

Margaret Tito Akua

Republic of South Sudan

Council of States

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**Report on communal conflict between  
Ngok of Abyei and Twic of Warrap**

**Prepared by the Ad Hoc committee formed  
by the Council of States to investigate the  
causes of the conflict**

**Fact established from documents, findings  
of committee, observations, solutions  
provided by the two sides to the conflict,  
recommendations and conclusion**

March 3<sup>rd</sup> 2022 – February 22<sup>nd</sup> 2023

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- **Facts established from the documents provided by Warrap State and Abyei Administrative Area and presentation of the Hon. Governor, Chief Administrator and the Hon. National Minister of Interior**

- 1. The Committee found out that the letter written on the 3<sup>rd</sup> /Feb/2022 by the members of the National Legislature representing Warrap State, Twic County in particular, which stressed that the boundary between Kordofan and Bahr El Ghazal or Abyei and Twic is as it stood at 1/1/1956, as came in the CPA on the resolution of Abyei (page 2) is one of the root causes.**
- 2. The Ad hoc Committee established that the objections made by the Hon. Members of the Legislature representing Warrap State, Twic County, on Abyei box that it is because it was drawn by the NGOs is not true, because the Abyei box was drawn by the Hague Arbitration and the ruling was highly welcome by the government of the Republic of South Sudan and Sudan. Therefore, the claim made by the members of National Legislature representing Twic County on the speech of the President in the governors' forum about Abyei box, which they have mentioned in their letter page 2, is totally contrary to the Presidential order No. 03/2015 for the establishment of Abyei Special Administrative Area, in the box as it is attached in the order (2) Feb/18/2018 sub-order (a) see annex No. 3.14**
- 3. The Committee found out that the Honorable members' letter contains words of threat against Abyei Administration and inciting Twic community to fight for their right (page 2 the second last paragraph and page 3 and 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph). See annex 3.6**
- 4. The Committee also found that the honorable members of National Legislature representing Twic, made incitement by influencing Hon. Eng. Deng Tong Goch, the commissioner of Twic County to write a direct letter to the Chief Administrator of Abyei in an insubordination to his superior, the Hon. governor of**

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Warrap State as came in their letter (page 4 paragraphs 4 and five 5) when they said for the smooth relationship of the two communities, you have to relocate your illegal administration of Abyei and UNISFA to the North River Kiir. This instigation was also alluded to by Hon. Aleu Ayeny in his presentation to the Council of States on the 3<sup>rd</sup>/March/2022 (point b page 4 paragraphs 2, 3, and 4) that he said the letter written by Turalei County Commissioner was a “wanton provocation of the Abyei Administration and typical insubordination to the Governor of Warrap State” end of quote. See annex 3.5

5. The Ad hoc Committee established that there was belligerent tune raised by honorable members representing Twic such as: Hon. Charles Majak Aleer, Hon. Majok Yak Majok and Hon. Dr. Kuany Mayom Deng, when they asked that what the hell is Abyei administration doing? The honorable members said if the following steps are not taken care of, the tension between the two communities shall not be prevented: relocation of (1. UNISFA 2. Agok and Athony to be put under the administration of Warrap State 3. Abyei IDPs should go to the North River Kiir 4. UNMMIS to replace UNISFA in Agok 5. Conduct of the reconciliation between Twic and Ngok Dinka (paragraphs 5 and 6).
6. The Committee found that the map attached to uncle. Bona Malual’s Book titled “Abyei of Ngok Dinka Not Yet South Sudan” shows the boundary of 1/1/1956 clearly at the South of river Kiir adjacent to the box. See annex 3.15
7. The Committee found that the first attacked was carried out on 10-26/Feb/2022 as come in the presentation of the Hon. Chief Administrator of Abyei (point No.9 page 5), Hon. Governor of Warrap State, when he said that on 10/Feb/2022 (paragraph 6 page 4) that the Twic youth took the law into their hands by attacking Agok area, Hon. Mahmood Solomon Agok, the National Minister of Interior, also confirm it in his

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report to the plenary as well as it was confirmed by UNISFA and Twic and Ngok communities. see annex 3.2

8. The Committee found that the Communities along the borders are too ignorant on the 1/1/1956 boundary between Kordufan and Bahr El Ghazal as well as between Abyei Special Administrative Area and Warrap State, where by both communities of Ngok and Twic are saying that their boundary is in accordance to 1/1/1956, but if they are asked that where is 1/1/1956 practically? Twic said it is exactly inside the river Kiir and Ngok said it is inside the river Alaal at the far South of river Kiir. See annex 3.17

- Findings of the Ad hoc Committee from the executive of Warrap State and Abyei Administrative Area, parliamentarians, women, youth, chiefs, UNISFA, UNMMIS, business community, individuals, Twic community in Abyei, civil society and Agok/Anet area meetings

1. The Committee found out that Ngok and Twic Dinka are known to be peaceful neighbors for Centuries, after they had migrated to the presence territories of Abyei Special Administrative Area and Warrap State, but some exceptional social frictions/skirmishes has also been there.

