

# **SOUTH SUDAN**

CHILDREN AND SECURITY

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# Table of Contents

Acronyms	0
Overview	3
The Context	4
The Conflict	6
Stakeholders	7
Government forces	8
Opposition forces	8
United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan	9
Lord's Resistance Army	11
Current Situation	11
Crisis growth within South Sudan	11
Central Equatoria State	12
Jonglei State	13
Upper Nile State	13
Unity State	14
Attacks on Civilians	14
Case study: A Long path to recovery	14
Child soldiers	15
Push-and-Pull Factors	15
Duties	16
Recruitment	17
Demobilization and Reintegration	18
National and International Law: Children Protection	19
International human rights law	19
International humanitarian law	20
International Criminal Law	20
International and regional standards related to child soldiers	21
Domestic Law	21
Case study: A Rescued Child Soldier	
Historical Timeline	າາ

## Acronyms

AU African Union

CAR Central African Republic

CoH Cessation of Hostiles

CPA Comprehensive Peace Agreement

DDR Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

DRC Democratic Republic of the Congo

ICC International Criminal Court

IGAD Intergovernmental Authority on Development

ILO International Labour Organization

JEM Justice and Equality Movement

LRA Lord Resistance Army

MSF Médecins Sans Frontières

PoC Protection of Civilians

SPLA Sudan People's Liberation Army

SPLM Sudan People's Liberation Army

SPLM/A- IO Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army in Opposition

SSDM/A South Sudan Democratic Movement/Army-Upper Nile Faction

SSHRC South Sudan Human Rights Commission

SSLA South Sudan Liberation Army

UN United Nations

UNCRC United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNMISS United Nations Mission in South Sudan

UPDF Uganda People's Defence Force

#### Overview

Despite many years of international condemnation, the use and recruitment of child soldiers remains a growing problem around the world. In 2013, alone, it was reported by United Nations (UN) that more than 4,000 child soldier cases were documented and thousands of other children were presumed to have been used and recruited. Recently, the UN Secretary General identified 51 armed groups (three parties from South Sudan) and 16 countries who use and recruit child soldiers. Soldiers.

The exploitation of child combatants is primarily concentrated in Africa. Nine of the sixteen countries named by the Secretary General are from this region and include: Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Mali, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda. Throughout South Sudan's recent conflict, the government and opposition forces have both forcibly conscripted and deployed children.

Not only are child soldiers being used but trends have indicated that conflict-affected countries are riddled with significant child rights violations. In particular, there are six grave violations that the UN Secretary General has outlined that need to be focused on, responded to and prevented as they all usually transpire simultaneously (the killing and maiming of a child, recruitment and use of children, attacks against schools and hospitals, rape and sexual violence, abduction, and denial of humanitarian access). According to Aljazeera, South Sudanese armed forces are oblivious to the fact that war is not a place for children and that a child has a right to be protected; thus, South Sudanese children are constantly victimized by these violations.

In order to ensure clarity in discussions surrounding child soldiers, the international community has collaborated to outline definitions, standards, and laws. According to the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)*, a child is defined as a human being below eighteen years of age<sup>5</sup> and a child soldier is defined as:

"any person below 18 years of age who is or who has been recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys and girls, used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies or for sexual purposes. It does not only refer to a child who is taking or has taken a direct part in hostilities."

Thus, a child soldier is not necessarily an individual who actively participates in a confrontation with a weapon; since children are susceptible to being coerced or duped into a variety of different roles. Under international humanitarian law and the International Criminal Court (ICC) it is also emphasized that conscripting or enlisting children 15 years old or younger or having them actively partake in armed-conflict is a war crime. Unfortunately, it is often difficult to verify a child's age; as some child soldiers do not have any birth records or documentation.

In many lower economic countries, such as South Sudan, the fundamental right of birth registration is not a norm. A disproportionately small number of children's births are registered in Africa as there is a lack of knowledge on registering a child's birth and functioning birth registration systems. A birth certificate can be one line of defense against underage military recruitment. The lack of birth registration systems increases the risk of armed-conflict child conscription.

While the use and recruitment of child soldiers is a complex societal issue, nations from around the globe have come to a consensus - it is essential to protect children from the hostilities of war, including as active participants. By nature children are vulnerable and every task a child soldier is compelled to participate in affects their physical and mental well-being. Despite visible global efforts to prevent armed-conflict child recruitment, the problem still exists and perpetrators are not being held accountable to the degree that international law has prescribed. To end the victimization of children, it is essential that the recruitment and use of child soldiers is eliminated.

#### The Context

On 9 July 2011 South Sudan, officially known as the Republic of South Sudan, became an independent nation and Africa's 55<sup>th</sup> country. Juba was declared the capital city and English its official language. South Sudan is located in east-central Africa, bordering with Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, DRC and the Republic of Sudan.

The independent sovereign state has a land mass of 644,329 square kilometers which is divided into three regions (Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria, and Greater Upper Nile). <sup>10</sup> These regions consist of 10 states (Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Lakes, Warrap, Central Equatoria, Eastern Equatoria, Western Equatoria, Jonglei, Unity, and Upper Nile) and 79

counties. The status of the borders surrounding Abyei, an area containing oil, between Sudan and South Soudan is still contested.

According to a population estimate for the year 2013, approximately 12 million people reside in South Sudan. <sup>11</sup> The populace is extremely diverse as it consists of over 60 tribes and 80 languages. <sup>12</sup> South Sudan is largely populated by the Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups. A majority of the population follow their traditional indigenous religious beliefs; while a minority of the inhabitants practice Christianity.

