

Waging Peace
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**BOMBING DARFUR:
How the Sudanese government
continues to bomb its civilians**

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Waging Peace campaigns against British support for dictators. Where there is currently inadequate pressure on specific countries, we lobby decision-makers to change diplomatic and corporate relationships with unsavoury regimes.

By propping up repressive rulers we unwittingly encourage the terrorism that now threatens us. We cannot lecture others on democracy, accountability and transparency, while pandering to vicious dictators.

Waging Peace has been campaigning on Darfur since 2004, pressing the British government to recognise genocide has occurred there, to stop pandering to the Khartoum junta, and to start protecting the survivors.

BACKGROUND

In the past 4 years, the Sudanese Government has carried out reconnaissance flights and aerial bombardments over the region of Darfur, indiscriminately killing and displacing hundreds of thousands of civilians. Contrary to claims that these offensive overflights have stopped since 11 February 2007, recent evidence collected on the ground shows that these bombings have in fact continued unabated.

The ban on offensive military overflights in Darfur

These offensive military overflights (see annexe for full definition), which have targeted both rebel groups and civilians indiscriminately, are in violation of the Government of Sudan's obligations under numerous agreements (Darfur Peace Agreement, N'Djamena Ceasefire Agreement and Abuja Protocol) and Security Council Resolutions (SCR 1556 and 1591). These bombings also violate the International Humanitarian Law principles of distinction and proportionality.

The Sudanese Government denies involvement in aerial attacks, independent reports show otherwise

The Sudanese Government has denied most of the aerial attacks and stated that the military has only used aircraft for restricted defence operations aimed at stopping rebel aggression¹. However, the Minister of Defence has also indicated that it considers the presence of even one rebel sufficient for making the whole village a legitimate military target².

A great number of independent reports have in fact indicated that not only has the Sudanese military bombed entire villages where armed rebels were present, but that it has also conducted offensive aerial attacks against villages in the absence of rebels³. As a result, the majority of those killed have been women, children and the elderly⁴.

The Sudanese Government's recourse to offensive military overflights is illegal and endangers humanitarian and peacekeeping operations in Darfur

In Darfur, none of the rebel groups have aircraft capacity. The Government of Sudan has on the other hand a substantial number of Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters, MIG fighter jets and Antonov aircrafts. While the types of bombs used differ, those dropped from Antonovs usually consist of boxes filled with metal shrapnel⁵. By nature, they lack precision.

Additionally, a considerable number of aircraft used for reconnaissance and offensive missions are unmarked and therefore similar to those used by AMIS, the UN and aid agencies⁶. While the use of white and unmarked aircraft is not prohibited, the transfer of such aircraft into Darfur for military use constitutes a violation of the arms embargo⁷. It is also an impediment to the peace process, as it presents a real danger for the peacekeeping forces and humanitarian organizations operating in Darfur⁸.

The type of attacks reveals a close coordination with ground troops and *Janjaweed* militias

Sudanese aerial reconnaissance flights and bombardments have typically preceded ground attacks by the military and *Janjaweed* militias⁹. In some cases, government aircraft were also used to control and inform troops on the ground and supply them with additional weapons and ammunition¹⁰.

These coordinated attacks are yet another proof of the clear link between the Sudanese Government and the *Janjaweed* militias.

These attacks are part of a larger strategy by the Government of Sudan to rid the region of non-Arab groups

Although these aerial attacks on villages often serve a military purpose, they are also part of a larger strategy by the Government of Sudan to rid the region of non-Arab groups.

The attacks are clearly ethnically based, with the groups targeted being essentially the Zaghawa, Masaalit and Fur tribes¹¹.

One of the aims of the Government campaign of aerial bombing is to terrorise populations so as to drive them away from their villages. When Sudanese refugees in Chad are asked why they believe they were attacked, they reply "because they want our land and cattle" or "they want to eliminate us from the area"¹².

Another associated aim of these systematic bombings in Darfur has been to destroy the livelihood of the targeted populations, also forcing them to flee. Indeed, villages are often razed to the ground, and wells, fields, markets and shops are destroyed.

DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE BAN ON AERIAL BOMBARDMENTS IN DARFUR

Since 2004, the use of aircraft by the Government of Sudan for military purposes has been prohibited under the N'Djamena Ceasefire Agreement, the Abuja Protocols and later under the Darfur Peace Agreement and UN Security Council 1591. In particular, the UN arms embargo established in July 2004 was extended in March 2005 to include the Government of Sudan.

Previous to these agreements, the indiscriminate killing of civilians resulting from aerial bombings constituted a violation of the Geneva Conventions and in particular the humanitarian principles of proportionality and distinction.

N'Djamena Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement signed between the Government of Sudan, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) – 19 April 2004

Article 1: *The parties decide on the cessation of hostilities between them and specifically proclaim a cease-fire for a period of 45 days automatically renewable except if opposed by one of the parties. The ceasefire will be effective on land, and air, to allow on one hand, a fast and unrestricted humanitarian access to the needy populations of Darfur and on the other hand, to arrive at a just and durable solution to the problem in Darfur;*

Article 2: *The cessation of hostilities between all the forces of the parties will be effective 72 hours after the signing of this Agreement.*

During the cease-fire, each party shall:

(...)Refrain from any military action, and any reconnaissance operations

(...)Refrain from any military activity which, from the opinion of the Cease-fire Commission or the Joint Commission, could endanger the cease-fire.

Abuja Protocol on the enhancement of the security situation in Darfur in accordance with the N'Djamena agreement, signed between the Government of Sudan, the SLA and the JEM– November 2004.

