# **COMPROMISING WITH EVIL**

An Archival History of Greater Sudan, 2007 – 2012

Annex V:
Rape of Women
and Girls in Darfur
March 2012

**Eric Reeves Madeline Zehnder, research and editing** 

### Rape as a Continuing Weapon of War in Darfur: Reports, Bibliography of Studies, A Compendium of Incidents

#### **Preface**

Sexual violence and rape in Darfur have ceased to command the attention they once had—not because this brutal epidemic has ended, but because the absence of human rights reporting, news reporting, and the intimidation of humanitarian organizations ensures that we hear very little about one of the most brutal features of the Darfur genocide. This annex provides [1] an overview of the realities of rape and sexual violence in Darfur from mid-2005-12; [2] a select bibliography of reports and studies examining the realities of rape and sexual violence in Darfur; [3] a compendium of reports of specific incidents of sexual violence and rape. This compendium extends back into report archives, but it represents only a fraction of the total number of incidents as Radio Dabanga reports cases of rape on a nearly daily basis, despite various assertions that Darfur is settling into a more "peaceful" state. There can be no possible claim to definitive figures, but the evidence assembled here makes clear than many tens of thousands of Darfuri girls and women have been raped.

Because rape is an issue regarding which the Khartoum regime has proved especially sensitive—with an eye in particular to how the Muslim world would receive reports on the subject—a 2005 study by Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders (MSF)-Holland was the last report on rape based on systematic, on-theground data collection. For publishing their report ("The Crushing Burden of Rape: Sexual Violence in Darfur," Amsterdam, March 2005), the two most senior MSF officials for Darfur and Sudan were arrested by Khartoum, further evidencing of the regime's sensitivity to rape charges.

The use of rape as a weapon of war on the scale we have seen in Darfur clearly rises to the level of crimes against humanity—and likely to the level of genocide—under the Rome Statute. International silence, especially by UNAMID, which receives specific accounts of rape on a continual basis does not publicly report findings, amounts to complicity in atrocity crimes.

### [1] Rape and Sexual Violence: The View from June 2005

Jan Egeland, UN Under-Secretary for Humanitarian Affairs, June 5, 2005: "In Darfur, rape is systematically used as a weapon of warfare."

Egeland's recourse to the present tense in describing the use of rape as an ongoing weapon of war in Darfur is entirely appropriate. The *Janjaweed* militia forces allied with the Khartoum regime continue a brutal, systematic campaign of sexual violence directed against the women and girls of non-Arab or African tribal groups. Khartoum remains deeply complicit in this campaign, now in its third year, as Egeland makes clear:

[Egeland said] the impact of [sexual] violence was compounded by [the government of] Sudan's failure to acknowledge the scale of the problem and to act to stop it. "Not only do the Sudanese authorities fail to provide effective physical protection, they inhibit access to treatment." He said in some cases unmarried women who became pregnant after being raped had been treated as criminals and subjected to further brutal treatment by police. "This is an affront to all humanity," Egeland said.<sup>1</sup>

The consequences of systematic, racially and ethnically-animated sexual violence in Darfur are enormous. Rape as a weapon of war is one the defining features of the insecurity affecting most of Darfur: sexual violence paralyzes civilian movement, circumscribing life within overcrowded and under-served camps for displaced persons. More broadly, insecurity continues to attenuate humanitarian reach and efficacy.

The threat of rape severely inhibits the gathering of firewood, water, and animal fodder. Indeed, the collapse in Darfur's food production is directly related to the ongoing intimidating effects of sexual violence. More generally, rape—and the impunity with which Khartoum's proxy forces commit it—contributes to a desperate decline in morale within many camps and among displaced persons, some now experiencing their third year of these conditions.

A powerful study of sexual violence in Darfur was published in the fall of 2011 and deserves close attention. Written by Tara Gingerich, JD, MA and Jennifer Leaning, MD, SMH, "The Use of Rape as a Weapon of War in the conflict in Darfur, Sudan" (October 2004) was prepared for the US Agency for International Development/OTI under the auspices of the Harvard School of Public Health and the Francois-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights. Virtually all of the conclusions and assessments made in this detailed and historically informed study

continue to be borne out by realities on the ground more than half a year later. Certainly the central claim of the report stands without meaningful challenge:

Our findings suggest that the military forces attacking the non-Arab people of Darfur, the Janjaweed in collaboration with forces of the Government of Sudan, have *inflicted a massive campaign of rape as a deliberate aspect of their military assault against the lives, livelihoods, and land of this population.*<sup>2</sup>

#### Additionally,

The highest priority now is to introduce a measure of real protection for the populations now displaced in Darfur and Chad in order to reduce the ongoing risk of rape to women and girls as they move outside camps and villages to find firewood and water.<sup>3</sup>

More than half a year later, such protection was nowhere in sight. Indeed, June 22, 2005 Congressional testimony by US Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick ensures that current plans for an expanded—but still inadequate—African Union (AU) deployment will constitute the full extent of international response to ongoing genocidal violence and destruction:

The Bush administration is opposed to the dispatch of U.S. or European forces to help enhance security in Sudan's Darfur region because they could be vulnerable to attack by terrorists, [Zoellick] said Wednesday. "The region is populated by some bloodthirsty, cold-hearted killers," Zoellick said, mentioning Somalia in particular as one possible source.<sup>4</sup>

Leaving aside the lazy geography invoked, Zoellick appears unaware of the grim irony in declaring that Western troops cannot be deployed to Darfur because of "bloodthirsty, cold-hearted killers" in Somalia, which is over 1,000 miles away, even as defenseless women and girls in Darfur are directly vulnerable to the "bloodthirsty, cold-hearted killers" that are the *Janjaweed* on a daily basis.

