences; thus they broke away from NCP after reaching to a conclusion that the only means to defend their people rights is to carry guns and rebel against the regime,



particularly when security situation around Jebel Mara deteriorated, where intense rides were carried by the Janjaweed. At mid of 2002, some Zagawa went to Jebel Mara to defend the Fur; among them was the late Cdr Abdalla Abakar and Cdr Mani Arko Manawi, where they start training the Fur, at that period the government arrested many people particularly from Fur tribe in Zalingi and Nyala. On August 2002 a conference was held at Nerteti in Jebel Mara to resolve that situation, the government demanded Zagawa withdrawal from Jebel Mara, in return the Fur conditioned released of the detainees [17].

Zagawa withdraw from Jebel Mara, and those in detention including Ustaz Abdelwahed Mahamad Nur were released, but the Janjaweed and government atrocities never stopped, the Zagawa group returned back, Abdelwahid joined them, where on March 2003 they established Darfur Liberation Front (DLF) which was renamed to Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) headed by Ustaz Abdelwahid Mahamad Nur and Commanded by Abdalla Abaker, in early 2004 Cdr Mani Arko Manawi was elected the secretary General [9, 17].

On the other hand, some previous members of NCP, established the Justice and Equality Movement (**JEM**) on April 2003, headed by Dr. Khalil Ibrahim. Both movements astonished the world by their bravery operations, particularly SLA when they entered Alfashir town on April 25, 2003 and Kotom August 1, 2003, without harming civilians or looting.

During that period, the Political Committee of Coordinating Council of the Arab Alliance issued a secret report on November 15, 2003, calling Arabs in the region to support their idea, seeking help from scientists, thinkers and economists, to reconcile different Arabs tribes (because many oppose them), to tackle their differences within the context of religion and Sharia and to change the name of Darfur [18].

When events start escalating, it caused great anxiety among Arab Alliance, where another memorandum was issued in early 2004 by the Information and Political Committee, informing its members about the establishment of SLM/A and the need to prevent Sudan from getting out of Islamic state [19].

Many Arabs refused these calls, leading by Al-Nazir Saeed Mahmoud Musa Madibo (Paramount Chief) of Al-Rizigate, refused different calls and pressures from the highest authorities to allow the tribe to joining the Janjaweed, he insisted to keep the human relations developed through centuries intake, thus his area in South Darfur (its capital Al-Daien) is the only safe multi ethnic area in whole Darfur, and this is for history, while those who joined the Janjaweed, were on personal bases.

The Janjaweed intensified its atrocities, burning villages, killing people; raping women in a method aiming at wiping out great number of population in a short period of time. This is where the international community starts becoming aware of events in Darfur and great amount of pressures were put on Sudan government without success, the tragedy of people of Darfur still escalating, until early 2005 the number of people killed is estimated to be more that 300,000, the true number could only be known after the genocide ended, at present burned villages and displaced persons are estimated in the following table [20]:

State	Burnt Villages	IDPs	Displaced Families	Religious Houses	Schools
West Darfur	1921	1427226	237878	044	107
North Darfur	1207	0944718	157453	061	214
South Darfur	0688	0724556	120759	037	154



Total	3816	3096500	516000	142	475
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Table 2. Estimated Burnt Villages, affected families and public amenities in the three States of Darfur, till early 2005 [20].

On the other hand, the main reasons for displacement in 1989 were drought and desertification by 30% and security component only by 2% [5], comparing that with present more than three (3) internal displaced and more than 300 thousand refugee in Chad, this comparison alone shows the really motivation behind such displacement, and the awful experiences faced by these people.

### ***SPLA, the Second Attempt Cdr Ahmad Kobar Gebreal, the Arabs Participation***

In 1998 the late Cdr Yousif Kuwa Makki met some leaders from western Sudan, among them the activist Haj Esmail Altug (died in Kampal in March 2004), they met again on January 2001 (above photo) accompanied with the late Abdelaziz Albushra (passed away in December 2004) and Cdr Ahmad Kobar Gibreal (presently with SLA, commanding the Southerner sector of Darfur), Cdr Kuwa made some recommendations and preparation for them to meet Dr. John Garang (unfortunately Kuwa passed away in March 2001).

The group already had established "The Western Sudan Movement for Justice, Equality and Democracy", in their Manifesto, they mentioned the plane by the government to fuel tribal war in Darfur. Between 1998 and 2000 they established relations with Dr. Sharief Harrir, who told me they are members of the Democratic Federal Alliance, they didn't deny that, although they emphasizing on conducting military activates in Darfur rather than Eastern Sudan.

When Cdr Abdulaziz Adam Alhilu arrived Kampala early January 2001, from Eastern Sudan through Asmara (Eritrea), to take over from Cdr Yousif Kuwa as Governor of Nuba Mountains, he arrived with the glory resulted from the successful Kassala operation, when they tactically withdrew from Hamshkorip town to go around and captured Kassala town in December 2000, resulted in great victory for New Sudan Brigade (NSB) which is part of SPLA, all of which boosted his image.

Haj Ismail asked for a meeting with Cdr Abdulaziz. Accompanied by, Ahmad Kubor and Abdulaziz Albushra, Cdr Abdulaziz brought Abdulbagi Mukhtar and I was present. Their main aim was to establish relationship with SPLM/A and get military supports in order to launch war in Western Sudan. Cdr Al-Hilu was insisting that they are to join the movement. Haj Esmail was speaking with background of SPLA images in western Sudan, in context of the religious background of population, also with SPLA behaviors while at Darfur in 1991.

