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安全理事会

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2021年1月13日苏丹问题专家小组给安全理事会主席的信

苏丹问题专家小组谨依照安全理事会第 2508(2020)号决议第 2 段的规定转递 专家小组工作最后报告。

已于 2020 年 12 月 24 日将报告提交安全理事会关于苏丹的第 1591(2005)号 决议所设委员会,委员会于 2021 年 1 月 11 日审议了报告。

请提请安全理事会成员注意本信和报告并将其作为安理会文件发布为荷。

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[原件:英文]

苏丹问题专家小组的最后报告

摘要

苏丹政府和几个主要的达尔富尔武装运动于 2020 年 10 月签署了《朱巴和平协议》,从而在达尔富尔和平进程中向前迈出了重要一步。《协议》签署后,这些运动的领导人和政治组成部分开始返回苏丹,与苏丹政府合作制定初期执行措施。

有限的财政资源以及苏丹政治过渡不同行为体之间的分歧将对《协议》执行工作构成挑战。仍存在其他重大挑战,特别是唯一在达尔富尔拥有大量控制区的武装运动即苏丹解放军/阿卜杜勒•瓦希德派(苏解/瓦希德派)以及关键群体,如主要的境内流离失所者机构,拒绝接受《协议》。安全安排的落实也将是一个敏感问题,如处理不当,将对《协议》的未来和达尔富尔的稳定构成威胁。

区域局势总体上仍有利于和平进程,尽管还是极其脆弱。区域内各国或促成或以其他方式支持了朱巴谈判。与此同时,利比亚境内的冲突和僵局,特别是埃塞俄比亚最近暴力活动的激增,都表明了大多数邻国的脆弱性,这可能对达尔富尔和区域的和平与稳定构成威胁。

在达尔富尔,苏解/瓦希德派通过招募新战士和购买武器,增加了其在杰贝勒迈拉的力量,这要归功于新的金矿采矿收入。虽然苏解/瓦希德派与安全部队之间的冲突相对有限,但持续不断的内斗使该运动四分五裂,并导致至少 20 000 名当地平民流离失所和许多侵犯人权行为。制裁名单上被指认人员穆萨·希拉勒·阿卜杜拉·纳西姆(固定编号 SDi.002)的支持者对他们的领导人被拘留日益不满,其中一些人在杰贝勒迈拉和利比亚转向军事行动。最近,签署《协议》各团体考虑到预期中的安全安排而在达尔富尔大量招募,包括招募儿童。

大多数达尔富尔反叛团体加强了在利比亚的力量,他们在那里大量参与利比亚国民军的重大军事行动,包括在的黎波里和苏尔特。在本报告所述期间,这些反叛团体从事大规模招募活动,并获得了新装备,力量大增。他们还与利比亚国民军当局建立了较高级别的持续关系,与利比亚国民军的一些外国支持者建立了直接关系。虽有《协议》,但专家小组收集的信息表明,这些反叛团体在可预见的将来仍将在利比亚维持相当数量的部队。

在本报告所述期间,国际人道法总体状况没有改善。族群间冲突及与此相关的袭击平民活动在数量和规模两方面都大幅增加,尤其是在南达尔富尔和西达尔富尔。事实证明,苏丹政府预防或制止这些事件的能力有限,特别是在农村地区,那里的警察部队人力少于地方部落武装团体,被后者压倒。游牧社区武装分子对境内流离失所者和试图返回家园的农民的袭击也在继续。苏丹政府对于境内流离失所者问题,包括对于土地占用和解除平民武装问题没有全面的政策和举措,因此,境内流离失所者的状况没有变化。虽然苏丹政府制定了一项非洲联盟-联合国

达尔富尔混合行动(达尔富尔混合行动)撤出后国家保护平民计划(S/2020/429, 附件),但苏丹政府执行这一计划的能力和手段仍然存在不确定性。

性暴力和性别暴力在达尔富尔仍普遍存在,没有应对之举,尽管新的苏丹政府当局对这一问题的认识和承认程度不断提高,可以认为是一种进步。仍然每天都有安全部队成员、游牧社区武装成员和一些苏解/瓦希德派战斗人员等施害者实施性暴力和性别暴力行为,特别是针对从事谋生活动的妇女和女童。

在本报告所述期间,苏丹政府继续违反军火禁运,将军火和其他军用物资转入达尔富尔。自禁运实施以来,苏丹政府从未向安全理事会关于苏丹的第1591(2005)号决议所设委员会提交任何军火禁运豁免通知或请求。就利比亚国民军及其支持者而言,他们违反军火禁运,向利比亚境内武装团体提供大量军用车辆和武器。达尔富尔和区域边境管理疏松,容易获得小武器,这意味着武器继续非法流入和流出达尔富尔,对达尔富尔和邻国的安全与稳定构成威胁,尤其是在乍得东部、中非共和国东北部和利比亚。

由于苏丹政府和区域各国政府缺乏合作,旅行禁令和资产冻结的执行仍是一个挑战。

在利比亚,支持利比亚国民军的雇佣军活动是达尔富尔武装团体的主要资金来源,其中一些团体还获利于参与毒品走私和偷运移民等犯罪活动。在达尔富尔,杰贝勒迈拉托罗耶地区的金矿已成为苏解/瓦希德派新的主要资金来源。签署《朱巴和平协议》的一些团体如今正返回苏丹,计划在达尔富尔从事金矿开采,为其活动提供资金,这可能会加剧当地矿产资源竞争。

20-17657 3/68

目录

─.	导言		
二.	和平进程		
	A.	概览:《朱巴和平协议》	
	B.	全国情况及其对达尔富尔的影响	
三.	区域动态		
	A.	概览	
	B.	非洲联盟	
	C.	南苏丹	
	D.	中非共和国	
	E.	利比亚	
	F.	乍得	
	G.	埃及	
	H.	埃塞俄比亚	
	I.	阿拉伯联合酋长国	
	J.	卡塔尔	
四.	《朱巴和平协议》签署后的达尔富尔:挑战和风险		
	A.	政治和经济挑战	
	B.	薄弱之处和风险	
五.	在达尔富尔的达尔富尔武装团体		
	A.	苏丹解放军/阿卜杜勒•瓦希德派	
	B.	穆萨•希拉勒及其苏丹革命觉醒委员会	
	C.	《朱巴和平协议》签署方团体的招募活动	
六.	利比亚境内各个达尔富尔武装团体		
	A.	军事行动	
	B.	能力	
	C.	与利比亚国民军的合作	
	D.	与利比亚国民军的外国支持者的合作	
	E.	有关快速支援部队在利比亚境内的存在的指控	
	F.	《朱巴和平协议》之后: 留下还是离开?	

七.	七. 南苏丹境内各个达尔富尔武装团体			
八.	国际人道法和人权			
	A.	概览	24	
	B.	保护平民	25	
	C.	性暴力和性别暴力	26	
	D.	侵害和虐待儿童行为	26	
	E.	对静坐示威的镇压	27	
	F.	政府安全部队的侵犯人权行为	28	
	G.	苏丹解放军/阿卜杜勒•瓦希德派的侵犯人权行为	29	
	H.	境内流离失所者状况	29	
	I.	部族间暴力	30	
	J.	正义和问责	32	
九.	军ク	军火和边境管制		
	A.	军火禁运	33	
	B.	军火收缴	34	
	C.	边境管制	35	
十.	旅行禁令和资产冻结			
	A.	会员国的执行情况	36	
	B.	苏丹政府的执行情况	36	
	C.	正在进行的旅行禁令调查	37	
+	武装团体的资金筹措			
	A.	在达尔富尔的苏丹解放军/瓦希德派	37	
	B.	在南苏丹的武装团体	39	
	C.	在利比亚的武装团体	40	
	D.	《朱巴和平协议》签署团体的项目	40	
十二.	建议	X	41	
付件*			43	

^{*} 附件仅以来件所用语文分发,且未经正式编辑。

一. 导言

- 1. 2020年2月11日,安全理事会通过第2508(2020)号决议,其中规定苏丹问题专家小组的任务包括不迟于2021年1月13日向安全理事会第1591(2005)号决议所设委员会提交专家小组活动最后报告。本报告概述了专家小组自2020年3月13日开始执行任务至2020年12月起草报告时的调查结果和调查情况(专家小组任务详情见附件1)。
- 2. 由于冠状病毒病疫情所致的旅行限制,专家小组难以在苏丹及其所在区域旅行和进行实地调查。尽管如此,专家小组于 10 月和 11 月在苏丹(包括达尔富尔)进行了两次走访。虽然专家小组能在 11 月走访埃及,但由于疫情及相关措施,前往该区域的其他差旅不得不推迟。
- 3. 在本任务期间,专家小组继续评估制裁措施执行情况和违反措施的行为,跟 进调查线索。为此,它与苏丹政府、会员国以及包括武装运动领导人和指挥官、 境内流离失所者和人权监测员在内的多方面达尔富尔对话者进行了面对面或远 程互动。专家小组得到了非洲联盟-联合国达尔富尔混合行动(达尔富尔混合行动) 的极大帮助。专家小组感谢苏丹政府给予宝贵合作。
- 4. 专家小组的工作方式完全符合安全理事会制裁的一般性问题非正式工作组建议的最佳做法和方法(见 S/2006/997)。有关本报告所采用的方法和专家小组所面对的挑战详情可查阅附件 2。

二. 和平进程

A. 概览:《朱巴和平协议》

- 5. 在整个报告所述期间,以下积极因素引领着达尔富尔和平进程:
- (a) 《朱巴和平协议》(《协议》, 达尔富尔轨道)。2020年10月3日, 苏丹政府和五个最重要的达尔富尔武装运动¹ (本身都是苏丹革命阵线联盟的成员)在朱巴签署了一项全面和平协议, 其中包括旨在解决冲突根源的权力分享、财富分享和安全安排等各项议定书。《协议》的签署是一项重大成就, 得益于苏丹政府谈判代表特别是首席谈判代表穆罕默德•塔艾什(Mohammed al-Ta 'aishi)和过渡主权委员会第一副主席兼快速支援部队首长穆罕默德•哈姆丹•达戈洛(又称"赫梅提")将军、各个运动的领导层和南苏丹调解小组的善意。《协议》取代了已过时的《多哈达尔富尔和平文件》;
- (b) 签署《协议》的各个运动领导层于 11 月 15 日返回喀土穆,包括每个运动的首领。《协议》签署后,各个运动返回苏丹,开始执行《协议》,首先是 10 月 18 日开始统一《协议》和宪法文件;

¹ 苏丹解放军/明尼·米纳维派(苏解/米纳维派)、正义与平等运动(正义运动)、苏丹解放力量联盟、苏丹解放军/过渡委员会(苏解/过渡委员会)、苏丹联盟。

- (c) 各个运动的一些武装分子返回苏丹。根据《协议》,各个运动开始与苏丹政府协调,将他们的一些部队调回苏丹。在编写本报告之时,苏解/米纳维派和正义运动在喀土穆均有数十名士兵,任务是保护各自的领导人;
- (d) 苏丹政府与苏丹解放军/阿卜杜勒·瓦希德派(苏解/瓦希德派)定期接触。尽管苏解/瓦希德派没有参加《协议》谈判,但阿卜杜勒·瓦希德·穆罕默德·努尔与苏丹政府保持着定期的非官方沟通。《协议》缔结后,他于11月13日从法国前往乌干达。阿卜杜勒·瓦希德在坎帕拉宣布,他的运动将推出一项旨在实现苏丹全面和平的新倡议(但他没有提供任何细节)。预期他将在朱巴会晤南苏丹当局,然后在苏丹提出他的倡议;
- (e) 任命文职州长。提名文职州长,即使是过渡州长,也是朝着达尔富尔和平与稳定迈出的明显一步。其中一些州长以前活跃于非政府组织,与前政权没有关联,他们的任命受到普遍欢迎。

B. 全国情况及其对达尔富尔的影响

- 6. 有一些全国因素对达尔富尔局势和达尔富尔和平进程产生了负面影响。2020年,苏丹各地持续不稳定,围绕过渡控制权进行政治竞争,经济形势进一步恶化,地方紧张局势加剧(例如在苏丹东部)。革命后的政治格局包括各种机构和联盟,如主权委员会(包括军事和文职部门)、部长会议、自由与变革力量、协调抵抗委员会、苏丹专业人员协会、苏丹革命阵线、政党和民间社会组织。几乎所有的政党和联盟,包括苏丹革命阵线和自由与变革力量,都经历了分裂和效忠阵营变化。
- 7. 军事和文职部门之间的关系最近更加紧张,并因各个武装运动在《协议》签署后返回苏丹而加剧。2020年12月1日,过渡主权委员会主席阿卜杜勒·法塔赫·布尔汗将军颁布法令,宣布成立过渡合作伙伴理事会。按照计划,这个新机构将由29名成员组成,其中包括总理阿卜杜拉·哈姆杜克、赫梅提及其兄弟阿卜杜勒·拉希姆·达戈洛将军、自由与变革力量13名代表和苏丹革命阵线9名代表。其他成员系签署《协议》的各个达尔富尔武装运动五位首领(明尼·米纳维、哈迪·伊德里斯(al-Hadi Idris)、吉布里尔·易卜拉欣、塔希尔·哈贾尔(al-Tahir Hajar)、哈米斯·阿卜杜拉·阿巴卡尔(Khamis Abdallah Abakar))。过渡合作伙伴理事会宣布的目标包括"指导过渡时期",整个时期由布尔汗将军领导。各党派和其他政治力量,如各个抵抗委员会,拒绝这一新理事会的组建,认为这是反对苏丹革命的政变。总理拒绝加入过渡合作伙伴理事会,部长会议宣称理事会应是一个咨询机构,而不是指导机构。截至编写本报告之时,过渡合作伙伴理事会的观点仍不清楚。
- 8. 冠状病毒病全球疫情增添了更多障碍。尽管据官方统计,与其他州相比,达尔富尔受到的影响较小。2020年3月以来,中达尔富尔州有6例报告病例,东达尔富尔23例,西达尔富尔44例,南达尔富尔56例,北达尔富尔154例。国家一级的情况更为困难,特别是在喀土穆。这场疫情还影响了未来的捐助国,消耗了执行《协议》所需的资源。

20-17657 7/68

三. 区域动态

A. 概览

- 9. 区域局势总体上仍有利于达尔富尔的和平与稳定,但局势极其脆弱。区域内所有国家都支持和平进程和《朱巴和平协议》。南苏丹作为朱巴和谈的调解方和东道方,在苏丹政府与各个武装运动之间的谈判中发挥了重要作用,乍得、阿拉伯联合酋长国和卡塔尔也为和谈作出了积极贡献。
- 10. 所有邻国仍易受到内外压力的影响。埃塞俄比亚与苏丹接壤的一个地区最近发生冲突,虽说对达尔富尔局势没有直接和立即的影响,但表明该区域仍然高度不稳定。根据专家小组 11 月在开罗会晤的埃及当局和专家所说,进一步不稳定和恐怖主义活动从萨赫勒蔓延到苏丹的危险依然显而可见。

B. 非洲联盟

11. 非洲联盟继续支持达尔富尔和平进程, 视和平进程为其到 2021 年消除非洲武装冲突的"平息枪炮声"倡议的一部分。2020 年 12 月 4 日, 南非总统西里尔•拉马福萨在一次关于非洲联盟-联合国合作的活动上发言时表示:"我们在实现这一必要目标方面取得了重大进展,中非共和国、南苏丹、苏丹以及最近在利比亚达成的开创性和平协议就是明证。"²

C. 南苏丹

12. 苏丹和南苏丹的关系朝着积极方向发展。两国举行了若干次双边会议,旨在 开展政治和经济合作,特别是在石油工业和边界划定领域。³ 虽有这些努力,苏 丹(包括南达尔富尔和东达尔富尔)与南苏丹的边界线有许多地段仍有争议。关于 非法采矿和走私问题,这种情况可能会使双边关系在未来面临风险,影响到达尔 富尔一些地区。大量南苏丹难民仍留在这些地区,而达尔富尔人在南苏丹的活动 主要限于商业和贸易,在那里的苏解/瓦希德派少量部队和其他达尔富尔武装团体 除外(见第七节)。

D. 中非共和国

13. 苏丹-中非共和国边界地区局势仍非常脆弱。中非共和国境内部族间冲突导致毗邻南达尔富尔地区的中非共和国难民大量增加。据报道,战斗人员和武器继续越界流动。例如,2020年11月,数百名来自南达尔富尔的全副武装的米塞里亚族部队袭击了100多公里外中非共和国境内的博罗马塔,并与当地古拉部族发生冲突。10月以来,社交网络上有报道称,苏丹的米塞里亚阿拉伯人宣布成立一个新的武装运动,即阿塔瓦军(Jaysh al-Atawa)。这些事件之间没有经独立确认的关系。

² 见 www.dirco.gov.za/docs/speeches/2020/cram1204.htm。

³ 见 https://sudantribune.com/spip.php?article70086。

E. 利比亚

14. 利比亚局势趋于僵局,涉及达尔富尔人员的敌对行动有所减少(利比亚境内达尔富尔武装团体详情见第六节)。毗邻苏丹的地区大部分仍处于哈利法·哈夫塔尔的利比亚国民军及其附属部队的有效控制之下。达尔富尔平民继续前往利比亚加入达尔富尔运动或利比亚不同派别。2020年12月4日,快速支援部队宣布其部队逮捕了600名前往利比亚参加战斗的苏丹人。410月23日,民族团结政府和利比亚国民军签署一项停火协议,根据该协议,包括各个达尔富尔运动在内的所有外国作战人员需在三个月内离开该国。5

F. 乍得

15. 苏丹和乍得之间的双边关系保持稳定,总体呈积极状态。乍得当局一再向专家小组强调指出,苏丹和达尔富尔的和平与稳定与乍得的和平与稳定密不可分。6 乍得当局定期就和平进程与苏丹政府和各个运动进行协商,同时乍得高级别代表团出席了朱巴和谈,推动了讨论,特别是关于安全安排的讨论。

16. 各个武装运动与乍得和苏丹政府协商后,根据《协议》,利用乍得领土将部分武装人员从利比亚转至苏丹。乍得-苏丹联合边境部队产生了积极影响,但达尔富尔-乍得边境地区发生了几起跨界事件,包括乍得与苏丹部族之间的冲突,这可能对达尔富尔未来的和平建设构成威胁。

G. 埃及

17. 苏丹和埃及之间的关系保持稳定,核心问题涉及埃塞俄比亚复兴大坝的建造。2020年11月,两国军队在苏丹组织了首次联合军事演习。由于苏丹的经济和政治不稳定,包括达尔富尔人在内的多达数百万散居海外的苏丹人一直在增加。专家小组2020年11月访问开罗期间,官员和专家确认,埃及支持达尔富尔和平进程,表示利比亚境内各个达尔富尔运动的活动不会给埃及的安全带来问题。不过,他们认为,外国伊斯兰主义者在利比亚的存在不仅对埃及构成威胁,而且对包括苏丹在内的整个区域构成威胁。

H. 埃塞俄比亚

18. 两国关系总体稳定,但与建造埃塞俄比亚复兴大坝有关的问题以及最近埃塞俄比亚提格雷州发生的事件不仅危及双边关系,也危及区域稳定。提格雷州的冲突导致大量难民从埃塞俄比亚涌入苏丹,冲突发生于联邦部队和阿姆哈拉部队与提格雷人民解放阵线之间,据报道厄立特里亚也有参与。⁷与此同时,苏丹军队进入了以前由埃塞俄比亚控制的有争议边境地区。

20-17657 **9/68**

⁴ 见 https://libyareview.com/8506/。

⁵ 见 https://unsmil.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/ceasefire_agreement_between_libyan_parties_english.pdf。

^{6 2020}年 5 月对一位乍得官员的电话采访。

⁷ 见 http://edition.cnn.com/2020/12/04/africa/ethiopia-war-tplf-exclusive-intl。

I. 阿拉伯联合酋长国

19. 2019年苏丹革命以来,阿拉伯联合酋长国支持苏丹政府,提供了大量财政援助。它还为促进朱巴和平谈判做出了贡献,其代表团出席了和谈的最后阶段。有报道称,阿拉伯联合酋长国在向驻扎在利比亚的达尔富尔部队提供军事和财政支持方面发挥了作用(见第六节)。