Genocide is a brutal, ongoing reality in Darfur, yet the U.S. remained content with an "Africa only" response, despite the clear inadequacies of the AU—even with NATO logistical and material support. Nothing in Zoellick's Congressional testimony suggests how the deployment of even 7,700 AU personnel by September 2012 can address the multiple security tasks in Darfur, including the protection of women and girls from sexual violence.

Though there can be no denying the significant physical risks associated with humanitarian military intervention by American, European, Australian, or Canadian troops, these risks are almost certainly less than those confronted in Iraq and Afghanistan, even as the basis for participation in such military action is morally and legally much less ambiguous: halting genocide and halting the deliberate destruction of the African ethnic groups in Darfur because of who they are. Here we should bear in mind two of the acts of genocide specified in Article 2 of the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: <sup>5</sup>

- [b] Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
- [d] Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group

Considerable international jurisprudential thought has been given to the particular meaning of these phrases, but both have a clear bearing on how we consider the implications of systematic, ethnically-targeted rape in Darfur. Rape causes extremely serious bodily harm, particularly the gang-rape so characteristic in Darfur, as does rape accompanied by non-sexual violence, also typical in Darfur. Rape causes excruciating mental trauma. For a variety of reasons, rape also serves as a means of preventing births on the part of women within the targeted African groups. Those girls and women raped are often socially ostracized, and become much less valued as potential wives; violent rape often leads to medical complications that make further child-bearing impossible or much riskier; and rape often carries the threat of disease and infection, including direct threats to the lives of potential mothers.

Rape committed by Khartoum's military proxy in Darfur is entirely consistent with the genocidal ambitions that have been in evidence for over two years, and contributes significantly to the current genocide by attrition that has succeeded the previous campaign of large-scale violent destruction of the lives and livelihoods of Darfur's African tribal groups. That sexual violence continues on a significant and consequential basis has been confirmed by UN reports (including the June 2005 report by the Secretary-general), and by reports from human rights observers and humanitarian organizations on the ground in Darfur.

But for Zoellick and the Bush administration—and clearly with the support of the European Union and officials within NATO—there is no willingness to contribute U.S. or European personnel to this urgent humanitarian intervention.

Genocide, including rape as a weapon of war in Darfur, will as a consequence proceed at a pace limited only by the drastically inadequate AU deployment, currently operating without a mandate for civilian or humanitarian protection. "Time must be given for an African solution to work," Zoellick declared in his Congressional testimony.<sup>6</sup> As Zoellick well knows, however, AU has been shamefully re-

luctant to admit its own fundamental limitations, has failed to secure a mandate for civilian protection, and has deployed only about two thirds of the 3,500 personnel planned for early fall of 2011. The AU has no capacity—either in material, manpower, or logistics (including "inter-operability")—to reach the 7,700 target figure for September, a date much too far in the future given critical current needs for protection.

#### **Nature and Consequences of Sexual Violence in Darfur**

So long as the international community fails both to supplement the African Union in Darfur and to provide a force with a mandate for civilian protection, an intolerable number of women and girls will be raped. This will compound the ongoing failure of the international community, in particular the UN Security Council failure to secure from Khartoum compliance with the only significant demand made to date: that the regime disarm the *Janjaweed* murderers and rapists, and bring their leaders to justice.<sup>7</sup>

In a region the size of Spain, with over 2.5 million internally displaced persons and refugees (including eastern Chad), many hundreds of thousands of women and girls are daily at risk of the sort chronicled by Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders (MSF) in its immensely powerful and clinically informed study: "The Crushing Burden of Rape: Sexual Violence in Darfur" (Amsterdam, March 8, 2005). Without international protection, girls as young as eight will continue to experience the most vicious form of sexual violence. MSF provides all too many horrific examples:

Five women, 2 young girls (13 and 14 years old) and 3 older women, went to collect grass for their donkeys. The group got ambushed by three armed men. "I was taken to the near-by river bed away from the other women. One man took me in one direction. The other man took the other girl. [] The man who took me told me to sit on the ground. But I refused. He hit me twice on my back with a stick. Then he took out a knife and threatened me by pointing the knife at me. I sat down. And then he told me to take off my underwear. I refused, but he threatened me again with his knife. He pulled his trousers down and raped me. He left without saying anything or even looking at me." (Young girl, 13, February 2005, South Darfur)