Article 1: *The Parties agree to strictly abide by the provisions of the N'djamena and Addis Ababa Agreements. In this respect, the Parties recommit themselves to ensure an effective ceasefire on land and air, in particular: - refraining from all hostilities and military actions, any reconnaissance operations, deployment, movement, or any other action aimed at extending territories under their respective control, and any military*

activity which, in the view of CFC/AMIS, undermines the ceasefire; - notifying all administrative movements to the CFC/AMIS.

Darfur Peace Agreement signed by the Government of Sudan and Minawi's faction of the SLM – 5 May 2006

Article 24: Prohibited Activities

226. In light of the existing ceasefire agreements, the Parties shall scrupulously refrain from the following activities: (...)

(i) Any attempt by a Party to disguise its equipment, personnel or activities as those of AMIS, United Nations Agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross/Crescent or any other similar organisation.

(j) All offensive military flights in and over Darfur.

(k) Any attempt to redeploy military forces and equipment or occupation of any positions out of their respective deployment positions or deploy additional military forces into Darfur by the GoS without the consent of the Ceasefire Commission.

(...)

Related UN Security Council Resolutions:

SCR 1556 of 30 July 2004: Arms Embargo

Para 7: "Decides that all states shall take the necessary measures to prevent the sale or supply, to all non-governmental entities and individuals, including the Janjaweed, operating in the states of North Darfur, South Darfur and West Darfur, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary equipment, and spare parts for the aforementioned, whether or not originating in their territories".

SCR 1591 of 29 March 2005: Extension of the Arms Embargo

Para 1: "Deplores strongly that the Government of Sudan and rebel forces and all other armed groups in Darfur have failed to comply fully with their commitments and the demands of the Council referred to in resolutions 1556 (2004), 1564 (2004), and 1574 (2004), condemns the continued violations of the 8 April 2004 N'djamena Ceasefire Agreement and the 9 November 2004 Abuja Protocols, including air strikes by the Government of Sudan in December 2004 and January 2005 and rebel attacks on Darfur villages in January 2005, and the failure of the Government of Sudan to disarm Janjaweed militiamen and apprehend and bring to justice Janjaweed leaders and their associates who have carried out human rights and international humanitarian law violations and other atrocities, and demands that all parties take

immediate steps to fulfil all their commitments to respect the N'djamena Ceasefire Agreement and the Abuja Protocols, including notification of force positions, to facilitate humanitarian assistance, and to cooperate fully with the African Union Mission”.

Para 7: "Reaffirms the measures imposed by paragraphs 7 and 8 of resolution 1556 (2004), and decides that these measures shall immediately upon adoption of this resolution, also apply to all the parties to the N'djamena Ceasefire Agreement and any other belligerents in the states of North Darfur, South Darfur and West Darfur; decides that these measures shall not apply to the supplies and related technical training and assistance listed in paragraph 9 of resolution 1556 (2004); decides that these measures shall not apply with respect to assistance and supplies provided in support of implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement; further decides that these measures shall not apply to movements of military equipment and supplies into the Darfur region that are approved in advance by the Committee established under paragraph 3 (a) upon a request by the Government of Sudan; and invites the African Union Ceasefire Commission to share pertinent information as appropriate in this regard with the Secretary-General, the Committee, or the Panel of Experts established under paragraph 3 (b)".

REPORTS OF AERIAL BOMBARDMENTS

Below is a list of attacks involving the offensive use of aircraft by the Government of Sudan. This list is not comprehensive as information emanating from Darfur is sparse and the African Union has been largely prevented from investigating incidents.

However, the reports of incidents below provide detailed evidence of the offensive use of aircrafts by the Sudanese Government and clearly indicate the systematic, indiscriminate and widespread character of these attacks.

January 2003: Terga, Western Darfur

"The village of Terga was attacked in January 2003. An aircraft bombed the village and then about 40 cars and men on horses arrived. (...) The attackers in the cars and on the horses were shooting the villagers. They were stealing from the houses. Four young boys were executed in front of the villagers. The attack was conducted mainly by the military. The Arab people did the stealing. Soldiers also committed rapes together with the Janjaweed"¹³.

May/June/July 2003: Amnatay, Northern Darfur

"In May 2003, they dropped bombs from Antonovs on our cattle and on our huts. (...) In June/July they attacked the village. (...) They came with horses and cars and they were all in uniforms. They killed my husband". The villagers fled but "the Janjaweed found us on the way. Antonovs bombarded us and killed 3 people. We were many on the run and some people were caught by Janjaweed"¹⁴.

20 June 2003: Kornoy, Northern Darfur

"On 20 June 2003, Kornoy was bombed. Amina Ishaq, aged 35, told AI delegates: "I lost my daughter in the bombing of the 20 June, it was about 4pm. Her name was Nada Ismail, she was by a well. When the bombing stopped, we found her and collected the pieces of her body." Another one said: "It was 10am, I was cooking. The plane came suddenly and destroyed my home completely. I ran away to Chad"¹⁵.

28 June 2003: Abu Jidad, Northern Darfur

"The village was attacked on 28 June 2003, when men on horses and camels and in cars came in and surrounded the village at midday. The Janjaweed were accompanied by soldiers of the Government, the latter using cars. Two hours later, an Antonov plane and two helicopters flew over the village and shot rockets. The attackers came into the houses and shot my mother and grandfather, without any word. Most of the inhabitants had stayed in their houses. The attack lasted for two hours and everything was burnt down in the village"¹⁶.