J. 卡塔尔

20. 阿拉伯联合酋长国在苏丹政治中的作用越来越大,使卡塔尔失去了其在达尔富尔和平进程中的主导作用,而这一主导作用最终促成 2011 年《多哈达尔富尔和平文件》的签署。卡塔尔与一些达尔富尔运动,特别是正义运动,以及自由与变革力量的一些组成部分保持着良好关系。卡塔尔在达尔富尔的援助项目因苏丹政权更迭而中断一段时间后现已恢复。8

四. 《朱巴和平协议》签署后的达尔富尔: 挑战和风险

A. 政治和经济挑战

1. 财政危机

- 21. 《协议》将在复杂的苏丹过渡背景下生效。政治和经济不确定性,特别是过渡期主要行为体之间的竞争和严峻的财政状况,如果不迅速加以解决,可能会阻碍或严重减缓执行进程。
- 22. 为该协议筹资是最紧迫的问题之一。苏丹政府在《协议》中承诺 10 年内提供 75 亿美元资金,但它面临着严重经济危机,履行其在《协议》中所作承诺的能力非常有限。正如苏丹政府一位领导人在 2020 年 11 月一次会晤中对专家小组所说的那样,"民众真的很痛苦:和平问题变得遥不可及"。为《协议》提供资金将主要依靠国际社会的善意,但捐助方迄今的承诺非常有限。没有适当的支持,《协议》很有可能重蹈此前在阿布贾和多哈签署的协议的覆辙,这些协议对实地的影响微乎其微。

2. 对《朱巴和平协议》的政治抵制

23. 执行工作面临的政治挑战可能来自苏丹政府过渡当局的军事和文职部门之间以及苏丹革命阵线内部的分歧。自由与变革力量执政联盟的一些成员以及共产党和全国乌玛党等一些政党公开拒绝朱巴协议。他们反对该协议,因为它主要是由军事部门撮合而成。据专家小组会晤的苏丹政治行为体所述,这些政治力量还认为,各个武装运动在政府机构中所占比重很大,而这是以牺牲他们为代价的。此外,他们还担心,这些武装运动将与军方结盟,对抗文职部门,从而加强军方在过渡期的地位。最后,他们与未签署《协议》的各个运动,特别是与阿卜

⁸ 见 www.wud.qa/qrcs-preparing-50000-relief-plan-for-flood-affected-families-in-sudan/。

杜勒·瓦希德和苏丹人民解放运动/北方局(苏人解运动/北方局)赫卢派有着 更密切的个人和意识形态纽带。

24. 反对意见也来自未签署《协议》的各个运动。特别是,阿卜杜勒•瓦希德试图诋毁和破坏该协议,与富尔部族和境内流离失所者组织的领导人接触,说服他们拒绝该协议。在喀土穆和境内流离失所者营地,苏解/瓦希德派正在动员支持者反对签署《协议》的各个运动,包括通过恐吓和袭击手段。11 月 14 日,苏解/瓦希德派的一些支持者袭击了苏解/过渡委员会在喀土穆举行的一次公众集会,重伤苏解/过渡委员会一些主要官员,如军方发言人艾哈迈德•吉多(Ahmed Gido)。9

25. 签署《协议》的各个达尔富尔运动之间的竞争也将是一个挑战。这些运动之间存在根深蒂固的紧张关系和领导层问题以及个人之间的不信任,他们相互竞争,追求各自不同的利益。各个运动未能根据《协议》的权力分享议定书迅速就各自领导人在各机构的任命达成协议,这就说明了这一点,而且使《协议》执行工作的启动延迟了几周。

B. 薄弱之处和风险

1. 症结

26. 苏解/瓦希德派通常是富尔人政治抱负的动力,没有苏解/瓦希德派的参与,《协议》的一个主要薄弱之处是得不到富尔部族大部分人的接受,他们认为这是"扎格哈瓦协议",或者正如几位对话者向专家小组所说的那样,是"仅针对北达尔富尔的协议"。¹⁰ 富尔部族历来是达尔富尔(字面意思是"富尔之地")的主要部族,他们对任何和平协议的认可都是达尔富尔建立和平的关键,特别是对于解决境内流离失所者和土地方面问题而言。

27. 境内流离失所者似乎尤其不相信《协议》。在专家小组走访苏丹期间,多名境内流离失所者领导人强调,境内流离失所者不关心《协议》,境内流离失所者在朱巴和谈中没有适当的代表性。他们向专家小组投诉说,一些团体试图恐吓境内流离失所者,迫使他们赞同《协议》(见第八节,国际人道法)。而在另一端,往往是支持前政权的一些阿拉伯部族在朱巴和谈中也没有公认的代表性,他们感到受到《协议》影响的威胁,特别是在土地问题上。

28. 苏丹政府意识到富尔人和境内流离失所者对《协议》缺乏支持,正设法同时采取不同的策略来解决这一问题。首先,苏丹政府正在做出更多努力,以期说服阿卜杜勒•瓦希德加入和平进程。不过,阿卜杜勒•瓦希德不可预测,意味着这一策略是否能奏效仍不确定。他已明确表示不会加入朱巴和平进程,旨在使其参与的任何新政治举措将对《协议》有何影响,仍有待观察。其次,苏丹政府试图

20-17657 11/68

⁹ 见 https://sudantribune.com/spip.php?article70088。

¹⁰ 五个签署《协议》的达尔富尔团体中的三个——苏丹解放力量联盟、正义运动和苏解/米纳维派——在扎格哈瓦部族有很强的根基,该部族的传统领地位于北达尔富尔。苏解/过渡委员会是苏解/瓦希德派的一个分化团体,与北达尔富尔的富尔部族关系牢固,但在富尔部族的历史据点之地杰贝勒迈拉和主要的境内流离失所者营地则没有强大的力量。

绕过阿卜杜勒•瓦希德,直接与苏解/瓦希德派持不同政见者、传统当局和境内流 离失所者代表等富尔部族领袖以及苏解/瓦希德派军事指挥官打交道。不过,苏解/ 瓦希德派四分五裂,这对和平进程取得成功不是有利的保障,也可能在杰贝勒迈 拉和境内流离失所者营地造成更多的内部冲突和不稳定。

29. 过去的达尔富尔和平协议因缺乏可信、高效的执行机构而受到影响。《多哈达尔富尔和平文件》是一项非常全面的协议,从卡塔尔获得了大量资金,但由于为管理该协议各项方案而设立的达尔富尔地区管理局的薄弱而使该协议在实地的成效有限。建立有效、负责任的机构,配之以必要的工作人员、专门知识和程序,将是《协议》得以妥善执行的关键。

2. 安全安排

- 30. 安全安排对于苏丹政府和各个运动而言均为《协议》的要件。如得不到严谨 实施,安全安排议定书可能会使和平进程脱轨,并使《协议》目标化为乌有。
- 31. 苏丹政府对话者向专家小组确认,对苏丹政府而言,安全安排的主要目标是驻扎在利比亚的达尔富尔部队返回苏丹,因为这些团体在邻国的持续存在和强化对苏丹的安全构成潜在威胁。不过,专家小组的初期观察表明,这一目标在可预见的进来不太可能实现,这些团体目前将把许多部队留在利比亚(见第六节)。
- 32. 这些运动在谈判桌上将各自的战斗人员数量都虚报了很多,以增加影响力。他们在最近几个月里加速招募以弥补人数缺口(见第五节)。这被证明是相对成功的,因为许多失业、赤贫的达尔富尔人被在安全部队找到工作的前景或通过根据《协议》将设立的解除武装、复员和重返社会方案获得一些福利所吸引。不过,这些团体的大规模招募可能会产生负面影响。如果解除武装、复员和重返社会方案筹资无法到位,战斗人员的期望将会落空。招募活动也助长达尔富尔部族的军事化。
- 33. 如果管理不当,这些运动带着数千名装备精良的战斗人员返回达尔富尔也可能造成局部不稳定。根据专家小组对这些运动成员的约谈,许多战斗人员认为他们的主要作用是为自己的族裔社区提供保护。根据安全安排,扎格哈瓦占主导地位的运动希望优先部署在扎格哈瓦地区,为这一部族提供安全保障,而主要属于富尔人运动的苏解/过渡委员会则希望主要部署在富尔地区,目标类似,即保护富尔部族,包括境内流离失所者和回返者。鉴于最近达尔富尔部族间紧张局势加剧,武装团体与某些部族联系在一起可能对地方安全环境构成威胁。
- 34. 最后,安全安排将在苏丹武装部队与快速支援部队之间暗地竞争的背景下实施。据专家小组在朱巴和谈期间和之后约谈的这些运动的几名官员所述,苏丹武装部队和快速支援部队正在竞相吸引各个达尔富尔运动的部队,特别是确保他们不会加入对方。苏丹武装部队一些领导人试图利用达尔富尔的扎格哈瓦与阿拉伯人的紧张关系来说服这些运动加入苏丹武装部队,而赫梅提则试图号召处于边缘之境的达尔富尔团结起来对抗喀土穆/尼罗河流域的精英,用这样的宣传来吸引这些运动。这些运动对于两股力量之间的竞争都有自己的算计和策略。

五. 在达尔富尔的达尔富尔武装团体

A. 苏丹解放军/阿卜杜勒·瓦希德派¹¹

1. 能力增强

35. 苏解/瓦希德派利用杰贝勒迈拉东南部托罗耶金矿开采所得的更多资源(见第十一节)继续招募新战士,包括召回前成员。训练主要在 Koya(杰贝勒迈拉南部)进行,由指挥官 Abduljabar Yagoub(又称"Sajman")负责。该运动还购买了新的武器弹药,主要是从当地的阿拉伯人那里购买。指挥官的目标是在苏解/瓦希德派与苏丹政府进行和平谈判之前建立一支强大、有组织的部队。

2. 内斗

36. 然而,尽管资金激增,该团体受到了严重内斗的消耗。5月20日左右以来,在 Golo 和 Rokero(杰贝勒迈拉中部)之间地区,特别是在 Daya 和 Kia,由 Salah Borso、Haroun Farank 和 Dafallah Mohamed Ahmed Nur 等指挥官领导的忠于总司令阿卜杜拉-卡迪尔•阿卜杜勒拉赫曼(又称"加杜拉")的部队与忠于敌对指挥官穆巴拉克•阿尔杜克(前苏解/瓦希德派行动负责人)的部队之间发生冲突。9月初以来,在费纳和德里巴特(杰贝勒迈拉东部)之间的地区,特别是在 Dwo、Dulow和 Douri,加杜拉的部队和与阿尔杜克结盟的指挥官扎努恩•阿布杜尔沙菲(Zanoun Abdulshafi)(该运动苏丹特拉卜旅的指挥官)之间也爆发了冲突。

图一

穆巴拉克•阿尔杜克对其部队讲话的照片,杰贝勒迈拉中部,2020年11月



资料来源:保密。

37. 在编写本报告之时,战斗仍在继续,已造成交战派别以及平民数十人伤亡,数万平民流离失所(据达尔富尔混合行动消息来源),导致各种违反国际

20-17657 13/68

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¹¹ 本节内容以本报告所述期间通过对苏解/瓦希德派成员和前成员访谈收集和第三方收集的信息 为依据。

人道法行为,包括袭击平民、即决处决、绑架和性暴力(见第八节)。4月底-5月初,负责苏解/瓦希德派军事总部行政事务的知名指挥官费萨尔·亚当·阿里·科尼奥(Faysal Adam Ali Konio)被加杜拉的人折磨致死,原因是他被怀疑站在阿尔杜克一边。他受审讯/殴打的记录可查阅附件3。

图二

费萨尔•亚当•阿里•科尼奥尸体照片



资料来源:社交网络。

38. 交战的直接原因是加杜拉与阿尔杜克和扎努恩之间长期存在的领导权问题,这两名指挥官以前与阿卜杜勒•瓦希德关系密切,拒绝承认加杜拉的权威(见 S/2019/34,第 46 和 51 段)。4 月份军事领导人会议未能解决这一问题,交战由此开始,加杜拉随后对阿尔杜克发出逮捕令(见附件 4),并派遣一个小组到后者所在地 Daya 逮捕他。交战的第二个原因是这些领导人在托罗耶金矿收入分享问题上关系紧张(见第十一节)。

39. 10月,阿尔杜克、扎努恩和其他十几名指挥官发表声明,宣布他们脱离苏解/瓦希德派,批评阿卜杜勒·瓦希德和加杜拉犯下各种领导问题和罪行(见附件 5)。据直接了解此事的消息来源称,在编写本报告之时,阿尔杜克和扎努恩正在与快速支援部队谈判整编入这支苏丹政府部队的事宜。

3. 与苏丹政府交战

40. 虽有零星事件,但阿卜杜勒·瓦希德与哈姆杜克总理于 2019 年 9 月 29 日在 巴黎会晤以及阿卜杜勒·瓦希德与快速支援部队作出非正式安排后,苏解/瓦希德 派与安全部队之间的冲突总体上有所减少。

41. 在政府一方,大多数事件都涉及在2016年至2019年期间与苏丹政府签订安全安排、随后加入安全部队的一些前苏解/瓦希德派前指挥官,特别是苏丹武装部

队中校 al-Sadiq Foka 和驻 Rokero 的快速支援部队指挥官 Hassabo。在本报告所述期间,Foka 的部队对涉嫌支持苏解/瓦希德派的境内流离失所者和村民实施了绑架勒索和骚扰等虐待行为,特别是在北达尔富尔的索托尼地区(见第八节,国际人道法)。据当地各种消息来源称,Hassabo 向阿尔杜克提供了后勤支持,以对抗加杜拉的部队。

4. 境内流离失所者动态

42. 苏解/瓦希德派的内部分裂也影响了哈马迪亚、哈萨海萨(中达尔富尔)和卡尔马(南达尔富尔)等最大境内流离失所者营地的安全局势,苏解/瓦希德派在这些营地拥有很多追随者,在不同程度上忠于阿卜杜勒·瓦希德的各种境内流离失所者团体争夺营地控制权。5 月 29 日在哈马迪亚,苏解/瓦希德派的一些成员杀害了一名境内流离失所者,由此引发苏解/瓦希德派对立派别之间的零星冲突,导致一些境内流离失所者领导人被赶出营地。

B. 穆萨·希拉勒及其苏丹革命觉醒委员会12

43. 在本报告所述期间,被指认人员穆萨·希拉勒(固定编号 SDi.002)的支持者为使他获释而加强活动,他们大多来自他的雷扎伊加特部落马哈米德族系。希拉勒的苏丹革命觉醒委员会的消息人士向专家小组报告说,3 月中旬数千名马哈米德人在希拉勒的据点马斯特里哈(北达尔富尔)聚集开会后,约 150 名希拉勒的战斗人员前往杰贝勒迈拉 Wadi Toro 地区(中达尔富尔),以便建立一个新的武装团体并与苏解/瓦希德派合作。杰贝勒迈拉的这些苏丹革命觉醒委员会成员由指挥官Mohamed Ahmed Adama 和 Said Musa 领导。

44. 2020 年 6 月 1 日,这些苏丹革命觉醒委员会战士和一支苏解/瓦希德派部队在 Katrom(中达尔富尔杰贝勒迈拉)联合袭击苏丹武装部队,打死约 20 人。据当地消息来源称,6 月 14 日,驻扎在南苏丹的苏解/瓦希德派副主席 Abdullah Haran打电话给杰贝勒迈拉的苏丹革命觉醒委员会指挥官,命令他们在 72 小时内离开该地区。苏解/瓦希德派发出最后通牒后,大多数苏丹革命觉醒委员会战士离开了杰贝勒迈拉。6 月 28 日,其中一些人在前往利比亚途中被安全部队逮捕,而一些指挥官设法加入了那里的苏丹革命觉醒委员会部队。

45. 马哈米德族系之间的这场骚乱一直是赫梅提的一大担心问题,因为敌对力量可能利用希拉勒和马哈米德来对付他。希拉勒自 2017 年 11 月被捕以来一直被羁押在苏丹武装部队房地内,2020 年 4 月 23 日,快速支援部队将希拉勒带到快速支援部队在喀土穆的设施。从那时以来,他一直就其司法案件和释放条件与赫梅提的随从进行谈判。然而,由于希拉勒和赫梅提之间根深蒂固的不信任,这些谈判迄今未果。在编写本报告之时,希拉勒正因两起主要案件在军事法庭出庭受审,一起是在杰贝勒阿米尔杀害中央后备警察成员事件,另一起是 2017 年 11 月在马斯特里哈与快速支援部队发生冲突事件。

20-17657 **15/68**

¹² 本节内容以本报告所述期间通过对苏丹革命觉醒委员会若干成员和希拉勒支持者访谈收集和 第三方收集的信息为依据。

46. 2020年10月下旬,苏丹革命觉醒委员会著名人士、马哈米德政治家、希拉勒的坚定支持者阿里•马约克因被控策划政变而被苏丹政府逮捕。马约克曾在前政权担任部长,2017年年中希拉勒和苏丹政府之间的危机爆发时,他离开了苏丹。在被捕前几天,马约克秘密返回苏丹。据报道,他的计划是动员快速支援部队的马哈米德成员控制这支部队并推翻过渡当局。

C. 《朱巴和平协议》签署方团体的招募活动

47. 在《朱巴和平协定》签署前后的几个月里,签署方团体大量招募,以便招募尽可能多的战斗人员加入安全安排,最大限度地发挥他们的作用。许多当地消息来源举报了各个运动招募人员在达尔富尔各地的活动。附件6举例显示了正义运动在达尔富尔几个地区分发的招聘表。达尔富尔混合行动等方面报告了各签署方团体招募儿童的活动。¹³

48. 对于与前政权签署和平协议但对这些协议的执行不满意的各个运动的战士而言,签署朱巴协议的各个运动的大力招募被证明是成为新安全安排的一部分、获得相关利益的一个宝贵机会。最初属于 Abulgasim Imam Elhaj 的苏解/瓦希德派持不同政见者运动(于 2017 年 1 月与苏丹政府签署《多哈达尔富尔和平文件》)的两个团体各有数百人最近几个月在奈尔提提地区加入了正义运动和苏解/过渡委员会。¹⁴

六. 利比亚境内各个达尔富尔武装团体15

49. 在本报告所述期间,利比亚境内大多数达尔富尔团体大量参与利比亚国民军的军事行动,武器、车辆和战斗人员方面的能力和规模大幅增长。这些团体巩固了与利比亚国民军的关系,并与后者的外国支持者发展了直接关系。尽管已达成《朱巴和平协议》,但在可预见的未来,大批达尔富尔反叛战斗人员仍准备留在利比亚。

A. 军事行动

50. 2019 年底至 2020 年 6 月,支持利比亚国民军的大多数达尔富尔反叛团体(苏丹解放力量联盟、苏解/过渡委员会、苏解/瓦希德派、苏丹革命觉醒委员会、阿卜杜拉•班达)参加了利比亚国民军的黎波里行动,其中一些团体在 Ain Zara 和 Qasr Bin Ghasir 等的黎波里南部居民区战斗。苏解/米纳维派没有参加的黎波里行动,原因是据报该派别对利比亚国民军作为回报提议的供资和装备不满意。2020 年 1 月 6 日,苏解/米纳维派和其他达尔富尔团体参加了利比亚国民军占领苏尔特的行动。这些团体将一些部队留在苏尔特,后来又占领了瓦什卡。

¹³ 见 https://unamid.unmissions.org/unamid-conducts-engagement-and-dialogue-armed-groups-end-recruitment-children。