The country's median age is 18.52 years, and the life expectancy for males is 54 years and 56 years for females.<sup>13</sup> The population's infant mortality rate is 105 (per 1,000 live births), and maternal mortality rate is 2,054 (per 100,000 live births).<sup>14</sup> In total, a mere 27% of the population can read and write; while females only have a 16% literacy rate compared to males 40% literacy rate.<sup>15</sup>

South Sudan is a country that is poverty stricken, underdeveloped, and majority of its people do not have access to the basic necessities for survival. For example, 38% of the population has to travel at least thirty minutes on foot one-way to retrieve drinkable water. <sup>16</sup> More than 50% of the inhabitants have just a dollar a day or less to feed, clothe, and shelter themselves. <sup>17</sup> According to the Fragile States index, South Sudan is ranked the world's most fragile state. <sup>18</sup>

The root of these problems can be traced back to the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium time period (1899- 1955). During this time frame, Egypt imposed Islam on northern Sudan, which self-identified as Arab and Britain forced Christianity on southern Sudan, which self-identified as African; thus dividing the country through religion and ethnicity. As a result, after Sudan's independence in 1956, northern and southern Sudan engaged in half a century of war until the signing of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

The ratification of the *CPA*, between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), started a six-year peace process and a transitional phase for government development. This document eventually lead to South Sudan's 2011 independence referendum which was supported by a 98.83% vote. <sup>19</sup> The country is a democratic presidential republic that appointed former rebel militias as their first President (Salva Kiir Mayardit) and Vice-President (Dr. Riek Machar). The battle between north and south Sudan did unite the

southern Sudanese people temporarily but inter and intra-tribal disputes drive local violence making peace-building programs difficult.

South Sudan has the potential to be a self-sustaining nation with its large fertile land and its substantial amount of natural resources such as oil, gold, silver, iron ore and copper. However, the war has left the country with critical issues to resolve (lack of infrastructure, insecurity, lack of accountability, and political structure) and basic human rights needing to be guaranteed. The international community, such as United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), has committed to helping assist the South Sudan government meet its country's responsibilities.

## The Conflict

On 15 December 2013 a civil war erupted due to a dispute within South Sudan's ruling party, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). A power struggle between President Salva Kiir (Dinka ethnicity) and former Vice-President Dr. Machar (Nuer ethnicity) had been escalating for months as the 2015 elections approached. While the two sides divided, Salva Kiir dismissed Dr. Machar and other cabinet members from the SPLM. The political disagreements between the leaders had reached its peak after the long-delayed SPLM's National Liberation Council meeting in Juba. An armed confrontation within the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) began between the soldiers loyal to Salva Kiir and those faithful to Dr. Machar. The majority of the forces based their allegiance on ethnic lineage and few decided on political perspective.

In Juba, once the conflict started in the Giyada military barracks, it rapidly spread throughout the city. The violence consisted of Dinka government forces and security forces searching house-to-house for Nuer soldiers and civilians. This resulted in mass killings, displacement of civilians, and looting of houses. South Sudan Human Rights Commission (SSHRC) has estimated that more than 600 people were killed and 800 injured.<sup>20</sup>

The armed conflict quickly expanded throughout the country and a full scale national crisis has been set into motion. The widespread destruction has particularly concentrated in four states: Jonglei, Unity, Upper Nile, and Central Equatoria (a lesser degree). As the battle developed, a faction of the South Sudan Liberation Army (SSLA), the White Army, and some Darfuri militias joined forces with the SPLM/A-IO. Likewise, many allies of South Sudan's government have entered the conflict to support the government. These include the Ugandan People's Defence

Force (UPDF), Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), South Sudan Democratic Movement/Army-Upper Nile Faction (SSDM/A), and a SSLA faction.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the increased number of forces being deployed has escalated the conflict and could potentially prolong the war.

The Inter- Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the same group that arranged the *CPA* in 2005, promptly responded to the outbreak of war and orchestrated peace discussions between the opposing sides. After negotiating for weeks, on 23 January 2014 the IGAD was able to acquire a *Cessation of Hostilities (CoH)* agreement. However, almost immediately the treaty was violated by both sides. Second rounds of negotiations were attempted several times by the IGAD but discussions were in deadlock for several months. On 6 and 9 May 2014 the IGAD was able to secure an agreement from both sides to sign a recommitment to the January *CoH*, plus details on a transitional government. Once again this promise was instantly broken and violence continued. The peace solutions were again debated and signed on 10 June 2014 and 25 August 2014 but the fighting in South Sudan persists today.

The IGAD mediation team's efforts are notable; however, their repeated warnings of enforcing punitive measures have revealed their threats to be empty. The violence in South Sudan has killed more than 10,000 people, displaced over 1.8 million people, and approximately 450,000 people have escaped to neighbouring countries.<sup>25</sup> The World Health Organization has declared South Sudan as a Grade 3 health crisis, which is the highest level of humanitarian emergency.

It is currently estimated that 11,000 children have been recruited into government and SPLM/A-IO ranks to be used as child soldiers.<sup>26</sup> As the current crisis continues and no consequences for killings or other atrocities are being sanctioned, South Sudan will likely plunge deeper into a war-revenge mentality; therefore, enabling future war crimes and making peace processes difficult.

#### Stakeholders

In South Sudan's current crisis, the following parties are involved in the conflict and associated to some capacity to the recruitment and use of child soldiers.

## Government forces

South Sudan's government force's objective is to preserve President Salva Kiir's governmental position by preventing the SPLM/A-IO from obtaining power. The SPLA, consisting of over 210,000 soldiers of mainly Dinka ethnicity, was originally formed from unorganized rebellion groups; however, other armed militias have integrated into its ranks. <sup>27</sup> The recent absorption of former rebel groups, SSDM/A and a SSLA faction, has allowed hundreds of child soldiers to enter the SPLA. <sup>28</sup> Since 2003, the UN Secretary General has listed the SPLA as a persistent perpetrator for the use and recruitment of child soldiers. In 2012, South Sudan's government formally committed to an Action Plan with the UN to end the recruitment and use of children 18 years or less within the SPLA. <sup>29</sup> In 2013, the SPLA forbid the recruitment and use of children within any operations; which resulted in the release of more than one thousand child soldiers. However, the current crisis has reversed the SPLA's progress and approximately 3,300 child soldiers are currently within its ranks. <sup>30</sup> In June 2014, the SPLA renewed its commitment to the UN 2012 Action Plan to have a child-free army. <sup>31</sup> Yet, in August 2014, Human Rights Watch identified 15 child soldiers in the government's Rubkona military base and airstrip. <sup>32</sup>

In South Sudan's current crisis the government's ally, JEM, will likely affect the welfare of children in South Sudan and neighbouring countries as well. JEM has committed grave violations against children despite the group's 2010 Memorandum of Understanding, and the 2012 Action Plan with UN's Mission in Darfur to put an end to the use and recruitment of child soldiers. Because of these actions, the UN Secretary General has included JEM on its list of shame for committing violations and abuses against children. To note, JEM has targeted and used numerous refugee camps in Chad, such as Djabal, Goz Amir, Am Nabak, Farchana, and Ouré Cassoni, to forcibly recruit and use children in their Sudanese ranks. With the heightened conflict in South Sudan and JEM actively participating in the hostility, it is likely that crossborder child soldier recruitment will increase (specifically in Chad), and similar tactics to conscript child combatants will be executed in South Sudan.