2. The Committee established that Agok area was there before 1997 as claimed by Twic community that they gave it out to Ngok through the request of late. Dr. John Garang is not verifiable simply, because: a. Somesay it was given to Ngok in 1994, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2003 and 2004 b. The conditions set out by Twic community to give out their land to Ngok as requested from them by Dr. John Garang are not traceable (documentations) c. Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs) cannot be given a land of more than 60 kilometers squares, whatsoever the case.



3. The Committee found out that Twic wants UNISFA to relocate to the North side of river Kiir in 2022 while UNISFA was deployed in Agok area since 2011, as a result of the court of Arbitration/Hague ruling.
4. The Committee found that Twic community wanted to be paid land rents by Gen. Ping Deng and Kur Ajing for their farms which they have established since 2015.
5. The Committee established that the fighting between Kuac of Twic and Diil and Anyiel of Ngok Dinka in 1945 was the one led the two sections of Ngok to cross to the North of river Kiir as claimed by Sultan. Jacob, Madhal Lang
6. The Committee was not able to establish the claimed made by the Hon. Deng Deng, that the State government was directed not to take any measures about the conflict and when he was asked who directed the State authority not to take any action to stop the conflict? Then he failed to answer.
7. The Committee found that the dismissal of Hon. Biar Biar, the former commissioner of Turalei County by the Warrap State Legislative Assembly, according Hon. Nyanyai Riak and Hon. Achuai Arop, that it was because he went and carried out the demarcation of land in Agok area without being authorized.
8. The Committee found that the information given to the Committee in Turalei County on 30/10/2022, by Twic (specifically by Mrs. Achai Mangar) that seven (7) people were burned alive by Ngok in Abyei, the same day the committee was meeting women group in Turalei, was properly crosscheck and verified by the Committee, but it was found out that it was not true.
9. The Committee crosscheck the information given by Mrs. Aluel Aguek Noui (Aweng Payam) and Mrs. Adior Nyol Riak (Turalei Payam, Turalei County) that Gen. Ping Deng Kuol was on the ground commanding the forces fighting against

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Twic, this was also verified by the Committee and found out that it was not true.

10. The Committee found that the information provided by Mrs. Abuk Chan Bol, that there were Twic inside UNISFA, the committee verified it and found out that it is true, there were nine (9) members of Twic under UNISFA protection, whom were accused by their colleagues from Ngok that they were carrying out some wild information on social media and used to give out some vital information to their brothers in Turalei to come and attacked Ngok in Agok area.
11. The Committee found out that there are no "pols" but boundary coordinates provided by the court in 2009 to the government of South Sudan and Sudan, according to Gen. Kuol Diem Kuol, the Chief Administrator of Abyei Special Administrative Area. These coordinates are with the two Engineers: a. Kuol Biong b. Riing Kuol Arop.
12. The Committee found that Maj. Gen. Akuei Ajou Akuei, Maj. Gen. Makal Kuol Deng and Brig. Gen. Chol Madol, the commanders of battalion 7b and taskforce stationed in Agok by the Vice President for Services Cluster have gravely contributed to the conflict by allowing the army to participate in the communal conflict between Ngok and Twic Dinka.
13. The Committee found out that the visit of Dr. John Garang, Gen. Salva Kiir, Dr. Riek Machar, Dr. Lam Akol, Gen. Kuol Manyang Juuk and etc in 2004 to Agok area, reception was organized by Ngok not Twic and 12 Bulls were slaughtered. These twelve (12) Bulls signified the followings: a. nine (9) Bulls for Nine Ngok Dinka Chiefdoms b. one Bull for the visitors c. one Bull for Abyei County and d. one Bull for Abiemnom IDPs hosted in Agok by Ngok.