¹⁴ 据各个运动内不同消息来源以及达尔富尔混合行动的信息。

¹⁵ 本节内容以本报告所述期间通过对达尔富尔反叛分子访谈收集和通过第三方收集的信息为依据。

- 51. 2020年6月初,利比亚国民军向东撤退,各个达尔富尔团体跟随其行动,离开了的黎波里、塔胡纳、瓦什卡和利比亚西部其他地区。在编写本报告时,大部分达尔富尔部队留在2个地区。其中许多部队集结在苏尔特前线以东约70公里的 Harawa。其他许多部队集结在数年来作为其枢纽的朱夫拉地区以下几个地点: Hun、索克奈、沃丹(尤其是在民用机场)、Zillah 地区(苏解/米纳维派总部所在地,苏解/过渡委员会和苏丹解放力量联盟等其他团体在此也有营地)。这些团体在 Zillah 附近的 Haruj 山区也有基地,苏解/米纳维派在这里有训练营。
- 52. 这些运动还在利比亚南部保持了军事存在。2020年6月,利比亚国民军将一些达尔富尔部队部署至塞卜哈地区,以保护该地及附近油田(例如 Sharara)免遭民族团结政府可能发动的进攻。这些部队驻留在塞卜哈周边属于利比亚马哈米德人和亲利比亚国民军的利比亚人的农场。上述各运动经常联合开展行动并聚集在一起,他们在 Waw-al-Kabir、Tmassah 和 Um al Aranib 地区还有一些小型后勤基地,在那里储存燃料、弹药、水和其他补给品。这些运动在朱夫拉的主要基地非常远,因此上述后勤基地对于其在南部的行动必不可少。
- 53. 在与利比亚国民军一起在利比亚西部开展行动期间,各达尔富尔团体遭受了一些损失,特别是无人机袭击导致的损失。专家小组约谈的一名苏解/米纳维派指挥官说,在 2020 年上半年的利比亚国民军行动期间,该运动损失了大约 50 名战斗人员,其中包括十几名战地指挥官。苏丹解放力量联盟也损失了数名高级指挥官,例如在 2 月的一次无人机袭击中被打死的 Salah Dausa Haroun Difa (又称"Sendoug")。然而,与这些运动最近在部队和装备方面的收获相比,这些损失微乎其微。

图三

4 月 12 日苏丹解放军/明尼·米纳维派一个车队在阿布古赖因地区遭到无人 机袭击的照片



资料来源: 社交网络。

20-17657 17/68

图四





资料来源: 社交网络。

B. 能力

54. 在本报告所述期间,所有达尔富尔团体都极大地增强了能力。它们招募了大批人员,专家小组看到的新招募人员毕业典礼的几个视频就说明了这一点。这些运动的成员向专家小组报告说,自奥马尔·哈桑·艾哈迈德·巴希尔政府倒台以来,它们进行招募较容易,原因是许多年轻的达尔富尔人被以下前景所吸引:在各运动中领取薪饷或在稍后阶段被纳入在朱巴谈判达成的安全安排。苏解/米纳维派一名指挥官向专家小组声称,自 2019 年年中以来,苏解/米纳维派已招募 3 000 名新战斗人员。苏解/米纳维派和正义运动等达尔富尔团体在达尔富尔各地区以及乍得东部的 Abunabak 和 Kariari 等难民营都有招募人员。它们将被招募者集结在乍得-达尔富尔边境的蒂纳,然后使用民用车辆通过乍得和 Kouri-Bougoudi 矿区将他们运送至利比亚。就苏解/米纳维派而言,指挥官 Abd al Majid Ali Senine 是负责运送被招募者的主要军官之一。

55. 《协议》签署后开始在利比亚境外重新部署一些部队之前,苏解/米纳维派是利比亚境内最大的达尔富尔团体。反叛团体的对话者向专家小组报告,在此次重新部署之前,该运动在利比亚有大约 400 部车辆,其中包括几十辆装甲运兵车。总司令 Juma Haggar 中将、副总司令 Jabir Ishag 少将和新任军事参谋长 Faysal Saleh 少将率领该部队。其他主要指挥官包括 Haroun Saleh Diffa (又称"Tawila")准将(军事情报)、Ismail Wad Habouba 少将(道德指导)、Ahmed Arkouri(训练)、Abdelaziz(又称 Gniéré)中校(炮兵)、Amir Djoka 中校(行动)和 Azrek 上校(后勤)。

图五

2020 年 4 月指挥官 Juma Haggar、Ismail Wad Habouba、Haroun "Tawila" (由 左至右)在 Zillah 的照片



资料来源: 苏解/米纳维派。

56. 苏丹解放力量联盟是利比亚境内第二大达尔富尔武装团体。总司令 Abdallah Bashar Jeli (又称"Janna")在乍得被羁押数月后,在副总司令 Aboud Adam Khater 和 Ahmed Abu Tonga 的陪同下返回利比亚战场。消息来源称,该团体有 150 至 200 辆汽车。

57. 苏解/瓦希德派在利比亚有一支由大约 100 部武装车辆组成的部队,由苏解/瓦希德派参谋长 Yusif Ahmed Yusif(又称 "Karjakola")率领。其他主要指挥官包括 Salah Abdallah Juk(又称 "Bob")将军和 Mohamed Saleh 上校(正式身份是利比亚部队的指挥官)。Karjakola 继续招募新战斗人员,特别是在南达尔富尔。苏解/过渡委员会同苏解/瓦希德派一样,主要由富尔人组成,目前有一支由总司令 Saleh (又称 "Jebel Si")率领的部队,有大约 70-80 部车辆。

图六

Yusif "Karjakola"在一个毕业典礼上的照片(2020 年 9 月)



资料来源: 苏解/瓦希德派。

20-17657 **19/68**

- 58. 穆萨·希拉勒的苏丹革命觉醒委员会在利比亚有数百名战斗人员。该运动的成员最初在利比亚马哈米德人的旗号下与利比亚国民军一起作战,但后来与利比亚国民军建立了直接关系。许多成员与利比亚马哈米德人一起留在塞卜哈,并通过这种部落联系获得了利比亚身份证。苏丹革命觉醒委员会在利比亚的主要指挥官是 Mahamat Bakhit "Doydoy",苏丹革命觉醒委员会的一些主要政治领导人,例如负责国际关系的 Mahamat Kadam,也搬到了利比亚。近几个月,一些知名指挥官对领导层和收入分配感到失望,离开了该运动,并与班达的运动(见第 60 段和附件 7)等其他团体联系在一起。苏丹当局,尤其是赫梅提,对苏丹革命觉醒委员会在利比亚境内的存在尤为关切,担心这是导致苏丹不稳定的一个潜在因素。不同消息来源称,赫梅提的目标是与苏丹革命觉醒委员会指挥官达成非正式交易,说服他们返回,以此解决问题,而不是通过与苏丹革命觉醒委员会达成正式的政治协议来加以解决,以免使希拉勒的事业更加引人注目。
- 59. 有几个较小的团体站在利比亚国民军一边,尽管其中大多数团体与利比亚国民军当局没有直接关系,是在苏解/米纳维派和苏丹解放力量联盟等较大团体的旗号下运作。2019年10月,一名老资格的叛军指挥官 Abbas Ahmed Aseel "Jebel Moon"从苏解/米纳维派分裂出来,成立了自己的团体;据报,该团体由大约200名战斗人员组成,大部分来自他所在的米塞里亚人杰贝勒部落社区。2015年从正义运动分裂出来的一个团体,即新正义与平等运动(新正义运动)在利比亚也有一支小型部队,主要由马萨利特人组成,由 Magdi Hussein Sharaf 将军率领。另一个正义运动的小分化团体——正义运动合作派,在利比亚有几十名战斗人员,由指挥官 Musa Saleh 率领,此人是马哈米德人,一名前边防卫队成员。
- 60. 被国际刑事法院起诉的前正义运动一个知名指挥官阿卜杜拉•班达,在被乍得当局驱逐出 Kouri-Bougoudi 地区后,于 2019 年放弃了那里的金矿开采活动,并于 2020 年 3 月正式成立了自己的反叛团体——正义与平等运动力量大会(见附件 7 的成立声明)。目前班达有大约 45 部车辆,成员主要是从前正义运动退伍军人(特别是从扎格哈瓦 Kobe 部落)中招募,其中包括他的副手 Bichara Adam Ali 和 Jibril Abdulkarim Ibrahim Mayu (Tek)(固定编号: SDi.004),后者是制裁名单上被指认人员,¹⁶ 该团体的第三号人物。该团体与苏解/米纳维派和苏丹解放力量联盟(成员也大多来自扎格哈瓦人社区)密切合作,并在其领导下为利比亚国民军效力。
- 61. 正义运动是唯一一个没有与利比亚国民军结盟的主要的达尔富尔反叛团体。在本报告所述期间,该团体没有参加任何重大战斗。正义运动集中精力在利比亚最南部、包括 Kilinje 周边和盖特龙以南地区进行走私(见第九节),并侧重于在即将达成和平协议的背景下巩固自身实力。它一直在为朱巴安全安排做准备,并为此整编来自苏丹和乍得的新招募人员团体并重组部队。专家小组约谈的一名正义运动官员称,6 月中旬,大约 50 名正义运动官员为此从达尔富尔前往利比亚,加入了该部队。正义运动的情报负责人 Abdel Karim Cholloy 是实地的主要指挥官。

 $^{^{16}}$ 见 www.un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/1591/materials/summaries/individual/jibril-abdulkarim-ibrahim-mayu。

其他知名指挥官包括 Yahia Omda 将军、Mohamed Dardug(来自梅多布部族)、Abdulhalim 将军和负责行政事务的 Ahmed Daud Tarda。

图七

2020 年 8 月 Abdulhalim 将军在利比亚南部正义运动一个阅兵式上的照片



资料来源: 正义运动。

C. 与利比亚国民军的合作

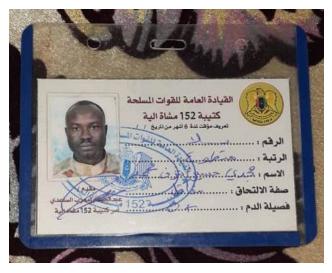
62. 各个主要的达尔富尔运动(苏解/米纳维派、苏丹解放力量联盟、苏解/瓦希德派、苏解/过渡委员会和苏丹革命觉醒委员会)如今直接与利比亚国民军最高级领导人协调,并与他们在班加西频繁定期会晤。7月、9月、10月和11月,主要的达尔富尔指挥官,例如苏解/米纳维派的 Juma Haggar、Jabir Ishag 和 Faysal Saleh、苏丹解放力量联盟的 Aboud Adam Khater、苏丹革命觉醒委员会的"Doydoy"和苏解/瓦希德派的"Karjakola"等在班加西会晤了利比亚国民军当局。在本报告所述期间,通常与上述人进行对话的利比亚国民军高级成员是 Saddam Heftar (Heftar 之子),但这些团体还与 Heftar 最亲密的助手兼利比亚国民军总指挥部总秘书处负责人 Abdelkarim Hadiya 将军和利比亚国民军参谋长 Abd al-Razzak Nazuri 将军进行了沟通。

63. 在实地,与达尔富尔人进行日常对话的主要是由指挥官 Hassan Maatuq al-Zadma 率领的利比亚国民军第 128 营。在苏解/瓦希德派在利比亚举行的一次庆祝活动上,苏解/瓦希德派一名军官在讲话中提及了该部队与第 128 营之间的关系,少有地公开承认了这些运动与利比亚国民军之间的合作(见附件 8)。利比亚国民军向这些团体提供的日常补给(弹药、食品和燃料)以及这些团体的薪饷,是通过第 128 营和支持利比亚国民军的一个民兵头领 Hilal Musa Bouamoud al-Zawawi (这些运动在 Zillah 的东道主)转交。正如第 152 营发给新正义运动指挥官 Magdi Hussein Sharaf 的"志愿人员"军人身份证(见图八)所显示的那样,一些运动还与其他利比亚国民军部队合作。

21/68

图八

Magdi Hussein Sharaf 的利比亚国民军 152 营军人身份证照片



资料来源:保密。

64. 在本报告所述期间,各运动继续从利比亚国民军那里获得大批车辆和武器,通常是在每一次大规模行动之前。例如,这些运动于 6 月收到了几十辆"陆地巡洋舰"越野车(根据一些叛军消息来源,有多达 200 辆),为保卫苏尔特和朱夫拉做准备,随后 9 月初又接收了几十辆。他们还收到了各种型号的高射炮和反坦克炮,包括 23 毫米、106 毫米和 130 毫米,以及火箭推进榴弹和 Goryunov 型机枪。

D. 与利比亚国民军的外国支持者的合作

65. 各达尔富尔运动先前仅与利比亚国民军接触,但大约一年前,阿拉伯联合 酋长国——利比亚国民军最重要的支持方之一,与利比亚境内各主要运动建立 了直接关系。这证明了各达尔富尔团体对利比亚国民军军事战略的重要性。

66. 各运动的成员向专家小组报告说,达尔富尔主要指挥官(Haggar、Ishag、"Doydoy"等)在班加西与阿联酋军官定期会晤,有些会晤是在 2020 年 9 月和 11 月。上述会晤的主要侧重点是各运动的后勤和财政需求以及阿拉伯联合酋长国如何在此方面作出贡献。专家小组约谈的达尔富尔人员认为,在本报告所述期间,他们从利比亚国民军那里获得的款项和装备来自阿拉伯联合酋长国。2020 年 11 月最后一周,数名阿联酋官员访问了各运动在朱夫拉地区的营地,以评估《协议》签署后哪些部队将留在利比亚或者离开。

67. 阿拉伯联合酋长国还试图绕过利比亚国民军和各运动的政治领导层,与驻扎利比亚的达尔富尔高级指挥官培养特殊的个人关系,并为此邀请他们前往阿布扎比。各运动的一些成员告知专家小组,2019年11月至12月,苏解/米纳维派的Juma Haggar 对阿拉伯联合酋长国进行了大约2个月的访问,其副手 Jabir Ishag 和苏丹解放力量联盟的Abdallah("Janna")于2020年10月至11月在阿联酋停留了数周。据报,在访问期间,这些指挥官会晤了阿拉伯联合酋长国安全机构成员。

E. 有关快速支援部队在利比亚境内的存在的指控

68. 11 月底,一份文件在社交网络上流传,随后又在各种媒体上流传。这份文件被称为是 2020 年 11 月 6 日南达尔富尔快速支援部队协调员给快速支援部队副司令 Abdel Rahim Dagolo 的一封部队内部信件,内称在阿联酋支持下,1 200 名快速支援部队人员刚刚被部署在利比亚,先是朱夫拉,然后是班加西(见附件 9)。快速支援部队表示,这是伪造的文件。专家小组无法确定该文件的真实性。在本报告所述期间,专家小组在利比亚的消息来源不知道利比亚境内有快速支援部队存在。

F. 《朱巴和平协议》之后: 留下还是离开?

- 69. 根据《协议》的安全安排议定书,签署《协议》的各达尔富尔运动(苏解/米纳维派、苏解/过渡委员会、正义运动、苏丹解放力量联盟、苏丹联盟)的所有战斗人员必须在该协议签署后 90 天内前往达尔富尔的商定集结区。但是各达尔富尔武装运动在利比亚的存在将因《朱巴和平协议》而终止的可能性极小。
- 70. 首先,苏解/瓦希德派和苏丹革命觉醒委员会等一些运动以及较小的团体并 非《协议》签署方,因此暂时仍将留在利比亚。其次,签署《协议》的各运动在 利比亚的存在根深蒂固、参与那里的冲突并从中获得好处,而且他们与利比亚 国民军及其外国支持者有着错综复杂的关系,上述因素使这些运动难以迅速而 且彻底地离开利比亚。
- 71. 按照《协议》规定,一些运动开始将一些部队经乍得调回达尔富尔。11 月,苏解/米纳维派的 40 辆汽车从利比亚南部抵达北达尔富尔。其中一些部队将被整编入一支新部队,负责政治领导人的近身保护,另一些部队承担的任务是为其他特遣队返回达尔富尔做后勤准备。在编写本报告时,又有大约 100 辆来自利比亚的苏解/米纳维派的汽车停在乍得东部 Bao 地区由乍得当局指定的一个地点,准备过境前往达尔富尔。在该运动位于 Zillah 的总部,还有由 Juma Haggar 和 Jabir Ishag 率领的几十辆汽车正准备离开利比亚,进入乍得。专家小组了解到苏丹解放力量联盟也有类似计划。
- 72. 但是专家小组与签署《协议》各运动的成员的约谈显示,在可预见的将来,这些运动将在利比亚留一些部队。一些指挥官和部队人员喜欢在利比亚的条件,他们认为那里的条件比在苏丹加入安全部队得到的条件要好,因此只要利比亚国民军及其支持者发放薪饷,就想留在利比亚。一些人还认为,在利比亚保留一些部队将使他们能够继续参与有利可图的走私活动(移民、毒品和汽车等)。此外,在9月以来与利比亚国民军的会晤中,利比亚国民军当局(达尔富尔人对其而言是一项主要军事资产)坚持要求各运动留在利比亚,各运动接受了这一要求。各运动也很想维持其在利比亚的后方基地并保留一些部队,以防《协议》未得以执行以及和平进程脱轨。
- 73. 一些受访者称,签署《协议》的运动因此打算在利比亚留下相当数量的部队,多达一半的部队人数。预计苏解/米纳维派的 Juma Haggar 和 Jabir Ishag 将在今后几周返回苏丹,但该运动参谋长 Faisal Saleh 应该会带着几十辆车留在利比亚。在编写本报告时,12 月中旬,苏解/米纳维派、苏丹解放力量联盟、苏解/过渡委员

23/68

会、苏解/瓦希德派和苏丹革命觉醒委员会的指挥官得到利比亚国民军有关向其提供新车辆(叛军消息来源称大约 150 辆)的承诺,并得到有关其每月薪饷、武器、弹药和制服的承诺。这种交易显示,各方之间的伙伴关系不会因《协议》而终止。

七. 南苏丹境内各个达尔富尔武装团体17

74. 在本报告所述期间,3 个达尔富尔反叛团体在南苏丹北部继续维持军事存在,但均未开展任何军事行动。苏丹革命委员会是一个以马萨利特人为主的正义运动小分化团体,由指挥官 Abdelrahman Arbab 率领,以拉贾地区为基地,有几十辆武装车辆和大约 200 名战斗人员。在朱巴和平进程期间,数个参与谈判的运动和团体——正义运动、苏丹联盟、阿卜杜勒•阿齐兹•赫卢的苏人解运动/北方局、快速支援部队,试图诱使这支部队参加自己的队伍。各消息来源称,目前该团体与赫卢的关系非常密切。18

75. 正义运动在拉贾地区也有一支由几十辆车组成的军队。该部队的领导人 Omda Taher 在朱巴代表正义运动参加了和平谈判,但该团体在预计会达成安全安排的情况下巩固自身实力,并为此招募新成员、让退伍者返回和维修车辆。

76. 苏解/瓦希德派在 Pariang 县偏远地区保留了一支由大约 120 名战斗人员组成的部队,由该运动副主席 Abdullah Haran 少将率领。该团体还继续扣押几十人(据最近离开该部队的一名前成员称,有 76 人),其中既有部队人员,也有平民(见 S/2020/36,第 98-106 段)。苏解/瓦希德派拒绝了朱巴和平进程,因此南苏丹当局对 Haran 施加了越来越大的压力,削减了他的商业和农业活动,并命令他停止袭击苏解/瓦希德派持不同政见者。Haran 于 11 月初抵达朱巴,与南苏丹调解小组讨论苏解/瓦希德派的推动和平计划。

77. 最近数月,签署朱巴协议的各运动试图在散居南苏丹的达尔富尔人中招募新战斗人员,特别是招募已离开各运动的退伍军人,目的是在参加安全安排之前增加各自的部队人数。南苏丹军方允许苏解/米纳维派、苏解/过渡委员会和苏丹解放力量联盟在本提乌、拉贾和伊达周边设立了一些营地,作为战斗人员集结区。有几十名新兵进驻了这些营地。苏解/米纳维派的主要招募者是 Aboud Ali Khater。