## *Opposition forces*

Former Vice-President Dr. Riek Machar created an oppositional force, SPLM/A-IO, to liberate South Sudan from President Salva Kiir's dictatorial tendencies and inadequate governance; in order to form democratization and equality within the SPLM.<sup>35</sup> The SPLM/A-IO is composed of almost entirely Nuer soldiers that have defected from the SPLA and other government forces,

which may consist of around 10,000 troops. <sup>36</sup> Other anti-government forces that have merged into the SPLM/A-IO, include the White Army, a SSLA faction, and some Darfuri militias in northern Unity State. The White Army is a group of Nuer armed youth, generally between 12 to 18 years of age. The recruitment and use of child soldiers is an ongoing issue throughout the SPLM/A-IO militias. For example, in Bentiu and Rubkona when the conflict first began, the SPLM/A-IO entered two schools and forcibly recruited hundreds of children into their ranks. <sup>37</sup>

UNICEF estimates that 70% of the 11,000 child soldiers in South Sudan are members of the SPLM/A-IO.<sup>38</sup> In May 2014, the SPLM/A-IO signed an agreement to immediately end all grave violations against children.<sup>39</sup> In July 2014, contrary to the agreement, the SPLM/A-IO executed an attack primarily by armed youth in Nassir Town, Upper Nile. This fight, along with others, has resulted in SPLM/A-IO child soldiers committing all the grave violations listed by UN Security Council. These attacks are recurrent, plus the same targets and methods of recruiting child soldiers, killing, beating, abducting, and looting are being used. The attack's systematic patterns imply that superior commanding officers have instructed and directed subordinates to commit violent acts against children. The SPLM/A-IO has shown no real interest in preventing further child rights violations or ensuring that perpetrators are being held accountable.

United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan

The UN Security Council's resolution 1996 (2011) established UNMISS to support South

Sudan's government in peace and security consolidations, and develop an effective and
democratic government that has positive relations among its civilians and neighbouring
countries. Due to South Sudan's new war, resolution 2132 (2013) was passed to increase the
number of military troops to 12,500 and police personnel to 1,323. 40 On 27 May 2014,
UNMISS's mandate was changed to resolution 2155 to enhance the mission's capacity to protect
civilians (especially children), provide humanitarian aid, monitor and report human right
violations (to inform preventative action against children), and help in peacebuilding
discussions. 41 Within this mission's objectives, there is a lack of clarity on circumstantial
military engagement and an insufficient number of armed manpower to protect civilians. 42 In
order for peacekeepers to take a more active role in protecting children and civilians, these
deficiencies need to be addressed.

Children are the most impacted population of the conflict, making the specialized child protection training that UN peacekeepers receive to be highly useful. UNMISS's acts of monitoring, investigating, verifying, and reporting can address the atrocities committed against children. On 21 October 2014, it was estimated that a total of 100, 298 people were seeking safety in eight Protection of Civilians (PoC) sites on UNMISS bases, which are not intended or prepared to host large numbers of people long-term. This includes two sites in Juba, Central Equatoria (28,010 people); a site in Bor, Jonglei (2,722 people); three sites in Malakal, Melut, and Nasser, Upper Nile (19,507 people); a site in Bentiu, Unity (49,612 people) and a site in Wau, Western Bahr El Ghazal (447 people). 43 These individuals rely on UNMISS and the international community for physical safety and humanitarian aid. The living conditions in the protection sites are catastrophic: high malnutrition; food insecurity; cholera outbreaks (largely stabilized now); poor hygiene; unsanitary conditions; high caseloads of acute watery diarrhea, respiratory infections and malaria; and floods that have left people living in standing water for weeks. 44 It is estimated that more than 900,000 children will suffer from severe to moderate acute malnutrition, and 50,000 children aged five years or less will die before the end of the year if proper access to treatment is not provided.<sup>45</sup>

Not only are PoC sites a disastrous humanitarian situation, but safety and security is an ongoing issue inside UNMISS bases as well. In the UN Secretary-General's report, 215 security incidents were documented, including rape, attempted murder, assault, theft, smuggling of alcohol, possession of drugs, and drunk or disorderly conduct. 46 UNMISS PoC sites have also been attacked by armed personnel on multiple occasions causing further havoc and defenceless children to be harmed. The first serious incident was committed by approximately 2,000 armed youth that opened fire on the Akobo UNMISS base in Jonglei State. 47

The identity of UNMISS personnel and related-employees are not respected by armed forces in South Sudan. Many workers have been denied access when delivering humanitarian aid, a UN helicopter was shot down, humanitarian aid workers were killed, and UNMISS contractors working on an airfield were abducted. South Sudan's government believes UNMISS is interfering with the country's internal affairs and SPLM/A-IO thinks that UNMISS is supporting the SPLA. Therefore, UNMISS's relationship with both parties is deteriorating and the security of UNMISS personnel is a serious concern. Furthermore, UNMISS PoC sites may potentially

become an ideal location for coercive child recruit, similar to some of South Sudan's neighbouring countries.