"One of the three man took me away from the other women. He threatened me with his knife by pinching my chest with it. He pushed me on the ground and took off my underwear. He raped me and was repeating 'I will kill you' all the time to intimidate me." (Young girl, 14, February 2005, South Darfur)

A hateful racial/ethnic animus is all too often in evidence in these violent rapes:

"We saw five Arab men who came to us and asked where our husbands were. Then they told us that we should have sex with them. We said no. So they beat and raped us. *After they abused us, they told us that now we would have Arab babies; and if they would find any Fur [one of the non-Arab or African tribal groups of Darfur], they would rape them again to change the colour of their children.*" (Three women, 25, 30 and 40, October 2004, West Darfur)<sup>8</sup>

Gingerich and Leaning also report on the racial/ethnic animus in the accounts of rape coming from non-Arab or African women, accounts that make clear the genocidal nature of these assaults:

It is widely reported that during the attacks, the Janjaweed often berated the women, calling them slaves, telling them that they would now bear a "free child," and asserting that they (the perpetrators) are wiping out the non-Arabs.<sup>9</sup>

Gang-rape is, as MSF has established beyond doubt, a characteristic feature of sexual violence in Darfur:

[A number of] women described that the rapists abducted them and held them captive for several days and during that period they were raped regularly by several men. One woman reported that her abduction lasted 6 days and she was raped by 10 men. In addition, almost half of the survivors report that there was more than one victim in the attack.<sup>10</sup>

Individual women offer accounts of unsurpassable horror:

"I was walking with a group of nine women and two men. We met some armed men along the road. They took the nine women and held us under a tree in their camp. They released us after three days. During all this time, I was raped every night and every day by five men." (Woman, 30, October 2004, South Darfur) (Among the nine women, only three came to the clinic, among which two girls were 12 and 13 years old.)<sup>11</sup>

This authoritative MSF report was the reason given by Khartoum for the recent arrest of the two most senior officials of MSF working in Sudan and Darfur. Aware of the clinical authority of MSF's report, and the international respect for the organization (which won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1999), the regime clearly fears the impact of reports of rape within the Muslim world. For while all too much of the Muslim world has shown a disgraceful willingness to countenance mass murder in Darfur in the name of "counter-insurgency," as promulgated by Khartoum, rape has proved to be much more difficult to justify as a tool of war.

But sexual violence has undeniably been an essential tool of war from the beginning of Khartoum's barbarous war on the people of Darfur and continues to be so today, as MSF insists in the report that to angered the regime:

Since early 2003, the people of Darfur have endured a vicious campaign of violence, which has forced almost 2 million people to flee from their destroyed villages in search of safety. Rape against women, children, and men has sadly been a constant factor in this violence throughout this campaign of terror. More tragically, it continues to this day even long after people have fled from their villages. The stories of rape survivors give a horrific illustration of the daily reality of people in Darfur and especially of women and young girls, the primary victims of this form of violence. [The] first waves of people in flight repeatedly recounted to our teams how armed militias attacked their villages, killing and raping the inhabitants.

The hundreds of thousands who fled the destroyed villages have now sought refuge in makeshift camps with little but rags and sticks as shelter. But they have found no safety there. In spite of high-profile visits of the world's leaders, people still face persecution and intimidation inside the camps. Rape, a feature of the attacks on their villages, has now followed them insidiously into their places of refuge. Families, in order to sustain themselves, have to continue collecting wood, fetching water or working their fields. In doing so, women have to make a terrible choice, putting themselves or their children at risk of rape, beatings or death as soon as they are outside the camps, towns or villages. <sup>12</sup>

MSF has quantified a number of their findings, and it was for uttering these terrible truths that Khartoum arrested the senior MSF officials in Sudan:

The majority (82%) were raped while they were pursuing their ordinary daily activities. Only 4% of women reported that the rape occurred

during the active conflict, while they were fleeing their home village. Almost a third (28%) of the victims reported that they were raped more than one time, either by single or multiple assailants. In more than half of the cases, physical violence was inflicted beyond sexual violence; women are beaten with sticks, whips or axes. Further, some of the raped women were visibly pregnant at the time of the assault, sometimes up to eight months. <sup>13</sup>

But MSF is far from alone in reporting on the realities of rape. There have long been numerous accounts from the UN as well as human rights organizations, both international and Sudanese expatriate. The scale and viciousness of rape, especially in the more violent phases of the Darfur conflict, are suggested by a UN dispatch following an attack in the Tawilah area of North Darfur (one in which the notorious *Janjaweed* leader Musa Hilal is clearly implicated):

In an attack on 27 February [2004] in the Tawilah area of northern Darfur, 30 villages were burned to the ground, over 200 people killed and over 200 girls and women rapedsome by up to 14 assailants and in front of their fathers who were later killed. A further 150 women and 200 children were abducted. <sup>14</sup>

This was but one of countless such attacks.