八. 国际人道法和人权19

A. 概览

78. 国际人道法方面的总体形势依然严峻,主要原因是一再发生局部冲突。以牧民与农民之间的紧张关系、偷牛、袭击境内流离失所者和回返者为特征的族群间

¹⁷本节内容以本报告所述期间通过对达尔富尔反叛分子访谈收集和通过第三方收集的信息为依据。

¹⁸ 部分由于赫卢的马萨利特人血统,苏人解运动/北方局在西达尔富尔的马萨利特人社区有很多 追随者。

¹⁹ 本节内容以对达尔富尔各种消息来源的访谈和电话采访为依据,这些消息来源包括受害者、社区领袖、境内流离失所者和地方人权监测员。

暴力严重危及平民。妇女和女童仍极易遭受袭击和性暴力,包括在试图从事谋生活动时。缺乏充分运作的执法和法治机构,特别是在偏远地区,加剧了保护平民工作的差距,并且使环境有利于施害者逍遥法外。大多数事件是达尔富尔冲突根源所致,特别是可以得到武器以及土地引发的冲突,而这些问题在很大程度上仍未得到解决。苏解/瓦希德派各反叛派别之间的战斗以及苏解/瓦希德派与苏丹政府部队在杰贝勒迈拉地区的战斗造成伤亡和再次流离失所。安全部队对平民采取了惩罚措施,此外还实施了严重侵犯儿童权利行为,包括强奸和人身攻击,并导致儿童的教育中断。

B. 保护平民

79. 在本报告所述期间,强奸、杀害、恐吓、人身攻击和袭击境内流离失所者、抢掠和纵火案件普遍发生。这些事件主要归咎于武装游牧部落、苏丹政府安全部队(苏丹武装部队、警察和快速支援部队)和民兵。服务不佳、不安全和缺乏公正引发的和平抗议演变为暴力事件,导致了进一步的践踏人权行为。

80. 警察是部署在农村地区的唯一的安全部队机构,但其实力薄弱,意味着施害者经常在完全了解自己不会受到惩罚的情况下行事,蔑视法律和秩序。经常发生武装人员团体对试图干预案件的警察发动袭击的情况。4月21日,在 Tamer Paul Jamel 村(中达尔富尔扎林盖东北部),阿拉伯民兵为了对据称其一名部落成员被谋杀进行报复,将当地警察制服并解除了其武装,占领了警所,并在那里任意拘留了数人,其中包括当地部落长老和苏丹政府官员。当地消息来源称,这些民兵打死2人,打伤18人,烧毁14个房屋和当地市场,抢掠了10辆车和100头牲畜。这种报复性袭击是严重的滥杀滥伤行为,极为过分。在清真寺避难的村民被迫为死去的牧民支付了赔偿(血金),围困才解除。10月,南达尔富尔东杰贝勒迈拉的警所遭到枪手袭击,导致一名警察和一名枪手死亡。另有2名警察和一名妇女受伤。武装团体(大多来自游牧社区)公开利用安全漏洞,继续袭击其他当地社区。

81. 5月,苏丹政府发布了一项《国家保护平民计划》,目的是在达尔富尔混合行动撤出后保护平民(见 S/2020/429)。在现阶段,苏丹政府是否有能力和手段执行该计划仍不确定。在公开讲话以及与专家小组会晤中,境内流离失所者代表和各达尔富尔运动²⁰ 对达尔富尔混合行动撤出表示关切,认为对平民而言这将造成保护缺口,并要求延长达尔富尔混合行动的任务期限。《协议》的安全安排规定,在《协议》签署后 90 天内在达尔富尔建立一支 12 000 人的联合保护部队(6 000 人来自苏丹政府,6 000 人来自签署《协议》的各运动),任务是在达尔富尔混合行动撤出后保护平民。但是这支部队何时才能全面投入运作(尤其是考虑到早期在《协议》执行方面出现延误)以及其效力如何,仍有待观察。

25/68

²⁰ 例如,见 www.darfur24.com/en/2020/12/01/minawi-asks-washington-to-liaise-with-un-for-extension-of-unamid-mandate-in-darfur/。

C. 性暴力和性别暴力

82. 缺乏性别公正加剧了性暴力和性别暴力事件,包括与冲突有关的针对妇女和女童的性暴力事件,因为大多数案件都没有得到充分调查,甚或根本未进行调查。警方经常列举的未追踪调查举报案件的原因是缺乏能力和资源(包括车用燃料)。对幸存者而言,"人多就安全"的概念并非总是有效,特别是在袭击者有武装而且人数众多之时。在族裔间暴力中,一批批受害者和幸存者在上学和(或)在境内流离失所者营地外从事生计活动时遭袭击,这些简单的生计活动进一步暴露了他们的脆弱性。被指控的施害者包括安全部队成员、通常来自游牧社区的武装人员,偶尔还包括苏解/瓦希德派成员。

83. 11 月 28 日,一名 14 岁智障女孩据称在 Thur 市场(中达尔富尔)附近被一名 苏丹武装部队士兵持枪强奸。该事件被报告给当地的军事指挥官,据称指挥官未采取任何行动,从而激怒了当地人,他们认为施害者没有被追究责任。这个女孩在奈尔提提接受了医疗救治。10 月,一名妇女在 Fuji (中达尔富尔)从事生计活动时被 2 名武装游牧民轮奸。一些受害者遭受了极端的身体暴力,有时暴力导致悲惨后果。9 月 21 日,一名富尔族妇女被一群据称是阿拉伯人的男子轮奸并殴打致死,这起事件发生在对奈尔提提(中达尔富尔)郊外为回返者设立的 Ludang 农耕区一次夜袭中。被指控的施害者在马、摩托车和骆驼组成的队伍中行进。没有人被逮捕。9 月 13 日,在塔维拉(北达尔富尔) Bargo 境内流离失所者营地,一名妇女在家中遭到人身攻击,这家的一名 15 岁女孩也在家里被一名快速支援部队成员强奸。她们家之所以成为袭击目标,是因为据称这个家庭与苏解/瓦希德派团体有关联。塔维拉的苏丹警察部队没有逮捕任何人。

84. 苏丹政府承认,达尔富尔妇女和女童保护问题面临挑战。在本报告所述期间,劳动和社会发展部打击暴力侵害妇女和儿童行为局局长向专家小组通报了防止和应对性别暴力行为标准作业程序核可进展,并告知专家小组在负责冲突中性暴力问题秘书长特别代表办公室指导下于2020年3月签署了合作框架。她概述了计划为军人和其他安全人员举办的培训方案以及法律修正情况,这些法律将为性暴力和性别暴力受害者和幸存者提供司法机制。专家小组注意到提高认识和执行工作往往面临挑战,因此欢迎为性暴力和性别暴力幸存者采取更强有力的预防、应对和保护措施。

D. 侵害和虐待儿童行为

85. 专家小组收到了几份涉及绑架儿童事件的报告。2020年4月30日,一个民兵团体的成员在奈尔提提附近绑架了一名16岁的牧羊女。5月7日,在一次突袭中,一名10岁男童在Wadi Tanqwa(奈尔提提地区)被绑架,此前一名32岁男子被打死,超过45头羊也被抢掠。

86. 达尔富尔各地的和平静坐遭袭击或被武力驱散,一些陪同父母的儿童也受伤(见下文)。在苏丹政府部队与苏解/瓦希德派之间的袭击和反击中,儿童也遭受重大影响。专家小组收到的资料显示,苏丹武装部队于 2020 年 6 月 1 日和 2 日对苏丹解放军控制的中达尔富尔 Mara 村发动了火箭弹袭击,造成伤亡,一名 6 岁

儿童死亡。在持续2天的反击中,7名4岁至12岁的儿童被弹片击伤,并在奈尔提提医院接受了治疗。

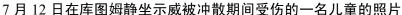
87. 同样,在杰贝勒迈拉受到苏解/瓦希德派内部战斗影响的平民、特别是新流离失所的平民中,也有大量儿童。这些儿童的处境由于以下原因而更为糟糕,即一些儿童原本就来自儿童户主家庭,另一些儿童则在为寻求安全和庇护而逃亡期间与父母/照料者分开。在索托尼(北达尔富尔),学生们因担心在苏丹武装部队指挥官 Al-Sadiq Foka 针对苏解/瓦希德派的涉嫌支持者的军事行动中被逮捕而逃离,错过了学校考试。

E. 对静坐示威的镇压

88. 自 2020 年 6 月底以来, 达尔富尔发生了若干次和平静坐示威, 包括在奈尔提提(中达尔富尔杰贝勒迈拉)、Fata Borno、库图姆和凯卜卡比耶(北达尔富尔)、埃代因和阿布迈塔里格(东达尔富尔), 这些活动由当地抵抗委员会组织, 并得到苏解/瓦希德派一些成员和自由与变革力量的支持。妇女大量参与了这些静坐示威活动; 在此之前,上述地区的境内流离失所者和农民一再遭到袭击。抗议者提出各种要求,包括解散地方当局和解除当地民兵武装(见附件 10)。

89. 抗议基本上是和平的,但在 2020 年 7 月 12 日,苏丹警察部队先是发射实弹和催泪瓦斯驱散抗议者,然后冲散了在北达尔富尔库图姆的静坐活动,导致一些人受伤,其中包括妇女和儿童。²¹ 此种行动显然违反示威者和平集会和结社的权利。

图力.





资料来源: 社交网络。

90. 2020 年 7 月 13 日,在 Fata Borno,武装民兵驾驶四轮驱动车和摩托车并骑马用暴力驱散了一个静坐示威。袭击者不分青红皂白地向示威者发射实弹,导致12 人死亡,14 人受伤,并在包括市场在内的地点抢掠和焚烧财产。此次袭击发生在政府一个高级别代表团访问静坐示威现场并听取抗议者主张的数小时之后,

20-17657 27/68

²¹ 见 www.aljazeera.net/news/politics/2020/7/13/فض-اعتصام-في/www.aljazeera.net/news/politics/2020/7/13

显示出达尔富尔脆弱的安全局势,那里的武装民兵继续肆无忌惮地藐视法律和秩序,而安全部队却无法充分保护平民。

图十

7月13日 Fata Borno 市场被纵火的照片



资料来源: Sakina B。

F. 政府安全部队的侵犯人权行为

91. 专家小组收到了关于安全部队缺乏专业精神及其侵犯和践踏人权行为的几份报告。阿布卡林卡(东达尔富尔)的抵抗委员会 8 月发表了一份新闻谈话,谴责快速支援部队的行为。它声称,妇女和女童在市场和咖啡馆被骚扰,男子被随意殴打,而且一些青年人被强行剃去头发。²² 同样在 8 月,南达尔富尔抵抗委员会的 10 名成员在没有任何指控的情况下被联合安全部队逮捕并羁押了 3 个星期,据称是因为他们参加了卡斯当地的抗议活动。抗议者谴责一个当地民兵组织的 2 名成员未被指控而获释,此前这两个人因该团体数名成员在卡斯周围的农场和村庄袭击平民并抢掠财产而被短时逮捕。消息来源指出,卡斯警方发现被逮捕者有大量重型武器、枪支和狙击步枪。

92. 10 月,达尔富尔混合行动报告,苏丹武装部队指挥官 Al-Sadiq Foka 在索托尼及周边地区普遍侵犯和践踏境内流离失所者及其他平民的人权。报告强调了以下案件:任意逮捕和拘留、相当于酷刑的不人道待遇、绑架勒索赎金、驱逐境内流离失所者、敲诈勒索和恐吓。大多数受害者被怀疑与苏解/瓦希德派有关联。在一起事件中,一名妇女曾向扎林盖当局报告其兄弟被非法羁押,后来她本人于 10 月 14 日被 Foka 的手下任意羁押。她在交了 25 000 苏丹镑的赎金后获释。据报,9 月 18 日,索托尼境内流离失所者营地内一名 25 岁的富尔族男子被从家中带到附近的 Borgo 村;在那里,他被捆绑吊在一棵树上 2 天,背上压着石头并遭殴打。受害者家属交了 45 000 苏丹镑后,他于 10 月 10 日获释。据报,受害者得不到医

²² 见 www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/east-darfur-activists-condemn-rsf-militia-behaviour-in-abu-karinka。

疗救治,该事件也没有报告给当局;报告称 Al-Sadiq Foka 是索托尼唯一的权威力量。同样,一名 31 岁男子在 Golo 附近的 Deba Nyra 因违反宵禁令而被苏丹武装部队士兵逮捕,并被暂时羁押在附近的一个苏丹武装部队基地。他的手脚都被捆绑,被吊在树上几个小时,并遭枪托反复殴打。

G. 苏丹解放军/阿卜杜勒·瓦希德派的侵犯人权行为

- 93. 苏解/瓦希德派的内斗(见第五节)见诸于以下各种践踏国际人道法和人权的 劣行,包括袭击平民、敲诈勒索、绑架和即决处决。在数起案件中,各派别相互 袭击和抢掠位于对方活动区内的村庄,指责村民与敌人串通。自 9 月以来,加杜拉的部队抢掠了杰贝勒迈拉东部扎努恩所占地区的几个村庄。
- 94. 据专家小组所知,至少有一起即决处决案件。8 月底,扎努恩的部队击退加杜拉部队对 Dwo 村的袭击之后,将在战斗中抓获、据称是加杜拉士兵的 4 个人开枪打死,其中包括一名大学生 Abu Sofyan Adam。据报还有各团体实施的几起绑架案件,目标通常是据称与敌对派别有关联的平民。
- 95. 还发生了性暴力和性别暴力事件。在向专家小组报告的几起事件中,交战派别的一些成员对被控站在对立派别一边的地方社区实施"惩罚",强奸平民妇女,包括以敌对方指挥官的妻子为目标。
- 96. 战斗和针对平民的相关袭击导致大规模流离失所。7月和8月,Aldouk与加杜拉的指挥官 Saleh Borso 在 Leiba 和 Wuji 村发生战斗,导致数千名境内流离失所者再次流离失所,前往戈洛(中达尔富尔)附近的 Savanga 和 Toga 聚集点。达尔富尔混合行动的报告也指出,9月至11月扎努恩部队与加杜拉部队之间的战斗导致东杰贝勒迈拉数万名平民流离失所,前往 Jawa、Deribat 和 Suni 村。

H. 境内流离失所者状况

97. 在本报告所述期间,在改善境内流离失所者处境方面没有取得明显进展。苏丹现政府的过渡性和相关的政治不确定性对苏丹政府拟订境内流离失所者相关政策的能力产生了负面影响,特别是在土地占用和农耕区安全等核心问题方面。

1. 对境内流离失所者和回返者的袭击

- 98. 阿拉伯社区成员对境内流离失所者和回返者的武装袭击仍在继续,特别是在奈尔提提(中达尔富尔)、库图姆(北达尔富尔)和杰贝勒迈拉(南达尔富尔)南部边缘等地区。自前政权倒台以来,许多阿拉伯社区变得紧张起来,担心他们会被施压,被要求归还其多年来所占、属于境内流离失所者的土地。因此,他们加大力度袭击农民,以阻止农民试图返回家园。
- 99. 政府应对此种不安全状况的能力显然有限。在快速支援部队驻扎的主要城镇之外,安全部队的足迹和能力往往不足。警察的火力往往不如一些游牧社区的火力强大,无法阻止对境内流离失所者和回返者的袭击。

29/68

2. 境内流离失所者营地的安全状况

100. 在境内流离失所者营地,居民依然遭受营地内武装分子的暴力和骚扰。2020年4月13日,原为苏解/瓦希德派地方指挥官、现为苏丹武装部队军官的 Al-Sadiq Foka 手下一名成员杀害了索托尼境内流离失所者营地(北达尔富尔)的领袖,据称是因为此人不允许 Foka 的人对境内流离失所者征税。

101. 一些境内流离失所者认为苏解/瓦希德派在营地的存在是一种保护,但其他许多人却认为是一种负担,原因是苏解/瓦希德派有时充当平行行政机构,对境内流离失所者征税,并羁押那些反对其统治的人。苏解/瓦希德派在营地内的活动有时还导致境内流离失所者与外部社区和苏丹政府当局之间的紧张关系。例如,6月12日,苏解/瓦希德派一些成员开枪打死了在夜间开车误入 Kalma 营地(南达尔富尔)的2名阿拉伯平民,此后数千名武装阿拉伯人将营地包围,威胁要冲入营地找出施害者。快速支援部队、地方当局和达尔富尔混合行动迅速出面干预,在境内流离失所者领袖与阿拉伯平民代表之间进行调解,才避免了可能发生的流血事件。

3. 《朱巴和平协议》签署方对境内流离失所者的骚扰

102. 多名境内流离失所者 11 月在中达尔富尔与专家小组会晤对话时申诉了签署《朱巴和平协议》各团体的成员的骚扰行为。他们声称,过去数月,快速支援部队、苏解/过渡委员会和正义运动的成员以及境内流离失所者营地外的不明身份人员(被称为"和平支持者")抵达营地,开始进行恐吓,强迫居民接受《协议》。对话者称,"和平支持者"绑架或杀害了一些不同意《协议》的境内流离失所者。一些境内流离失所者声称,这种恐吓运动的最终目的是拆除境内流离失所者营地。上述对话者要求联合国"制止《协议》支持者的活动,他们正在营地内实施犯罪"。

I. 部族间暴力

103. 在本报告所述期间,达尔富尔几个地区的部族间关系急剧恶化。喀土穆的政治变化给巴希尔政府统治时期处于失势的部族壮了胆,他们在试图收回冲突中失去的传统土地时变得更加自信。这些不断恶化的关系导致了几次大规模冲突和攻击平民行为,其频率、规模和伤亡人数为近年来所未见。

104. 这种动态可见于西达尔富尔,西达尔富尔是本报告所述期间部族间暴力的最大热点。2019年12月下旬,克林丁境内流离失所者营地遭到袭击,造成至少90人伤亡,此后,自认为是土地传统所有者的马萨利特人与当地阿拉伯部族之间的紧张关系继续加剧(见附件11)。迄今为止,苏丹政府对克林丁事件的调查仍无结果,这使人们更加担忧据称包括快速支援部队军官在内的行为人不会被绳之以法。2020年3月,由阿布·乔哈拉(Abu Johara)领头的几十名马萨利特人宣布在西里克山发动新的叛乱,他们大多是反叛团体和警察的前成员;当地的阿拉伯人迅速镇压了这场新运动。7月19日至21日,阿拉伯武装团体和马萨利特武装团体在杰奈纳的贾巴尔居民区发生冲突。这场战斗造成约10人伤亡,说明西达尔富尔各部族日益军事化。7月25日,大约500名武装阿拉伯人袭击了马斯特里(离杰奈纳50公里,马萨利特人占多数),以报复一名阿拉伯妇女及其两个孩子在

该镇附近被谋杀。袭击者接管了警察局。冲突造成至少 77 人伤亡,包括几名警察。安全部队的大规模部署有助于减少该州的冲突,但紧张局势依然存在,涉及这些部族成员的事件继续经常发生。

105. 南达尔富尔也发生了类似的大规模冲突。5月5日,富拉尼人(法拉塔人)和雷扎伊加特阿拉伯人之间的冲突从玛利亚开始,并迅速蔓延,主要是在图卢斯和盖雷伊达附近,造成大约100人伤亡,以及大量人员、牲畜和财产损失,主要是富拉尼人。此外,在南达尔富尔,富拉尼牧民和当地马萨利特农民于2020年7月下旬在盖雷伊达地区重新开始了他们的传统冲突。这一次,14名受害者中的大多数是马萨利特国内流离失所者,他们试图在富拉尼人视为传统领地的土地上定居。后来,10月20日至22日,武装的富拉尼牧民袭击了盖雷伊达地区的几个村庄,对马萨利特部族进行报复性袭击。达尔富尔混合行动和媒体报道显示,12人死亡,近30人受伤。²³附件12提供了南达尔富尔和西达尔富尔有关部族的声明,其中强调了反复出现的紧张局势。

106. 土地冲突仍然是助长部族间暴力的主要问题。达尔富尔各地针对从事季节性农业和其他生计活动的境内流离失所者和自愿回返者的多次袭击就是证明。在许多情况下,农民遭到袭击,因为他们不让牧民放牲畜来吃庄稼。这些事件导致人员伤亡、二次流离失所以及家园、生计和其他财产的损失。

107. 加剧部族间暴力的一个因素是,在其中几起事件中,包括安全部队在内的当局被认为持有偏见。在西达尔富尔,各部族认为快速支援部队与当地阿拉伯人关系密切,而警察则被认为主要支持马萨利特人。同样,在5月冲突后,快速支援部队试图在富拉尼人和雷扎伊加特人之间进行调解,一些富拉尼人向专家小组抱怨说,调解偏向雷扎伊加特人,事实上支持后者的立场。在中达尔富尔,2020年年中,奈尔提提地区的农民和游牧民之间发生事件,造成数人死亡,此后,快速支援部队增援部队被部署到该地区。然而,这些快速支援部队大多是来自达尔富尔的阿拉伯人,几乎不为当地富尔人接受,当地富尔人批评他们对当地阿拉伯人持有所谓的偏见。因此,他们被达尔富尔以外部族的快速支援部队取代,结果较好。²⁴