Foreseen the possibilities of bringing democracy back to Sudan through great coalitions, by waging gorilla war based on popular supports, I decided to give weights to Haj Ismail arguments, hopping that may boost broad base Western front coalition, like NDA in the East, Al-Hilu completely refused backed by Abdulbagi. That decision was based on the illusive ideological background gape realizing that later, when we discussed several times, where I told him at one of it with great pain, that I will concentrate my efforts during the coming period in the research which I was conducting.

In that month, Al-Hilu sent for Major Adam Bazooka who joined NSB around 1996, where in 1998 he was transfer to South Sudan with others, many of them from Darfur, who latter resided in Western Equatoria (Yei and Maridi).

I left Kampala, to discover after one year that Bazooka was arranging to launch a gorilla war in Darfur, as Al-Hilu was based in Nuba Mountains; the whole operation was left to others. A lot of resources were designated; unfortunately those being brought were Chadian.

The sudden emergence of SLM/A in early 2003, as a Darfurian movement reflecting the internal efforts of Darfurians to participate in resolving the region problems and that of Sudan from their own perspectives, had caused great complications to many who already have master plans. Dr. John Garang together with Abdulaziz Adam Al-Hilu persuaded its leaders to integrate with SPLM/A, Abdulwaheed Mahamd Nur SLM/A chairman, Abdalla Abakar the Army Commander and Mani Arko Manwi were brought to Rumbek around March 2003, Abdalwaheed agreed to unite, while Abdalla Abakar completely refused, the same was the stand of Mani. Although coordination between both movements was established, but SPLM/A couldn't tolerate another Movement with such momentum in Darfur.

While preparations underway, in September 2003, I felt the damage such force, led by Bazooka may cause to Darfur image, SPLA/M and SLM/A in particular. As a member of the movement, I decided to fulfill my responsibility, so I wrote a report to Dr. John Garang with a copy to Cdr Abdulaziz Adam Al-Hilu, which I gave to a member of the Leadership Council, in which I explained both the structure of the force and the negative consequences it may caused. After two weeks I was informed the force had left to Darfur.

Unification issues was not resolved when Adam Bazooka was airlifted with his group to Darfur On October 2003, latter I was informed by one of Darfurian, that Bazooka tried to forced them to go with him (at that time he was promoted to Commander), but they refused, other informed me that they can't participate in such crime. This new strange force clearly had led to suspicions of Mani towards both Abdalwaheed the SPLM/A, latter he start talking to his group that Abdalwaheed was just a Commander with SPLA.

From his arrival to his death on April 2004, Adam Bazooka, failed to make ground in Darfur not that alone, it also caused great damages to interrelations within SLA reflected in the great hatred between Abdalwaheed and Mani, all of which led to present disintegration within the movement, it also restrain the great momentums started by SLA, in additions to great suspicions from the Chadian, who felt threats from the SLA itself.

The Khartoum government was the one benefited more from that behavior, a lot of resources were wasted, simply because people don't know agenda they were conducted in addition to some personals that were diverting the whole cause without leaders knowledge!

There were many efforts made by people from Darfur to launch military activities in Darfur, In that context, some leading figures from Arab tribes who were officers in Sudanese Army arrived in Northern Bahar Al-Gazal in 1997 to join SPLA in order to start military operations in Darfur, they were headed by General Abdulgadir Hamid Al-Mahadi (commissioned to commander by SPLA), Major Omar Alsed Hasaballa and others, but that didn't materialized due to many factors.

When he failed in the above attempts, Cdr Ahmad Kobor Gebreal returned to Darfur, when SLM/A launched its activities, he joined the Movement in mid 2003, becoming the Commander of the Southern Sector of Darfur, he led major offensives in En Nhud, Buram and other places. He played a big role with others giving the true dimension of the area as marginalized, showing that these Movements are not limited to African descents. He participated in the early thee Abuja peace talks, until now he didn't join the signatory group.

## *How the World Came to Know about the Genocide?*

As mentioned, all tribal wars in Darfur before 1983, were evolve around pasture, grazing land, water and stealing of cows or camels [1, 5], but after the uprising in 1985, when SPLM/A refused invitation by the government of Let. General Abdulrahman Soar Aldahab, the war started escalating, it start taking a different face from what used to be before, intense automatic weapons were used, causing great death, the region entered into the first phase between 1983/87, some tribes were helped by Libya, while others by Chad, amount of weapons increased and the death too.

Since the Arab Alliance had emerged publicly in 1988, through their open letter to the prime minister, hence their could have been some secret works before that, dully it was not a surprise that the second stage of the war between 1993/87 took racial polarized shape [5], it could have resulted from that secret activities combined with agitations carried out by the Arab Alliance and its followers, that stage ended when the state recognized and started coordinated with it officially after the failure of SPLA in penetrating Darfur, dully I think the second stage can justifiably be between 1992/87.

The third stage started in 1993 till now, when justification for coordination between the state and Arab Alliance with its elements the Janjaweed was established, it is the stage which characterized with extreme brutality.

Before both SLM/A and JAM started their operations in March 2003, there was great internal displacements and refuges to Chad, leading to intervention of local and international relief organizations, and the United Nation High Commission for Refugee, particularly in Chad, these organizations reflected to the outside world what was going in Darfur, leading western countries to mobilized its institutions to gather information about situations in Darfur, the picture started becoming clearer about great tragedy that is taken place in Darfur.