29 June 2003: Goz Na-Ima, Northern Darfur

"The attack took place at 6am on Sunday 29 June and was carried out by both Janjaweed and the Government, arriving on camels, horses and by cars - some 150 men in khaki in all. Two Antonov planes also took part in the attack. Some 65 men were praying at the mosque. The horses, camels and cars surrounded the mosque and the shooting started. All the men in the mosque were killed"¹⁷.

July 2003: Kutum, Northern Darfur

"Kutum was bombed during the fighting between government troops and the SLA, at the end of July, before it was raided by the Janjawid. While there was rebel presence in the area at the time of bombings, civilians and civilian buildings were hit by the bombs. In particular, the hospital and the prison were bombed. A woman from Kutum, met in Tina refugee camp, told Amnesty International delegates: "In the prison, the prison guards and the prisoners were killed by the bombing. The hospital was also destroyed and the patients killed. I knew two persons who were sick in hospital at the time and who were killed by the bombs. Their names are Mohamed Ali, a 40-year-old farmer and Amina Ishaq, a 20-year-old young woman. It is very sad"¹⁸.

August 2003: Habila, Western Darfur

"[During] the attack on Habila town in Western Darfur in August 2003 (...) six bombs were dropped by an Antonov aircraft on the town and the market, killing 30 civilians. The Commission's investigators verified witness testimonies, inspected sites showing evidence of bombardment, and saw graves where 27 of the 30 victims are buried. Habila is mainly populated by the Masalit tribe. The Commission found no evidence that there was any rebel activity or structures in the vicinity that could have been the target of this attack"¹⁹.

August 2003: Kerana, Southern Darfur

"The village was attacked at 6am by men on horses, camels, three Antonov airplanes, two MIGs and in the cars. The Janjaweed arrived first on horses, then the government forces and then the planes. Some 150 people were killed, 3 women, 4 children and the rest men. The Janjaweed took away 300 cows, 400 goats and 200 camels, as well as money"²⁰.

5 August 2003: Tina, Northern Darfur

"Tina was repeatedly bombed as part of government attempts to crush the armed opposition, who had taken control of the city, killing civilians. Faiza Idris Adam, a female pupil aged 14, testified: "It was 9am, I was in the classroom when the town was bombed, our teacher was teaching us history and geography when the plane bombed our school. It was on 5 August (...). The pupils fled. Saddam Omer, a pupil in my class, aged 14, went

out, he was hit, he died in the school courtyard." Inhabitants of Tina were mostly affected by the bombings. Town dwellers at times reported dozens of relatives being killed or wounded by the bombings²¹.

8 August 2003: Mukjar and Bindisi area, Western Darfur

"The Mukjar and Bindisi area appears to have been among the first areas in West Darfur to be targeted by the government's newly-assembled militia forces. On Friday, August 8, 2003, Janjaweed militia was mobilized and according to an elderly woman from Mukjar, "a helicopter came three times to re-supply the Janjaweed with ammunition"²².

November 2003: a village about 10 hours away from Riyad camp in al Geneina, Western Darfur

"Mohammed, who comes from a village about 10 hours away from Riyad camp in al-Jeneina, spoke of how his village was attacked in November 2003 by armed men on horses, camels and in vehicles. The village was also bombed by two types of military aircraft. One hundred and sixty people were killed that day, including 29 from his family"²³.

November 2003: Anga, Bayda, Nyorongta and Shushta, Western Darfur

"In November 2003, Janjaweed attacked at least four villages close to Mango - Angar, Bayda, Nyorongta and Shushta - and remained in the villages after burning them. Izhaq, a forty-two year-old farmer from Mango Gobe, said helicopter gunships also landed in the area. "No one was allowed anywhere near the area before the helicopters came," he said. "We think they were bringing weapons. Two or three days later they attacked Mango"²⁴.

November 2003: Mango Buratta, Western Darfur

"In just one village in the Mango cluster, Mango Buratta, soldiers and Janjaweed killed twenty people. Adam, a forty-one-year-old farmer, said they stole all the cattle in the village and burned the entire village. "On that same day, they attacked eleven villages," he said. "Not a single home was left. Antonovs and helicopters came the next day. Why? How can we know? To see if anyone was left, I suppose. They didn't bomb"²⁵.

29 December 2003: Nouri, Western Darfur

"Nouri, a large area of several villages comprising 900-1,000 huts, or about 7,000 people, was attacked by Janjaweed and army on December 29, 2003. Villagers interviewed separately said about 170 villagers were killed in twenty-four hours. They said two helicopter gunships rocketed the area before ground forces arrived. They were flying so

low that people in the largest village, Nouri Jallo, could see the pilot"²⁶.

January 2004: Goz Naim, Northern Darfur

"The first attack was in early January [2004]. First the plane bombed and then the janjaweed came. (...) The second attack was two weeks later, in late January. First there was bombing about 9 a.m., then the janjaweed came by horse and car; there were hundreds of them. (...) They killed fifteen people in the village—three women and twelve men. Two of the women were old women, in their fifties, they were shot while trying to protect their animals from being stolen. The men were in the mosque when they were killed"²⁷.

15-16 January 2004: Habilah, Western Darfur

"Refugees in Kourbileke (about 2 km from the border) told IRIN they had fled for their lives from Sudanese bombs on 16 January."The bombing was in the surrounding villages, then it came to our village [Habilah]," said Abd al-Karim Abbakar Anaw, who described himself as a Sudanese chief. "They are [still] bombing every day. We heard it today at 7.00 a.m. this morning." First the army came in tanks with militias on horseback, then they stole the villagers' cattle from near the well, he said. The next day a plane dropped bombs on the village, killing eight people and forcing the entire population - about 1,750 - to flee. In the chaos, seven people - four men and three women - were abducted, he added"²⁸.

