

Sudan

Ethnicity in Sudan

Group selection

The following groups are coded in Sudan: **Azande, Bari, Beja, Dinka, Fur, Latoka, Nuba, Nuer, Other Arab groups, Other Northern groups, Other Southern groups, Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab), Shilluk, Masalit, Zaghawa, Rashaida.**

The numbers regarding population sizes are uncertain. For this survey, estimates from the Soviet Atlas Narodov Mira, Fearon's list and other sources were combined. There seems to be a consensus that the Arabs make up 40% of the population, and that 30% live in the South. The largest and most relevant groups are listed as separate entities. The rest are part of composite groups (Other) (⁴⁹²³, ⁴⁹²⁴ and ⁴⁹²⁵). The same group sizes for almost the entire survey period are used because the shares are probably similar in every period. However, exact numbers are hard to find, and there was no information about the individual shares of Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla.

⁴⁹²³ [Fearon, 2003]

⁴⁹²⁴ [Nations Encyclopedia, 2018]

⁴⁹²⁵ [World Atlas, 2018]

Power relations

1956-1971

Sudan became independent in 1956, and the first relevant period spans from 1956-1971. The impression for this early period is that all of Sudan is dominated by the three Arab groups that make up 15% of the population; the **Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla** (⁴⁹²⁶, 2; ⁴⁹²⁷, 63-64). The reality is more complicated, but the categories and the definition of political power cover up this complexity. Sudan has always had ministers, generals, and governors from ethnic groups other than Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla. However, these have generally held the less critical positions in the cabinet, and quite a few of them had the position at the mercy of the dominating groups. Even though individuals held positions, it would be wrong to say that these ethnic groups had real political power (⁴⁹²⁸, 123-124).

⁴⁹²⁶ [Assal and Ali, 2007]

⁴⁹²⁷ [Khogali, 1991]

⁴⁹²⁸ [Prunier, 2010]

1972-1982

In 1972, the Addis Ababa peace agreement established a regional government for Southern Sudan. The focus on power at the national level hides complexity at the sub-state level. Many discuss the al-

leged Dinka dominance of the regional government in the South, but in this survey, all groups (**Azande, Bari, Dinka, Latoka, Nuer and Shilluk**) that participated in this regional government are coded as having “regional autonomy”, while the power status remains the same. This second period and with it the regional autonomy ends, when the regional government is dissolved in 1983 (⁴⁹²⁹, ⁴⁹³⁰, 5 and ⁴⁹³¹, 133-137).

1983-2002

Between 1983-2002 the power relations remained the same as in the previous periods. However, as indicated above, the regional autonomy for the **Azande, Bari, Dinka, Latoka, Nuer and Shilluk** ended.

2003-2005

Discussion and tensions regarding regional autonomy remained, however, and were a concern not only for the southern region of Sudan. In Darfur, previous tensions escalated 2003 in a rebellion led by the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). The rebellion mostly consisted of people from the **Fur, Masalit** and **Zaghawa** ethnic groups who felt marginalized not only socio-economically, but also neglected in peace negotiations regarding power-sharing and autonomy (⁴⁹³², ⁴⁹³³, 181-184). After the start of the rebellion, members of these groups were targeted by governmental violence. Hence, they are coded as being discriminated during these years (⁴⁹³⁴). The Presidential Advisor position given to Minni Minawi (a Zaghawa rebel leader) in the Darfur Peace Agreement was just a token position. Hence, the Zaghawa group is not coded as a junior partner to the government (⁴⁹³⁵, 26-27).

2006-2011

In 2005 a new peace agreement changed the power distribution. This time the change is related to the region in South Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM). The SPLM is thereby not to be confused with the above mentioned SLM/A. SPLM is a separate political party in South Sudan and the political faction of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) initially, a guerrilla army founded in 1983 against the government of Sudan (⁴⁹³⁶, ⁴⁹³⁷, 4).