108. 苏丹新政府当局承认部族间暴力问题,并试图解决这一问题。在西达尔富尔,州长宣布马斯特里行政区为"灾区,因为不安全状况极为严重"。包括快速支援部队、苏丹武装部队和警察在内的至少 5 000 名联合部队随后被部署到西达尔富尔,以保护在农作和收获季节面临紧迫威胁的平民。在某些情况下,苏丹政府当局还在交战部族之间采取调解举措。5 月冲突后,富拉尼和雷扎伊加特部族领导人在快速支援部队副首长阿卜杜勒•拉希姆•达戈洛的领导下,于 5 月 13 日签署了停火协议。25 然而,只要土地制度和所有权问题仍未解决,武器仍然唾手可得,部族间紧张关系就很可能持续下去,并在达尔富尔许多地区随机爆发。

31/68

²³ 见 www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/attack-on-south-darfur-village-leaves-12-dead。

²⁴ 专家小组与中达尔富尔州当局的会晤, 2020年10月。

²⁵ 见 www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/warring-south-darfur-tribesmen-sign-truce。

109. 签署《朱巴和平协议》的各团体也敏锐地意识到不断出现的部族间紧张关系对达尔富尔稳定构成的威胁,其中一些成员打算在地方调解与和解努力中发挥作用。2020年10月,在《协议》上签字的几个团体的官员和地方活动家创建了达尔富尔社会和平论坛,这是由萨拉赫·哈米德·伊斯梅尔·穆罕默德领导、致力于促进社会共存的地方倡议的一个非政府组织。

110. 在大多数情况下,部族间冲突仅限于达尔富尔的一个地方。然而,一些冲突,如涉及富拉尼、马萨利特、扎格哈瓦和一些阿拉伯团体的冲突,具有更广泛的跨界性质,不仅对苏丹,而且对邻国的和平与稳定构成威胁。

J. 正义和问责

111. 安全部队和武装派别的一些成员滥用权力;其他人利用薄弱的法治系统,侵犯和践踏人权而不受惩罚。追究违反国际人道法和人权法的责任,包括与冲突有关的性暴力,对于解决此类罪行有罪不罚的问题至关重要。在本报告所述期间,在某些情况下,当局对肇事者采取了果断行动。10月,快速支援部队逮捕了39人,他们与7月23日袭击阿卜多兹(南达尔富尔)自愿回返村庄事件有关,那起事件造成15人死亡,25人受伤。26当时,许多人逃离,一些人从当时处于快速支援部队保护下的村庄失踪。这些问责措施广受欢迎,但仍属例外之举而非常态。

112. 11 月,除了那些在国际刑事法院面临战争罪指控的人之外,苏丹反对派和武装反叛团体的所有成员都获得大赦。正义运动的米尼·米纳维和吉布里尔·易卜拉欣获得了大赦。²⁷ 尚不清楚没有参加和平谈判的苏解的阿卜杜勒·瓦希德是否会受益于大赦。包括布尔汗和赫梅提在内的苏丹过渡委员会成员也因大赦而被宣布无罪。然而,许多与专家小组交谈的达尔富尔平民,包括境内流离失所者营地中的达尔富尔平民,都坚持认为,他们需要获得补救,使正义得以伸张,才能了结过去、重建生活,犯罪者应被绳之以法,才能实现和解。²⁸

113. 大赦,包括出于政治权宜之计的大赦并不少见,但妨碍起诉可能对战争罪²⁹ 和其他严重侵犯人权行为负有法律责任者的大赦不符合各国根据各种国际法来源承担的义务,也不符合联合国关于调查和起诉涉嫌在非国际武装冲突中犯下战争罪者的政策。³⁰ 《协议》包括关于问责、和解机制和过渡期正义的规定,包括为在达尔富尔犯下的罪行设立特别刑事法院。对主要领导人实行大赦,与侵犯人

²⁶ 见 www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/attack-on-south-darfur-village-leaves-12-dead。

 $^{^{27}}$ 见 www.voanews.com/africa/south-sudan-focus/sudan-offers-amnesty-armed-groups。

²⁸ 类似的言论, 另见 https://www.voanews.com/africa/south-sudan-focus/sudan-offers-amnesty-armed-groups。

²⁹ 这些危害人类罪包括:灭绝,谋杀,奴役,酷刑,监禁,强奸,强迫堕胎和其他性暴力,基于 政治、宗教、种族和性别的迫害,强迫人员失踪,强迫人口迁移和其他不人道的行为。

³⁰ 人权机构指出,大赦不符合国家对于国际法所定罪行和违反不可减损的人权法的行为进行调查的义务,例如,人权事务委员会在其关于《公民及政治权利国际公约》第七条(禁止酷刑)的第20号一般性意见中就作出这样的评论。

权行为受害者要求伸张正义和追究责任的呼声背道而驰。这还意味着《协议》中的问责条款将只针对那些对所犯暴行不承担最大总体责任者。

力.. 军火和边境管制

A. 军火禁运

1. 苏丹政府

114. 自 2004 年实施军火禁运以及第 1591(2005)号决议等又对军火禁运作出修改以来,专家小组继续监测对达尔富尔军火禁运的执行情况。在本报告所述期间,专家小组接报称,苏丹政府违反军火禁运向达尔富尔运送武器,却没有预先通知委员会,也没有向委员会提出豁免军火禁运的请求。例如,在 2020 年 7 月 25 日西达尔富尔发生部族间冲突后,苏丹政府部署了由苏丹武装部队、快速支援部队和警察组成的联合部队,并"从喀土穆调用了大约 150 辆汽车,以加强该地区的安全"。³¹ 专家小组指出,苏丹政府完全有权利和义务为其公民提供安全保障,但对于军火运入达尔富尔,安全理事会关于苏丹的第 1591(2005)号决议所设委员会要求对这种流动作出预先通知。同样,在本报告所述期间,利比亚境内达尔富尔武装团体继续从利比亚交战各派获得武器和武装车辆。

2. 签署《朱巴和平协议》的各个运动

115. 在本报告所述期间,利比亚境内达尔富尔武装团体继续从利比亚国民军和其他行为体那里获得武器和武装车辆。根据《协议》安全安排议定书,签署《协议》的各运动的部队应在《协议》签署后 90 天内集结在商定的集结区,在进入集结区之前,必须向联合军事停火委员会交出重型和远程武器和大炮。如第六节所述,一些部队开始从利比亚返回达尔富尔,还有一些部队正在返回。从技术上讲,此类军火和军事装备流向达尔富尔需要苏丹政府向制裁委员会提出豁免请求。否则,就是违反联合国对达尔富尔的军火禁运。

116. 此外,一些运动成员向专家小组明确表示,他们打算保留一些武器,不交出,这属违反《协议》行为。一些运动正计划在达尔富尔以及与乍得和利比亚接壤的达尔富尔边境地区建立军火储藏处,以防《协议》得不到执行、冲突再起。重型武器不受监督、不受控制地从邻国(特别是利比亚)流向达尔富尔,对达尔富尔地区和苏丹的稳定构成潜在威胁。

3. 利比亚国民军

117. 专家小组指出,利比亚国民军及其支持者向各个达尔富尔运动提供武器和 其他军事装备违反了制裁措施。

4. 武器流散

118. 达尔富尔继续存在违反禁运和武器流散问题的主要驱动因素如下:

20-17657 33/68

³¹ 达尔富尔混合行动情况报告——2020年8月26日。

- (a) 一些地方武装民兵,特别是苏解/瓦希德派,不属于《协议》签署方;
- (b) 苏解/瓦希德派继续在杰贝勒迈拉活动,并积聚更多资源采购武器。苏解/瓦希德派各派相互争斗,给平民带来巨大的负面影响;
- (c) 根据各种消息来源,最近部族间武装战斗有所增加,特别是在西达尔富尔和南达尔富尔,导致对军火的需求增加;
- (d) 在本报告所述期间,乍得和达尔富尔边境地区的跨界部落之间的部族间冲突有所增加。2020年12月初,乍得扎格哈瓦部落的枪手和阿拉伯人在西达尔富尔因偷牛发生冲突,造成至少2人伤亡,而7月下旬,同一地区类似的跨界冲突造成16人死亡。武装人员此种越境行动还导致乍得和苏丹安全部队之间的紧张局势偶尔加剧;
- (e) 虽然利比亚境内的达尔富尔团体正在为和平作准备,并在某些情况下返回苏丹,但他们的能力大获提升,现在已成为可观的力量。如果《协议》,特别是安全安排,没有得到适当执行,苏丹的过渡脱离轨道,在利比亚获得的这些武器和装备就有可能最终被用于达尔富尔的冲突;
 - (f) 安全部队的一些成员继续以平民为目标(见第八节);
 - (g) 武器扩散仍在继续,以前的武器收缴运动没有充分解决这一问题。
- 119. 此外,虽然安全部队和反叛分子之间的战斗仍然主要局限于杰贝勒迈拉的一些地区,但不断有报告称,达尔富尔各地发生了多起安全事件和袭击,往往都使用了火器。特别是,根据各种统计数据,包括达尔富尔混合行动的统计数据,在过去两年里,有迹象表明,针对平民,包括针对境内流离失所者和回返者的犯罪和袭击事件有所增加。32

B. 军火收缴

1. 解除平民武装

- 120. 苏丹政府提出解除平民武装是安全局势和持续武装袭击平民问题的最终解决办法。2017年,政府启动一项武器收缴举措(见 S/2017/1125)。军火收缴措施对于充分解决这一复杂问题基本上不成功,苏丹政府本身也承认这一问题。赫梅提将军多次批评前武器收缴运动缺乏成果,并承诺发起一场新的、更全面的运动。33
- 121. 在本报告所述期间,达尔富尔一些苏丹政府当局宣布了一些地方武器收缴举措。11 月,中达尔富尔州州长宣布了强制收缴未经授权的武器的计划,该计划将由"配备现代探测器和训练有素的警犬的合格技术小组"领导。34 根据专家小组 11 月在扎林盖与州长和苏丹武装部队的会晤,在宣布该计划前,发生了一系列安全事件,导致他们承认,尽管部署了更多的安全部队,但一些地区仍然不安

^{32 2020}年2月、10月和11月,专家小组与达尔富尔混合行动的会晤。

 $^{^{33}}$ \sqrt{L} www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/sudan-army-militia-to-collect-illegal-arms-vehicles-in-all-states $^{\circ}$

³⁴ 见 www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/central-darfur-governor-calls-for-total-disarmament-of-state。

全。中达尔富尔当局还向专家小组强调,要成功完成武器收缴工作,需要得到国际支持。

2. 武器收缴工作面临的挑战

122. 全面收缴武器的道路上仍然存在结构性障碍。例如,负责收缴的一些苏丹政府部队对某些部落持有偏见。这导致收缴武器工作存在选择性,瞄准一些部落而放过其他部落;这非但没有改善安全局势,反而巩固了一些部落对其他部落的统治,从而加剧了现有的紧张局势。2020年5月,富拉尼人和雷扎伊加特人(主要来自奥拉德•曼苏尔族系)在图卢斯发生冲突,对此,政府当局在该地区发起了武器收缴行动。然而,富拉尼领导人向专家小组抱怨说,快速支援部队开展的这场运动只针对富拉尼人,因为快速支援部队严重偏袒奥拉德•曼苏尔部族(赫梅提和许多快速支援部队指挥官来自该部族),其结果是巩固了奥拉德•曼苏尔部族在该地区的优势。

123. 此外,许多武装人员团伙在农村地区游荡,继续袭击农民和回返者。所要 覆盖的地域广阔,安全部队在这些地区的足迹很小,这些团体火力强大,机动性 强,而且在某些情况下与安全部队之间有着联系,这就意味着,苏丹政府必须大 幅度提高能力,才能解除它们的武装。

124. 疏于管控的边界和跨界部族之间的关系也使得解除武装变得更加复杂。在上述 2017-2018 年武器收缴行动中,专家小组了解到,在南达尔富尔,跨越达尔富尔-中非共和国边界的一些部族成员为了逃避这场行动,将武器暂时交给他们在中非共和国一侧的亲属。

125. 《协议》的签署提供了一个机会,不仅可以全面解决武装团体解除武装问题,还可以解决目前存在于达尔富尔的所有民兵解除武装问题。实现切实解除武装的条件之一是国际社会的支持。

C. 边境管制

126. 达尔富尔国际边境管制对苏丹有关当局而言始终是一项挑战。为加强边境管制作出了努力,包括与乍得建立联合边境部队,并在边境地区部署快速支援部队等。然而,这些并没有阻止走私和其他机会主义的跨界犯罪活动。这些活动的持续发生有可能破坏达尔富尔和该区域的稳定。

127. 在本报告所述期间,专家小组收到几份关于从利比亚向达尔富尔走私车辆的报告。利比亚国民军于 2020 年 12 月报告称,扣押了运往苏丹的车辆。³⁵ 专家小组 11 月访问法希尔期间注意到大量无车牌的走私汽车在街头行驶。据此前报道,一些以利比亚为基地的达尔富尔运动参与了这一走私活动。专家小组了解到,卡尔贾科拉的苏解/瓦希德派部队正从利比亚向达尔富尔运送民用汽车,并在达尔富尔一些城镇(如扎林盖)有代理人接收和出售这些汽车。

20-17657 35/68

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³⁵ 见 https://libyareview.com/8574/lna-forces-thwart-attempt-to-smuggle-vehicles-to-sudan/。

- 128. 走私者继续利用利比亚的混乱局势和漏洞百出、无人管控的边境,不仅走私车辆,还走私其他货物,包括燃料和毒品。³⁶ 基地设在利比亚南部的达尔富尔武装团体,包括正义运动、苏解/米纳维派和苏丹解放力量联盟,参与了这些走私活动(见第十一节)。正如专家小组先前报告的那样(例如,见 S/2017/1125),通过达尔富尔(有时借道乍得)向利比亚偷运移民的活动仍在继续,苏丹安全部队,特别是快速支援部队,经常声称逮捕了一些人。
- 129. 由来已久的边境难题继续困扰着达尔富尔。专家小组定期收到关于新兵穿越达尔富尔/利比亚边境加入利比亚境内达尔富尔武装团体的报告。虽然一些人被安全部队拦截,但各运动对达尔富尔、利比亚和乍得之间边境地区的了解意味着大多数新兵抵达目的地。尽管有乍得-苏丹边境部队的存在,但达尔富尔和乍得领土之间的糖等货物的走私仍在继续。南达尔富尔和中非共和国东北部之间也存在类似情况。
- 130. 上述跨界局势不仅加剧了达尔富尔的不稳定,也加剧了区域的不稳定。随着《协议》的签署,未来的稳定和边界的加强将是关键。需要加强有关当局控制 边界的责任,以确保达尔富尔和区域的稳定。

十. 旅行禁令和资产冻结

A. 会员国的执行情况

131. 专家小组继续监测会员国执行安全理事会通过第 1591(2005)号决议第 3(d) 和 3(e)段规定的资产冻结和旅行禁令措施的情况。

B. 苏丹政府的执行情况

- 132. 苏丹政府尚未提交执行报告,说明为执行旅行禁令和资产冻结而采取步骤的情况。2014年11月,政府表示无力实施资产冻结措施。2017年、2018年和2019年,专家小组要求政府提供资产冻结措施执行情况的最新资料。然而,政府对此未作任何答复,尽管其中两名被指认人员,穆萨·希拉勒·阿卜杜拉·纳西姆和加法尔·穆罕默德·哈桑(固定编号分别为SDi 002和SDi001),仍留在苏丹。
- 133. 专家小组在 2020 年 6 月 17 日的信中要求苏丹政府提供关于这个问题的最新情况。专家小组仍在等待官方答复。
- 134. 自定向制裁措施开始实施以来,苏丹政府一直表示,在没有法院命令的情况下,它无法执行资产冻结和旅行禁令措施(见 S/2015/31,第 214 段)。政府进一步指出,实施这些措施可能违反《公民及政治权利国际公约》的规定,被指认人员没有机会为自己辩护,政府认为这可能侵犯他们的人权。
- 135. 苏丹政府 2020 年 8 月 31 日致函委员会,提交了将四名被指认人员除名的请求。委员会几名成员搁置了除名请求,他们要求有更多时间来审议该提议。

³⁶ 见 https://reliefweb.int/report/libya/diaspora-despair-darfurian-mobility-time-international-disengagement。

136. 专家小组调查了穆萨·希拉勒违反旅行禁令的事件。专家小组在其 2016 年 (见 S/2016/805,第 159-161 段)和 2017 年(见 S/2017/1125)的报告中得出结论认定,穆萨·希拉勒前往开罗和阿拉伯联合酋长国,从而违反了旅行禁令规定。

137. 穆萨·希拉勒在 2017 年 11 月被捕之前一直控制着杰贝勒阿米尔金矿并从中获利(见 S/2016/805,第 170 和 171 段)。苏丹政府没有向专家小组通报为调查穆萨·希拉勒的这些利润或动产和不动产而采取的措施或步骤。专家小组获得的信息表明,穆萨·希拉勒在喀土穆拥有一处住所和若干其他财产。据可靠消息,2016 年,穆萨·希拉勒以 2 700 万苏丹镑的价格出售了他在喀土穆的一处房产。该物业位于奥贝德·卡蒂姆街和奥马克街的交叉口附近,现在是一家酒店。虽然这笔钱的一部分被穆萨·希拉勒用于他的政治活动,但在他 2017 年被捕时,其中很大一部分是可以动用的。信息还表明,在穆萨·希拉勒被捕期间,政府实体知道这笔钱的存在和存放地点。

138. 加法尔·穆罕默德·哈桑是一名退役军官。苏丹政府并没有为了向其支付养恤金或津贴而要求获得、也没有得到委员会准予的资产冻结豁免。

C. 正在进行的旅行禁令调查

139. 专家小组于 2014 年、2017 年、2018 年、2019 年和 2020 年 6 月请乍得政府审查与穆萨·希拉勒和贾布里勒·阿卜杜勒卡里姆·易卜拉欣·马毓·"泰克"(固定编号: SDi 004)2011-2014 年期间访问乍得有关的可能违反旅行禁令的某些情况。没有收到任何答复。

140. 各种可靠消息来源表明,在整个报告所述期间,贾布里勒·阿卜杜勒卡里姆·易卜拉欣·马毓·"泰克"都住在利比亚,在那里,他在阿卜杜拉·班达团体内,作为利比亚国民军一方参加冲突(见附件7)。

十一. 武装团体的资金筹措

141. 在本报告所述期间,大多数达尔富尔武装团体通过参与利比亚境内雇佣军和走私活动赚钱。苏解/瓦希德派是唯一一个活跃在达尔富尔的达尔富尔反叛团体,它从杰贝勒迈拉的金矿开采中获得可观的收入。签署朱巴协议的一些团体现在正返回苏丹,正在考虑在达尔富尔从事新的创收活动,包括黄金开采业务。

A. 在达尔富尔的苏解/瓦希德派

142. 近两年来,位于基迪尼尔和费纳(南达尔富尔)之间的托罗耶地区的手工金矿一直是该团体最大的资金来源,使其能够大幅增加收入。专家小组于 2020 年 2 月访问了基迪尼尔、费纳和梅纳瓦谢(托罗耶的一些黄金在那里加工),并约谈了矿工、苏解/瓦希德派成员和地方当局。

143. 2019 年初,在托罗耶发现了黄金,该地区由苏解/瓦希德派控制。虽然采矿作业是在托罗耶进行,但提取黄金的手工矿铣厂最初出现在附近由苏丹政府控制的基迪尼尔村。淘金热驱使许多人搬到托罗耶和基迪尼尔,寻找工作和金钱。在 2019年 10 月之前的高峰期,地方当局报告称,有 3 万人在基迪尼尔和托罗耶工作。