29 January 2004: Tine, Chad

"Sudanese bombs fell on the border town of Tine Chad on Thursday morning, instantly killing two Chadian civilians, one of them a two-year-old child, and wounding 15 others. One of the wounded died later in a hospital run by Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), following surgery to remove shrapnel (...). Early on Thursday morning at about 08:00 GMT, Sudanese aircraft had started bombing the border area between the towns of Tine Sudan and Tine Chad. MSF staff, (...) had heard 11 bombs exploding, she said; seven of them had landed on the Chadian side of the dry river bed between the two towns (...). Another Sudanese Antonov aircraft had overflown the Tine Chad on Thursday afternoon, said Peyrassol, but did not drop any bombs. The town, meanwhile, had remained calm for the rest of the day and night"²⁹.

10 February 2004: Tullus, Southern Darfur

"On February 10, 2004, Antonov planes bombed the village of Tullus in advance of an attack on the village by Janjaweed (...). One villager, Hassan, said at least twelve men were killed in the village; other sources put the figure as high as twenty-three. Fifteen people including seven women and six children were reportedly killed outside the village -

some of them targeted and then shot in cold blood³⁰.

17-18 February 2004: Anka, Barey, Northern Darfur

"At about 9 a.m. on or about 17 or 18 February 2004 the village of Barey, situated about 5 km from the village of Anka, was attacked by a combined force of Government soldiers and Janjaweed. A witness from Barey then alerted the villagers of Anka to a possible imminent attack. (...) Before the Janjaweed entered the village [Anka], the Government armed forces bombed the area around the village with Antonov aircraft. One aircraft circled the village while the other one bombed. (...). The bombing lasted for about two hours, during which time 20 to 35 bombs were dropped around the outskirts of the village. A hospital building was hit during the bombardment. (...) Fifteen civilians were killed in Anka as a result of shrapnel injuries during and after the attack, 8 others were wounded. While some have recovered, others are reportedly disabled as a result of their injuries. The village is now totally deserted³¹.

March 2004: Kailek, Southern Darfur

"Government forces and Janjaweed attacked at around 3 p.m., supported by aircraft and military vehicles. Again, villagers fled west to the mountains. Janjaweed on horses and camels commenced hunting the villagers down, while the military forces remained at the foot of the mountain. They shelled parts of the mountains with mortars, and machine-gunned people as well. People were shot when, suffering from thirst, they were forced to leave their hiding places to go to water points. There are consistent reports that some people who were captured and some of those who surrendered to the Janjaweed were summarily shot and killed. One woman claimed to have lost 17 family members on the mountain³².

March 2004: Kalokitting, Southern Darfur

"The village was attacked around 4 in the morning. Men with weapons, wearing khaki and covering their faces, entered houses. There were many weapons, including Kalashnikov, DShK, and G-3, as well as green vehicles. The army was there and everybody was wearing khaki. There were around two to three white and green aircraft, which came very low. One white plane was attacking³³.

15 March 2004: Hashberra, Western Darfur

"In Hashberra village in West Darfur, potential returnees met with armed Janjaweed farming the land. Mansour (not his real name) fled when the government and Janjaweed forces attacked the village with helicopters on March 15, 2004. This Masalit village was burned and looted and Mansour's mother, with fourteen other women and ten men, were killed in the attack³⁴.

28 May 2004: Tabit, Northern Darfur

"At approximately 2 p.m., one Antonov airplane accompanied by two helicopter gunships dropped three bombs on the market area and killed at least 12 people³⁵.

June 2004: Chadian/Sudanese border, including Birak

"In early June, Sudanese government aircraft also bombed locations in Darfur near Chadian border towns, including Birak, resulting in an unknown number of deaths³⁶.

3 June 2004: Funu, Northern Darfur

"Funu, south-east of Karnoi, reportedly bombed, injuring six people, following an encounter between SLA and Janjaweed militia over cattle³⁷.

3 June 2004: Jebel Mum Area, Western Darfur

"In North Darfur on June 3, the Janjaweed attacked eight villages in the Jebel Mun area of West Darfur, and killed 13 villagers, all civilians, some of whom attempted to resist the looting with guns. The Sudanese government then bombed the area.³⁸"

12 July 2004: Donki Dereisa, Southern Darfur

"An attack by more than 400 armed horsemen on the village of Donki Dereisa on July 12. The attack, which was supported by a fixed-wing aircraft that bombed the village and by several military vehicles filled with Sudanese foot soldiers, resulted in the death of as many as 150 villagers, including six young children --- ages three to fourteen --- who were captured during the assault and burned alive later that day. A man who tried to save them was beheaded and dismembered³⁹.

12 July 2004: Talha, Southern Darfur

"The attack, which left at least 20 dead, including several children, was supported by a military airplane⁴⁰.

13 July 2004: Abu Noura, Southern Darfur

"[There was] an attack on approximately July 13 on the village of Abu Noura by hundreds of Janjaweed, who were supported by a fixed wing aircraft and two military vehicles. Approximately twelve men were killed in the attack and the village was looted and burned⁴¹.

1 August 2004: Bindis, Western Darfur

"Hassan, two of his three daughters, his father and his older brother were eating when they heard what seemed like the sounds of an exploding mortar that turned out to be a bomb from one of the notorious Antonov aircraft that he and other refugees say frequently announced the start of a raid on the straw hut villages of West Darfur. "We went outside to try and find out what it was when we saw men in vehicles that were shooting," he said through an

interpreter. "The Janjaweed followed on horses, about 2,000 of them, shooting in all directions"⁴².