14. The Committee established that the Presidential order No. 03/2015 on the establishment of Abyei Special Administrative Area, its four Counties and Abyei municipality was based on the Abyei box.
15. The Committee found that one of the citizens of Warrap State Hon. Riing Maien Mawien, who hail from Tonj, testified that that he was born in 1962 and never heard of Agok belongs to Twic. It is the land of Ngok.
16. The Committee found out that the business man called: Bol Ahol had contributed his personal pickup mounted with 12.7 millimeter to Twic youth to fight against Ngok.
17. The Committee found out that Mr. Bol Ahol has been funding the conflict between the two communities of Twic and Ngok as shown by his behaviors toward the Ad hoc Committee, when he was summoned in Juba.
18. The Committee established that there are only eight sections four from each community to talk about the boundary between Twic and Ngok as follows: Ngok sections: Diil, Anyiel, Abior and Manyuar and Twic sections are: Kuac Aganaynaya, Amol, Adiang and Akoc-thon.
19. **The Committee established that the Wanjok Aweil East State 20/Jan/2018 communiqué' between Twic State and Abyei Special Administrative Area's agenda discussed had no mentioned about the boundary issues. See annex 3.10**
20. **The Committee found out that there are three rivers: a. Kiir River/Bar El Arabs which goes up to Wangkai in Unity State b. Alaal river adjacent to Agok area which link to river Kiir at junction of Kiir-tuom c. Lol River which divide Twic into two.**
21. The Committee found that Gen. Thomas Thiel also known as (Tom Elnour Elzian) is a militia used by the Jalaba to fight on behalf of Misseriya against Ngok Dinka, who hailed from Twic.

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22. The Committee established that the cessation of hostilities signed in Aweil by the two communities initiated by the High-Level Committee led by VP, H.E, Hussein Abdel Bag, lacks implementation and monitoring mechanisms for it to hold water and that was why it was violated in the next day of its signature by the two conflicting communities.
23. **The Committee found out that the books written by Uncle. Bona Malual Madut and Uncle. Dr. Francis DengMading** are assumed by the two conflicting communities that they are the prime causes to the current communal violence of Twic and Ngok Dinka. See annex 3.15 and 3.16
24. **The Committee found that the communities along the boundary line of 1/1/1956 and other internal borders are so ignorant on 1/1/1956 boundary coordinates** left by the British. Where by the two communities of Ngok and Twic are saying that their boundary is in accordance to 1/1/1956, but if they are asked that where is 1/1/1956 practically? Twic said it is exactly inside river Kiir and Ngok said it is at river Alaal at the far South of river Kiir.
25. The Committee found that the Government of Warrap State has never taken any measures to stop the conflict and it has left Twic youth astray to decide and mobilized one another toward the war. (See testimony of Hon. Deng Deng, Twic representative in Warrap State Legislative Assembly)
26. The Committee established the fact that there was no targeting killing against Twic in Abyei or Agok, the people of Twic who ran away from Abyei were just fearing from unknown as said by UNISFA and Twic community in Abyei as well.
27. The Committee found that the Tiger battalion, a new force deployed to Agok area which has already arrived is occupying the schools, hospitals, residential areas, government institutions and the markets

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28. The Committee found out that there is need for the deployment of SSPDF in Ajakuac and Mayen-Abun Payams of Turalei County, in order to monitor the activities of the armed youth from both sides who may be in a position to attack each other.
29. The Committee established that Hon. Aleu Ayeny, governor of Warrap State admitted that he was misled by the politicians, when he entered Agok with his Gubernatorial flag flying and thereafter he apologies to the Hon. Chief Administrator of Abyei Special Administrative Area,
30. The Committee found out that lack of communication between the Chief Administrator of Abyei Special Administrative Area and Warrap State Governor had negatively intensified the conflict between the two sisterly communities.
31. The Committee found out that the boundary line is not running inside river Kiir as claimed by Twic, but run parallel to river Kiir at far south in the periodic swampy area of Alaal as it is in July/1955 and 1/1/1956 maps. See map of Sudan survey July/1955 annex 3.15
32. The Committee found out that the Letter written by the Hon. Kon Manyiel Kuol, the former governor of Twic State to H.E, Gen. Salva Kiir Mayardit, the President of the Republic of South Sudan, on January/30/2018, that if the Abyei box is not corrected then, it shall cause clans/communal conflict over some areas at South of river Kiir at any time. (Paragraph 4 page 4) is one of the incitements for Twic community to fight against Ngok community. See annex 3.4
33. The Committee established that the testimony of Mr. Achuil Malith that Diil section of Ngok Dinka has land south river Kiir bordering Kuac Anganya and that in 2010 election Diil and Kuac Anganya have one constituency represented by Hon. Arop Madut