On January 5th 2005, the government of Sudan and the SPLM/A signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which gives the post of first vice president (FVP) to SPLM/A. When the agreement was signed, this position was held by Dr. John Garang (Dinka), who was sworn in as FVP on 9 July. After his death on the 30th of July 2005, Salva Kiir (Dinka) received the post. Also, SPLM/A was given 28 percent of the seats in the National Government (⁴⁹³⁸, 37-38).

⁴⁹²⁹ [Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018a]

⁴⁹³⁰ [Branch and Mampilly, 2005]

⁴⁹³¹ [Collins, 2008]

⁴⁹³² [Global Security, 2018]

⁴⁹³³ [Roessler, 2016]

⁴⁹³⁴ [U.S. State Department of State, 2005]

⁴⁹³⁵ [Brosché, 2008]

⁴⁹³⁶ [Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018a]

⁴⁹³⁷ [Brosché, 2008]

⁴⁹³⁸ [Grawert, 2010]

The **Dinka** held thereby most of the top positions in the SPLM/A. Hence they are coded as junior partners in the government.

However, some positions are also held by the **Nuer**. Most importantly, the vice-president in autonomous South Sudan is Riek Machar from the Nuer group. Their influence is not deemed as significant enough though to be coded as a junior partner to the government (⁴⁹³⁹, 289-291; ⁴⁹⁴⁰). Simultaneously, while still being the politically most powerful groups in Sudan, the **Shaygiyya**, **Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)** shift from dominant to senior partner in government due to the power given to the Dinka through the SPLM/A.

Additionally, on 14 May 2006, the Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement (ESPA) was signed between the government of Sudan and the Eastern Front to cease hostilities in Eastern Sudan - another area of conflict. The Eastern Front constitutes two rebel groups: Free Lions, a **Rashaida** based group, and Beja Congress, a group with a **Beja** constituency. However, the ESPA is more an agreement between Sudan and Eritrea and does not give any real influence to Beja or Rashaida. Hence, the groups are still coded as powerless (⁴⁹⁴¹).

⁴⁹³⁹ [Bayeh, 2014]

⁴⁹⁴⁰ [Minority Rights Groups International, 2018]

⁴⁹⁴¹ [Assal and Ali, 2007]

2012-2021

Up until mid-2011, the ethnic power relations did not change much in Sudan. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement was still the dominant legal document that kept the National Congress Party (NCP) and SPLM/A as the two prime political parties. On 9 July 2011, however, with South Sudan gaining independence, the political life in the country changed radically (⁴⁹⁴², 288; ⁴⁹⁴³, 213). The ethnic groups based in South Sudan were no longer relevant in a Sudanese context: the **Azande, Bari, Dinka, Latoka, Nuer, Other Southern groups, Shilluk**. The split of Sudan also decreased the population in Sudan from approximately 38 to 30 million, which changed the relative size of the various groups in Sudan (⁴⁹⁴⁴; ⁴⁹⁴⁵).

⁴⁹⁴² [Bayeh, 2014]

⁴⁹⁴³ [Natsios, 2012]

⁴⁹⁴⁴ [Kushkush, 2011]

⁴⁹⁴⁵ [World Population Review, 2018]

The status of Abyei: The profound change due to South Sudan's secession did not eradicate though the multiple conflicts in Sudan. One area of unsettled dispute is Abyei's fate, a region inhabited primarily by the Ngok Dinka. This ethnic group collaborated with their Dinka compatriots within the SPLM and aimed for independence like the South. The region's affiliation has already been discussed within multiple agreements, among others in the CPA, where the area received a special administrative status. The dispute is further enhanced by the continued violent clashes between the Ngok Dinka and the nomadic Misseriya (Arabs).