We have no clear idea about the number of women and girls who have been raped in Darfur, in part because of the extraordinary reticence—for cultural and religious reasons—on the part of the women assaulted. Amnesty International delegates in Chad in November 2003:

"Women will not tell you easily if they have been raped. In our culture, it is a shame. Women hide this in their hearts so that men don't hear about it."

But we may be sure that UN Under-secretary for Humanitarian Affairs Egeland is correct when he refers to the implications of the MSF study and its clinical recording of the experience of rape victims: "This [MSF figure of 500 rape victims] is just a fraction of such attacks." <sup>15</sup> Gingerich and Leaning report that

a Darfurian nongovernmental organization has documented 9,300 cases of rape [footnote 72: interview, October 12, 2004], although other observers on the ground have argued that the number of rapes is closer to double that figure [footnote 73: Interviews, September 21, 2004]. 16

Given the often determined silence of raped women and girls, and the extreme limitations in reporting range and access on the ground, such estimates clearly suggest the possibility that many tens of thousands of rapes have already occurred in Darfur.

It is in such a statistical context that we must understand the implications of Gingerich and Leaning's account of "the strategic use of rape," and its particular relevance for Darfur:

Rape in the context of war serves to create fear, shame, and demoralization among many others in addition to the individual who has been directly assaulted. Communities threatened by mass rape in war may well be more likely to choose flight in advance of the enemy attack and may delay return to captured areas. Further, if a war aim is to take territory and resources and prevent the return of the target population, systematic rape can be seen as a potentially effective means to sap the capacity of groups and societies to reconstitute themselves and organize a sustained return.

In extreme circumstances, mass rape has been used to further an agenda of cultural and ethnic destruction, by polluting blood lines and preying upon deeply-instilled prejudices about victims of rape to weaken marital and communal relations. The poisonous power of rape to drain capacity for explanation or re-organization of self and community makes it a uniquely effective tool for undermining the social order. When the war aims include the ethnic cleansing or annihilation of a particular identified group, systematic rape could arguably be deployed to manipulate norms of honor, chastity, virginity, femininity, masculinity, loyalty, marriage, and kinship, and insert an emanating set of experiences and memories that destroy group bonds through time.

Raped women become pregnant by the enemy, they may suffer grievous physical and psychological injuries, they may die, they may be abandoned or disavowed by shamed families and husbands, all of which degrade the ability of a culture to replenish itself through sexual reproduction.<sup>17</sup>

It is impossible to do full justice to either the data or accounts of rape as a weapon of war. The number of studies available is already considerable. What is clear from all extant accounts, surveys, and data is that rape has in fact been were widely and deliberately deployed as a weapon of war, indeed as a weapon in service of genocidal assault. The subsiding of large-scale conflict has not diminished the ongoing significance or extent of this weapon.

Here we must bear in mind the highly significant finding of MSF:

The majority (82%) [of women and girls] were raped while they were pursuing their ordinary daily activities. Only 4% of women reported that the rape occurred during the active conflict, while they were fleeing their home village. <sup>19</sup>

As women have continued to be forced into camps for displaced persons, or trapped in besieged villages, this statistic is terrifying in its implications: there is no hiding or respite from rape. The UN estimates that 1.88 million Darfuris are now internally displaced (the UN estimates another 200,000 are refugees in eastern Chad).<sup>20</sup> This figure for human displacement represents only those persons to which the UN has access (mainly through UN World Food Program registration); it does not represent a huge and inaccessible rural population that is either displaced or acutely vulnerable *in situ*. In short, the extreme threat of rape continues for as many as 1.5 million women and girls. This has immense implications for the populations of Darfur, as Gingerich and Leaning make clear in their analysis of the "strategic use of rape as a weapon of war in Darfur":

Aspects of the underlying strategic rationale for these rapes can be discerned as follows:

Create a sense of fear in the civilian population in order to restrict freedom of movement and economic activity. The consistency and implacability of the Janjaweed attack pattern has cast a massive shadow of fear across Darfur. Word of the rapes of the non-Arab population has spread to all those who have not yet been struck. This fear translates into a siege situation, whereby no one ventures outside the confines of the village unless it is absolutely necessary.<sup>21</sup>

Instill flight to facilitate capture of land and killing of male civilians. The *modus operandi* of the Janjaweed and Government of Sudan military attacks on Darfurian villages has become known across the region. Defiance in the face of the onslaught simply leads to death. Over these months of war, the military aims of these forces have become easier to accomplish: they ride up to the horizon of a settlement and everyone before them tries to flee.<sup>22</sup>

Demoralize the population to reduce their will to resist and prolong their forced exit from the land. Mass rape in war ruptures community ties and disorganizes family structure, behavior, and expectations through time. In a culture that places such high value on virginity and chastity as Darfur, the burden inflicted by rape is particularly devastating and enduring.<sup>23</sup>

Tear apart the community, by breaking family and community bonds and by engaging in ethnic cleansing through "pollution" of the blood line. A key motive of the Janjaweed use of rape as a weapon of war appears to be to destroy the non-Arab Darfurian society as a separate ethnic entity. Reports of rapes are replete with statements made by the Janjaweed perpetrators suggesting their intent to make a "free baby" (implying that the non-Arabs are slaves) and to "pollute" the tribal blood line, which is patrilineal in the Darfurian tribes.<sup>24</sup>

The strategic use of rape as a weapon of war is also evident in the numerous reports of women deliberately scarred or branded as part of sexual violence in order to make them more conspicuously victims of rape and thus less desirable as prospective wives or mothers. Even women who will under no circumstances speak of their brutal experience must nonetheless bear the cruelly and purposefully inflicted marks of that experience.