Then came the announcements of Mr. Mukesh Kapila, the UN Humanitarian Coordinator for Sudan, the first to disclosed events in Darfur, he move human consciences, when he declared in a press conference at Nairobi on March 21, 2004, that "The war-torn Darfur region of western Sudan is the "world's greatest humanitarian crisis", comparable to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 in terms of human rights abuses", he continued " the "vicious war" in Darfur had led to violations on a scale that was comparable in character to the Rwandan situation, the only difference between Rwanda and Darfur now is the numbers involved". He said "The pattern of organized attacks on civilians and villages, abductions, killings and organized rapes by militias was getting worse by the day, and could deteriorate even further. One can see how the situation might develop without prompt [action]...all the warning signs are there". He continued, "I think some people are using the term ethnic cleansing and I would say that is not far off the mark," he added, "I think the term is being used by certain people because it's one group of people organizing themselves to do away with another group of people, and that's a definition of ethnic cleansing". Kapila added that "the systematic depopulation of the Darfur region resembled a "scorched earth policy", "This is more than just a conflict; it is an organized attempt to do away with a group of people." [21]

Recently, [Global Security](#) organization [22] disclosed highly resolution photos for villages that were burned in Darfur, it mentioned that, the imagery was released by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) on 24 June 2004. This was the first instance of USAID using satellite imagery for public diplomacy purposes, and that, the USAID started buying the commercial satellite imagery of Darfur in late April 2004 (one month after Mr. Mukesh Kapila

announcements), that, according to Mr. Andrew Natsios, administrator of USAID, the following could be interpreted from each image:

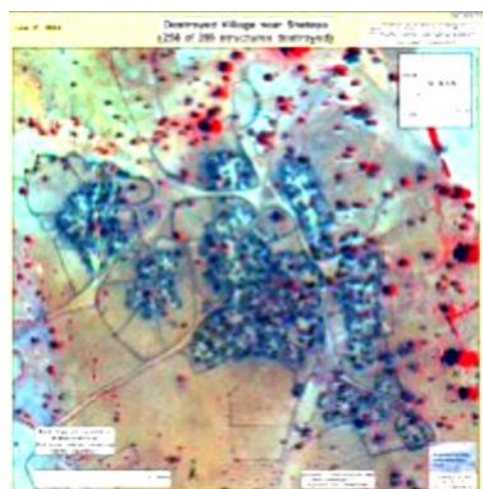
In a functional village you see trees, and the houses will all have cone-shaped roofs made of grass. And you can see ... goats, cows, dogs - and you'll see people walking around.

In destroyed villages, you can see the walls, which mean the roofs, have been burned down or destroyed, and you won't see any animals, any people, or any trees because they've been all burned".

As earlier mentioned, these photos are in thousands, recently Earth Google [EarthGoogle](#) has put more than 1600 such photos of burned villages in Darfur, accessible to anybody, the following are three samples of such photos from [Global Security](#), (Credit is to DigitalGlobe, Inc. Department of State via USAID):



**Photo No.1: Destroyed Village near Fata Barno (the Capital of Fur Sultanate during Sultan Shau Dor Rashid), the 278 structures were completely destroyed (click for enlargement and the website).**



**Photo No. 2: Village near Shataya, 258 out of 269 structures was destroyed (click for enlargement and the website).**



**Photo No. 3: Another Village near Shataya composed of 1300 structures, completely destroyed**  
(Click for enlargement and the website)

During that period, the American position was not clear regardless of these photos, because as from past events, one can ask, what dose they exchange in return for batch of terrorists received in 2004.

Mr. Mukesh Kapila announcements and these photos, helped in moving human consciences, forcing waves of Human rights organizations and Journalists to go to Darfur, such as Human Rights Watch they and produced report on April 2004 ([Massive Atrocities In Darfur](#)), Justice Africa, International Crises Groups and many others ... TV Channels, like CNN (Christian Amamphore) went there, also BBC, AFP, CBS, .., Journalists from New York Times, Washington Post and ... many other TV channels, Journalists and Photographers, all transmitted what they witnessed to the whole world, human consciences further moved, remembering Rwanda Genocide ten years earlier, when the world decided never again! it is happening again with great insistence, while no value for those whose fate are to be Darfurians! Where the Janjaweed kills men, while for women and girls, if not killed they were raped and their hands are marked to carry stigma for ever, these were carried out in Darfur, on Muslims by Muslims! Jan Pronk, the personal representative of UN Secretary General spoke out, till he was tired, and chased away, before that Mr. Koffi Anan Visited Darfur twice, he listened to women who were raped, he head talks that can't be published, then came Colin Paul US Minster of State, Toney Blair Prime Minister of Britain and many other Leaders, even the Chinese, they went in shyness to reduce the international pressure, for their indirect participation by selling military planes, tanks and machines guns which caused and still causing these shame! Many organizations and societies were formed around the world, to support people of Darfur, processions were organized and millions demonstrated worldwide, for the people of Darfur and in condemnation of the Genocide, unfortunately without response; while the Khartoum local scenario insists on claims that it is western conspiracy, regardless of all these photos and proofs. Dose those who planned Darfur Genocide ever imagine the contents of boxes of documents that were transferred to the Huge from New York?

The unknown internal government position, after Darfur crises start exposing itself externally in 2004, is that, government elements like the deputy governor of west Darfur Mustafa Mahamed Eshaq suggested the formation of combined force, between Janjaweed and other existing forces to bring advantages, such as:

1. Repel any expected attacks by SLM/A.
2. Easily reach to any group in case of event.

The plan was gradually implemented, which shows the great relationship between the government and the Janjaweed.