While South Sudan supports the Ngok Dinka, Sudan supports the Misseriya, both countries using the dispute to gain influence in the area. Accordingly, an additional referendum scheduled for January 2011 to vote whether Abyei can join South Sudan was not executed over a row on who is allowed to vote; the permanent Ngok Dinka

or also Misseriya nomads. The issue is still not resolved, and South Sudan and Sudan both claim rights for this oil-rich territory. The latter dissolved in May 2011 the local governing body, the Abyei Administration, and the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) entered the area, leading to a continued conflict over Abyei (⁴⁹⁴⁶; ⁴⁹⁴⁷; ⁴⁹⁴⁸).

According to the EPR coding rules, Abyei is located on Sudan's territory, and thus the Ngok Dinka would be coded in Sudan. However, the group is not coded due to its ambiguous status. First, it is not clear whether the Ngok Dinka have political representatives on their own or whether the Ngok Dinka political leaders act actually under the various, changing coalitions in South Sudan. Second, it is also ambiguous which political status they would receive since their aim is not to gain political participation within the national executive arena in Sudan. Instead, their goal is to clarify the question of secession and join South Sudan. Furthermore, the Ngok Dinka can neither be coded as self-exclusionist because, despite their unilateral referendum in 2013 to join South Sudan, they escape the control of the central government in Sudan and South Sudan.

Other regions: With South Sudan seceding, NCP dominated political life, which meant that the **Shaygiyya, Jaaliyyan and Dangala (Arab)** status changed from senior partner to dominant. This group is even more dominating, considering that the major opposition parties - the Umma Party and the Democratic Unionist Party - are dominated by the same ethnic groups.

In Darfur, the war continued throughout the considered period, which means that the **Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa**, the three groups that dominated the rebellion, are still coded as discriminated by the government. The same applies to the **Nuba** in South Kordofan, where together with fighters from the Blue Nile state, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement North (SPLM-North) was created in 2011. This ethnic group sided with the South during the conflict for independence, but the oil-rich area was supposed to stay in the North (⁴⁹⁴⁹). Some of the fighting forces in Darfur formed an alliance with the ones in the Blue Nile and South Kordofan, which was called the Sudanese Revolutionary Front (SRF). Their aim was to topple Bashir's regime (⁴⁹⁵⁰; ⁴⁹⁵¹). The government responded to the SRF attempts by deploying the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF), the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), and the Popular Defense Forces (PDF), the latter two being paramilitary forces (⁴⁹⁵²).

Bashir remained president also in the following years with fighting continuing in Darfur, Blue Nile and South Kordofan. In 2016 Bashir announced a unilateral cessation of hostilities in the Blue Nile and South Kordofan states and agreed to end offensive military action in Darfur (⁴⁹⁵³). However, this did not change the existing power relations, and despite a slight improvement in stability, clashes between the fighting forces continued (⁴⁹⁵⁴).

⁴⁹⁴⁶ [Craze, 2011]

⁴⁹⁴⁷ [Small Arms Survey, 2015]

⁴⁹⁴⁸ [Ottaway and El-Sadany, 2012]

⁴⁹⁴⁹ [Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018b]

⁴⁹⁵⁰ [Al Jazeera, 2011]

⁴⁹⁵¹ [Copnall, 2014]

⁴⁹⁵² [Asylum Research Centre, 2019]

⁴⁹⁵³ [Reliefweb, 2017]

⁴⁹⁵⁴ [U.S. State Department of State, 2019]

Protests and regime change: In December 2018, protests started to stir in Sudan after growing discontent over the country's economic state. Calls for a regime change erupted quickly upon which Bashir declared in February 2019 a state of emergency. Despite the resulting prohibition of public gatherings, strikes, etc., and the government's violent response to stop the protesters, Bashir was eventually removed as president with the military's help on April 11, 2019. The newly established Transitional Military Council (TMC), with Lieutenant General Ahmed Awad Ibn Auf as de facto head of state, started to make plans for a new constitution and dissolving the cabinet. However, Sudanese people demanded the removal of Ibn Auf, a confidant of Bashir, who was replaced by General Abdel al-Fatah Burhan.