20-17657 37/68

- 144. 最初,苏解/瓦希德派要求获得该矿收益的 50%。随后,在与地方当局和传统领导人谈判后,苏解/瓦希德派接受了 25%至 30%的份额。在基迪尼尔,每天大约开采有 5-6 公斤的黄金,其中四分之一归苏解/瓦希德派所有。当地采金工人向专家小组报告说,苏解/瓦希德派从托罗耶运出的每卡车矿石征收 20 000 苏丹镑的税。此外,在矿场工作的每个人必须向苏解/瓦希德派支付 150 苏丹镑。
- 145. 苏解/瓦希德派建立了一个管理该矿的系统。由当地苏解/瓦希德派领导人阿巴卡尔·易卜拉欣·艾哈迈德·沙塔领导的一个委员会在苏解/瓦希德派指挥官之间进行调解,并与基迪尼尔地方当局进行互动。虽然托罗耶在苏解/瓦希德派指挥官亚希亚·阿达姆和沙伦控制的地区,但苏解/瓦希德派的所有旅每天都在托罗耶轮流派人收取采矿作业的收入。采矿收入在一段时间里缓和了一些指挥官之间的紧张关系,减少了他们之间的冲突。苏解/瓦希德派的消息来源向专家小组报告说,由于托罗耶的黄金,该运动有史以来第一次有了大量资金,各个指挥官可以自己捞钱,一些人现在在尼亚拉和扎林盖买房。
- 146. 苏丹政府对苏解/瓦希德派的资金迅速增加感到震惊,于 2019 年 10 月禁止了在基迪尼尔的黄金加工活动。由于这项禁令,许多加工厂转移到托罗耶矿本身,导致更多的黄金被开采出来。2020 年 2 月,在专家小组访问该地区期间,一个消息来源透露,托罗耶每天提取 10 至 15 公斤黄金。在托罗耶开采的矿石并非都在那里加工。一些被用卡车运送到政府控制地区的其他加工点,如梅纳瓦谢。每天大约有 10 到 15 辆卡车去矿山。
- 147. 一些指挥官在分享采矿收入问题上的分歧是 2020 年 5 月开始的苏解/瓦希德派内斗的原因之一(见第五节)。据叛军消息来源称,加杜拉总司令想把开采黄金的收入交由苏解/瓦希德派总指挥部管理,然后分配给苏解/瓦希德派的各个部门和旅。然而,其他指挥官希望继续现有的做法,即每天由不同的旅从金矿开采中获取当天的收入。基迪尼尔-费纳地区的指挥官还认为,由于矿井位于他们的地区,他们应该是主要受益者,其他地区的一些指挥官,如扎农,得到的份额太大。这些分裂和冲突扰乱了托罗耶的采矿作业,导致其数次中断。
- 148. 在苏丹政府控制的基迪尼尔(基丁吉尔)地区发现了一些新的金矿。然而,要待到政府颁布新的采矿政策和安排之时,政府才允许这些矿井投入运营。

图十一

2020年2月,梅纳瓦谢黄金加工作业的照片



资料来源:专家小组。

图十二

2020年2月,梅纳瓦谢,黄金铣床照片



资料来源:专家小组。

B. 在南苏丹的武装团体

149. 在本报告所述期间,驻扎南苏丹、由副主席阿卜杜拉·哈兰领导的苏解/瓦希德派团体继续与帕里昂县的一些丁卡人精英合作开展商业活动,主要是农业和运输(见 S/2020/36,第 161-166 段)。苏解/瓦希德派还向在南苏丹境外经营的富尔族商人收取捐款。在南苏丹开展业务的收益由阿卜杜勒·瓦希德和哈兰分享,用于维持他们各自的家庭和团体(同上)。专家小组收到的信息表明,在当前的农季,帕里昂县地方政府反对向苏解/瓦希德派提供农业用地,这可能是南苏丹对苏解/瓦希德派施压、要求其加入达尔富尔和平进程之努力的一部分。

20-17657 **39/68**

C. 在利比亚的武装团体

1. 雇佣军活动

150. 在本报告所述期间,在利比亚为哈夫塔尔而战的主要达尔富尔团体(苏解/米纳维派、苏解/瓦希德派、苏丹解放力量联盟、苏解/过渡委员会和苏丹革命觉醒委员会)继续从利比亚国民军领取资助,作为对它们支持利比亚国民军的回报。据叛军消息来源称,这些运动的成员继续从利比亚国民军获得每月 1000 至 2500 利比亚第纳尔的工资。这些现金有时由利比亚国民军第 128 营和希拉勒•穆萨•布阿穆德•扎瓦维递送给各运动,有时在各运动的最高指挥官访问班加西期间直接交给他们(见第五节)。这些运动向利比亚国民军虚报战斗人员人数,以便多领钱。除付款外,利比亚国民军还向各个达尔富尔团体提供车辆、轻型和中型武器、弹药和用品。

2. 偷运/走私

- 151. 反叛运动各种来源向专家小组报告说,在利比亚的各个达尔富尔运动参与偷运移民,一名反叛领导人对专家小组声称,这是"正常"行为。偷运移民主要是由具有扎格哈瓦背景的团体(苏解/米纳维派、苏丹解放力量联盟、正义运动)所为,由苏丹扎格哈瓦族贩运者操作;在苏丹和利比亚海岸地区,都有这些贩运者的存在。这些贩运者中最突出的是阿卜杜拉齐兹•塔亚拉(见 S/2019/34,第 183段)、贾比尔和尼尔•穆尔萨尔兄弟以及哈米德•巴希特•多德。这些运动在靠近利比亚的北达尔富尔偏远沙漠地区(瓦迪•豪瓦尔、乌瓦纳特、阿特伦)接收载有移民的卡车,并护送他们前往利比亚的另一个地方(通常是拉比亚纳),在那里他们被移交给其他贩运者。
- 152. 反叛分子向专家小组报告说,这些运动还参与毒品走私。它们为穿越利比亚南部、与尼日尔交界地区和与埃及交界地区的贩毒车队提供护送。这些运动从其在利比亚南部的营地,通常提供 20-25 辆汽车进行护送。在行程开始时,贩运者向这些运动付费,通常它们每护送一辆车,就付给它们约 10 000 美元。
- 153. 2020年,大多数团体参与偷运/走私的情况有所减少,因为它们忙于参与利比亚国民军的行动。据叛军消息来源称,在本报告所述期间,并没有为利比亚国民军站边的正义运动非常活跃地进行了偷运/走私活动。

D. 《朱巴和平协议》签署团体的项目

- 154. 《朱巴和平协议》的签署团体在 11 月开始返回苏丹后,已开始探索新的创收途径,并开始在苏丹维持自身,特别是如果它们的一些部队离开利比亚的话。有机会获得新资源,是好几个运动对获得《协议》所设达尔富尔州长职位特别感兴趣的一个关键原因,因为它们预计这将使它们能够控制收入来源,如边境哨所、海关和发展项目。
- 155. 根据这些运动的消息来源,至少有两个团体希望在达尔富尔从事黄金开采业务。例如,作为《协议》安全安排准备工作的一部分,苏解/米纳维派在向苏丹政府提交其部队所要求的集结区清单时就考虑到了这一点。所提议的一些地点,

如松戈(南达尔富尔),是黄金开采区,该运动预计,其部队在那里的部署将使其能够在采矿业务中获得利益。专家小组了解到,一些运动与外国小型采矿公司和商人进行了初步接触,讨论此类项目,这些运动的若干消息来源报告了这一情况。这些运动的采矿项目如果得以实施,可能使它们与达尔富尔黄金行业的已有行为体(包括赫梅提的公司)发生冲突,并加剧对达尔富尔黄金的竞争,有可能导致当地局势紧张。

156. 据这些运动的消息来源称,一些运动还计划在前塞雷卡派系控制的中非共和国与达尔富尔接壤的地区从事采矿活动。几个消息来源向专家小组报告说,正义运动就是其中之一,它正与一些前塞雷卡派成员讨论这些项目。

十二. 建议

- 157. 专家小组建议委员会:
- (a) 鼓励苏丹政府继续与未签署《协议》的运动和自认为未有代表参与和平进程的群体(如境内流离失所者组织和游牧部落)进行和平努力;
- (b) 敦促未签署《协议》的达尔富尔主要团体尽快与苏丹政府进行和平谈判。 如果任何个人或实体它们不这么做,从而成为和平的障碍,委员会应考虑将他们 列入制裁名单:
- (c) 敦促签署《协议》的各运动停止违反《协议》而招募战斗人员,包括在境内流离失所者营地招募;
- (d) 敦促签署《协议》的各运动根据《协议》从外国撤出所有部队。如果它们不这么做,因而继续对区域稳定构成威胁,委员会应考虑将这些个人或实体列入制裁名单;
- (e) 敦促利比亚交战各派及其支持者停止与达尔富尔武装团体合作,停止向它们提供资金和军事装备。它们也不应该反对这些运动从利比亚撤出;
- (f) 鼓励苏丹政府与部落和宗教长老以及包括妇女团体在内的地方社区密切协调,实施《国家保护平民计划》,特别是在冲突地区;
- (g) 鼓励苏丹政府解决长期流离失所和部族间紧张关系等问题,为此启动和 支持包容各方的地方谈判与和解机制,让所有部落和男女各方参与进来,并向所 有部族,包括在回返地区,平等提供适当的社会服务;
- (h) 鼓励苏丹政府根据专家小组以前的建议加强法治机构的能力,包括在偏远地区这样做,并加强问责措施,以确保对所有人,包括那些对所犯暴行负有最大责任者,追究责任;
- (i) 如《协议》所述,鼓励苏丹政府在传统领导人的支持下,通过确定和登记战争期间新定居点所在的地区,解决冲突开始以来新定居者占据土地的问题;

20-17657 **41/68**

- (j) 鼓励苏丹政府在达尔富尔发起全面的武器收缴运动。根据以往经验,这一运动应在地方传统当局的合作下进行,并尽可能由苏丹政府的非达尔富尔安全人员实行;
- (k) 敦促苏丹政府和会员国按照以前的建议,对被指认的个人和实体实施资产冻结:
- (I) 建议苏丹政府,依据《协议》设立的联合军事停火委员会或可与委员会和专家小组合作,特别是就签署《协议》的各运动移交的武器分享信息。

158. 专家小组建议安全理事会:

- (a) 鼓励国际社会为《协议》执行工作提供充足的财政和后勤支持。应支持建立高效和负责任的执行机构,包括在能力建设方面予以支持;
- (b) 请苏丹政府向委员会提交在以下情形下豁免军火禁运的请求,即:作为执行《协议》的一部分,签署《协议》的各运动将武器从邻国转入达尔富尔。或者,考虑修改制裁制度,允许已签署《协议》、以邻国为基地的各运动所属武器免于军火禁运;
- (c) 根据《协议》,签署《协议》的各团体将在《协议》签署后 90 天内将各自武器带到达尔富尔商定的集结区,在那里进行登记和移交。不过,这些运动的一些成员可能只会交出部分武器,将其余武器藏在达尔富尔的不同地区,对达尔富尔的稳定构成潜在威胁。为避免这种情况,安理会可鼓励苏丹政府和各运动在各运动进入达尔富尔之前,在邻国(例如,针对从利比亚撤回的部队,在乍得;针对从南苏丹撤回的部队,在南苏丹)进行武器清点和登记。这一进程可以得到联合国以及东道国的技术支持。

Annex 1 — Mandate

In paragraph 7 of resolution 1556 (2004), the Security Council mandated all states to take the necessary measures to prevent the sale or supply, to all non-governmental entities and individuals, including the Janjaweed, operating in the states of North Darfur, South Darfur and West Darfur, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary equipment, and spare parts for the aforementioned, whether or not originating in their territories.

In paragraph 8 of the resolution 1556 (2004), the Council further mandated all states to take the necessary measures to prevent any provision to the non-governmental entities and individuals identified in paragraph 7, by their nationals or from their territories of technical training or assistance related to the provision, manufacture, maintenance or use of the items listed in paragraph 7.

In paragraph 7 of its resolution 1591 (2005), the Council extended the arms embargo to include all parties to the N'Djamena Ceasefire Agreement and any other belligerents in the aforementioned areas in Darfur.

In its resolution 2035 (2012), the Council extended the reference to the three states of Darfur to all the territory of Darfur, including the new states of Eastern and Central Darfur created on 11 January 2012.

The enforcement of arms embargo was further strengthened, in Paragraph 10 of the resolution 1945, by imposing the condition of end user documentation for any sale or supply of arms and related material that is otherwise not prohibited by resolutions 1556 and 1591.

In paragraphs 3 (d) and 3 (e) of resolution 1591 (2005), the Council imposed targeted travel and financial sanctions on designated individuals (the listing criteria were further extended to entities in resolution 2035 (2012)), to be designated by the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005), on the basis of the criteria set out in paragraph 3 (c) of that resolution. In its resolution 1672 (2006), the Council designated four individuals.

The Panel operates under the direction of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005). The mandate of the Panel, as set out in resolution 1591 (2005), is:

- a) To assist the Committee in monitoring implementation of the arms embargo;
- b) To assist the Committee in monitoring implementation of the targeted travel and financial sanctions; and
- c) To make recommendations to the Committee on actions that the Security Council may want to consider.

In its resolution 2340 (2017) and preceding resolutions, the Security Council also requested that the Panel:

- d) Report on the implementation and effectiveness of paragraph 10 of resolution 1945 (2010) in quarterly updates;
- e) Continue to coordinate its activities, as appropriate, with the operations of the UNAMID, with international efforts to promote a political process in Darfur, and with other Panels or Groups of Experts, established by the Security Council, as relevant to the implementation of its mandate;
- f) Assess in its first and final reports:
- g) Progress towards reducing violations by all parties of the measures imposed by paragraphs 7 and 8 of resolution 1556 (2004), paragraph 7 of resolution 1591 (2005) and paragraph 10 of resolution 1945 (2010);
- h) Progress towards removing impediments to the political process and threats to stability in Darfur and the region ;
- i) Violations of violations of international humanitarian law or violations or abuses of human rights, including those that involve attacks on the civilian population, sexual and gender-based violence and violations and abuses against children; and
- j) Other violations of the above-mentioned resolutions;
- k) Provide the Committee with information on those individuals and entities meeting the listing criteria in paragraph 3 (c) of resolution 1591 (2005);

20-17657 43/68

l) Continue to investigate the financing and role of armed, military and political groups in attacks against UNAMID personnel in Darfur, noting that individuals and entities planning, sponsoring or participating in such attacks constitute a threat to stability in Darfur and may therefore meet the designation criteria provided for in paragraph 3 (c) of resolution 1591 (2005); and m) Investigate any means of the financing of armed groups in Darfur.

Annex 2 — Methodology and challenges

The Panel has retained terms such as "tribe" and "nomads" and personal and place names as provided by the various sources. Such usage does not necessarily reflect the views of the Panel.

Many interlocutors have applied the term "militias" to State security forces other than the Sudanese Armed Forces, such as the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) and the Central Reserve Police. The Panel defines militias as armed groups that do not have any official status.

The COVID-19 pandemic and related health measures posed an additional challenge to the Panel, as it severely restrained the Panel's capacity to travel to Sudan and the region, in particular during the first half of the mandate. The Panel overcame these difficulties by following investigative leads remotely, conducting video teleconference (VTC) meetings, phone interviews, and monitoring open sources. The Panel travelled to Sudan and the region immediately after the COVID-19 measures allowed for it again.

A member of the Panel was also subject to a disinformation campaign, when several media outlets, including some with a well-established, highly-politicized agenda, published articles relying on unsubstantiated allegations, amounting to a smear campaign against the expert. These articles were mostly based on what was presented as "leaks", which was in fact the result of the hacking of the said expert's private email account, which is an illegal act in most countries. The Panel reaffirms that all its members without exception are fully professional, independent and impartial.

20-17657 **45/68**

Annex 3 — Transcript of audio clips of the interrogation of Faysal Adam Ali Konio by SLA/AW

Translated from Arabic and Fur

* Interrogators, ** Faysal Konio

1st audio clip

- *we want to ask you, what is your problem with the HQ??
- ** I don't have any problem with the HQ, I am a manager in the office.
- *Manager? In which office??
- ** in the general HQ.
- * You are a manager in the office, and you have a problem with the HQ, what is your relationship with Walduk? He is against the HQ, and you work in the HQ??
- ** let me explain one thing to you, when we were in the mining site, I work in the emergency.
- * The emergency court ??
- ** yes.
- * You are a member ??
- ** yes I am a member, so they have lots of disagreement, and we tell them not to bring up much problems, and there was that day when they fired an RPG missile, no one went to stop them, me and "Someet" and "Irtakiz", three persons, we went to them to solve their conflict, then we went to "Abuja" and we told him such a conflict should never happen again, or the people who cause problems here they should be sent away and only leave their representatives, this first. Secondly, this is a conspiracy, *unclear*, The person who came yesterday, I was going to the cell network location, he was left behind with *name unclear*, I was going to call the commander that there are some problems, between "Marboo, Marabee, and *names unclear*, so some guys came and shouted, I was in the company of "Irtakiz", "Waleed", these guys it seems they don't know me, I asked them what is your problem?? He tried to hit me with his hand, I hold his other hand, and hit him back,
- * who was he??
- ** unclear name, I hit him back.
- *when did this incident happen ??
- ** this was at the time when we were supposed to take the documents, so he came back to attack me again I kicked him and he felt down, *name unclear* he intervened between us, he ordered the soldiers "shoot him, shoot him", the soldiers refused to obey, after that the conflicts started, I have trained a new force and they will deal with to" Irtakiz him self said this, *name unclear* said, no what your doing is big, and I will call the commander, after that we stayed some few days and we were given the papers of the orders, "Abuja" was not willing to come, we stayed the first day, and the second, with the company of Walduk, Abuja refused to come with me. When we were waiting we spent our time in playing cards, we were not doing any thing else,
- * Ok, look, how are they your friends ?? Are they the army of the revolution or your friends ??
- ** No, we were together since 2009, until 2015, our last battle together was in Golo.
- * You are an office manager ... audio interrupted
- ** Explaining how they were together in the last tome in 2015
- * OK, you are the manager of the HQ office, ...
- ** No, I am only a manager of a branch ...
- * yes all of you are managers and heads of offices, so this person you are dealing with is your enemy, what is the matter ??

Secondly, why you got angry before ??

- ** I didn't get angry ..
- * and why you are saying it is a not correct say ??
- ** yes, it is not correct
- * What the general staff has said is not correct ??
- ** The general staff is saying that we are phone calling the commander about ... interrupted
- * OK, I want to tell you something, the shots of the machine gun, where it was firing ?? Was it to the east, or the South!! It was firing to the West right, according to the HQ, Secondly if this was a lie, their outlook when they arrived which out look was that !!

- ** which outlook ????
- * how they were looking when they arrived to the HQ!!!
- ** This is was "Abu Alzeek" he brought the person who fired the machine gun to the police,
- * and what was that other problem which was happening at the time ??
- ** The police beate an innocent person, he was the person whom his machine gun was taken from him and fired,
- * so the HQ is in your hands, the mangers and executives, you do as you like, and decide as you like. OK, Before all of this, you in the past before you join this movement, where did you belong to ???
- ** Hey man, I have been in these liberated lands,
- * Before, haven't you belonged to the Rapid Support Forces ???
- ** hahaha, the RSF is newly formed, I have been in the movement since 2007.
- * OK, I would like to ask you a question, answer me about what I am asking you, you as a person who work in the HQ, what is the relationship between the HQ and your enemy?? He has committed a military coup, and he has done it many times before, and until now he is fighting against the HQ, and you are a member here and a member there ????
- ** listen bro, you go and ask him whether I have done or said something for him or helped him by any mean, we never conspired against the HQ, you are just playing around here,
- * He said so !!

(Another far person responds): Yes he said so.

