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## **Alliance nationale pour le changement démocratique/ National Alliance for Democratic Change (ANCD)**

### **Origins/composition**

Founded in May 2010, the ANCD formalizes Mahamat Nouri's split from the Union des forces de résistance/Union of Resistance Forces (UFR). Formerly a Chadian ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Nouri turned against the government, went to Sudan, and quickly became the leader of a Chadian armed group coalition that the Sudanese government had been attempting to form since 2005, a position he held between 2006 and 2009. The first Sudan-backed coalition, the Front uni pour le changement (démocratique)/United Front for (Democratic) Change of Mahamat Nour Abdelkarim, had failed in its April 2006 raid on N'Djaména. The Sudanese government thus turned to the more experienced Nouri, who quickly founded his own faction, the Union des forces pour le progrès et la démocratie/Union of Forces for Progress and Democracy (UFPD) in July 2006, followed by the Union des forces pour la démocratie et le développement/Union of Forces for Democracy and Development (UFDD) coalition. After several splits, the UFDD was reduced to its UFPD component, with Nouri retaining the UFDD name.

A few weeks after a failed raid by the main Chadian armed opposition groups on N'Djaména in February 2008, Khartoum made a new attempt to unite them under Nouri's leadership as part of the Alliance nationale/National Alliance (AN). Timan Erdimi's refusal to be Nouri's subordinate and the resulting fragmentation of the AN subsequently led to the formation of the UFR under Erdimi and Nouri's marginalization. Although his ANCD is now presenting itself as a coalition as broad as the AN, it comprises only the core of the UFDD, recruiting mostly among Goran from Nouri's Anakazza sub-group and Arab dissidents from groups that partly remained in the UFR. These Arab recruits are largely drawn from the Conseil démocratique révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Democratic Council (CDR), whose leader in exile, Albadour Acyl Ahmat Aghbach, joined Nouri, and from UFDD–Fondamentale, whose leadership remained with UFR; some have also joined N'Djaména, such as the Front pour le salut de la république/Front for the Salvation of the Republic (FSR) and the Concorde nationale du Tchad/Chadian National Concord (CNT). Some Ouaddaïan dissidents of the UFCD have also joined Nouri, reportedly in the hope that he will be able to negotiate a good deal with Chadian president Idriss Déby.

### **Areas of activity/capacity**

When the UFR moved from West Darfur to North Darfur in August 2009, Nouri's troops settled separately from the main UFR, in the Mellit and Sayah area in Dar Berti, north-east of Al Fasher. In this area some of the troops, apparently under very loose control, committed abuses against the local Berti population, including killings, rapes, and looting. Among these forces were ex-'janjaweed' militias who had been integrated into Chadian Arab armed opposition groups, in particular the FSR and CNT.

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When the UFR was established and Nouri was marginalized, he possessed some 200 vehicles and 2,000 men. A year later—after the continuous desertion of his men (reportedly to join Sudanese government forces or to return to Chad), the splits with Abakar Tollimi and Tahir Guinassou, and the ‘charter’ flights of some of his troops back to Chad—he has no more than a few troops loyal to him, under the leadership of Rozi Mayna, a Goran from the Anakazza sub-group. To escape disarmament by Sudanese authorities, these troops, together with those still loyal to Abakar Tollimi, left North Darfur for the tri-border area where the Central African Republic, Chad, and Sudan meet. Goran forces in this area are now under the leadership of Commandant Jean-Louis Vertu (a nephew of ex-Chadian president Hissène Habré, also a Goran from the Anakazza sub-group) and are attempting to forge links with the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement in South Sudan.

**Sources of financing/support**

Nouri’s faction had been among the main beneficiaries of Khartoum’s support until the creation of the UFR. His lack of support after the split may have led some of his troops to loot civilian property in North Darfur. His desire to obtain further support (combined with the presence of ex-‘janjaweed’ among his troops) may also explain why Nouri seemed open to ‘lending’ his forces to the Sudanese government to fight against Darfuri armed groups, in particular the Justice and Equality Movement. Yet they have refrained from fighting against Darfuri groups, including the weaker Sudan Liberation Army splinters operating in the Maw area of Dar Berti.

**Current status**

Most of the Chadian rebels who have returned to N’Djaména since July 2010 are defectors from Nouri’s ANCD. They include splinters from Arab armed opposition groups (the FSR, now led by Captain Ismaïl Moussa, after Ahmat Soubiane returned to N’Djaména, as well as splinters from the UFDD-Fondamentale and the CDR). But more important are the Goran core of the original UFDD, including leaders such as Tahir Guinassou and Tahir Wodji. Their arrests in November 2010, as well as the strong disappointment among Goran ex-rebels who joined the Chadian government, may trigger new unrest in the future. However, although the ANCD’s troops are among those still active at the tri-border area, it is unlikely that the group, cut off from its leader, Mahamat Nouri, as well as from the Goran community in northern Chad, can reconstitute in the short term.

Updated March 2011