## Lord's Resistance Army

Since the Ugandan rebel group, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), was pushed into bordering countries (DRC, CAR, and South Sudan) its forces have been reduced to approximately 150-300 people and their modus operandi appears to be unclear. <sup>48</sup> However, according to Human Rights Watch, recent tactics seem to be used to ensure the survival of senior leaders by attacking and looting villages. <sup>49</sup> The LRA is notorious for committing acts of brutality against children. This includes abduction, recruitment and use of child soldiers, sexual slavery, killing, and mutilating countless civilians. <sup>50</sup> In particular, the LRA is known for abducting children and forcing them into combat or other duties that lack personnel. If a child does not follow the LRA's strict rules or tries to escape, they are killed. Some abducted children have become loyal, devoted LRA fighters and grown into commander roles, such as Dominic Ongwen (a top commander wanted by the ICC). <sup>51</sup> From July 2009 to February 2012 the LRA kidnapped at least 591 children (268 girls and 323 boys) in the DRC, CAR, and South Sudan. <sup>52</sup>

The LRA is a mobile group that moves on foot in remote locations in the bush between country borders, indicating that the recruitment and use of child soldiers is a cross-border issue (predominantly with DRC, CAR, and South Sudan). In 2013, 177 children separated from the LRA and only one child was South Sudanese. This low statistic of the use of South Sudanese children will most likely increase; as the LRA leader (Joseph Kony) is presumably hiding in the disputed enclaves in South Sudan. In addition, the current crisis in South Sudan has left remote communities that already lack security, more vulnerable to LRA attacks. The scarce number of government and international organisations in Western Equatoria State also raises questions about the number of reported children and civilians affected by LRA operations. Consequently, the number of South Sudanese children involuntarily recruited into the LRA could be much greater.

## **Current Situation**

Crisis growth within South Sudan

Since the outbreak of South Sudan's internal dispute in December 2013, between government and SPLM/A-IO forces, the conflicts ongoing violence has violated many human rights that

include possible war crimes and crimes against humanity. South Sudan's new war is recognized for its horrendous targeted attacks against civilians, foreign aid personnel, and safety-zone infrastructures. Communities of men, women and children are routinely massacred based on ethnic lines. The crisis has caused 469,000 people to seek refuge in bordering countries (Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda) and around 1.9 million individuals are internally displaced in South Sudan for fear of being targeted and killed.<sup>56</sup> UNMISS is protecting around 100,000 civilians who are extremely vulnerable, and at risk of starvation and disease.<sup>57</sup>

The four most affected states are Central Equatoria, Jonglei, Upper Nile and Unity; however, ongoing fighting has concentrated in Jonglei State, Upper Nile State, and Unity State. Intercommunal revenge killings carry on between Dinka sub-clans in predominately Lake State, Warrap State and Western Equatoria State. Despite atrocities committed by parties on both sides of the conflict, the IGAD, African Union (AU), and UN Security Council have not enforced any punitive measures. In an effort to end the violence but to small effect, sanctions against leaders in both government and rebel forces were imposed by the European Union, United States, and Canada.

Fighting often revolves around the seasons. The end of the rainy season means impassable, dirt roads will become hard, allowing the opposing forces to move freely throughout the country. The dry season typically marks the recommencement of battle, as both forces have replenished their weapons and ammunition from the shipment of Chinese arms (1,000 plus tonnes). According to International Crisis Group, more than 3,000 SPLA soldiers have deserted Jonglei State and Upper Nile State because of the lack of funds to pay their salaries. To refill the deserted SPLA posts, an increase in child soldier recruitment can be expected.

## Central Equatoria State

In Juba, Central Equatoria, the catalyst of South Sudan's new war, severe violations have been committed by Dinka members of the SPLA, Presidential Guards, and other security forces. In the neighbourhoods of Jebel, Newsite, Mia Saba, Lologo, Khor William, Gudele, Eden, and Mangaten Nuer civilians were killed, raped, detained, robbed, and tortured. While Nuer civilians attempted to escape to places of safety, such as UNMISS compounds, security forces would block their path and kill those suspected of Nuer decent. Presently, empty homes in Juba remain occupied by security forces and sporadic fighting within the city persists. South Sudanese

politicians have urged civilians to move back home; however, internally displaced people believe the UNMISS PoC sites are safer than their homes in Juba. <sup>64</sup> The town is guarded by SPLA forces, who still attack and rape Nuer individuals outside the Juba UNMISS PoC bases. From Central Equatoria State, it is estimated that 58,600 people have been displaced. <sup>65</sup>

## Jonglei State

In Bor, Jonglei the fighting began on 18 December 2013, when Major General Peter Gadet mutinied from the SPLA with other Nuer Soldiers. <sup>66</sup> Within the first week of the crisis, the town had been evacuated; as hundreds of government soldiers and civilians fled for personal safety. The damaged town has changed hands at least four times, which has resulted in approximately 2,007 civilian casualties (majority Dinka women and children). <sup>67</sup> Many individuals died trying to escape the town to UNMISS bases or attempting to cross the river, while fully knowing that they could not swim. In total, around 618,800 people from Jonglei State have been displaced. <sup>68</sup>

Currently Jonglei's counties, Ayod and Duk, continue to be a high security concern. It is suspected that hundreds of Lou Nuer youth have caused havoc in Duk county, causing the mobilization of youth in Duk and Twic counties to protect their respective communities from Lou Nuer youth attacks. <sup>69</sup> Allegations of killings, rape, abduction, and discriminatory acts have also been documented in counties north and south of Bor, such as Panpandier, Pariak, Malek, and Goy. The road between Juba and Bor has endured severe fighting; especially 16 kilometers south of Bor, where the UN Mine Action Service discovered cluster munition (RBK-250-275 cluster bombs and AO-1SCh bomblets) dropped by aircraft. <sup>70</sup> The use of cluster bombs are forbidden by the *2008 Convention on Cluster Munitions*; which the Republic of Uganda has signed but South Sudan has not. <sup>71</sup> Evidence suggests that either the UPDF or the SPLA are responsible for the aerial use of cluster bombers, despite the parties' statements of denial.

## Upper Nile State

The Upper Nile's capital of oil production, Malakal, has interchanged hands a minimum of six times; since Commander General Gathouth Galwak and other Nuer soldier's defected from the SPLA on 24 December 2013.<sup>72</sup> Within the Upper Nile, fighting is most prevalent in Panyikang, Nasir, and Maban counties.<sup>73</sup> Malakal, Baliet county, and the rest of the Upper Nile State has experienced and continues to endure intense security issues as well. Due to the loss of lives and livelihoods from houses being burned and looted, and cattle being raided and killed entire

villages are empty. It is estimated that 274,700 people have been displaced from Upper Nile State.<sup>74</sup>

## Unity State

In Unity's capital Bentiu, another oil producing city, reports have indicated relentless, high levels of fighting. Since General James Koang and other Nuer soldiers mutinied from the SPLA, Bentiu has changed hands a minimum of eight times. The battle in Bentiu spread quickly to surrounding areas such as Rubkona, Pariang, Mayon, Leer and multiple southern counties. Reported attacks, by both forces, have resulted in ethnic-based killings, and mass destruction to petroleum companies, international organization buildings, markets, and shops. The hostile environment has also prevented UNMISS from delivering humanitarian aid as an UNMISS helicopter was shot down. Approximately 291,700 people have been displaced from Unity State.