### ***Calls from Darfur Civil societies***

Several attempts were made by Darfurian civil societies to stop events in Darfur, among them formation of Darfur forum for peaceful coexistence, others were formed to protest and expose the genocide in Darfur; some of these took place in Khartoum, while others in Darfur. These attempts were faced with arrests in Khartoum, while in Darfur the Janjaweed can do anything from killing to rapping in front of the family members. As examples, the follow are some attempts by civil Societies in raising their voices about events in Darfur in 1999, four years before it been known to the external world:

\* In March 1999, a group of 1300, among them previous occupants of constitutional posts, students, professionals and tribal leaders, among them Dr. Ali Hassan Tajuldin previous member of head of the State council and Dr. Adam Musa Madibo, leaders of Uma Party, ten Omda (Paramount Chiefs) and sixteen Cheifs, raised memorandum to the President of the Republic, President Omar Hassan Bashir [15].

The memorandum started by the follow:

Oblige towards our national responsibilities towards Sudan, the home country and towards our small home country Darfur, with the requirements and duties of human and historical responsibilities, and our racial background and tribal and political belonging, and different local heritages. We, the people of the great Darfur in the federal capital Khartoum (students, professionals, previous parliamentarians, leaders and Chiefs of local administrations) who sign this memorandum, thought to raise you our demands, based on our religion obligation, in God says:

(O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single person (Adam), and from him (Adam) He created his wife {Hawwâ (Eve)}, and from them both He created many men and women; and fear Allâh through Whom you demand (your mutual rights), and (and do not cut the relations of) of the wombs (kindship). Surely, Allâh is Ever an All-Watcher over you) "4:1" [15].

The memorandum contains several issues among them are:

Tribal problems in Darfur, tribal conflicts in Gynyna area of western Darfur, necessity of the extraordinary measurements, developments in Darfur, cancellation of development projects and crippling of services through misuse of public funds and misuse of power, western salvation road, armed robbery, peaceful coexistence and tribal problems.

The memorandum ended with some suggestions, among them, State recognition of special status of Darfur position and to seek new form to administrate the national political dialogue.

\* Memorandum of the human rights division of the People of Darfur On December 4, 1999 to both the Chairman of Human Rights Committee in the National Council, the Minister of Justice



and Attorney General with copies to Governor of Western Darfur, Governor of Southern Darfur, Governor of Northern Darfur, Sudanese Human Rights Organization and the United Nations Human Rights Observer In Sudan [23].

The Memorandum was written by:

- a- Fifty four (54) Leaders and tribal Administrations representing different tribes of Darfur (Africans and Arabs).
- b- Fifty six (56) Lawyers and Legal Advisors.

After strong introduction, the Memorandum stated the following

- 1- In Darfur various securities authorities behaving without supervision or accountability.
- 2- Tortures are prevailing by detaining civilians in military intelligence custody, and securities detentions away from specialized judiciary instruments (the Judiciary) and their procedures.
- 3- Confessions are extracted using savage and barbaric ways by bandages that doesn't resemble Sudanese people.
- 4- Many cases of killing, rapes and great tortures were mentioned.
- 5- Request for investigation and to present whoever involved in committing these extremes and violations to immediate and just trails.

\* Memorandum No. 1 About the Racial Sedition that going on in Darfur, issued by 21 Leaders from African Tribes of Darfur, who met in Nyala town On December, 18 2003, they stated that [24]:

- 1- They were silence for long time about the sedition that had been going on in Darfur.
- 2- The activities are carried by destructive racial group proclaimed Arabism.
- 3- The group divided people on racial basis.
- 4- They spread death and destructions to push civilians from their home without any right, in a form of corruption never witness in Sudan even during Turkish period and the old barbarians.
- 5- Janjaweed forces are committing crimes against humanity, by savagely killing children, women and elders, they are disgrace with shame that should stick to anybody who tried to agitate, coordinate, giving support or help to them.
- 6- The leaders decided to work to prevent this sedition and to confront it with God help and strength.
- 7- This sedition was under preparations for a period that had exceeding two decades, with strategies and goals been implemented through phases.
- 8- They group have abilities to adopt and contain ruling systems and to exploit it for its destructive goals.
- 9- To expose the secret plans of the Arabs Alliance who are backing the Janjaweed.
- 10- The organization is exploiting instruments and resources of the government and the ruling party.
- 11- The organization (**Arabs Alliance**) was responsible for establishment of the Janjaweed, and its continual efforts in exploiting the state, last of their action was that, they saved elements that had committed worst crimes against humanity, while they justified attacks on civilians. (Massacres of Tygi village – December 2003).
- 12- The role of the racial organization was not limited on disrupt stability in Darfur, by causing sedition, the activity of the organization exceed Darfur and Sudan boundary to neighboring countries.

- 13- Appreciation of attitudes of some leaders from Arabic tribes for rejecting the racial calls which they opposed even before it had been exposed, and they presented material evidence to prove these activities.
- 14- Calls for immediate and permanent ceasefire in Darfur.
- 15- Attached with the memorandum, seven secret documents issued by Arab Alliance.