The TMC formed a coalition with the leading civilian umbrella group, the Forces for Freedom and Change (FFC). The coalition agreed in July to create a civilian-led transitional government (CLTG). The CLTG is composed of a Sovereign Council, made up of six civilians and five military officers. Also, there are the Council of Ministers headed by the prime minister (Dr. Abdalla Hamdok), and a Legislative Council. The next general elections are planned for 2022, as agreed under the constitutional declaration, signed in August 2019 (⁴⁹⁵⁵; ⁴⁹⁵⁶; ⁴⁹⁵⁷).

The constitutional declaration proposed that the legislative body should be composed amongst others of rebel groups from ethnic minorities in Darfur and the Nuba mountains, aiming for the country's inclusiveness. However, first, it is not clear whether this also means access to executive state power, which is coded in EPR. Second, peace talks between the new Sudanese transitional government and the rebel fighting forces SRF did start. However, the negotiations were difficult and went into deadlocks at different points in time with violence continuing in some regions. Among the contested issues are the number of seats the respective groups will get in the future transitional assembly and their integration into the national army (⁴⁹⁵⁸). Third, the main actors in the transitional government are still of Arab origin.

For example, the current Chairman of the Sovereign Council, Al-Burhan, is one of the founders of the Arab dominated Janjaweed militia (⁴⁹⁵⁹). The deputy is Lieutenant General Mohamed Hamdan Daglo, who is now the commander of the RSF, which is said to be the "reincarnation" of the Janjaweed. He is deemed to have even more de facto power than Al-Burhan (⁴⁹⁶⁰; ⁴⁹⁶¹). Mohamed Hamdan Daglo stems from the Northern Rizayqat Arabs of Darfur. Therefore, one could argue that this should lead to a change in coding, where the Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab) are not the dominant groups anymore (⁴⁹⁶²). However, with continuing inter-communal violence until 2021 and little progress in the political transformation, it seems too early to decide whether the power relations changed significantly. Therefore, the coding remains the same, despite the regime change.

⁴⁹⁵⁵ [Anderson, 2020]

⁴⁹⁵⁶ [Tossell, 2020]

⁴⁹⁵⁷ [U.S. State Department of State, 2019]

⁴⁹⁵⁸ [Creta, 2020]

⁴⁹⁵⁹ [Amin, 2019]

⁴⁹⁶⁰ [BBC, 2019]

⁴⁹⁶¹ [Tossell, 2020]

⁴⁹⁶² [McGregor, 2019]

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Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan

From 1956 until 1971

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab Groups	0.24	POWERLESS
Other Northern Groups	0.16	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	DOMINANT
Dinka	0.1	POWERLESS
Other Southern groups	0.08	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	POWERLESS
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS

From 1972 until 1982

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab Groups	0.24	POWERLESS
Other Northern Groups	0.16	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	DOMINANT
Dinka	0.1	POWERLESS
Other Southern groups	0.08	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	POWERLESS
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS

From 1983 until 2002



Figure 965: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1956-1971.



Figure 966: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1972-1982.



Figure 967: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1983-2002.

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab Groups	0.24	POWERLESS
Other Northern Groups	0.16	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	DOMINANT
Dinka	0.1	POWERLESS
Other Southern groups	0.08	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	POWERLESS
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS

From 2003 until 2005

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab Groups	0.24	POWERLESS
Other Northern Groups	0.16	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	DOMINANT
Dinka	0.1	POWERLESS
Other Southern groups	0.08	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	DISCRIMINATED
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS
Masalit	0.01	DISCRIMINATED
Zaghawa	0.005	DISCRIMINATED

From 2006 until 2011

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab Groups	0.24	POWERLESS
Other Northern Groups	0.16	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	SENIOR PARTNER
Dinka	0.1	JUNIOR PARTNER
Other Southern groups	0.08	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	DISCRIMINATED
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS
Masalit	0.01	DISCRIMINATED
Zaghawa	0.005	DISCRIMINATED
Rashaida	0.002	POWERLESS



Figure 968: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2003-2005.