## Attacks on Civilians

South Sudan's new civil war is characterized for its violent acts of killing and maiming, rape and other grave sexual violence, and abduction committed by all conflict-related parties. For instance, security personnel brought 200-400 Nuer males and boys to a security force compound, where they were locked in a suffocating hot room and fired upon. <sup>78</sup> Nearly everyone was killed, except a few individuals protected by dead corpses falling on top of them. In other cases, armed Nuer youth plus other combatants have robbed civilians of money, cell-phones, food, clothes and medicine with nothing left to give to the next looter; therefore, the individual is shot dead. <sup>79</sup> Even the elderly, disabled, and sick have not been shown any signs of mercy. Acts of ethnic killings have also been performed among those escaping conflict-zones. An unknown number of people have been killed as many bodies remain to be discovered.

## Case study: A Long path to recovery

Despite the lapse of time, Anna vividly remembers her attack, capture, and enslavement with the LRA. She explains how "they [LRA] gave me [Anna] there on the spot as a wife to one of the commanders" during her abduction. <sup>80</sup> While travelling between the borders of South Sudan and CAR, she was forced to carry luggage, cook, and loot villages. After more than two years, Anna risked her life by finally escaping into the bush with two younger children.

Anna had to survive in the wild for five months in order to seek refuge on the opposite side of the river. After the river subsided, the children encountered Ambororo nomads, who handed them to the Ugandan army, which brought them to the UN refugee agency in South Sudan. Next, the former child soldiers were transferred several times between child survivor aid programs. "I want to go back to school and finish my studies," Anna expresses. <sup>81</sup> However, she is still waiting to return home.

#### Child soldiers

#### Push-and-Pull Factors

Children in South Sudan are growing up in a society engulfed in conflict that is severely impacting them. These war zones force children to leave everything behind, separate from their families, endure the loss of loved ones, flee for protection, and live in inhumane conditions to survive. Throughout the country, child soldier enlistment and fighting has shattered thousands of youth's childhood. Due to the expected heightening in hostilities, all parties in the conflict have assumedly performed large-scale child soldier recruitment, depriving children of their basic rights, and rights of survival and development.

Children are forcibly and voluntarily recruited into armed groups. Forced recruitment is when a child is threatened, coerced, or abducted into an armed force. Meanwhile, voluntary recruitment consists of a child joining an armed group willingly. Voluntary conscription is usually connected to a child trying to escape economic and social stressors, and the speculative belief that an armed group will provide a better life with protection, food, and a possible salary. An Aljazeera report revealed that children do not want to go back to protection sites where there is no food and people are dying. The factors that push and pull a child into becoming a child soldier vary. In South Sudan the risk of becoming a child soldier can be linked to the social conditions of extreme poverty, lack of education and opportunity, insecurity, ethnic conflict, and mass displacement and death.

The existing conflict in South Sudan has destroyed and left only fragments of villages that children once called a home. With nothing but the shirts on their backs, these children are forced to live in impoverished conditions, such as UNMISS PoC sites, the bush, or unfamiliar communities. If a child does reside in a UNMISS PoC site they will then become imprisoned within the site's walls, bored, and vulnerable to recruitment.<sup>84</sup> In the bush, children constantly

fear death because of supply shortages (eg. little access to food, and water) and the possible victimization of ethnic killings or forcibly conscription. The chance of finding a welcoming village is extremely low for a child; since, child soldiers are used as spies. Therefore, based on the widespread terror, little hope for peace, and the appalling conditions of safety zones the prospects of joining an armed group appears optimal.

South Sudan's median age is extremely low and majority of the population requires access to primary and secondary school. However, most schools are abandoned or occupied by soldiers, and few remaining open-schools lack materials and sufficient facilities. This coupled with the fact that less than 50% of primary school teachers have obtained the required national training level to teach, leaves South Sudanese children with an idle future. South Sudan has limited job opportunities, which has caused many parents to be unable to feed and clothe their children. As a result, military employment is highly respected, and parents as well as other community members coerce and lure children to enlist into the army.

The ongoing, entrenched ethnic conflict between the Dinka and Nuer tribes is also a leading factor for children to join armed forces. The country's culture has engrained the belief, among boys as young as 15 years of age, that they are man enough to become fighters to support their people. 88 The sense of insecurity and pressure to embrace manhood drives children towards armed groups. In some cases, children have encountered mass killings, rapes or other atrocities that have separated them from their families, and motivated them to seek revenge. Parents have also been told by community leaders that their child will be fighting the enemy in order to recruit children. 89 In these instances many parents are easily persuaded, but sometimes children are unwillingly recruited as well. Essentially, children voluntarily conscript to an armed force for protection, a weapon to pursue revenge, and a sense of camaraderie with other troops. 90

#### **Duties**

For several generations South Sudan has used and recruited child soldiers. The fact that children do not belong in hostile environments, no longer exists as a common value for South Sudanese people. Boys and girls well below the age of 18 years are used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, radio operators, spies or sexual slaves. <sup>91</sup> Child soldiers cannot show any signs of fear or sadness, otherwise authoritative figures will beat them. <sup>92</sup> Based on the child's gender,

boys and girls face different risks as they are required to take on particular roles associated to their sex.