As the Bush administration counseled "to give time for an African solution to work," the transparent inability of the AU—now or in any foreseeable future—to provide civilian protection ensures that rape will continue to be deployed as a strategic weapon of genocidal war.

And time is on the side of Khartoum's *génocidaires* and their brutal militia proxy, the *Janjaweed*. Although there are a number of reports that Khartoum's regular forces have also participated in the mayhem of sexual violence in Darfur, it is the *Janjaweed*—still unconstrained by Khartoum in any meaningful sense—that continue to rape on a massive, systematic basis.<sup>25</sup> This is so despite the UN Security Council's futile "demand" that the regime disarm the *Janjaweed* and bring its leaders to justice.

Nor is there any prospect of justice for these girls and women. Violations of international law, including the use of rape as a weapon of war,<sup>26</sup> have nominally been referred by the UN Security Council to the International Criminal Court. But Khartoum continues to evince nothing but contempt for the ICC, insisting both that no Sudanese will be extradited to The Hague and that preposterous domestic show trials, hastily contrived by the "justice ministry," will have sole jurisdiction for all of Sudan.

#### The Bluntest Truth

The NIF/NCP regime in Khartoum has no interest in seeking and sustaining a just peace for Sudan, or for any of the marginalized populations of this vast country, including those in the increasingly explosive east. The regime's *génocidaires* seek only political survival on the most favorable terms. They will make no peace with the people of Darfur that threatens them more than the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (January 9, 2005) with southern Sudan already does.

Those women seeking justice from this regime will seek in vain. And those in the international community who refuse to see this regime for what it is, who refuse to see that the regime seeks neither a just peace for the people of Darfur nor justice for the most aggrieved civilian survivors of ongoing genocide, are complicit in condemning the women and girls of Darfur to an indefinite future of the most heinous crimes of sexual violence.

#### [2] Annotated Bibliography

### (i) Amnesty International, "Sudan, Darfur: Rape as a Weapon of War," (July 19, 2004).

One of the very earliest human rights accounts of what had already reached epidemic proportions. This lengthy report by Amnesty is authoritative, based on very substantial field research, and compelling in its analysis and framing of issues in terms of international humanitarian and human rights law. It has never been the case that the international community was unaware of the scale of sexual violence and rape in Darfur; such awareness simply did not translate into meaningful responses.<sup>27</sup>

## (ii) Tara Gingerich, JD, MA and Jennifer Leaning, MD, SMH, "The Use of Rape as a Weapon of War in the conflict in Darfur, Sudan," (October 2004).

Prepared for the US Agency for International Development/OTI under the auspices of the Harvard School of Public Health and the Francois-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights. A powerful study of sexual violence in Darfur published in fall 2004, it deserves the closest attention.<sup>28</sup>

## (iii) Human Rights Watch, "Sexual violence and its consequences among displaced persons in Darfur and Chad," (April 2005).

[From the Introduction:] "Since early 2003, Sudanese government forces and

government-backed ethnic militias known as 'Janjaweed' have committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and 'ethnic cleansing' in the Darfur region of Sudan. They have targeted for abuse civilians belonging to the same ethnic groups as members of two rebel movements, the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)."

"Rape and sexual violence against women and girls has been a prominent feature of the 'ethnic cleansing' campaign carried out by government forces and militias, both during and following displacement in Darfur. Once displaced into camps in Darfur, or into refugee camps in Chad, women and girls continue to suffer sexual and gender-based violence. As discussed below, rape and sexual violence have numerous social, economic and medical consequences, including increasing the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS as a result of the violence."<sup>29</sup>

### (iv) Doctors Without Border/Médecins San Frontières (MSF)/Holland, "The Crushing Burden of Rape: Sexual Violence in Darfur," (March 2005).

In the wake of the report's release, Khartoum arrested and eventually expelled the two most senior MSF-Holland officials working in Sudan. The MSF report, with an extraordinary body of first-hand evidence, documents more than 500 cases of rape; this report figured in Khartoum's decision to expel the organization, along with twelve others, in March 2009.<sup>30</sup>

## (v) "Genocidal Rape and Assault in Darfur," Dirksen Senate Office Building Rayburn House Office Building, (July 21, 2005).