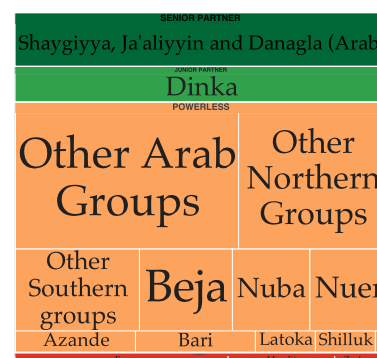


Figure 969: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2006-2011.

From 2012 until 2021

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab Groups	0.32	POWERLESS
Other Northern Groups	0.22	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.19	DOMINANT
Beja	0.09	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.07	DISCRIMINATED
Fur	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Masalit	0.015	DISCRIMINATED
Zaghawa	0.005	DISCRIMINATED
Rashaida	0.003	POWERLESS



Figure 970: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2012-2021.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Sudan

From 1956 until 2002

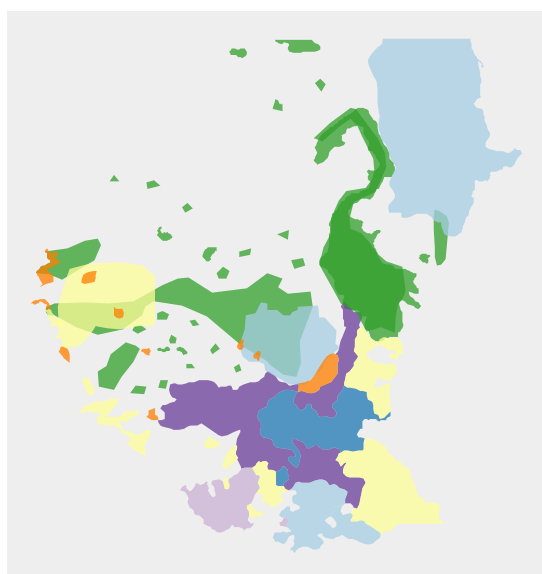


Figure 971: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1956-2002.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Other Arab Groups	356 597	Regionally based
Beja	253 320	Regionally based
Dinka	164 753	Regionally based
Other Southern groups	157 132	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 541	Regionally based
Fur	93 532	Regionally based
Nuba	83 160	Regionally based
Nuer	80 461	Regionally based
Azande	45 744	Regionally based
Bari	45 359	Regionally based
Latoka	15 121	Regionally based
Other Northern Groups	14 547	Regionally based
Shilluk	11 423	Regionally based

Table 354: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1956-2002.

From 2003 until 2005

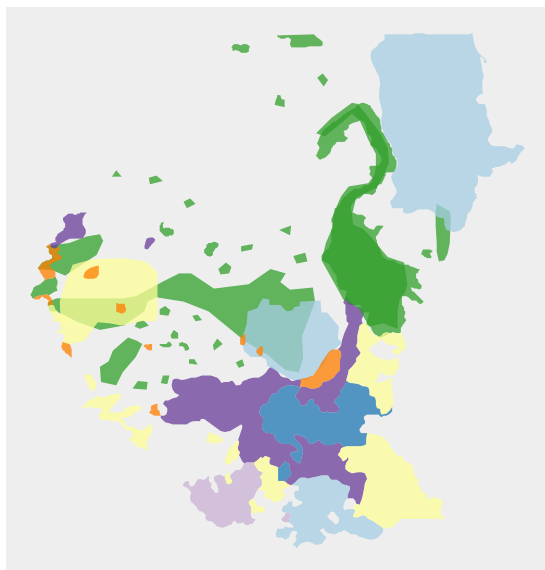


Figure 972: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2003-2005.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Other Arab Groups	356 597	Regionally based
Beja	253 320	Regionally based
Dinka	164 753	Regionally based
Other Southern groups	157 132	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 541	Regionally based
Fur	93 532	Regionally based
Nuba	83 160	Regionally based
Nuer	80 461	Regionally based
Azande	45 744	Regionally based
Bari	45 359	Regionally based
Latoka	15 121	Regionally based
Other Northern Groups	14 547	Regionally based
Shilluk	11 423	Regionally based
Zaghawa	10 293	Regionally based
Masalit	4 773	Regionally based

Table 355: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2003-2005.