- ** you are just playing around here. This is soldier who is talking to me about Abdul Wahid, I asked him do you know Abdul Wahid for real, you useless boy, you are just playing around here
- * Hey man, the people who are coming on the way if your head is as big as a camel they will put it down.
- ** let them do as they like
- * You understand me, you don't talk bullshit speechs.
- ** I am not talking bullshit, the soldier makes me angry by asking ...
- * You understand what I am saying, I am asking you a question for the second time, why you are taking information from the HQ and spread it out side, there are people who work against the HQ, if there is no conspiracy from the inside who he can be active ??,
- ** I didn't spread anything
- * what so ever you became in this world, you should be free in your self, because there is nothing like freeself
- ** comrade, leave you from

(the audio record is damaged at this point)

2nd audio clip

- ** You don't refuse what I am saying, you hear me out first and if I am wrong you can beat me then,
- * are you understanding what I am saying, it is not about beating, We want to carry out an execution totally, with bullets, we don't like how this is going, And for this revolution; either it goes straight or every one goes in his way, we have lost as well, do you understand what I am saying !! We want things to be clear boy, so far I am speaking with you in a straight and legal way, do you understand me.
- ** Yes I will answer.
- * are you a soldier or a citizen??
- ** yes I am a soldier.
- * then as you are a soldier you execute what I am telling you, do you understand me??
- ** OK you tell me what you want to know!! My comrade I will not hide anything.
- * In this revolution, I swear Allah there are some crazy people, I want you to explain in details one by one,
- ** If you ask me what you want to know I will tell you, I am not refusing to say
- (A sound of whipping, orders from another officer to stop the beating: as you are soldier don't beat him, it is not yet the beating time, we first want him to tell us)
- ** this is my kidney, comrades don't beat me in my kidney.
- *General, explain to us the subject again,
- ** You ask me, so that I can answer
- * My question is, What is your concept here when you act discrimination in the HQ ?? And why you are helping all the HQ work ?? When the papers reach you it don't come out in a straight way, it has extra or less information, you your self you have gathered the generals and issued them orders for each one to move back to his location, except the ones who didn't do any problems, am I wrong!!

20-17657 **47/68**

- ** Yes, you are right.
- * Didn't you give them.the orders ???
- ** Yes, I gave them the orders
- * And why then you spread this information ?? If you are not working against the HQ then why you spread this information ??
- ** If you would believe me comrade, I swear to you, the general commander and he is presented, he called the head of general staff, and he gave him orders as follow, these generals, we don't have anything to feed these guys, so send these people back, until further notification. I went with him to the school .. He stopped me in the school, I saluted him "the head of general staff", he directed the people "soldiers" and then gave me the orders, then I speaker to them, comrades, according to the HQ orders, and "the head of general staff" is in the front, the orders are every group must go go to the back-line until further notification, here "Irtakiz" said to me, brother, the higher officer want you to meet him, so I went to the higher officer, he said to me as follow, for now, let these people eat a different meal for change, and then they move tomorrow morning, and look, you write a paper to all the generals, that each one of them pick a group, and put them under The head of general staff, so as to be assigned as a security for the mining site,
- * so then, the HQ do something, and then go back and disband it from behind,
- ** and if you don't believe me,
- * And why then orders are issued for all these people to come back within 24 hours only, and after 24 hours why they didn't come back ?????
- ** let me tell you what happened, you listen to me, I was there, and there are some people who get the orders from the boss, listen to me carefully, the same general commander called me, he said to me: right now, write down papers to the generals within 24 hours they should come back.

And If they said they didn't get the orders then I am ready to take full responsibility even if to get shot down, and do you believe that I can send the generals away and the HQ wouldn't know about it ???? The head of general staff and the general commander wouldn't know anything about ???

Comrade, I am a soldier, if I was given orders, shouldn't I carry them out!!!

- * yes, you should carry them out.
- ** The head of general staff stopped me "Attention!" And give me the orders, and I carried them out.
- * OK, aha, we come to the subject of the money why there are some generals here, if you are not working against this HQ, why some generals are in a good situation and others in bad situation, and you are a responsible commander, what is this matter ??
- ** I did as follow, my comrade, when the money comes, and I have note books, and I have the number the total money, I swear to you, i didn't wrong any one,
- * OK stay with me, there is this day when you digested the presents as 130 individual, or is it 103!!
- ** It is not me, I didn't write this.
- * who wrote this paper, it wasn't you, you gave them this paper and told them not to work with the old paper, they work with this new paper,
- ** No No No, these are the false information, do you believe, I came and found that Walduk was written for him 104, and the supplies managers are present, Mohey Al- deen and uncle Adam,
- * general, there were 2 papers, we have our intelligence.
- ** this is lie, it is not mine comrade, there are people whom are here, do you believe that I criticized him, and I told him that their number does not exceed 30 individuals? And I send them back, and you can go and ask, go ask Mohey Al- deen, and uncle Adam, if they said I gave them this paper without reducing the numbers, then I am laying, you can shoot me then, I swear to you, and people are present, and the time is Ramadan, right, in the morning you will find all of them, in a Adam and Mohey Al deen, you ask them, when they brought the paper with 104 names what did I say to them !! Do you believe me comrade, me, my self I reduced the number.
- * I want to tell you something, these information of which you are saying is not what I want know, and me, I swear to you, you understand what I am saying, what I am asking you and how I am asking you is in a very suitable way, because a police man should be legal, and he take the say in a proper way because the wrong and right don't go along in one place, what so ever,
- ** I am not laying
- * General, do you know that a soldier in the police division can arrest the president, do you know about this law !!
- ** yes, you are right.
- * then if you know about this law, you give us the full information of which we want, general Faysal what you did in this movement is not simple, I am telling you clearly, it is not simple, and before this movement

was founded I have been a revolutionary person, you know this completely, secondly I worked in the intelligence my entire life, I am not known to the people,

- ** yes, you are right, even me I knew you lately
- * do you understand what I am saying,

Secondly, general Faysal, in this world I am not afraid of anything but from the treason only, and I would not kill a person without him knowing why!! Do you know this. He must know the reason I am killing him for.

- ** Havn't you asked me !!!
- * you are a soldier, we give you the information because you are a soldier and have immunity, and the period of which you worked in this movement whether in wrong or right, we are convinced that you have served the state, but, I want to know something, if you want to be clearly washed you should live in a relief, don't be distracted with any person, the information of which I am acquiring, I want to know them one by one, what is your only relationship with Walduk ?? This is one, secondly, why did he go away ?? And you know that he was going, and you are a responsible person and you have a relationship with him, why you didn't stop him ???

Wait up, secondly, if he was with you here, and you have some private secrets with him, and these secrets are not clear for us,

Thirdly, you are inside the HQ, wouldn't you know why the HQ is not going properly ??

You didn't answer these questions.

- ** Look comrade I want to tell you one thing ...
- * general Faysal, stand up, stand up, I am telling you!
- ** I want to tell you something...
- * As you are, stand up.

(Beating sound, and cursing)

(crying sound)

- * tell the truth, we will shoot you, I just want to know the truth
- ** I swear to you comrade, if you would believe me, I don't have any relationship with Walduk, I swear to you.
- * tell me, what is your program, what do you want to do in this movement
- ** Comrade, do you believe in the one and only Allah, I swear to you, I don't have any relationship with Walduk.
- * Are more man then us, or smarter than us, or know everything more than us ???!!!

Me as well I have degrees in the Law, all of us are graduates, we are not illiterates, we want the truth, man!!

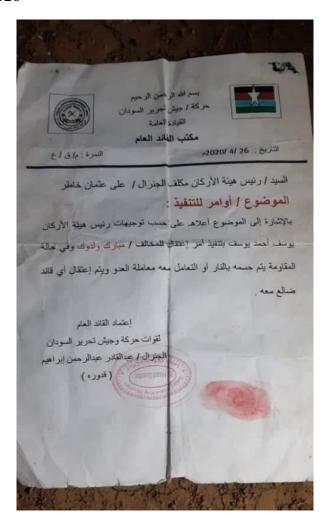
- ** You just ask what you want to know
- * Tell the truth man (Beating sound)

You are not saying the truth (Crying sound)

You don't know Allah, stand up.

49/68

Annex 4 — Arrest warrant by Gaddura against Mubarak Walduk, 26 April 2020



Translation from Arabic

In the name of Allah the merciful the compassionate Sudan Liberation Army/Movement HQ Office of the General Commander

Date :26/4/2020 No. O/G/C

Mr. Head of General Staff deputy general All Osma Khatir

Subject: arrest order

Regarding the upper subject according to the instructions of the General Staff head Yusif Ahmed Yusif to carry out the order of arresting the suspect Mubarak Walduk, and in case of resistance to be dealt with gun fire or deal with him as an enemy and arrest any commander conspiring with him.

Verified by the General Commander of Sudan Liberation Army / Movement General Abdelgadir Abdelrahman Ibrahim (Gaddura)

Annex 5 — Statement by Mubarak Walduk, Zanoun Abdulshafi and other SLA/AW commanders, October 2020

Translated from Arabic

Loyal masses of the Sudanese people, especially the honorable masses of the Sudan Liberation Army Movement, we have been fighting in the front ranks of the movement led by comrade Abdul Wahid Mohamed Ahmed al-Nur, because of injustice and the marginalized regions for eighteen decades in order to recover the rights of the Sudanese people, but the situation is without that, because the leadership of the movement has become a source of security confusion for the citizens inside the liberated lands, and it also started to create regional conflicts from time to time, and therefore we, as leaders in the SLA in Jebel Marra, mentioned below:

- 1- Mubarak Abdel Shakour (Walduk), commander of the movement's operations room.
- 2- Zanoun Abdulshafi Adam Arbab, commander of the Sultan Terab Brigade.
- 3- Suleiman Yaqoub Terab, commander of intelligence for Sultan Terab Brigade.
- 4- Al-Sadiq Rokero, Leader of Humanitarian Affairs in the Movement.
- 5- Awad Amfengkur, leader of the administration in the movement.
- 6- Muslim Abdulshafi Adam Arbab, commander of the operations room of Sultan Terab Brigade.
- 7- Adam Ahmad Hussein (Jelly), commander of the Abu al-Khairat Brigade
- 8- Yassin Abdullatif (Groko), commander of the Lora Brigade.
- 9- Musa Abd al-Shafa (Kiruna), commander of the third battalion of Karam al-Din Brigade.
- 10- Abd al-Wahhab Abdullah Bakr, commander of the administration of Sultan Terab Brigade.
- 11- Muhammad Daku, commander of the operations room, of Abu al-Khairat (b) Brigade.
- 12- Ibrahim Issa Mnjula, second commander of Sultan Terab Brigade.
- 13- Hammad Ismail Jaral al-Nabi, chief of police for Sultan Terab Brigade.
- 14- Salih (Nirim), commander of Abu al-Khairat Brigade (b).
- 15- Adam Habib, second commander of Karam al-Din Brigade.

And others from the leaders, the army, the civil and civil administrations, the Women and Youth Union, we announce our split from the Abdul Wahid movement for the following reasons: -

- 1- Racial bias and the practice of regionalism within the movement in the military and political leadership.
- 2- The elimination of highly qualified leaders, including Maulana Osman Alzain, Hassan Khair, Faisal Konyo, Kemd Araw, and other leaders.
- 3- The arbitrary arrests, torture and excessive violence on the detainees.
- 4- Imposing exorbitant taxes to citizens (collection).
- 5- Arbitrary separation of comrades in foreign offices.
- 6- The deliberate and brutal assassination of citizens.
- 7 Deprivation of citizens from the harvest of their farms in the areas of Dulow and its environs, and their displacement in their villages.
- 8 The movement's leader uses his relatives only to manage the movement.
- 9 His narrow analysis of the field differences and his standing with some leaders, such as Gaddura and overcoming others or leaving the project.
- 10 Freezing foreign support and diverting it to his own interest, along with developing curricula that call for sectarianism and hatred.

Therefore, we assure you, the masses of the movement, that we are not affiliated with any movement or political system that the Sudanese Revolutionary Front has so far included.

Our Sudanese people and the masses of the steadfast, outgoing movement, we call through you all international, regional and local organizations to address the affected citizens who have fled to the following areas: -

Jawa, Deribat, Sony, Rokero, Thura and other areas.

_We also call on human rights organizations and the entire international community and people of conscience to conduct a transparent and urgent investigation about the villages that were burned in Bucket

20-17657 51/68

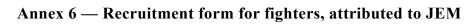
and its environs by the elements of the leader Gaddura and the violations of human rights, looting, rape, and the forced displacement of defenseless citizens.

Glory and eternity to our martyrs

And urgent healing for the wounded and injured

And freedom for the detainees.

Notification of defected leadership





20-17657 53/68

Annex 7 — Founding statement of Abdallah Banda's movement, 1 March 2020

Translated from Arabic
Assembly of the Justice and Equality Movement forces
Transitional Military Council
Communiqué No. 1

Given the historic responsibility we bear at this critical juncture in the history of the Sudan in general, and Darfur in particular, and deeply inspired by the struggles of our proud people, who have risen in revolt and shown the way to other peoples;

In view of the way in which the armed movements in Darfur broke apart and splintered owing to the narrow and selfish ambitions of certain parts of the political leadership of those movements, and of the ensuing prolonged suffering that has afflicted people in the refugee and displaced persons camps;

Firmly convinced that the only way to achieve a real, comprehensive and lasting peace throughout the land, thereby putting an end to the long years of suffering that has afflicted our people in Darfur and fully restoring the rights of which they had been deprived, is to transcend petty considerations and rise above narrow tribal and clan thinking, to reject division and fragmentation and to wholeheartedly embrace total unity, on the premise that in unity there is strength, and in division weakness;

And motivated by all those noble notions, we, the historical founding military leaders of the Sudanese Justice and Equality Movement army and those gathered today under the banner of this Assembly of the Movement's forces, have proposed a number of serious and sincere initiatives and appeals, both via social media and directly, urging the leaders of the Justice and Equality Movement and other movements to launch and adopt an initiative for internal reconciliation in order to address all the administrative mistakes that led to division and fragmentation, by bringing together all the factions and military groups that were arbitrarily excluded from the Movement. That would be followed by the adoption of a plan for genuine unity with all the other movements under a united political and military leadership, which would send a single negotiating delegation representing the whole spectrum of revolutionary groups in Darfur to enter into serious talks with the transitional Government so as to achieve a real, comprehensive and lasting peace. Such a peace must meet the desires and aspirations of all the people of this large region, with their various ethnic and regional identities, without any differential treatment or partial settlements. The question of Darfur, we believe, is one that affects all its people as a whole; their rights are therefore utterly indivisible. Moreover, we the fighters, whether members of the many armed factions and groups that split from the Justice and Equality Movement or of other movements, who have borne the brunt of the pain to achieve what we have, are in full agreement in practical terms. All of the conflicts, discord and dissent that led to splits and which, in some cases, resulted in internecine warfare, were the doing of political leaders of those movements, some driven by narrow personal ambitions and grudges and others by family, tribal or clan interests, none of which bore the slightest relationship with the concerns and desires of the people of Darfur.

Our appeals to close ranks, repeated over a period of some six months, were met with nothing but a stubborn intransigence on the part of the political leadership as it rushed headlong to Juba to sign a quick political agreement at any price so as to join the transitional Government on a quid pro quo basis before the expiry of the Government's mandate. It did so without the slightest regard for the interests or aspirations of the fighters on the ground or for the rest of Darfur society, the people who have the most at stake.

As a result, we, the Assembly of the Sudanese Justice and Equality Movement forces, do hereby declare the following:

- 1. A transitional military council has been formed, made up of senior officers who at one time or another have served as Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Sudanese Justice and Equality Movement, commanders who have led military operations and division and brigade commanders who by their efforts and heroism have made outstanding contributions to the military accomplishments of the Movement.
- 2. Lieutenant General Abdallah Banda Abakar Nurayn has been appointed as head of the transitional military council.
- 3. This Assembly is in no way to be seen as a new movement or a newly founded organization. Rather, it serves to put our house in order and reorganize the ranks for fighters who at various

times have adopted stances with regard to how the Movement was run, in particular the army, which has been unjustly shunted aside by the political leadership of the Movement.

- 4. The motto of the Assembly is total integration and unity, and nothing but unity, of all the armed movements in Darfur. The Assembly shall embody and be at the heart of this great emerging unity, which, God willing, shall surely prosper.
- 5. The Assembly fully supports the transitional Government, and its Sovereign Council and Council of Ministers, in carrying out its worthy tasks in the transition period: achieving comprehensive peace throughout the Sudan, reviving the national economy and lifting it from its present state of decay, and bringing the country back into the fold of the family of nations by having its name erased from the blacklist of States that sponsor terrorism.
- 6. The Assembly acknowledges the major role played by the Forces for Freedom and Change and the Sudanese Professionals Association in leading the popular revolution. The Council also expresses its great appreciation to the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Rapid Support Forces for siding with the people, thereby sparing the country from sliding into the downward spiral of violence and civil war that had been planned by some leading figures of the now defunct regime.
- 7. The Assembly supports the decision to bring those accused of committing crimes in Darfur before the International Criminal Court to be punished in accordance with justice.
- 8. The Assembly appreciates the role played by the international community and neighbouring countries in the region, in particular Chad, which has shouldered the burden of sheltering, protecting and providing security for some half a million refugees from the Darfur region. The Council also appreciates the efforts of South Sudan in sponsoring the peace negotiations that are taking place today between the movements and the transitional Government in Juba.
- 9. The Assembly demands the release of members of the armed movements who are still in prison and that clear and credible explanations regarding the fate of those who are missing be given as soon as possible.

Long live the Sudanese people's struggle! Eternal glory to the righteous martyrs of the revolution! Assembly of the Justice and Equality Movement forces

The Transitional Military Council

Issued on 1 March 2020

cc:

- 1. Sovereign Council
- 2. Council of Ministers
- 3. Sudanese Revolutionary Front
- 4. Forces for Freedom and Change
- 5. Sudanese Professionals Association
- 6. Head of the Sudanese negotiating delegation in Juba
- 7. National Security Council
- 8. African Union
- 9. European Union
- 10. League of Arab States
- 11. Chad
- 12. South Sudan
- 13. Oatar
- 14. United Arab Emirates
- 15. Egypt

20-17657

16. Ethiopia

Military commanders who are signatories of the communiqué

- 1. Lieutenant General Abdallah Banda Abakar Nurayn
- 2. Bishara Adam Ali Dawud
- 3. Jibril Abdulkarim Bari (Tek)
- 4. Ali Adam Timan Abdulrahman (Baga-Sola)
- 5. Al-Sadiq Hashim Hamid Deby
- 6. Nurayn Ali Sharif Mako
- 7. Muhammad Dud Hur Bakhit
- 8. Abdulaziz Muhammad Darqi Kursi (Sando)

- 9. Jiddu Ahmad Adam Jarbu
- 10. Uthman Mahmud Abdulrahman
- 11. Mansur Sabun Kharif (Carlos)
- 12. Ibrahim Hashim Bashir Ali (Qarsil)
- 13. Abduljalil al-Tum Abkar
- 14. Anwar Adam Mur
- 15. Abdulmajid Hashim Ano
- 16. Amr Haqar Jaqru
- 17. Muhammad Zakariya Dawa
- 18. Muhammad Sadiq Nur (Mita)
- 19. Majdi Muslim al-Shami
- 20. Yusuf Labs Hadi (Al-Kitab al-Akhdar)
- 21. Abdulrahman Ishaq Dawud Maquri
- 22. Tahir Bashir Tuti
- 23. Harun Ali Sharif Mako (Abu Taki)
- 24. Salim Sulayman Muhammad Daqish (Al-Sha'b)
- 25. Jamal Ahmad Mays (Rifa)
- 26. Ibrahim Aro Ithnayn
- 27. Malik Zakariya Abkar Hasan
- 28. Sadiq Adam Uthman
- 29. Isma'il Yahya Adam (Kinka)
- 30. Isa Bashir Nasr Banko
- 31. Tahir Hasan Jayad Qarn
- 32. Ibrahim Ali Ithnayn
- 33. Uthman Ali Shaybo
- 34. Ali Hamdan Ali
- 35. Isa Aru Ithnayn
- 36. Hasan Ibrahim Amir
- 37. Abdulmajid Sulayman Adam Atim
- 38. Al-Sadiq Zakariya Assu (Al-Fil)
- 39. Ahmad Nur Salih
- 40. Hasan Abdullah Haram
- 41. Abdulmajid Hasan Adam (Dababah)
- 42. Bisharah Adam Bari
- 43. Abdulkarim Bisharah Taqal
- 44. Bisharah Adam Hiran Mayo
- 45. Harun Jabir Ahmad
- 46. Bashir al-Nur Hashim (Dunya)
- 47. Abdulrahman Bakhit Ibrahim
- 48. Isma'il Hamid Muhammad
- 49. Muhammad Isma'il Qirda
- 50. Sulayman Abkar Muhammad Isma'il
- 51. Mubarak Idris Kurdah
- 52. Nasr Yusuf Baja Hun
- 53. Bisharah Sabir
- 54. Al-Sadiq Abdulqadir Husayn
- 55. Sadam Husayn Ishaq
- 56. Al-Khamayni Ibrahim Rajab
- 57. Nur al-Din Isa Husayn (Manqalah)
- 58. Husayn Adam Ibrahim
- 59. Abdulkarim Yusuf Halu (Tran)
- 60. Muhammad Ali Muhammad Nur
- 61. Ibrahim Ahmad Ibrahim
- 62. Ahmed Abdallah Adam Haqar
- 63. Abkar Ibrahim Matar
- 64. Muhammad Nur Adam Ayd
- 65. Mustafa Abdullah Bandah

- 66. Nur Abdullah Bandah
- 67. Wad al-Amin Babikir Mahmud
- 68. Khalifah Khalfullah
- 69. Haliki Abdullah Bandah
- 70. Ahmad Jar Nambuba
- 71. Nasr al-Din Ishaq Khayr
- 72. Adam Arjah Fadl
- 73. Al-Sadiq Adam Barko
- 74. Abdullah Muhammad Khatir
- 75. Hamid Salim Haryo
- 76. Al-Nur Abdullah Muhammad
- 77. Bakhit Muhammadayn Amr
- 78. Jawayn Muhammad Ahmad
- 79. Al-Sadiq Hashim Hamid
- 80. Adam Husayn Mustafa
- 81. Adam Abdulrahim
- 82. Yahi Ahmad Abdullah
- 83. Isma'il Muhammad Abdulkarim
- 84. Ali Abdulrahman al-Tum
- 85. Abdulaziz Ibrahim Ahim Tum
- 86. Amar Hasan Wadi
- 87. Abdulkarim Muhammad Amr
- 88. Muhammad Bakhit Harun
- 89. Ibrahim Aro Itnayn
- 90. Radwan Adam Ibrahim

Issued on Sunday, 1 March 2020

20-17657 57/68

Annex 8 — Transcript of the video of a SLA/AW meeting in Libya, highlighting the cooperation with the LNA's 128 Battalion

Translated from Arabic

When the people will to live,

Destiny must surely respond.