In South Sudan at least half of the female population between 15 to 19 years old are married and girls as young as 12 years are commonly pressured into marriage. <sup>93</sup> Interconnected with these norms, girls recruited into armed forces are subjected to being a soldier's sexual slave or wife. <sup>94</sup> Evidence of these crimes and other forms of sexual violence can be found amongst the conflict-related parties and the LRA; however, victim statements appear to be limited. It is believed that many former girl soldiers do not openly admit to suffering from sexual violence, as it is attached to negative stigmas and possible future rejection within their community. Girls are also forced into fulfilling other child soldier positions similar to boys, such as the transportation of goods, and robbery. <sup>95</sup> The use of boy soldiers appears to be overwhelming; since, a report before the crisis indicated that 162 verified cases of child soldiers consisted of all boys ranging from 14 to 17 years old. <sup>96</sup>

The roles and responsibilities of child soldiers vary child to child. A safer child soldier task can consist of helping the wounded and cleaning dishware. <sup>97</sup> In some instances, children have also been spotted as government official's body guards. <sup>98</sup> However, several children, especially boys, are forcefully trained how to march, find cover, and shoot in preparation for battle. <sup>99</sup> Many of these children feel emotions of fear, resentment, and anger towards the military forces that involuntarily recruited them to fight, and violently abused them for refusing orders. <sup>100</sup> Most child fighters are armed and often used in the frontline of battle to draw out enemy force's positions by shooting at child soldiers. <sup>101</sup> It is anticipated that a child's squad becomes their new family and their mind-set is centralized around the rule "kill or be killed." Simultaneously, a child soldier's role can victimize a child and classify them as a perpetrator for acts of violence.

## Recruitment

With high tension and insecurity throughout South Sudan, it is difficult to monitor and verify the use and recruitment of child soldiers. However, BBC News estimated that 11,000 children are being used as child soldiers among government, and rebel forces. It is anticipated that approximately 70% of these children are enrolled in anti-government forces. A large portion of this figure consists of the Nuer armed youth, the White Army, that have been actively fighting in Upper Nile State and Jonglei State. There are approximately 3,300 SPLA child soldiers,

which have been spotted in Unity State and Jonglei State.<sup>104</sup> Witnesses have indicated that these boys resemble the height of their rifle, appear exhausted from their bloodshot eyes, and have possibly developed addictions to drugs.<sup>105</sup>

Several locations have been suggested and pin-pointed as repetitively sources for involuntary child soldier conscription. These sites include schools, villages, hospitals, churches, and PoC sites. Forces strategically target these locations for child soldier abduction and recruitment; since some armed groups, like the LRA, prefer children to join their ranks as they are easily manipulated compared to adults. <sup>106</sup> At least 50 schools have been attacked and more than 6,000 children have gone missing. <sup>107</sup> Particularly in Unity State, the SPLM/A-IO has attacked several schools where tactics of coercion and threats have been used for children to avenge the killings of their fellow Nuer members. <sup>108</sup> A minimum of 124 schools are being used for military purposes and at least 25 of them are controlled by the SPLA military. <sup>109</sup>

In addition, the rebel group JEM's notorious attacks on refugee sites and cross-border child soldier recruitment, eludes the idea that children in UNMISS compounds and other countries are being used as a source to man South Sudan's conflict. The LRA also continues to attack remote villages in South Sudan, DRC, and CAR; where presumably abducted and enlisted into child soldier roles. The fear of coercive child soldier recruitment is a daily concern for South Sudanese children; especially when both parties involved in the conflict believe that the nature of war involves the use of child soldiers. The soldiers involved in the conflict believe that the nature of war involves the use of child soldiers.

## Demobilization and Reintegration

In South Sudan's uprooting, deteriorating environment, child soldiers need access to health and medical care, psychosocial support, legal assistance, education, and livelihood opportunities in order for these children to see an alternative lifestyle. In 2012, around 4,000 child soldiers were demilitarized and reintegrated into their community; however, the progress in child soldier rehabilitation has reversed. In June 2014, South Sudan recommitted to end the recruitment and use of child soldiers by resigning 18 measures to have a child-free army. In initiate the release of child soldiers, the government of South Sudan has broadcasted a radio message to stop using child soldiers, imposed disciplinary action upon SPLA members that use child soldiers, and proposed legislative amendments to sanction army commanders that recruit children.

In support of South Sudan's recommitment, the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict; UNMISS; UNICEF; National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Commission; and other partners have agreed to assist the SPLA. However, the appearing public announcements to end the recruitment and use of child soldiers in South Sudan appears to have fallen on many deaf ears. Identical to the signatures of *CoH* agreements, the government's promises are empty; since, the SPLA continues to recruitment and use child soldiers, and perpetrators are not being held accountable.

National and International Law: Children Protection

In South Sudan some legal regimes have been put into place to protect children from becoming a child soldier. However, the country still needs to sign and apply many important laws.

## International human rights law

South Sudan has not ratified significant international treaties (such as the UNCRC and related optional Protocols) which define and set safeguards to prevent the use of child soldiers. Nevertheless, there are customary international human rights laws that are binding to all states independently from treaty laws. These provisions are applicable at all times and to everyone. The customary international human rights laws prohibits actions such as the recruitment and use of child soldiers, abduction, rape, killing, maiming, and violations that amount to genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes. According to these laws, the thousands of child soldiers being used in South Sudan should be investigated, prosecuted in proceedings with international fair trial standards and victims should be provided with reasonable reparations if the perpetrator is found guilty.

On 29 April 2012, South Sudan ratified the *International Labour Organization (ILO) Minimum Age Convention 138* and *ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 182*. In the *ILO Convention 138* it declares that child labour should be abolished, duties given to a young person should be consistent with their physical and mental development, and it sets 18 years as the minimum age for work to jeopardise the health, safety or moral of a young person. By ratifying the *ILO Convention 182*, South Sudan must immediately and effectively take action to eliminate the worst forms of child labour. In this clause the "worst forms of child labour" consists of forced or compulsory recruitment or use of a child in hostilities. Therefore, the estimated 11,000 children within government and SPLM/A- IO forces violates both conventions.

## International humanitarian law

On 25 January 2013, South Sudan ratified the four Geneva Conventions, and the three Additional Protocols of the Geneva Conventions. Article 3 is a common and essential rule that binds non-international armed conflict groups (South Sudan's government and SPLM/A-IO forces) to the Geneva conventions. The Additional Protocols expand from common Article 3, and set 15 years as a minimum age for the recruitment or use of a child in armed conflict. Amany specific rules on how a conflict is conducted and the treatment between parties within hostilities are also regulated by customary international humanitarian law. It clarifies that attacks need to be preplanned in order to avoid all incidental losses of civilian lives, and destruction of civilian objects. Therefore, South Sudan's conflict-related parties' acts of child abduction, attacks on safety zones, and child soldier recruitment should be outlawed and disciplined.