### ***Voices from Northern Sudan***

Since the beginning of tribal war in Darfur, before it reached present stage, many Sudanese thinkers, researchers and writers wrote about Sudanese situations in general, particularly that of Darfur, their writings, interviews and debates were aimed at discovering and warning to avoid the consequences of such sedition tribal war transformed into racial conflicts, which may have great impact on the long run, thus their writings were aimed at getting local and regional popular pressure to resolve it. Some went farther than what talked by the cultures of the military movements in Darfur, mainly to get into the root causes of the problem, in order to get the final solution for it. This shows the really value of committed intellectuals towards national issues, which been lacked in present Sudan. Some of these writers are inside Sudan, while others are outside, the following are some quotations from them:

\* Dr. Mohamad Suliman, (Editor by Salah Al Bander): Sudan, War of Resources and Identity, Page Seven about Darfur: Oasis in confrontation of desert (with participation of Ustaz Ahmad Osman Omar), although the writers idea about previous war in Darfur is that it evolves about resources, they said the second civil war (1993/87) in the following:

"The second civil war escalated, forming racial polarization, that showed itself in wide alliance contains tribes from Arabic origins; confrontations becomes more violent, savagery and destructive than previous stages. Consequently, fighters, security and political leaders and independent observers couldn't see clearly the root causes of the dispute" [5].

\* Dr. Albaqir Alafif Mukhtar, Expert in the American Institute for Peace, activist and writer in wide issues related to Human Rights and identity conflicts in Northern Sudan. He is one of the bravest in tackling Sudan situations, particularly that of Darfur. In Africans and Immigrants Africans Conference, held in Sacramento, California State (2007), he said:

"The main reason for fighting in Sudan is the identity crises. The permanent peace cannot achieve without solving it". And that "The main reason for fighting there is not political, economical or development, it is psychological reason"[25].

He criticizes oppositions in Darfur, because it concentrated on marginalization as the main reason. Continuing "This is not the truth; the truth is that, this marginalization is not by chance, because the main reason is the prestige attitudes by the central people". Saying, the root causes of the problem is that, "The Northern see themselves Arabs, or noble race, while consider others Blacks or Darker" [25].

About Janjaweed, Dr. Afifi said:

"There is something important than the name of Janjaweed, that is the concept of Janjaweed, describing it as very racists" [25].

About the American concern about Darfur, he said at Algazira:

"It started as popular interest, activated by media, naturally due to the extreme violations and atrocities committed towards villages, showed by Satellites, watched by everybody. The great

displacements and committed crimes were awful, it moved human consciences everywhere. The consciences now moved in the West, expressed by great popular interests, general public and organizations. Civil societies and Human Rights Organizations, thus Civil Societies raised and pressed governments; these are democratic governments, they are sensitive towards its people; it should comply in order to stay in power, because power is owned by people in West" [26].

He continued, regarding the Arab role in Darfur

"I think the Arabs ... The Arabian establishment in the form of Arab Countries and organizations, really they in conniver with the government all through; Dr. Abdalla Ali Ibrahim (participant in the discussion) knows and wrote about great expenditure of Arabs countries on Islamic Calls Organization in Africa, started with Southern Sudan, now in Darfur there are no organizations, there is no any Arab or Islamic relief organizations in Darfur, in reality they are not concern for being there; there is interest by western Christians organization to work in Darfur, that is why when the delegation of Muslims Clerics Association visited Khartoum and went to Darfur, one of their recommendations is to strengthen religion .. Religion of Darfurians, as if they are accusing people of Darfur in their faith, and they are venerable for Christianization, there were great concerns of protecting them from Christianization. . Not to save and protect their lives, for that I think there is great departures, in reality there is great expenditures, on cultural issues, the Sudanese role written by Doctor (Dr. Abdalla Ali Ibrahim), that it plays the roles of representation of Arab Islamic world to spreads culture and Arabic languages an Arabized, but there is no interest in developments, no interest even towards Human beings " [26].

He continued:

"yeas, Arabs are greatly and clearly absents, it is really un-interested and ignorance; there is Arabic ignorance with total Sudan, as it doesn't important issue for them, particularly with Darfur, thus ignorance with Darfur includes Sudanese at extreme north, for that there is great interests, or tendency in Arab Countries and Arabic institutions to accept Sudan government as source of information, or the criminal himself. Therefore, it is natural when these organizations arrived, they took.. Bought the Sudanese version of events, we watched when Arabs Lawyers Union went to Sudan; we saw stands of Muslims Clerics, when Sheikh Garadawi and Mahamad Saieed Alawaza visited Sudan. All of them repeated (the version) and returned back, repeating the government version of events" [26].

\* Dr. Suleiman Beldo, African Director of International Crises Group (ICG), mentioned in Aljazeera, how Darfur crises became known internationally:

"I would like to explain that, the popular pressure determination also varied, there are great students movement standing with victims of war in Darfur, migrants Sudanese from Darfur living in different cities of United States, are in this coalition; as I mentioned, also there are Islamic group, n my estimate, present popular movement is not backed completely and totally as this theory may suggests. The theory of Zionism Lobby, but there are other elements that explain it, it is explained by the fast modern media, speed of technology in transmitting photos of events to different places in the world immediately and directly it also explained by some events previous to Darfur, such as mass Genocide in Rwanda and Bosnia, where the world had failed to intervene at right time to prevent it" [26].