26-28 August 2004

"Recent actions by the Government of the Sudan armed forces involve a level of violence that seems at odds with the principle of restraint it promised to observe under the Plan of Action. According to initial reports, Government aircrafts were involved in a clash with rebel forces some time between 26 and 28 August 2004"⁴³.

October 2004: Amika Sara, Southern Darfur

"The village of Amika Sara, Southern Darfur, was reportedly bombed by helicopter gunships, in an attack supported by Antonov aircraft and with ground support from Janjaweed, in October 2004. The site was visited on three occasions by the Commission. The evidence found was consistent with the testimony given by witnesses, according to whom 17 civilians were killed. The remains of rockets fired from helicopters were clearly identified. Crater analysis suggests that the helicopter attacks involved either multiple passes or multiple aircraft, or both. The Commission verified the presence of fresh graves in the area"⁴⁴.

23 November 2004: Adwa, Southern Darfur

"According to witnesses, on 23 November 2004 at 6 a.m. Government of the Sudan armed forces in complicity with Janjaweed launched an attack on Adwa. Rebel forces reportedly held a base on top of the mountains near Adwa, and a battle between Government soldiers and rebel forces ensued. Two helicopter gunships and an Antonov aircraft were used during the attack, possibly for reconnaissance purposes (...). According to witness reports, civilians including women, children and elderly persons were targeted during the attack. (...) Many people were killed and more than 100 persons were injured. Following the attack, representatives of an international organization searched the village and found several injured women and children, whom they escorted to hospital. They also found the bodies of between 20 and 30 civilians who had been killed during the attack, including women and children. All of the victims were reportedly from Adwa and belonged to the Fur tribe"⁴⁵.

22-4 November 2004: Tawilla, Northern Darfur

"The violence reached a high point on 22 November, when SLA attacked Tawilla town, Northern Darfur, and took control of all police posts within a few hours. The Sudanese army launched heavy retaliatory attacks, reportedly using bomber planes, and forcing SLA to withdraw from Tawilla. Fighting continued in the vicinity until 24 November, however, causing extensive casualties"⁴⁶.

December 2004: El Fasher and Nyala, Southern Darfur

"At the beginning of December, the Government started a massive build-up of forces and logistics in Darfur. It seems that several hundred troops were brought into El Fasher (north Darfur) and Nyala (south Darfur), as reinforcements to carry out road-clearing operations. Reports indicate that the Government used vehicle borne infantry backed by armoured vehicles to clear the roads, with Antonov fixed wing aircraft in an observation role. Helicopter gunships were reported to have been used in an offensive mode in these operations"⁴⁷.

7-8 December 2004: El Fasher, Southern Darfur

"On 7 December, Government forces attempted to take control of the Thabit area, a SLM/A stronghold near El Fasher. Renewed fighting was reported in the same area on 8 December, with reports indicating the Government's use of the air force"⁴⁸.

15 December 2004: Marla, Southern Darfur

"Marla was attacked again on the morning of December 15. According to residents of Marla, the attack started with two helicopter gunships and an Antonov circling above the town, possibly to determine whether there was any SLA presence. Government soldiers in several trucks arrived from different directions, and began shooting indiscriminately and setting fire to houses. The troops established a base on the western side of the village and began looting and burning the shops in the marketplace. They prevented Marla residents from getting water from the main well in the town. While the majority of the attackers were government troops, some militia members were also involved in the attack and the looting that followed. (...) The number of civilians killed there, by targeted or indiscriminate shooting, is unclear. According to one source, one man was summarily executed by soldiers and another killed in the indiscriminate shooting. Several women were wounded reportedly by rockets fired by the helicopter gunships"⁴⁹.

3 January 2005: Sayah, Northern Darfur

"As recently as 3 January 2005, an attack by government forces on an SLM/A position in Sayah (north Darfur) was reported to have occurred with the use of aircraft. Although road-clearing operations seem to have been suspended for now, road traffic in Darfur is still adversely affected by the instability caused by the two week operation undertaken by the Government"⁵⁰.

26 January 2005: Rahad Kabolong, Northern Darfur

"According to African Union monitors, government aircraft bombed the village of Rahad Kabolong] on

26 January, reportedly killing some 100 civilians, among them many women and children⁵¹.

26 January 2005: Shangil Tobaya, Northern Darfur

"Government aerial attack killed 100 in Shangil Tobaya town 26 January drawing sharp international criticism. AU said monitors initially prevented from investigating⁵². Thousand of people were also forced to flee.

24 July 2005: Shangil Tobayi and Abu Hamra, Northern Darfur

"At about 0800 hours on 24 July 2005, Government soldiers travelling in 24 Toyota Land Cruiser 4 x 4 vehicles were observed coming from the direction of Al-Malam (a tribal militia stronghold). A militia of armed men accompanied them on camel and horseback. The militia force stopped their advance while the motorized regular military force swept past the village of Abu Hamra, turned and attacked it. The villagers fled to a nearby wadi and hid there. Two Government attack helicopters fired at least one rocket-propelled weapon into the village and surrounding area in support of the attack⁵³.

23-24 July 2005: Abu Hamra, Northern Darfur

"The Panel was able to verify at least one incident involving two Sudanese Air Force Mi-24 attack helicopters in an area on the Nyala to El-Fasher road south of Shangil Tobayi in Northern Darfur State, on 23 and 24 July 2005. On that day a Sudanese military unit escorting a commercial convoy was ambushed, and pinned down, by rebel forces. During the initial engagement the commanding officer and two other members of the unit were killed and a number of other troops injured. Air support was called in and two Mi-24 stationed in Nyala were dispatched to the location. (...)