Sponsored by members of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues. **Testimony of Eric Reeves, Smith College:** "Responding to Sexual Violence in Darfur."<sup>31</sup>

## (vi) Human Rights Watch, "Five Years On: No Justice for Victims of Sexual Violence in Darfur," (April 2008).

[From the Introduction:] "Five years into the armed conflict in Sudan's Darfur region, women and girls living in displaced persons camps, towns, and rural areas remain extremely vulnerable to sexual violence. Sexual violence continues to occur throughout the region, both in the context of continuing attacks on civilians, and during periods of relative calm. Those responsible are usually men from the Sudanese security forces, militias, rebel groups, and former rebel groups, who target women and girls predominantly (but not exclusively) from Fur, Zaghawa, Masalit, Berti, Tunjur, and other non-Arab ethnicities." 32

#### (vii) Physicians for Human Rights, (May 2009).

The psychological, physical, and social destructiveness of rape as a weapon of war can scarcely be overstated. As deployed in Darfur, it is meant to destroy family structures within the non-Arab or African populations that have, overwhelmingly, been the target of campaigns of rape. The best account of the physical and mental devastation occasioned by rape in Darfur is a May 2009 study by Physicians for Human Rights, "Nowhere to Turn: Failure to Protect, Support and Assure Justice for Darfuri Women." The effects of eight years of displacement by genocidal counter-insurgency warfare have left civilians suffering from a wide range of severe mental disorders, particularly girls and women who have been victims of rape. In its meticulously researched study, PHR chronicled in soul-destroying detail some of the devastation among Darfuri refugee girls and women in eastern Chad:

Researchers asked women to rate their physical and mental health status in Darfur and now in Chad on a 1-5 scale with 1 being "very good' and 5 being "poor." Women reported a marked deterioration in their physical health status since leaving Darfur, with an average ranking of 3.99 for health in Chad versus 2.06 for Darfur.

#### Even more alarmingly,

The study indicated a marked deterioration in self-reported mental health, where the average score in was 4.90. "I am sad every day (since leaving Darfur). I feel not well in my skin," explained one respondent. [ ] Women who experienced rape (confirmed or highly probable) were three times more likely to report suicidal thoughts than were women who did not report sexual violence.<sup>33</sup>

### (viii) Public Summary of the International Criminal Court (ICC) Prosecutor's Application under Article 58

Application seeking an arrest warrant for Omar al-Bashir, charging three counts of the crime of genocide, five counts of crimes against humanity, two counts of war crimes No.: ICC-02/05 Date: 14 July 2008.

See especially paragraphs 14 – 28 ("Pattern of Attacks") for details of the evidence assembled by the ICC Prosecutor, including substantial evidence of systematic, ethnically-targeted rape. See also the March 4, 2009 arrest warrant for al-Bashir issued by Pre-Trial Chamber 1 of the ICC, and the July 2010 arrest warrant issued by Pre-Trial Chamber 1, confirming the charge of genocide.

### (ix) Halima Bashir, Tears of the Desert: A Memoir of Survival in Darfur (Random House, 2009).

Bashir, a Zaghawa woman trained as a doctor, was herself savagely raped and tortured because of her courageous medical response to the mass rape of school girls in North Darfur. This searing account takes the reader to the very heart of darkness in Darfur.

#### [3] A Compendium of Terror:

Authoritative reports of rapes from Radio Dabanga, human rights organizations, and other sources (identified where appropriate).

#### **List of Reports:**

- 1. Racist animus in sexual attacks
- 2. Reports from Radio Dabanga
- 3. Reports from Amnesty International
- 4. Reports from Human Rights Watch
- 5. Reports from Doctors without Borders/MSF
- 6. Early reports

These accounts, while representative of the scale, range, continuity, and brutality of rape and sexual violence in Darfur, can do nothing to indicate total numbers. Here we must be guided by generalizations from previous studies and field dispatches:

As of fall 2004, **Gingerich and Leaning report**: "a Darfurian nongovernmental organization has documented 9,300 cases of rape, although other observers on the ground have argued that the number of rapes is closer to double that figure."<sup>34</sup>

Associated Press reported from Nyala (May 26, 2007): "UN workers say they registered 2,500 rapes in Darfur in 2006, but believe far more went unreported. The real figure is probably thousands a month, said a UN official. Like other UN personnel and aid workers interviewed, the official insisted on speaking anonymously for fear of being expelled by the government."

UNICEF "Child Alert," page 19, December 2005:

A recent report from the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights said that in almost one in three reported rapes [in Darfur], the victims were children, and a recent UNICEF/UN Population Fund study suggests that the number might be even higher.

"Focus on Mornay camp," Médecins Sans Frontières, 20 June 2004 (*Sudan: no relief in sight*):

Nearly 14% of the 132 victims of violence treated by medical teams from MSF over the last nine weeks were victims of sexual violence." [Altogether, more than 3 million people, more than half girls and women, have been displaced over the course of violent conflict in Darfur.]

Reports continued to stream in the years following the initial reports of an epidemic of sexual violence in 2004 and 2005. Hereoff the recorda UN official estimates that "thousands" of girls and women are raped every month:

UN workers say they registered 2,500 rapes in Darfur in 2006, but believe far more went unreported. The real figure is probably thousands a month, said a UN official. Like other UN personnel and aid workers interviewed, the official insisted on speaking anonymously for fear of being expelled by the government.