## International Criminal Law

The most severe crimes that violate international humanitarian law (crimes against humanity, war crimes, or genocide) can be classified as an international crime and tried in ICC as a last resort. The ICC, governed by the Rome Statute, has been signed by 122 countries but this does not include South Sudan. Despite South Sudan's lack of commitment, the international court can have jurisdiction over South Sudan; as long as the UN Security Council refers the case, or article 12(3) in the Rome Statue is exercised by South Sudan's government voluntarily accepting the ICC's jurisdiction. 126

In agreement with international humanitarian law, the ICC's definition of war crimes consist of the conscription or enlistment of a child 15 years or younger into armed conflict. It also outlines sexual slavery as a war crime and a crime against humanity. In a 2012 case, *The Prosecutor v. Thomas Lubanga Dyilo*, the ICC court determined the first guilty verdict that was solely based on the definition of war crimes related to the recruitment of child soldiers under 15 years. Therefore, legal precedence has been set for future cases involving perpetrators that use and recruit child soldiers.

In addition, all the parties' senior leaders in South Sudan's conflict can be held criminally responsible for their subordinate's war crimes (eg. child soldier recruitment), due to failing to control their forces. This law does not discredit the criminal responsibility of the subordinates;

since, combatants in South Sudan's conflict can be held personally responsible for their crimes within the ICC's jurisdiction as well.

International and regional standards related to child soldiers

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and the Paris Commitments and

Principles are both used to advance the rights of a child, prevent the recruitment and use of child soldiers, and provide effective rehabilitation programs. But, South Sudan has not signed either document. Thus, South Sudan's absences of legal representation creates a barrier to justice for all victimized children.

The UN Security Council is another framework committed to condemning the recruitment and use of children in armed conflict. It has passed a series of binding resolutions 1261 (1999), 1314 (2000), 1379 (2001), 1460 (2003), 1539 (2004), 1612 (2005), 1882 (2009) and 1998 (2011) on all UN member states to protect children. Through these resolutions the UN Secretary-General annually reports on parties that recruit and use children in armed-conflict as well as the six grave violations. After at least five years of being listed as a perpetrator for child soldier conscription, the SPLA has committed and agreed to an action plan with the UN Security Council (resolutions 1539 and 1612). 130

#### Domestic Law

The *Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan* provides the rights and freedoms to children and all the groups listed in the bill. Within the constitution's bill of rights it describes human rights such as child rights, the right to life and human dignity, and the right to security of the person. The child rights section stresses that a child should not be required to serve in the army and be subjected to exploitative practices or abuse. <sup>131</sup> Even in a state of emergency the President cannot suspend part of the bill of rights such as the prohibition against slavery and the right to life.

Many other laws related to human rights protection were also adopted, such as: the *Child Act* (2008), *Penal Code Act* (2008), *Code of Criminal Procedures Act* (2008), *Civil Procedure Act* (2007), *SPLA Act* (2009), *Police Service Act* (2009), and *SSHRC Act* (2009). South Sudan's legal framework does guarantee some significant laws to protect children and human rights but important provisions sanctioning against international crimes (crimes against humanity, genocide, and commander liability for international crimes) are missing. The existing legislation

in South Sudan needs to be practised. The severe infringing acts of violence transpiring against children must end, and perpetrators need to be held responsible to ensure justice.

## Case study: A Rescued Child Soldier

With 50.6% of South Sudan's population living in extreme poverty, social conditions force parents to make challenging decisions for their child's best interest. <sup>132</sup> Maker Malueth, an 11 year old boy, learned that his family could no longer provide him food and money for his school fees; therefore, he enlisted into the SPLA for a form of livelihood. After serving in the army for seven years, Mr. Malueth was demobilized and received help from UMISS's DDR section. Through the program he was supported with non-food items, five goats, paid education, vocational training and moral support. The organization's assistance allowed him to attend secondary school in Warrap State's capital Kuajok. Mr. Maleuth stated "if I use this chance to get a good education, nothing bad can affect me now." Reintegration programs have offered Mr. Malueth and other former child soldiers an opportunity for a different life.

## Historical Timeline

Due to the lack of birth registration and formal documentation in South Sudan, the historical events listed below can be used to help verify an individual's age. It is important to note that floods are a regular event in South Sudan, which displaces and kills many people.

#### 1899-1955:

• British and Egyptian's rule north and south Sudan.

#### 1956:

• Sudan becomes an independent country.

#### 1956-1972:

• First civil war erupts between north and south Sudan.

#### 1978:

• Oil is discovered in Southern Sudan.

#### 1983:

• Second civil war between north and south Sudan breaks out.

#### 1986:

• Sudan experiences a state of health emergency; due to a drought, pest infestation (grasshoppers and locusts), and ongoing civil conflict. 134

## 1989:

• Sudan is controlled by the military of Omar Hassan al-Bashir.

#### 1990:

1991:

• Earthquake shocks the region, approximately 100km northeast of Juba. 135

Around 2,000 Dinka civilians are massacred in Bor.

• Earthquake hits Kartoum and volcanic activity is reported in Omdurman.

1995:

• Sudan is accused for attempted assassination on Egyptian President Mubarak. 136

1998:

- Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) responds to Southern Sudan's widespread famine. 137
- Khartoum pharmaceutical plant is attacked by US missile for allegedly making chemical weapons.
- New constitution is endorsed.

1999:

- State of emergency is declared after a power struggle in the National Assembly.
- Oil exports begin

2000:

• Omar al-Bashir is re-elected for another five year term.

2001:

- Memorandum of understanding is signed by Sudanese leader (Hassan Al Turabi) and southern SPLA leader (John Garang). Al-Turabi is arrested.
- Sanctions against Sudan are extend by US for terrorism and rights violations.

2002:

• Cease fire agreement is signed between the Sudanese government and SPLA.

2003:

- Western region of Darfur rebels declare Khartoum is neglecting their region.
- Al-Turbi is released from prison and bans against his party are removed.