An African Union investigation (...) determined that at least one of the helicopters fired during the engagement. When visiting the site of the attack, Ceasefire Commission investigators identified the remains of a recently fired Russian-made 57-mm SKOG flechette-filled, air-to-ground rocket. According to the investigator, at the time the investigation was conducted, the remnants of the missile were new and fresh impact marks were visible near the rocket casing⁵⁴.

19-22 September 2005: Sheiria, Southern Darfur

"On [22 September] Government forces regained control of Sheiria town following heavy bombardment in the vicinity of the town during the morning. Government aircraft were observed in the area during the counter-attack by Government forces on 22 September⁵⁵.

"The Government of the Sudan Commanding Officer (Sheiria) acknowledged to the AU investigation team that aircraft were indeed used during the attack of 22 September, maintaining that they were used solely for air surveillance⁵⁶.

28 September 2005: Aro Sharow, Gosmino and Ardja Western Darfur

"This case study deals with an attack by Arab militia on the villages of Aro Sharow, Gosmino and Ardja and the camp of internally displaced persons near Aro Sharow. (...) A Government military helicopter was seen flying over the area and landing 3 km east of the Jebel Moon Mountains (the direction from which the attack came) immediately prior to the attack. Other witnesses reported that they had seen a black helicopter flying in the area of the mountains (from where the attackers came) two hours before the attack⁵⁷.

5-6 November 2005: Um Hashaba, Northern Darfur

"The Panel has also received a number of credible allegations that Government helicopters are apparently flying very low over fields and villages and intimidating the local population. For example, local sheiks had complained to United Nations observers that on 5 and 6 November 2005 Government helicopters flew extremely low over fields and villages in the area of Um Hashaba, which frightened and intimidated the local population since the same type of aircraft had been used by Government forces in earlier attacks⁵⁸.

18 November 2005: Jebel Moon Area, Western Darfur

"On 18 November, the Sudanese Armed Forces carried out operations in the Jebel Moon area, allegedly against Chadian deserters who had moved into the area. A week later, an assessment team from the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) visited the area on a fact-finding mission. Following discussions with members of the community in the area, they confirmed that the Sudanese Armed Forces had not only attacked the area, but that helicopter gunships had been used in the operation. Eight people were reported wounded in the area, three of them seriously, including a 13-year-old boy. Furthermore, there was no sign of Chadian deserters as alleged by the Government⁵⁹.

January 2006

"The Panel, AMIS and other international observers have witnessed a build-up or mobilization of Government forces in Darfur in recent months. This, combined with reports of increased surveillance and reconnaissance flights by Government aircraft, suggests that the Government of the Sudan may be preparing for or anticipating expanded military operations in Darfur⁶⁰.

25 January 2006: Harba, 5 km from Sheiria, Southern Darfur

"On 25 January a coordinated attack by armed Arab and Birgit militia (on camels and horseback) and Sudanese armed forces (in vehicles) swept through the town. An Antonov aircraft supported the attack by directing ground forces and conducting aerial reconnaissance. Eight villagers were killed and several were injured. Looting of livestock and property occurred"⁶¹.

14 February 2006: Rahad El Reel, Southern Darfur

"On 14 February 2006, Government forces and allied militia carried out a joint attack with air support on Rahad El Reel (10 kilometres east of Sheiria town in South Darfur). The SLA and IDPs reported that a mixed force of Government soldiers (with air support) and 300 militia members attacked the town. While there was an SLA presence in the area and the SLA shot down one Government attack helicopter, during the fighting seven civilians were allegedly killed and five injured in a manner that appeared to be in contravention of the laws of war. Houses were burned and militia and Government soldiers looted property"⁶².

14 February 2006: Arto, Southern Darfur

"On 14 February 2006 SLA positions at Arto again came under attack by Sudanese armed forces and militia. The attack was again supported by helicopter gunships — again apparently used to direct ground forces and conduct aerial reconnaissance"⁶³.

8 April 2006: Jebel Wana area, Northern Darfur

"On 8 April, the Sudanese Armed Forces launched attacks against villages in the Jebel Wana area using two helicopter gunships. Three SLA soldiers were reportedly killed and at least 17 people injured"⁶⁴.

24 April 2006: Joghana and Gereida, Southern Darfur

"On 24 April, the Sudanese armed forces accompanied by a large militia force, attacked Joghana, a town held by SLM/A. The attack started at 0700 hours and continued until 1400 hours. The Government of the Sudan forces comprised soldiers on Land Cruisers with mounted 12.7-mm light machine guns. The militia were on camels and horses. The ground forces were supported by two Sudanese armed forces Mi-24 helicopters and a white Antonov aircraft. Unconfirmed reports indicated that the Antonov dropped six bombs on the town during the attack. SLM/A reported that four of their soldiers were killed and seven injured. There were many civilian casualties, but the exact number has not been verified. More than 5,000 civilians were displaced by the attack and fled to

different camps but mainly to the camp at Gereida, which now holds over 100,000 internally displaced persons — largely displaced by the violence in the area since November 2005"⁶⁵.

31 July 2006: Gimmeza, Bobai, Krekir, Kulkul and Hashaba, Northern Darfur

"On 31 July 2006, a cluster of villages composed of Gimmeza, Bobai and Krekir, north of Kafod, were bombed by an Antonov aircraft. The first bombing run started at 0900 hours with a nine-bomb stick to the west of the villages and 13 bombs to the east. At 1300 hours, the Antonov returned and again bombed the same area with a five-bomb stick to the east of the villages, a seven-bomb stick in the village gardens and eight bombs to the north. Two village huts were destroyed and some livestock were killed or injured. There were no human casualties. The same villagers also heard bombing in the area of Kulkul and Hashaba on 1 August"⁶⁶.