From 2006 until 2010

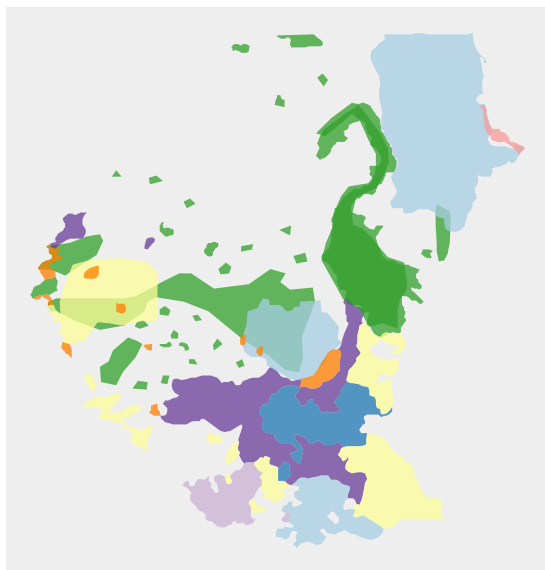


Figure 973: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2006-2010.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Other Arab Groups	356 597	Regionally based
Beja	253 320	Regionally based
Dinka	164 753	Regionally based
Other Southern groups	157 132	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 541	Regionally based
Fur	93 532	Regionally based
Nuba	83 160	Regionally based
Nuer	80 461	Regionally based
Azande	45 744	Regionally based
Bari	45 359	Regionally based
Latoka	15 121	Regionally based
Other Northern Groups	14 547	Regionally based
Shilluk	11 423	Regionally based
Zaghawa	10 293	Regionally based
Rashaida	5 813	Regionally based
Masalit	4 773	Regionally based

Table 356: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2006-2010.

From 2011 until 2011

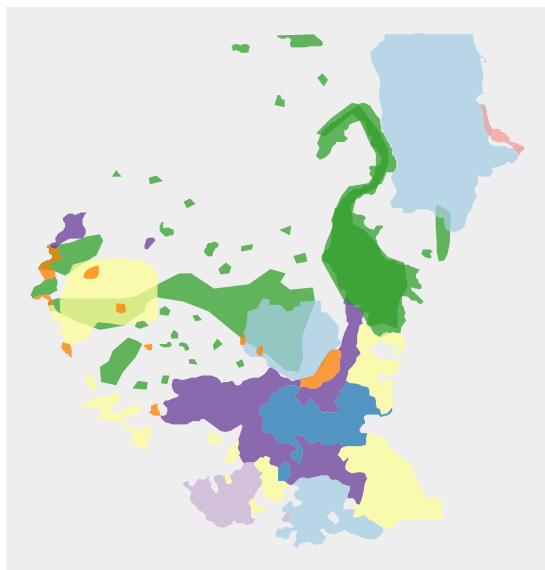


Figure 974: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2011-2011.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Other Arab Groups	356 597	Regionally based
Beja	253 320	Regionally based
Dinka	164 753	Regionally based
Other Southern groups	157 132	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 541	Regionally based
Fur	93 532	Regionally based
Nuba	83 160	Regionally based
Nuer	80 461	Regionally based
Azande	45 744	Regionally based
Bari	45 359	Regionally based
Latoka	15 121	Regionally based
Other Northern Groups	14 547	Regionally based
Shilluk	11 423	Regionally based
Zaghawa	10 293	Regionally based
Rashaida	5 813	Regionally based
Masalit	4 773	Regionally based

Table 357: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2011-2011.