In Kalma, collecting firewood needed to cook meals is becoming more perilous as the trees around the camp dwindle and women are forced to scavenge ever farther afield. It is strictly a woman's task, dictated both by tradition and the fear that any male escorts would be killed if the janjaweed found them.

Sheikas in Kalma said they report over a dozen rapes each week. Human rights activists in South Darfur who monitor violence in the refugee camps estimate more than 100 women are raped each month in and around Kalma alone. The workers warn of an alarming new trend of rapes within the refugee population amid the boredom and slow social decay of the camps. But for the most part, they added, it all depends on whether janjaweed are present in the area. (Associated Press [Nyala, South Darfur], May 26, 2007)

#### Racist animus in sexual attacks

It is imperative to bear in mind that rape and sexual violence have a strong racial/ethnic animus in Darfur. Virtually all the reported attacks are of Arab men upon non-Arab or African women (in its 2004 study, Amnesty International found only one instance in which rebel forces from the Fur, Massalit, or Zaghawa non-Arab or African ethnic groups were responsible for rape). This must not be lost sight of, as some have

already done (for example, political scientist Alan Wolfe offers displays a painful ignorance in speaking on this issue: see *Dissent* Magazine (January 26, 2012). The examples here from Amnesty International ("Sudan, Darfur: Rape as a Weapon of War," July 19, 2004) could be replicated from countless other reports and news accounts:

- [1] "Omar al Bashir told us that we should **kill all the Nubas**. There is no place here for the **Negroes** any more." (Words of a Janjawid fighter, according to a refugee from Kenyu, interviewed by Amnesty International in Chad, May 2004)
- [2] "The Tama, a small ethnic group mainly composed of farmers, have been both victims of attacks and accused several times of siding with the Janjawid in the 2003-2004 conflict: 'Slaves! Nubas! Do you have a god? You, ugly black pretend...We are your god! Your god is Omer al-Bashir."
- [3] "You blacks, you have spoilt the country! We are here to burn you...We will kill your husbands and sons and we will sleep with you! You will be our wives!" (The words of members of the Janjawid as reported by a group of Masalit women in Goz Amer refugee camp, interviewed by Amnesty International in May 2004)
- [4] "M., a 50-year-old woman from Fur Baranga reported: 'The village was attacked during the night in October 2003, when the Arabs came by cars and on horses. They said 'every black woman must be killed, even the children.'"
- [5] "Sudanese refugees interviewed by Amnesty International in Chad, who alleged that Salamat nomads from Chad and fighters from Mauritania were recruited to fight in Darfur:

'What we heard from the Janjawid is that Omer al-Bashir tells the foreigners that they are Arabs and that they should come and live in a country that is ruled by Arabs. That they should not stay where they are ruled by Africans. They say that 'Sudan is a country for Arabs.'' (M., Sudanese refugee in Chad, interviewed by Amnesty International in May 2004)

- [6] "The government gave the Arabs confidence, arms, cars and horses. We cannot go back; **there will be no security for African people in Darfur**." (Sudanese woman interviewed by Amnesty International in Mile refugee camp, Chad, May 2004)
- [7] "M., a Masalit chief of the village of Disa, reported that during attacks in June 2003 by the Janjawid and in July and August by the military, 63 persons were killed, including his daughter. In June the Janjawid reportedly accused the villagers of being 'traitors to Omer Hassan Al-Bashir.' [] In July the military arrested several persons including Brahim Siddiq, a seven-year-old boy. In June the Janjawid

said during the attack: 'You are complicit with the opponents, you are Blacks, no Black can stay here, and no Black can stay in Sudan.' Arab women were accompanying the attackers singing songs in praise of the government and encouraging the attackers. The women said:

'The blood of the Blacks runs like water, we take their goods and we chase them from our area and our cattle will be in their land. The power of al-Bashir belongs to the Arabs and we will kill you until the end, you Blacks, we have killed your God.' They also insulted the women from the village saying 'You are gorillas, you are Black, and you are badly dressed."'

[8] "We saw five Arab men who came to us and asked where our husbands were. Then they told us that we should have sex with them. We said no. So they beat and raped us. After they abused us, the told us that now we would have Arab babies; and if they would find any Fur [one of the non-Arab or African tribal groups of Darfur], they would rape them again to **change the colour of their children**.' (MSF, Three women, 25, 30 and 40, October 2004, West Darfur)"<sup>35</sup>

Gingerich and Leaning also report on the racial/ethnic animus in the accounts of rape coming from non-Arab or African women, accounts that make clear the genocidal nature of these assaults: "It is widely reported that during the attacks, the Janjaweed often berated the women, **calling them slaves**, telling them that they would now bear a 'free child,' and asserting that they (the perpetrators) are **wiping out the non-Arabs**" (page 15).

### Reports from Radio Dabanga

Specific dispatches, edited for length, highlight particular instances of rape and sexual violence; they are organized from the most recent to the most distant. It is a grim and lengthy work in progress.