29 July 2006: Hassan, Northern Darfur

"The Sudanese Armed Forces has reportedly deployed aircraft to Northern Darfur for reconnaissance, logistics support and bombing raids. Reports indicate that a government aircraft bombed Hassan village near Kulkul on 29 July, killing at least one civilian and injuring seven others"⁶⁷.

30 July-1 August 2006: Gosh Marakh, Um Hashab, and Yonka, Northern Darfur

"Villagers from Gosh Marakh, Um Hashab, and Yonka reported bombings in their areas between 30 July and 1 August"⁶⁸.

28-29 August 2006: Tura, Sayeh and Um Sidir, Northern Darfur

"On 28 and 29 August, reports were received that Government of the Sudan Antonov aircraft had bombed areas near Tura, Sayeh and Um Sidir, Northern Darfur"⁶⁹.

28-31 August 2006: Kulkul and Sayeh, Northern Darfur

"On 28 August, Sudanese Armed Forces and NRF forces reportedly resumed fighting west of Kulkul with aerial bombing from government aircraft. Sudanese Armed Forces captured Abu Sakin and Kulkul from the NRF on 28 August, and Um Sidir on 31 August, while introducing additional troops to Northern Darfur"⁷⁰.

September 2006

"September witnessed an increase in violence in Darfur. Fighting between the signatories and non-signatories of the Darfur Peace Agreement intensified with the Government of the Sudan using aerial bombardment in attacks against villages controlled by the National Redemption Front (NRF) and G19 rebel groups"⁷¹.

"The aerial bombardment of villages in Northern Darfur, similar to patterns of warfare observed at the height of the conflict in 2004, has been particularly disturbing"⁷².

2 September 2006: Hillet Hajar, Northern Darfur

"When a plane dropped bombs around the market and the school in Hillet Hajar, Northern Darfur, on 2 September, many of the villagers fled to the mountains to hide. Since May, the attacks have forced thousands to flee their villages to seek refuge in already overstretched IDP camps or isolated rural areas. Some 50,000 people have been displaced in the last four months, with villages in the countryside effectively emptied following aerial bombardments. Since mid-August, at least 12 people have died because of lack of medical services in camps in Tawila, Northern Darfur"⁷³.

10-12 September 2006: Tawila, Um Sidir and Hashaba, Northern Darfur

"On 10 September, Government aircraft bombed several villages 20 kilometres south-west of Tawila. After NRF forces re-captured Um Sidir, SAF aircraft commenced aerial bombardment of that village and Hashaba North on 12 September"⁷⁴.

19 September 2006: Anka and Amarai, Northern Darfur

"On 19 September, during ongoing fighting between SAF and NRF, Antonov planes reportedly bombed the NRF-controlled villages of Anka and Amarai, about 50 kilometres north-west of Um Sidir"⁷⁵.

3-7 October 2006: Malagat and Karyare, Northern Darfur

- "On 3 October, Janjaweed militias supported by Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) helicopters attacked positions of the Group of 19 (G19)/National Redemption Front (NRF) in Malagat, Northern Darfur. In retaliation, NRF attacked an SAF post in Karyare, close to the Chadian border, on 5 October. The combined rebel forces reportedly took control of Karyare on 7 October, with SAF suffering a large number of casualties. Government aircraft subsequently bombed the rebel-held town"⁷⁶.

18 October 2006: Kulbus, Western Darfur

"On 18 October, a Government Antonov was reported as dropping an unconfirmed number of bombs about 5-10 km east of Birmaza. One eight year old boy was killed"⁷⁷.

27 October 2006: Bahai, Tine, Karyari and Bamina, Chad

Sudanese air force bombed the towns of Bahai, Tine, Karyari and Bamina, in Chad, destroying homes and sowing panic among residents"⁷⁸.

15 November 2006: several villages in the Birmaza area, Northern Darfur

"On 15 November, soldiers of the Sudanese armed forces and armed militia, supported by helicopter gunships, attacked several villages in the Birmaza area, killing at least three civilians, torching dozens of houses and destroying four rub halls of an international non-governmental organization (NGO)"⁷⁹.

4-5 December 2006: Adilya area, Southern Darfur

"On 4 and 5 December, Government helicopter gunships and an Antonov aircraft bombed the Adilya area (Southern Darfur) in an attack on NRF forces"⁸⁰.

5-6 December 2006: Shagbuba, Northern Darfur

"On 5 and 6 December, Government aircraft bombarded Shagbuba with ground support from armed militia and killed five civilians"⁸¹.

11-21 December 2006: Hashaaba, Northern Darfur

A Sudanese Government warplane bombed the village of Hashaaba in northern Darfur on 11 December 2006. "Jarennabi Abdel-Karim, a spokesman for a faction of the rebel Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) (...), said the plane fired a rocket at a house in the village of Hashaaba.

"Eight people from the same family were killed," he told Reuters via satellite telephone. "Most of them are children"⁸².

This was confirmed by the UN Secretary-General: "[armed militia and government forces] launched aerial bombardments on G19 strongholds of Hashaba and Anka (Northern Darfur) on 11 and 21 December, killing eight civilians"⁸³.

20 December 2006: Gubba, Northern Darfur

"On 20 December, armed militia and Government forces launched a combined ground and air strike against a joint force of the G19 group, Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM)-Abdul Shafi and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) in Gubba (Northern Darfur)"⁸⁴.