2004:

- Sudan is affected by an outbreak of locusts.
- Western region of Darfur increases army personnel to suppress rebels.
- Pro-government Arab Janjaweed militias attack and kill non-Arab villagers in Darfur. <sup>138</sup>
- Al-Turabi, army officers, and opposition politicians are detained for an alleged coup plot.
- Darfur killings labelled as genocide by US Secretary of State Colin Powell.

2005:

- January: CPA agreement ends the civil war and provides autonomy for southern Sudan.
- March: A UN mission in Sudan (UNMIS) is established. UN Security Council authorises sanctions against ceasefire violators in Darfur.
- June: Al Turabi is released from prison.
- July: John Garang is sworn in as the first southern Vice-President.
- August: John Garang is killed in a plane crash and Salva Kiir replaces his Vice-President role.
- October: An autonomous government with former rebels is created in southern Sudan.

2006:

- Since signing the CPA agreement, the heaviest fighting in Malakal kills hundreds.
- Peace accord is signed by Khartoum government and the main rebels in Darfur (Sudan Liberation Movement).
- UN resolution for a UN peacekeeping force in Darfur is rejected.
- UN's top Sudan official, Jan Pronk, is expelled.

- May: Janjaweed militia leader and a minister are issued arrest warrants for war crimes by ICC. US sanctions against Sudan
- July: 26,000 troops are authorised for the United Nations- African Union Mission in Darfur.
- October-December: The SPLM is briefly suspended from national government as Khartoum is accused of failing to uphold the *CPA* agreement.

#### 2008:

- March: Sudan and Chad sign a halt of hostilities between countries.
- April: National census counting begins. Darfur conflict's death toll estimated at 300,000.
- May: Fighting erupts over ownership of Abyei (oil-rich town) between northern and southern Sudan. Defence minister Dominic Dim Deng is killed in a plane crash. Sudan breaks diplomatic relations with Chad over alleged assistance in Omdurman raids.
- June: International arbitration is requested to resolve the dispute over Abyei.
- July: ICC issues arrest warrant for President Bashir's acts of genocide but Sudan rejects indictment.
- November: President Bashir's ceasefire request is rejected by main rebel groups.

#### 2009:

- MSF provides around 129,000 consultations; however, many emergency intervention projects are closed because four staff members are kidnapped. 139
- January: Al-Turabi is arrested.
- March: ICC issues arrest warrant for President Bashir for war crimes and crimes against humanity.
- July: Both parties accept the Permanent Court of Arbitration ruling for Heglig oil field to be part of northern Sudan.
- August: UN military commander states Darfur war is over.
- October: The pandemic of influenza A (H1N1) affects Sudan.
- December: Northern and southern leaders agree on referendum terms for southern Sudan's 2011 independence.

## 2010:

- First contested presidential election takes place since 1986; Omar al-Bashir is elected as President.
- Feb-March: JEM signs a peace agreement with Sudan government.
- July- ICC issues a second arrest warrant for President Bashir's charges of genocide.
- August: President Bashit travels to Kenya but ICC arrest warrants are not enforced.

- January: The people of southern Sudan vote in favour for independence from Sudan.
- February: In Jonglei State, a conflict between security forces and rebels cause more than a hundred to die. Fighting also erupts near Abyei
- March: Southern Sudan suspends communication and accuses the north of plotting a coup.
- May: North Sudan takes control of Abyei.
- June: An agreement is signed by north and south Sudan to demilitarize Abyei.
- July: South Sudan becomes an independent country. UNMISS is established.
- August: The UN declares ethnic killings in Jonglei State left a minimum of 600 people dead.

- October: President Salva Kiir takes his first visit to Khartoum since South Sudan's independence. The SSLA rebel group attacks Mayom, Unity and kills at least 75 people.
- November: Refugee camp in Yida, Unity is bombed and Sudan is blamed for the aerial bombardment.

#### 2012:

- January: More than 170,000 people flee to Jonglei State because of inter-communal clashes. Oil production in South Sudan is shut down. 140
- February: Due to Sudan shutting down South Sudan's oil export pipeline, South Sudan halves public spending on all but salaries of consequence.
- May: Sudan withdraws their troops from bordering region of Abyei.
- July: It is South Sudan's first anniversary.
- August: Around 200,000 refugees flee to South Sudan to escape the battle between the Sudanese army and rebels in southern Sudan.<sup>141</sup>
- September: South Sudan and Sudan agree to trade, oil, and security deals.
- November: An aerial bombardment displaces more than 4,000 people in Northern Bahr el Ghazal State.
- December: The SPLA shoots down a UNMISS helicopter.

#### 2013:

- March: Agreements is reached between South Sudan and Sudan to resume pumping oil.
- May: An outbreak of mingitis and polio affects South Sudan.
- June: Finance Minister Kosti Manibe and Cabinet Affairs Minister Deng Alor are dismissed over a multi-million dollar financial scandal.
- July: The Vice-President Dr. Machar and the entire cabinet are dismissed by President Salva Kiir.
- September: A measles outbreak occurs in Upper Nile State. 142
- December: Civil war erupts between President Salva Kirr and Dr. Machar. Thousands of civilians are killed and displaced. Eleven SPLM members are arrested and Dr. Machar flees to the bush. The UPDF army is deployed to South Sudan.

- January: *CoH* agreement is signed and broken by both parties. Dr. Machar is charged with treason. Seven of the eleven SPLM detainees are released.
- February: Cluster bombs are found on a Bor to Juba road. 143 Ethnic fighting erupts in UNMISS PoC camp in Malakal.
- April: Unity State is bombed by the Sudanese air force. UNMISS PoC base in Bor is attacked by Dinka Bor youth. Charges against the four SPLM detainees are dropped.
- May: *CoH* agreement is re-signed and broken by both President Salva Kiir and Dr. Machar. United States sanctions against rebel commander Peter Gadet and SPLA commander Marial Changuong. President Salva Kiir announces he will be delaying the 2015 election by two years. A cholera outbreak affects Central Equatoria State.
- July: The UN Security council defines South Sudan food crisis as the worst in the world. EU sanctions against South Sudanese military leaders. 144
- August: *CoH* agreement is signed and broken by both opposing parties. A UNMISS helicopter is shot down.
- October: Canada sanctions against rebel commander Peter Gadet and SPLA commander Marial Changuong. 145

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