About role of identity in the war, he said:

"I agreed with brother Afifi, about the identity, in fact what happened in Sudan, according to the fighting groups, that it is Arabs against groups from African origins, in fact it is classification or cultural identity that had taken political nature; while for Khartoum, when the conflict exploded in Darfur, and military rebellion raised in that region, it was political rebellion aimed at rejected marginalization of the region as a region; this was adopted by group that felt marginalized within that marginalization, mostly from African race. Government replay by mobilizing the identity issue, recruiting militants mostly from Arab origin; they are the militants which joined the government due to its reactions to rebellion in 2003/4, from which emerged the classification of that conflict as Arabs against Africans. The form of government reaction for that was collective punishment, not only against the rebels who raised arms against it, but towards all groups which related to it, the big tribes. For that hundreds of villages were burned, for that reason there are more than two million Darfurians in displacement camps in the region from where did they come? They came from secured villages, they are normal people, they were attacked not for any reason except that they belong to this identity named as Africans, therefore, if there is anyone to be blame for giving that conflict polarization nature of Arabism contrary Africanism, it is the government in Khartoum, because it pursued in militarized this identity in reaction to the rebellions in Darfur" [26].

Concerning the role Arab media, he said:

"I don't think Arab media was lagging in covering these events, the first television Network that tried to cover events in Darfur was Aljazeera, its representative and photographers filmed the fire, which was direct transmission for Darfur event during attacks of government militants on Algora, what was the reaction of Sudanese government? Aljazeera office was closed; representative Aljazeera in Sudan was sent to prison for several months and then presented to trail. The Arabya Company or Network tried to show what is happen in Darfur, directly in a documentary Jihad on horse back, what happened? Direct pressure from Sudan government on the Arabya Network, led to failure in broadcasting of the program, Arab world doesn't know what is happening in Darfur. If there is media freedom, concerning news coming from Sudan, and he knows, there should be the same rejection and disgust, for what Sudan government is doing against its Muslim People in Darfur region" [26].

\* Mr. Alsadiq Almahadi, Imam of Ansar sect and ex-prim Minister, said in an interview with Aljazeera (May 26, 2007), that "Since the national justice had failed, the international justice must be fulfilled".

### ***The Failure of Internal Peaceful Conferences***

Regardless of many reconciliation conferences, between African and Arabs tribes, it didn't stopped wars, thus meditations found themselves in continual cycle of conferences [2], only in the period between 1997/90, 12 conferences were held [5], and some are [2]:

- 1- Tribal reconciliation conference between Fur and Arab Tribes (Alfashir April 15 - May 8, 1989).
- 2- Tribal reconciliation conference between Zagawa and Arab Tribes (Kotom 1994).
- 3- Reconciliation and Peaceful Coexistence conference between Rezigat and Zagawa (Aldaien 1997).
- 4- Tribal reconciliation conference between Massaliet and Arabs Tribes (Alginyna, November 18-25, 1996).

- 5- Comprehensive Security and Coexistence conference for Darfur States (Nyala December 22-27, 1997).
- 6- Tribal reconciliation conference and peaceful coexistence between Massaliet and some Arab Tribes (Gynyna, May 26-June 5, 1999).

When it became clearer that Darfur crises could get out of control, the government held several conferences, these inter-Darfurian peace talks took place between May 2001 to December 2002, during which 5 Conferences were held between the Government of Sudan and different Tribal representatives, it mainly took place in El Fasher and the Jabel Marra area.

The main aim of the government was to contain the crises and to isolate it from linking with SPLM/A calls and agenda, the early mentioned Nerteti conference at Jebel Mara On August 2002, and several others, all of them with agenda and outcomes, were aimed to force tribal leaders, participants and people of Darfur to accept state de cu.

Take an example of one of these conferences, the **Great Stats of Darfur Consultative Leadership Gathering In Elfashir February 2003**, (on **The Discussions Of The Subsidiary Committee Guidance**).

Where delegates were asked to confine the discussions in delivering clear, frank and courageous answers to the following questions:

- 1- The information delivered by the mechanism in its opening secession, and according to its reports indicated an accusation by a group from Fur tribe and group from Zagawa tribe, about events in and around Jabal Marra and Krnuiy.. in your estimation:
  - a. Is this work, a group work backed by these tribes?
  - b. Is this an individual work, and what is the percentage of these from involved tribes?
  - c. What is the stand of these tribes from those outlaws?
- 2- Why the problem escalated with assaults? Are the tough reactions of Arabs tribes in retaliations against Fur assaults do effects in these? And is cruelty caused by the Janjaweed (Burning, Killing and Looting) developed, transformed and pushed them (Fur and Zagawa) to change their objectives?
- 3- Why Fur leaders and those armed men tried to internationalize Jabal Marra problem? Are their reasons and justifications for that?
- 4- Why rest of Darfur tribes kept quite towards what is running in Jabbal Marra and around Krnuiy and the other area?
- 5- Is it possible for leaders, administrative and important figures among Zagawa, Fur and Arabs to initiate a positive work to stop these running things?
- 6- Isn't duty for this gathering to condemn what is happening in the Jabal and around Krnuiy and other area?
- 7- How could we achieve dreams of our people, for ambition development projects in Darfur generally and Jabal Marra and Krnuiy in particular? Could this be done by:
  - a. Popular political works only?
  - b. Military popular work by Zagawa and Fur towards their people?
  - c. Limited military work, with political support?
  - d. Plain openly, military work?

A lot could be extracted about the regime idea about these two tribes, among these, the delegate attention was diverted from the real issues to how to encounter these tribes even by their own people! Towards the reactions of Fur tribe and Zagawa against widespread violations, massacres and humiliations aimed at dislodging them from their land. These conferences, as clear from the above agenda were to force delegate giving the government the mandate to use any military menses to hit those innocence, who were just defending their tribes, above all it gives impressions that the Conference was aimed at spaying rather than solving a problem.