Oppression shall then vanish.

Fetters are certain to break.

Operations Commander of SLA, Axis North, Colonel Muhammad Salih!

Brothers officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers!

Brothers dear guests!

And greetings to you. And we are celebrating the graduation of the twelfth batch of the soldiers in the establishment of the SLA in the Libyan lands.

And allow me to greet through you the leader and founder of SLA al-ustadh Abdul Wahid Nur and his deputy Abdallah Harran.

And allow me to express through you sincere greetings to the Commander-in-Chief of the SLA forces Abdulgadir Gaddura.

Special greetings to the head of the operational command-in-chief Axis North Comrade Yusif Ahmad Yusif. Sincere greetings to the Libyan participants, in particular to the 128th Battalion.

And we greet our comrades and colleagues in the fight in the transition, from the Transitional Council and its gatherings which are participating in this celebration.

Dear brothers!

We are happy today to celebrate the graduation of the twelfth batch of the soldiers of SLA under the command of doctor, founder and inspirer of revolution Abdul Wahid Nur and his loyal comrades.

Annex 9 — Alleged RSF internal document on presence in Libya



20-17657 **59/68**

Annex 10 — Sit-ins in Darfur

The longest (18 days) and most visible sit-in took place in Nertiti, Central Darfur. This sit-in ended peacefully on 15 July 2020 after talks with a GoS delegation. In Fata Borno, also in North Darfur (Kutum locality), the sit-in led to a protest and attack at the state government delegation and the police station in Kutum on 12 July, followed by a militia attack at the sit-in (see See Section VI). On 14 July, the North Darfur Wali issued the decree No. 84 (2020), ordering an immediate evacuation of the "aggressors" from the farming lands, prohibition of wearing the traditional turban (kadamul), confiscation of motorcycles and weapons, and arrest of the suspects. By the time of reporting, sit-ins continued in other locations, such as Kalma (South Darfur). Photos below, from local sources and social networks, illustrate the protests and their demands.

Photo: Nertiti sit-in demands, version in pictures



Photo: Nertiti sit-in, one of the demands is to ban the traditional "kadamul" turbans, used for banditry and attacks at the farmers



¹ For the text of the Decree, see: والي شمال دارفور يصدر قرارا بحفظ الأمن بوحدة فتابرنو الادارية. 14 July 2020. https://suna-sd.net/ar/single?id=685110.

Photo: Nertiti sit-in demands, English translation



Photo: Al-Neem IDP camp sit-in, Ed Daein locality, East Darfur



Photo: Kabkabiya sit-in, North Darfur



20-17657 61/68

Photo: Fata Borno, North Darfur; a demand to protect the farms



Photo: The beginning of the sit-in in Gereida, 25 July 2020



Annex 11 — El Geneina attack (29-31 December 2019)

On 29 December 2019 and following days, the most serious attack on civilians in recent years in Darfur took place in and around El Geneina, which had experienced escalating tensions between Masalit, traditional owners of the land in the area who had been massively displaced to IDP camps, and local Arab communities, who have been forcefully occupying this land. In February 2020, the Panel interviewed victims, injured, relatives of victims, tribal leaders, both in El Geneina in Khartoum, in order to get a clear picture of events and identify the perpetrators.

After a Masalit killed an Arab in a personal dispute, some RSF personnel and local armed Arabs launched a violent attack on the Krinding I, Krinding II and Sultan House IDP camps in El Geneina. In the attack, which lasted three days, at least 90 civilians were killed. On 31 December, armed Arabs then attacked about 40 villages mostly inhabited by Masalit in El Geneina surroundings, killing at least 12 more people. In the IDPs camps, as well as in the villages, assailants shot indiscriminately, systematically looted properties, and engaged in large-scale sexual violence, including gang rapes. According to several eyewitnesses, RSF local commander Musa Mbello was leading the attack on Krinding camps and was physically present on the scene.

20-17657 63/68

Annex 12 — Intercommunal tensions: Selected statements and declarations by the communities

9 May 2020. The Sons of Fallata Gathering. Statement No. 1²

The statement refers to the events which took place "between our people, the Fallata, and the Mahariya of the omda Abu Noba, Awlad mansour, Awlad Ga'id, Awlad Matar and Hamdaniya" in Tulus locality since 5 May 2020.

The conflict started in Mariya north west of Tulus, when the Fulani stopped some criminals with looted property, disarmed them and handed them over tio their families. The subsequent dispute led to shooting, which resuted in the death of four Fallata and seven Rizeigat. Next morning a massive attack took place in many places. The attackers used four by four armed vehicles which are ownly owned by state agencies in Darfur and primarily by the RSF.

The statement refers to dozens killed "in an asymmetric and repeated fighting imposed on them in all directions and areas". It also names the Omda Abu Noba, an uncle of Hemetti, as the leader of the attackers and accuses the Govvernor of South Darfur of false reports to Khartoum and unilateral curfew in the areas known as Dar al-Fallata.

24 July 2020. Rizeigat-Fulani clashes, a Fulani source of the Panel (from Nyala, translated from Arabic).

The reason of the attack is the desire to capture more land and to also make the Fulani area poorer, this is planned by the Arabs, they have a big plan to capture all the area from Dar Missiriya (Kordofan) to Um Dafok in South Darfur, they consider this area to belong to them, so they want to occupy the Fulani lands, and they consider the people there to be farmers and nomads who move around and are not inhabitants of the area, so they see them as a threat and they want to make them poor and hungry and deport them from the area.

We think the attack started on 5 May or 6 May, headed by the omda Moustafa Abu Noba from Rizeigat tribe. We heard that the RSF participated.

Usually they participate by coming first to collect weapons and disarm people and then the attack comes later and people have nothing to defend themselves with.

The second attack came after the media started talking about removing Fallata from this area, so they wanted to remove the Fallata people and gather them in one place. After the attack the Sudanese government did not do anything which shows that this is a large scale operation and that the Arab factor here is clear, and we believe the Rizeigat are the ones responsible for all this.

First attack

It started in Um Dawa Al Ban (Um Dawban), Safiya, Um Safarik, Abu Jabarh, Al Ghoura, Al Twael, spread to all Fallata villages, most of the pastoral land of the Fallata.

They believe that Abu Noba is the one responsible for organizing this.

About the RSF that participated, we believe that they recive direct orders from above.

The RRF sector of South Darfur is headed by Abul Rahma Juma, the general that heads RSF in that part of Darfur, and he belongs to the Mahariya tribe. We believe that RSF were the ones that organized this attack.

The second attack

The areas where it happened Um Dafok, Um Jalol, Salamat.

The first strike was on Um Dafouk.

It is said that the attack was also done by Kushayb forces and their vehicles and people. Some of these forces were in the CAR and came to participate because they think it is a chance to steal from the Fallata and become rich and use the weakness of the state. They for example attacked Balakoti area near the borders of the CAR and they stole 40.000 of cattle. Their locations are known to the government, but the government is not doing anything about it. The Rizeigat tribe is behind all this, as we believe.

20 July 2020. Masalit-Arab conflict, a Masalit source of the panel (from El Geneina, translated from Arabic). 06:28 AM: Yes, yesterday evening [19 July], Al-Geneina was more turbulent and there was heavy exchange of fire in the area near the Arab-inhabited area at Jebel El-Geneina and the camp of Abu Zar and south of

² https://www.facebook.com/B3SHOM/posts/2316322378673562/.

Al-Geneina University, the headquarters of the former UNAMID and the Suq al-Jamarik area, where a heavy exchange of fire took place between the Arabs residents of Jebel El-Geneina and some of the Masalit youth. Then, the fire spread to the areas that I mentioned, as a result of the killing and liquidation incidents that took place with some Masalit youth in the previous period in the same area where the exchange of fire took place, as well as in response to what happened in Masteri from the Janjaweed abuse of Masalit and looting that took place there.

El-Geneina's talk today is that the Masalit who do not possess arms now have grenades or explosives that they will use to settle their accounts with the Arab tribes that have been killing them and preventing them from cultivating their lands by force or forcing them to pay amounts for cultivation even though these are their lands. The army intervened and contained the situation after more than three hours of terror, especially for the residents of the Abu Zar camp in which the IDPs seemed to infiltrate into the city due to the intensity of the fire.

The army intervened and contained the situation, the situation is difficult and explosive again

What is new in the situation is that the Masalit youth own the grenades in large quantities and promote this as a new method that enables them to deter the Janjawid.

10:47 AM: Now in Al-Jeneina, all roads are closed with stones and vehicles are not allowed to pass, otherwise they will be broken with stones. Masses of Masalit are heading to the graves to bury their dead. The situation is very tense, and the markets are closed.

10:58 AM: There is another account of the causes of the outbreak of the problem, after the Arabs killed a Masalit person returning from the Mouley area and took his horse, and in the meantime, a passer-by, a Masalit from the army, contacted his family and called them to take revenge from the Arabs. Then a group of armed Masalit gathered and started hitting Arab children who were near Jabal Al-Sattan in Al-Geneina, and then the matter developed. Now the Central Reserve Forces are protecting the IDP camps. The situation is explosive, and everyone is expecting the Masalit response after returning from the cemetery.

11:39 AM: There is a complete absence of the Governor, at least he used to give a press conference explaining the events, and Radio El-Geneina city station is suspended while the citizens need news explaining the events and the precautions required in this circumstance. Now there is a sound of fire towards the cemetery, where the dead were buried. Only Sudan TV briefly indicated what happened, three deaths were announced by the government. In general, there is a complete absence of the central and state media 0:08 PM: Radio Omdurman spoke with the governor, in which he confirmed the killing of three people and stated that the situation is now under control

4:06 PM: The Governor proclaims an indefinite curfew in El Geneina and Beida (locality).

4:09 PM (reposted): Report on the events in El-Geneina, Hay El-Jebel, from Kamal al-Zain, activist: On 7/19/2020 there was a policeman called Bashir Sharif from the Civil Defense Police coming from his farm, and when he arrived near Geneina Nafar, he found there was a gathering there, and there were young men who were on their way to the gathering place and found Bashir Sharif on the way carrying a bag in his hand. Then he was ordered to hand over his bag to the young men who were going to the gathering place, and when he refused to hand them the bag, one of them took out a tabanja (8 mm revolver) and shot him in the legs. The policeman fell to the ground and was then brought to Al-Geneina Hospital with a small car. It is said that those who shot Bashir called their relatives, they told them that we are trapped, then they started firing all over the neighbourhood, then armed militias gathered, killing and stealing in the houses and terrorizing citizens. So far three have been killed and five wounded, maybe there are wounded or dead that I did not recognize. And now there are sounds of live bullets, as well as the attack on the Al-Ghaba camp, west of Al-Madaris neighbourhood.

The martyrs:

1 / Al-Nur Muhammad

2 / Muhammad Adam

3 / Abkar Juma

The wounded

1 / Adam Musa al-Daw

2 / Adam Yaqub

3 / Bashir Sharif

4 / Abu Shanab

5 / Yusuf Adam Bakhit

07.00 PM, 25 July 2020: Yes, an agreement has been reached between the Arab and Masalit leaders, and now there is relative calm where individual cases are still prevalent, where one of the Masalit and another

20-17657 65/68

Arabs were killed yesterday [24 July] near Krinding. It is possible to move inside the city, but with caution, there are forces from the army and the Central Reserve that do this, but not well and safely.

24 July 2020. Higher Coordination of the Nomads. Statement No. 15³

This statement accuses the Masalit militia of "killing of an entire family while they were sleeping, and the outbreak of the events of Al-Geneina, with the militia attacking young men who were on their leisure trip in the valley, and this attack was followed by another attack from the militias at the nomads in the Jebel neighborhood".

The statement includes the following demands:

- 1 / Arresting the perpetrators and saboteurs who seek to destabilize the security and stability of this state (West Darfur).
- 2 / Imposing state prestige in all the different localities of the state and upholding the rule of law.
- 3 / The government of West Darfur State must impose its prestige and protect markets and roads to avoid any instability that may occur.
- 4 / We hold the state government fully responsible for what is going on in this state.
- 5 / We hold all security services responsible for the safety and security of our people, inside and outside, in their pastures and on their tracks.

24 July 2020. General Union of the Sons of Masalit. Statement about the Gereida massacre.⁴

This statetement refers to "a new and repeated violation by the Janjawid against our defenseless people in various areas" and condemns "the complete absence of the honest media that explains to the public opinion about what exactly happens to citizens in the areas of the Sudanese margins".

According to the statement, on Thursday afternoon the Janjawid brutally assaulted the village of Abdos, which is located about 10 km from the city of Gereida in the state of South Darfur,. The attackers were armed militias riding camels and horses, and they "killed large numbers of defenseless citizens and burned the village and looted livestock and other property which have not yet been fully counted". The local authorities were fully aware of the attack,but "did not interfere, but rather withdrew the forces present in the village to protect the area for unknown reasons".

The massacre "left dozens of martyrs, missing and wounded, currently receiving treatment in Gereida Hospital, which lacks the most basic elements of treatment".

The General Union of the Sons of Masalit condemned the attack and warned of "the eruption of an all-out war in Darfur as a result of the absence of the state in the performance of its national duty towards its people, and we fear that people will consider engaging in armed confrontations with the aim of defense".

25 July 2020. The Fallata Youth Gathering. An important explanatory statement about the events of (Abudos) in Tulus locality (from a Fulani source)

This statement informs the citizens about "the unfortunate events that took place in the Abudos area, in which died some dear ones from our people in the Gereida area". According to the statement, "a group of IDP camp residents in Gereida launched a few days ago attacks on the people of the Abudos area of Tulus locality, on the pretext that they are owners of farms in the area and provoked the citizens of that area. The problem was further complicated by the presence of an organization that distributed tents and supplies to the IDPs, and this tempted many of the displaced to go to the region for the sake of the aforementioned organization".

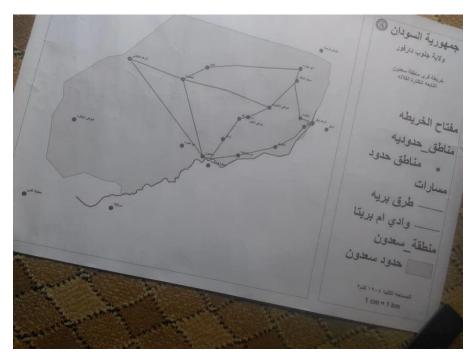
The statement refers to a letter of 5 May 1928 by colonial authorities regarding the borders of the Fur and Fallata lands, stressing that the area of incident is under the responsibility of the Fallata administration and not under that of the Gereida authorities. It argues that it were Yaqub Muhammad Yaqub, the Malik of Gereida, and the Omda Ibrahim Nimr, who "pushed the simple people of the camps in Gereida to go to the Abudos area without coordination with the official agencies and the Fallata administration in the area".

^{3 24} July 2020. بيان رقم 15. التنسيقية العليا لأبناء الرحل https://www.facebook.com/1114 بيان رقم 15. التنسيقية العليا لأبناء الرحل 17597147891/?pageid=111417597147891&ftentidentifier=160630945559889&padding=0.

^{4 24} July 2020. . . الإتحاد العام لأبناء المساليت يحذر من إندلاع حرب شاملة بدارفور. . . http://sudandara.com/2020/07/24/

The statement stresses the historical religion and neighbourhood relationship between the Fallata and the Masalit and indicates that "there are those who strive to destroy this relationship and replace it with hatred".

Photo: Map of the Sa'adun zone, South Darfur, marked as "under the Fallata Nazirate" (from a Fulani source)



Statement from Civil Society and Human Rights Activists on the attack on Masteri town, Beida, West Darfur on 25 July 2020 (English translation, from a Masalit source).

Masteri town is located West South of Geneina town the capital of West Darfur and is about 49 KMs away from Geneina. It's part of Beida locality. It hosts over 100,000 populations of which 70% is IDPs. Masteri admin unit hosts many tribes including Massalit (majority), Dago, Bargo, ...etc

As it happens last week (18 July 2020) today the 25 July 2020 early morning around 6:30am armed Arab men estimated at over 1,000 on vehicles, motor bikes, horses, camels and on foot wearing military uniforms and civilian uniforms attacked Masteri area from the north and east sites. Despite the military compound is located in the northern part of Masteri and the police post/station located in the eastern part of Masteri both were ordered about not to open fire or fight back the attackers and that the attackers had to attack the police post in which 7 police men were killed. After this the perpetrators spread over the town and started killing, burning and looting belonging of the community across the town. This event lasted for almost 7 hours and sadly the state government sent joined forces/troops late evening after the attackers did whatever they wanted and withdrew themselves from the area. This attack resulted in many deaths and till this moment they collected 57 remains and still finding more and many injuries of which so far 30 admitted to be critical injuries. They are still counting the houses that got burned and also estimating the loses.

Currently people are living in a fear as they still expect that these attackers may come back and do whatever they can since movement is silent and not reacting. As civil society members and human right activists we urge the UN General Assembly and the Security Council to take strong step towards protecting civilians so that they don't take refugee to another country or displace to other areas within the country.

We also urge UN to quickly rescue those whom their houses burned, belonging taken especially it's rainy season now the season of many diseases. We also urge the government of Sudan to hold those committed the crime accountable and ensure that such incident no longer take place.

20-17657 67/68

Below is the incident that took place in Masteri on 18 July 2020

In the afternoon of 18 July 2020, armed Arab men wearing both civilian clothes and military uniforms on cars, horses, camels attacked Masteri town. The attack dispersed the sit-in that which at that point had lasted over 10 days. 18 people were injured including 3 women and 2 children (a girl of 5 and a boy 3 years old) over 100 houses got burned, animals and other belonging got looted (not yet counted). While the shooting and burning was ongoing, it rained and this rain rescued the town from massive burning.

Civil Society and Human Rights Activists

West Darfur State, Sudan

Photo: 26 July 2020. Refugees leaving Masteri because of the attacks (Source: Twitter)