23 December 2006: Tim

Government forces bombed the village of Tim on 23 December on Tim village. Eighteen people were reportedly killed and eight others kidnapped"⁸⁵.

30 December 2006: Kutum, Northern Darfur

AU force commander Luke Aprezi confirmed that five people have been killed in a bombing raid by a government Antonov plane on civilians in Kutum, North Darfur.

The attack followed an incident on 25 December when armed militia in about 30 vehicles looted Kineen village (8 km Northeast of Kutum), stealing livestock. The bush land surrounding the village was reportedly set on fire while women were sexually harassed⁸⁶.

31 December 2006: Um Rai, Northern Darfur

An AU statement confirmed that Sudanese aircrafts bombed Darfur rebel areas in Um Rai, a day after African Union officials visited the insurgents and secured their commitment to a ceasefire⁸⁷.

6 January 2007: Bamina and Gadir, Northern Darfur

The African Union denounced air bombardment by Sudanese aircraft carried on Bamina and Gadir in North Darfur, near the border with Chad: "The Ceasefire Commission (CFC) observes with disappointment reports of air bombardment in Bamina and Gadir on 5 January 2007 by Government of Sudan"⁸⁸.

16-19 January 2007: Anka and Wadi Korma, Northern Darfur

"The Ceasefire Commission notes with great disappointment reports of air bombardment by GoS in Anka Village and Wadi Korma on 16 and 19 January 2007 respectively. Preliminary investigations by AMIS have confirmed that the aerial bombings indeed took place as reported"⁸⁹. "The AU did not mention any casualties. But U.N. officials said it had reports of two dead"⁹⁰.

19-21 January 2007: Hashaba and Ein Sirro, Northern Darfur

Rebel commanders from the JEM and SLA said the Sudanese air force bombed several areas near Hashaba and Ein Sirro from Friday to Sunday⁹¹. Rebel commanders from different factions were meeting to align their position ahead of peace talks with the Government. At least fourteen civilians are thought to have died as a result of the attacks⁹².

"An Antonov plane on Saturday made six sorties and dropped 21 bombs in 45 minutes on Ein Siro village north of Kutum, in North Darfur," said Haroun Ahmed Harran, an official of the breakaway Sudan Liberation Movement/Army-Unity (SLM/A-U)⁹³.

30 January 2007: Eastern Jebel Marra, Southern Darfur

Sudanese troops carried out a ground and air attack against Villages in Jebel Marra in South Darfur state⁹⁴

11 February 2007: Kariari and Bahai, Northern Darfur

"The AMIS Ceasefire Commission (CFC) notes with concern the bombardment by GoS Forces of Kariari

and Bahai, 2 villages in North Darfur close to Chad - Sudan border on 11 February 2007, at about 1200hours." Said a statement issued by the AU on Sunday 11 February"⁹⁵.

March 2007: Tine, Chad

Contrary to claims that the Government of Sudan has stopped all aerial attacks in Darfur since 11 February 2007, IRIN recently reported that the Sudanese Government continue to bomb villages in Darfur and Eastern Chad. It is extremely worrying that these incidents have largely gone unreported.

Interviewed in March 2007 by IRIN, refugees in Kourbileke (about 2 km from the border) told IRIN they had fled for their lives from Sudanese bombs on 16 January, adding: ""The bombing was in the surrounding villages, then it came to our village [Habilah]," said Abd al-Karim Abbakar Anaw, who described himself as a Sudanese chief. "They are [still] bombing every day. We heard it today at 7.00 a.m. this morning"⁹⁶"".

RECOMMENDATIONS

Not only are these offensive flights a clear sign of the Khartoum's resolve to pursue a military solution to the conflict in Darfur, but they also indicate the Sudanese Government's complete disregard for its commitments to the international community as well as its lack of interest in the welfare of civilians in Darfur.

The devastating effects of these bombings cannot be emphasised enough. They have led to widespread death, the displacement of hundreds of thousands of civilians, the razing of entire villages and the destruction of the livelihood of the populations concerned.

Immediate action is needed at UN level in order to put an end to these continued bombardments in Darfur. Waging Peace therefore recommends that the UK lead action at the UN for:

- **The monitoring of a No Fly Zone by the UN**
- **An extension of the present arms embargo over Darfur to the whole of Sudan, with adequate exemptions for the Government of South Sudan**
- **A strengthening of the monitoring of the arms embargo with a verification component, which could be monitored periodically by designated inspectors to ensure compliance.**
- **A monitoring of the arms embargo by member States of the UN that engage in trade of military goods and services with the Sudan through the use of end-use certification. Member States could also undertake their own verification checks to trace goods that are reportedly diverted or are at risk of being diverted to the embargoed parts of the Sudan.**

ANNEXE

Definition of the term "offensive military overflight" taken from the UN Panel of Experts' October 2006 report:

"The criteria identified by the Panel include:

- Overflights in pursuit of a specific military objective that are undertaken for purposes other than defending the aircraft from a clear and imminent threat.
- Use of the aircraft to achieve a military advantage disproportionate to that required to neutralize a clear and imminent threat.
- Unprovoked attack with aircraft, such as strafing or bombing of villages.
- Use of aircraft in support of offensive ground operations.
- Retaliatory attack, that is, action in response to a prior attack.
- Flights that deposit troops participating in an imminent offensive operation.
- Operation of the aircraft in a manner to intimidate or harass, for example flying mock attack runs, frightening children and animals, circling over an area for a considerable period of time without any operational reason with the aim of scaring people and animals, destroying buildings with rotor wash, sonic booms and the like⁹⁷.

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ANNEXE

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