### ***African Union Peace Process***

The peace process started at Apache in Chad on September 4<sup>th</sup>, 2003, then the African Union (AU) Mediation started in April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2004 at N'Djamena in Chad, where a ceasefire was signed. Agreement on modalities for the establishment of the ceasefire commission and deployment of observers in the Darfur was signed in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) on 28 May 2004.

Six rounds were held at Abuja in Nigeria, where two Protocols on the (1) Implementation of the Humanitarian Situation in Darfur and (2) Enhancement of the Security Situation in Darfur, were both signed in November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2004, and in the following year the Declaration of Principles (DoP) for the Resolution of the Sudanese Conflict in Darfur was signed on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2005. During these talks, the Libyans hold several popular meetings, by bringing Darfurians in Libyan in order to solve the problem, but the failed.

### ***Failure of African Union Peace Process at Abuja***

All hopes were directed towards Abuja, that African Union negotiation on Darfur which been given dead line of May 5, 2006 as the final date for signature, may succeed. This was mistake in itself, from which it could be imagine that there are some forces eager to find any solution by any manse, so that many of issues could be hide.

The talks ended with a group led by Mani Ako Mani signing the agreement, while two groups led by Ustaz Abdelwheed Mahamad Nur and Dr. Khalil Ibrahim refused, regardless of great pressures practiced by both President of Nigeria and the American envoy.

Thus one may asked, why both above groups refused signing that agreement? To disclose that, we will look as an example position of SPM/A headed by Ustaz Abdelwheed Mahamad, prepared by Mr. Abaker Mohamed Abuelbashar, Head of Wealth Sharing Commission, SLM/A, which could be summarized by the follow:

To expedite the Talks the AU Mediation redesigned the DoP to be negotiated in three commissions i.e. Power Sharing, Wealth Sharing and Security Arrangement. Since November 2005, the seventh round of the Peace Talks lasted five and half (5 ½) months, which ended up with the signature of two parties and the objection of another two parties (Movements). The reasons of rejection by the other main effective parties who didn't sign the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) are that, Mediators concentrated only on Darfur issues without the centre, while international community did not want any obstruction to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 9/1/2005 and that matters related to root causes of the conflict were rejected, others may be summarized by the followings points [27]:

**A- Procedural:** Among these are: Unfairness method in discussion issues such as land and Darfur as a one region, the compiled document produce by AU, not been discussed, it was forced on the Movements to sign, the document was presented on 25<sup>th</sup> April 2006, with an ultimatum of



5 days to respond and sign it, AU proposed a core team to resolve the issues of difference, but never been implemented, the Movements requested time from AU to study the document but it refused.

**B- Legal:** The document lacked implementation modalities in all Commissions, implementation mechanisms, general provisions and guarantees. Main words and phrases such as, Janjaweed, Hawakeer (communal land ownership rights) and Massaratt (Livestock routes), were not defined. The Agreement gives GoS (National Congress Party, NCP) absolute power to rule Darfur; it got 81% of constitutional and executive posts (State Governors, Ministers, Commissioners ...etc) and 71% of legislative seats in Darfur, giving the NCP to be the really ruler. Deletion of several articles already agreed upon by the Parties. Many mistakes appeared in the Arabic version.

**C- Technical:** Three of nine issues in the agenda of the Power Sharing Commission were not discussed at all. No solutions to the root causes, such as; Darfur to be one region with 1/1/1956 borders, Fair representation in both legislative and executive bodies at a national level were denied, Participation of the Movements in disarming the Janjaweed.

- Some essential rights of, Individual compensation, duration of the interim period, control of Movements forces during the interim period, before the UN Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration programme (DDR) taking place. Participation in implementation, the Movements are represented by only 19% in Darfur's executive organs, and by 29% in its legislative bodies. There is no provision in the DPA to allow a UN Peacekeeping Force in Darfur after the signing of the Agreement.

- The implementation of this kind of agreement is the responsibility of the parties who sign it; therefore the representation of the parties should be in a fair and just manner. In the DPA the Movements are represented by only 19% in Darfur's executive organs, and by 29% in its legislative bodies. It is clear that those who took up arms against the Islamic ideologist government in Sudan have no room in the governing process of their own region to correct the injustice practices and elevate the suffering of their people.

- There is no provision in the DPA to allow a UN Peacekeeping Force in Darfur after the signing of the Agreement.

## ***Conclusion***

In Darfur, the Fur Kingdom was deep rooted, it ruled from 1415 to 1917 during which 36 sultans ruled the sultanates, through out that period Islam was the only religion, since 1564 Sultanate of Darfur used to deliver Pilgrimage Carnivals which included gifts of food and the covering cloth (attire) for the Kaaba in Mecca. The Fur are famous by studying Quran since childhood, it was discovered that a village in Jebel Mara in Darfur contains two thousands (2,000) person who memorized Quran by heart, while the whole Islamic Republic of Iran contains five thousands (5,000) at that time. Fur Sultanate used to have pre-paid open gallery in Al-Azhar in Cairo, Mecca and Jerusalem.

Prophet Mohamed (Let peace be upon him) shows Muslims in two occasions what Islam, meant: ***"In one time he found a thirsty dog, he removed his show and took with it water from a well and gave it to the dog to drink."*** in the second case: ***"He said, removal of harm elements from the road is rewarded by God"***, which implies that regardless of whoever may be effected by that element, whether a Jewish or Christian!