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34. **The Committee listen to audio tape of Hon. Minister of information of Warrap State saying and I quote “ we have told our youth to fight for their land at the South River Kiir”**

## 2.5 Observations of the Ad hoc Committee

1. **The Committee observed that there is a general fear of unknown among the people of South Sudan, particularly the people of Bahr El Ghazal, about the status of Abyei, that if the people of Abyei decided to be part of Sudan, then shall they take the land along with them or shall the land remain in South Sudan.**
  2. **The Committee observed that the conflict between Ngok and Twic Dinka has been heavily politicized by the politicians representing the two communities in the State/Administrative Area and at the National levels.**
  3. **The Committee observed that there is blame from both communities toward the leadership of the Country on why it is not able to provide a durable and final solution to the conflict between the two communities.**
  4. **The Committee also observed that the people of Abyei feels like they are being fought by Misseriya in the North and by the people of Warrap State, particularly Twic community in the south and the government of South Sudan does not stand with them in their quest for freedom from Sudan (specially on 2013 Referendum result recognition)**
- **Solutions or recommendations provided by Warrap State, Abyei Administrative Area and the two communities to the conflict:**

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1. Let Ngok Dinka cross to the North River Kiir for the peace to prevail between the two communities (according to Twic community in general).
2. Let the government provide a durable solution to the boundary conflict between the two communities (both Twic and Ngok Dinka communities)
3. Let there be a neutral force to create a buffer zone between the two conflicting communities in Agok/Anet area (by both communities to the conflict).
4. Dialogue between the eight (8) bordering sections from the two conflicting communities such as: Diil, Anyiel, Abior and Manyuar of Ngok Dinka in Abyei Special Administrative Area and Kuac-Aganganya, Adiang, Amol and Akoc-thon of Twic Dinka in Warrap State (by Ngok Dinka).
5. **Clear identification of the boundary** between the two communities especially the 1/1/1956 boundary between Bahr El Ghazal and Kordofan or South Sudan and Sudan (by Ngok Dinka).
6. **Awareness and sensitization among** the communities along the boundary of 1/1/1956 and the International Tribunal court of Arbitration ruling on Abyei boundary, especially on Abyei box and the mandate of the UNISFA on the same (by UNISFA).
7. Establish some mechanisms for the operationalization of the cessation of hostilities signed in Aweil by the conflicting communities of Dinka Ngok in Abyei Special Administrative Area and Dinka Twic in Warrap State on April/2022.
8. **Criminal investigation team from the National Ministries of Interior, and Justice with a mobile court to try those who had carried out atrocities in the area of Agok/Anet and other leaders heavily involved in this conflict (suggested by both communities to the conflict and their administrations).**
9. The areas along the boundary between Ngok and Twic Dinka according to them are:

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a. Akur (Abu-Nafisa) b. Athony c. Ayuek d. Don-Ayual e. Nyalou  
f. Wat g. Makuac-lueth h. Malou i. Malual Aleu j. Nyakong-North  
k. Atergot l. Kathian m. Mabil n. Gel-dom o. Akec-nhial p. Gel-  
minyang q. Rup-nyin r. Wardhak t. Nyok-chol u. Hoc v. Dier w.  
Ware-boot and x. Awan-thon. All these areas are at the north of  
river Alaal belong to Ngok Dinka and

At the South of river Alaal are the areas of Twic such as: a. Nyin-  
deng-ayuel

b. Nyakong-South c. Tongliet d. Bar-agok e. Thok-abore f. Nyor g.  
Madit h. Awilget i. Gor-anyok j. Mayen-abun k. Papiny l. Aruet  
m. Hol n. Kol o. Warkee

• **Recommendations of the Committee**

1. The Committee recommends that a force with a neutral commander who doesn't hail from the greater Bahr El Gazhal be deployed in the areas adjacent to Agok/Anet as a buffer zone.
2. The Committee recommends that a technical boundary committee be formed by H.E, Gen. Salva Kiir Mayardit, President of the Republic of South Sudan, to identify and demarcate the boundary accordance to July/1955 and 1/1/1956 Sudan survey maps between Twic and Ngok Dinka especially **Diil, Anyiel, Abior and Manyuar** and Kuac-Aganganya, Adiang, Amol and Akoc-thon. And a reconciliation conference between Twic and Ngok Dinka communities is conducted concurrently with the boundary demarcation process.
3. The Committee recommends that the Abyei Special Administrative Area especially the Rumamer County authority must suspend the survey activities in Agok town until the boundary identification and demarcation is completed.
4. The Committee recommends that the maps of July/1955 and 1/1/1956 from Sudan survey especially the map on the book of uncle. Bona Malual Madut can be used as references to demarcate