From 2012 until 2021

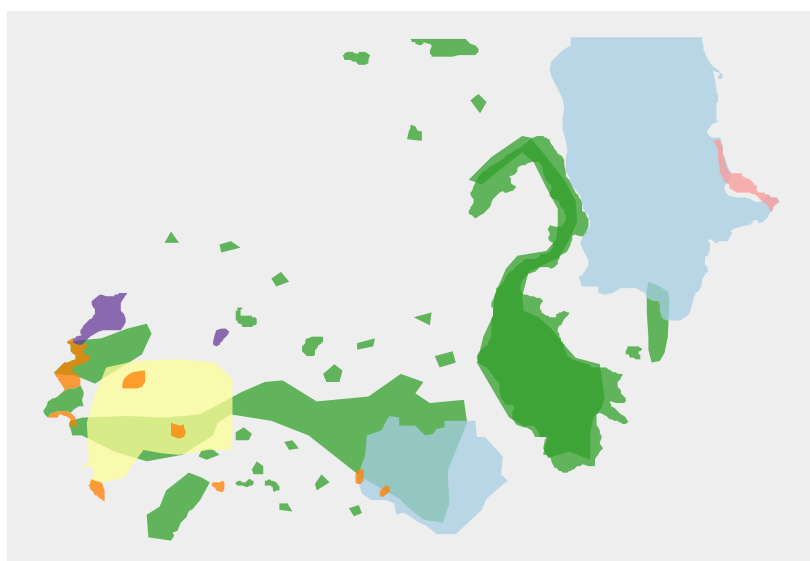


Figure 975: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2012-2021.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Other Arab Groups	354 102	Regionally based
Beja	253 320	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 119	Regionally based
Fur	93 532	Regionally based
Nuba	82 259	Regionally based
Other Northern Groups	13 155	Regionally based
Zaghawa	10 293	Regionally based
Rashaida	5 813	Regionally based
Masalit	4 773	Regionally based

Table 358: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2012-2021.

Conflicts in Sudan

Starting on 1963-12-30

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Other Southern groups	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Latoka	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Dinka	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Bari	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Azande	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes

Starting on 1971-07-21

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Sudan	Sudanese Communist Party		1971-07-21			
Government of Sudan	National Front		1976-07-01			
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Nuer	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Other Southern groups	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Dinka	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Beja	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Nuba	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Shilluk	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	NDA	Nuer	1996-04-19	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A	Fur	2003-04-08	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A	Masalit	2003-04-08	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A	Zaghawa	2003-04-08	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	JEM	Zaghawa	2003-10-03	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A - MM	Zaghawa	2006-01-22	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	NRF	Fur	2006-07-02	No	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	NRF	Zaghawa	2006-07-02	No	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	NRF	Masalit	2006-07-02	No	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLFA	Fur	2007-04-28	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLFA	Masalit	2007-04-28	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLFA	Zaghawa	2007-04-28	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSDM/A		2010-04-29			
Government of Sudan	SSLM/A	Nuer	2011-03-25	No	Yes	
Government of Sudan	SSLM/A	Nuer	2011-03-25	Explicit	Yes	
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A-North	Nuba	2011-06-05	Presumed	Yes	
Government of Sudan	SRF		2011-11-21			
Government of Sudan	SARC		2014-02-27			
Government of Sudan	Darfur Joint Resistance Forces		2014-03-01			

Starting on 2011-04-30

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Sudan	Republic of South Sudan	Shilluk	2011-04-30	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	Republic of South Sudan	Other Southern groups	2011-04-30	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	Republic of South Sudan	Nuer	2011-04-30	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	Republic of South Sudan	Dinka	2011-04-30	Presumed	Yes	Yes

Starting on 2012-03-26

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of South Sudan	Government of Sudan		2012-03-26			