That is the Islam that was known in Darfur, a religion of humanity. It was strange even Arabs Scientists, thinkers and Oluma are either keeping quite about events in Darfur or backing it! Take

the well known Islamist Dr, Yousif Algaradawi. He said on September 3, 2004 during a visit to attend the new Arab Islamic Conference, hold in collaboration between the Strategic Studies Center and ministry of Endowments Sudan ***"the necessity of enlighten people of Darfur, with bases of their religion and provide their requirements "***!

In a speech at martyrs Mosque, ***"he accused International Humanitarians Organizations working in Darfur, by working to Christianized people of the area, using assistance given to the misfortunate people; he accused western countries by conspiracy "***.

An Islamic leader from Darfur told me that in a public meeting, a women asked ***"If the infidel white man is giving us food and saving us from the killings and rapes committed by our supposedly brothers Arab Muslim, aren't the White man better than those Muslim Arabs?"*** Anyone can imagine depression and sadness of this Islamic leader, as he failed to replay to that woman? What can he tell her and everything is incorporated for both of them in Darfur; even her personal tragedy could be worst! It is a depressed situation for every Muslim with a bit of faith; and the stage we reached by the political Islam.

Present humanity reflected in modern western societies was achieved after long process of awareness brought about by civil society's pressures, human rights organizations and individuals. These acts of humanity, had grown through generations, it reflects the development of human societies and humanity; it is the development of human values.

The first verses of Quran were ***"Read! In the Name of your Lord Who has created (all that exists). 2. He has created man from a clot (a piece of thick coagulated blood). 3. Read And your Lord is the Most Generous. 4. Who has taught (the writing) by the pen. 5. Nay! Verily, man does transgress (in disbelief and evil deed)"*** (96:1-5), these were the basic teaching of Islam, to acquire knowledge! All knowledge, not only religion, simply because these knowledge raises status of humanity, on condition not to do evil deed? Isn't what is taken place in Darfur ignorance and evil deed? And on whom?

During the Africa famine of 1984/85, Two International groups of singers, the British "Band Aid" headed by **Paul Young**, and the American was headed by present **UNICEF** Goodwill Ambassador **Harry Belafonte**, they brought great assistance to Ethiopia and Sudan, during Presidency of Regan, who sent thousands tons of sorghums to Sudan, it became known as Regan sorghums, people in Darfur and Kordofan praised Regan at praying asking God to blessed him with heaven; that was humanity!

The most painful part of what is happening in Darfur is that the genocide is taking place in a slow long process, while the world is watching, as if they lost the human responsibility and consciousness towards the people of Darfur, and their rights for free, justice life with dignity.

These are happening in Darfur simply because of the negative attitudes of African Leaders, who through their representatives in different institutions bargained and allowed continuation of this Genocide without any human feelings towards the people of Darfur.

The polices followed by the Mister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Lam Akol within the government of National Unity towards Darfur was what the NCP was up to by signing the Comprehensive peace Agreement (CPA), he can't pretend lacking policies papers, as a leader he should formulate it. Gallants SPLA Martyrs lead by Eng. Bolad down to people like Capt. Cipriano Oliha Afore from Eastern Equatoria and hundred others sacrificed their lives for that policy and for Freedom,

Justice and Equality in order to build the more Human New Sudan, it is sad to destroy in few months what Dr. John Garang had firmly stood 21 years.

In contrast to that, His Excellency Deng Alor Kuol, Minister of the Cabinet Affairs Minister, in the government of the National Unity, justified SPLM supports to 1706, that "*SPLM do have moral obligations towards the people of Darfur*", that is why SPLM supports intervention of International Force to Darfur.

SPLM/A historical and moral obligations towards the people of Darfur is so great, this was always felt by its leaders attitudes, as witness through the continual move by His Excellency Left General Salva Kiir Mayardit, the First Vice President of the Republic of Sudan and President of the Government of Southern Sudan, supporting the United Nation force intervention in Darfur, it is not an isolated attitude, there is enormous supports towards Darfur cause in South Sudan, Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile area.

The arbitrary killings, mass rapping, destructions of houses and properties; all of which had created urgent demand for intervention of the International Force to rescue the hopeless situation in Darfur, the force is required so they should be able to do the following:

- 1- To stop the killing.
- 2- To secure life of innocents.
- 3- To stop the intense rapes committed by the Janjaweed.
- 4- To create sense of peace.
- 5- To disarm the Janjaweed.
- 6- To secure return of displaced and refugees.
- 7- To investigate the Absolute Truth about what had happened in Darfur.
- 8- To establish inter-tribal dialogues.
- 9- To make reconciliation between African and Arab tribe of Darfur.
- 10- To help creating environment that my help in laying out development projects for people of Darfur.

These points are not against Islam, they are supposed to be achieved by us; as Muslims if we failed to achieve these, it is the obligation of the International community to help in establishing a better world for both Africans and Arabs of Darfur.

The above brief is not the final solution for the tragedy of Darfur, it is only a means to establish the required stability and peace in the region, then other process may followed intended to established the final justice permanent peace in the region, with final intention of bring peace in Darfur, by showing the truth about what had happened without partiality and from human perspectives towards all people of Darfur, Arabs and Africans.

Finally events in Darfur had created inhuman environment, the people of Darfur and Sudanese in general deserved brighter and human future for themselves and the coming generations, the bases of which could only be achieved through the intervention of the International Force approved by the Security Council in the its resolution No 1706.

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