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the boundary between the two communities of Twic and Ngok Dinka

5. The Committee recommends that Mr. Bol Ahol be brought to book for his negative roles in supporting the communal violence by contributing to his Twic youth a land cruiser pickup mounted with 12.7 mm which shot the first bullet in Agok/Aneet against Ngok Dinka.
6. The Committee recommends that the Members of the National Legislature representing Twic who have instigated the communal violent between the two communities by writing the letters with threats which they have copied to the authorities of all levels of government must be accounted for their negative roles in the conflict
7. A mobile court be sent to Abyei Special Administrative Area and Warrap State to try those who have carried out the atrocities against innocent people from both side of the conflicting communities
8. A militia Gen. Thomas Thiel must be engaged by the government of South Sudan through the Sudan government
9. Tiger Battalion must be deployed to the hot spot's areas marked by the two communities of Ngok and Twic Dinka outside the box as follows
10. The Committee recommends that the Chief of Defense Forces form a committee to investigate both Maj. Gen. Akuei Ajou Akuei and Brig. Gen. Chol Madol on the involvement of the army under their commands in the fight in Agok between Twic and Ngok Dinka
11. The Committee recommends that there must be an urgent disarmament of civilians across the Country
12. The Committee recommends that let the government officials of Warrap State and Abyei Special Administrative Area, who are in detention be released or be arraigned in a court of law


13. The Committee recommends that the National Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster management to provide sheltering protection to both Ngok and Twic Dinka.
14. The Committee recommends that a technical committee be formed to identify all the properties destroyed in Agok town and the government to consider the compensation of the victims.
15. The Committee recommends that the solution provided by Twic community that let Ngok Dinka cross to the north river Kiir is not realizable and practical, due to the fact that even if the land of Agok belong to them then, they would have no legal basis to force the people of Abyei to leave the area or the land they stayed in for centuries.,
16. The Committee recommends that all the war propagandas or hate speeches, songs and some books written by imminent personalities should be stopped and shun by the two conflicting communities for the smooth dialogue and reconciliation eg, the books of Dr. Francis Deng titled Abyei Between the Two Sudans and Bona Malual titled Abyei of the Ngok Dinka Not Yet South Sudan should be suspended from the public domain to give reconciliation and healing of the two communities a chance.
17. **The Committee recommends** that Hon. Kon Manyiel Kuol, the former governor of Twic State should be accounted for his incitement letter he had written to the H.E, Gen. Salva Kiir Mayardit on January/30/2018 on Abyei box.
18. **The Committee recommends** that based on the testimony of Mr. Achuil Malith that Diil and Kuac Anganya sections of Ngok and Twic community have a boundary at the south river Kiir and in 2010 elections the two sections were having one constituency represented by Hon. <sup>Arch</sup> Mading Madut from Diil section of Ngok Dinka then, the two sections are the right people to dialogue on their boundary especially Agok/Aneet area.

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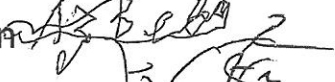





19. The Committee recommends that the cessation of hostility signed in Aweil initiated by the High-Level Committee led by H.E; Hussein Abdelbagi Akol the VP for Service Cluster should be enforced by creating a monitoring and implementation mechanism.

- **Conclusion of the Committee**

The Committee concluded that there must be serious engagements between the two communities of Twic and Ngok Dinka, so that they can dialogue on their issues or 1/1/1956 boundary and also make a comprehensive reconciliation starting with the innocent masses and the politicians representing the two communities at any level of governments. These conflicting communities were too peacefully coexisted and living in harmony together for centuries. Therefore, the dialogue, reconciliation and healing should precede the accountability process. The Committee emphasize that the general command of the SSPDF to accelerate the provision of the military logistics to aid the forces on the ground and deploy a neutral commander.



Names of the Ad Hoc Committee members and their .....signatures

1. Hon. Angelo Bada Bangbaru .....Chairman 
2. Hon. Riaw Gatlier Gai .....Member   
27/2/2023
3. John Masua Madanza .....Member
4. Hon. Okello Odongto Lawiri.....Member 
5. Hon. Simon Majak Deng.....Member   
27.02/2023
6. Hon. Genivie Eliaba Janabo.....Member   
27/2/2023
7. Mr. Paul Thomas Saverio.....Secretary   
27/2/2023

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