#### [9] Nine women raped by Abu Tira forces

AL LAIR JAR AL NABI (9 February 2012) Elements of Abu Tira forces (Central Reserve Forces) reportedly raped nine South Sudanese female refugees in Al Lait Jar Al Nabi in North Darfur in the past week, relative of one of the victims told Radio Dabanga.

#### [10] Woman raped east of Zalingei

ZALINGEI, West Darfur (12 January 2012) On Wednesday a young woman was raped by two armed men near Wadi Dul Beja displaced persons camp, east of Zalingei, in West Darfur. A female source told Radio Dabanga the woman ventured out of the camp with her sister and mother to collect firewood.

#### [11] High school student coaxed out of house, raped by gang of men in Kass

KASS (13 January 2012) On Thursday a high school student was raped by four armed men in Kass locality, South Darfur. A relative of the girl told Radio Dabanga that four armed men in civilian clothing knocked on the door of the family house. When her father answered, the men said they had an arrest warrant for the girl. The mother asked to see the warrant but was told it is not her place to question the competence of the police.

#### [12] Girl, 14, raped in West Darfur

EL-GENEINA (4 January 2012) A 14-year-old girl was raped by an unknown number of gunmen, near Kandomi displaced persons' camp in West Darfur, a source told Radio Dabanga. The girl was with four others on the way back to the camp from el-Geneina hospital on Monday where they were visiting a relative.

#### [13] Girl raped in North Darfur camp

EL-FASHER (30 December 2011) On Wednesday the rape of a 12-year-old girl was reported in the Shaddad camp for displaced persons in the Shangil Tobaya region of North Darfur. A witness said that the girl was snatched at the camp and taken to the headquarters of the government affiliated Popular Defense Force (PDF), where she endured the attack for 10 hours.

#### [14] Women raped near Eastern Chad refugee camp

EASTERN CHAD (30 December, 2011) Four women from Darfur were raped in Gaga refugee camp in Eastern Chad on Sunday, a source has told Radio Dabanga. The women ventured out of the camp to fetch firewood in the early afternoon when they were attacked by four armed gunmen. A fifth woman suffered a beating but managed to escape.

#### [15] Group of women raped near Kebkabiya

KEBKABIYA (25 December 2011) A group of women were raped by an armed group on Saturday near an internally displaced persons camp in Kebkabiya locality, North Darfur. Speaking to Radio Dabanga, one of the victims said that eight gunmen on horses intercepted the six women traveling on donkeys to collect firewood from an area east of Kebkabiya.

#### [16] Darfur woman shot dead fleeing rapists

HASSA HISSA (December 21, 2011) Four armed men on camels and wearing military uniforms shot dead a woman near Hassa Hissa Displaced Camp in Darfur. Khadija Abu, 45 years old, was shot dead on Saturday in area by Mount Kono near Zalingei. Witnesses said that about 11 woman from the camp had gone out that day to collect firewood and harvest crops. The witnesses told Radio Dabanga that the

militants tried to rape the women, but the women ran away, prompting the gunmen to open fire on them, causing the death of Khadija Abu. Other women fled and dispersed.

#### [17] Rape and beating in South Darfur

NYALA (18 December 2011) Three women were raped by an armed group on Saturday near the Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camp in Mershing locality, South Darfur, a witness told Radio Dabanga. The women left Hashaba camp to search for firewood when the armed men opened heavy gunfire in the air to scare them. They detained the women, beating them and taking turns to rape them.

#### [18] Woman raped near Zam Zam camp

EL-FASHER (14 December 2011) A woman was raped by two men dressed in military uniform in North Darfur on Tuesday, a witness told Radio Dabanga. The woman was living in Zam Zam camp for internally displaced persons (IDP) fleeing the conflict in the area. Carrying her four-month-old baby, she ventured out of the camp 2 km east to collect firewood.

[UNAMID has proved incapable of protecting even the IDPs of Zam Zam, on the outskirts of el-Fasher, where UNAMID headquarters are located.]

#### [19] IDP raped in Qarsla [more commonly Garsila]

QARSLA (5 December 2011) An Armed group on Sunday raped an internally displaced person from Jebelain camp in Qarsla, Western Darfur. A witness told Radio Dabanga that the Gunmen attacked the displaced person while she was working on her farm in Wadi Mara, 3 kilometers south of the camp. He said that the gunmen took turns in raping the displaced person and pointed out that the region has no UNAMID mandate and that no complaint was filed at police as no procedure will be carried out as in previous incidents.

#### [20] Two rapes in West Darfur

ZALINGEI (29 November 2011) A refugee [from] West Darfur's Hassa Hissa camp was raped and killed by unidentified gunmen on Tuesday, a source from Zalingei told Radio Dabanga. The armed group allegedly raped the woman in front of her husband after the evening prayers, when the victim was returning home from the city with her husband.

#### [21] Policemen rape minor in West Darfur

EL-GENEINA (21 November 2011) Two policemen allegedly raped a nine-year old girl from el-Geneina in West Darfur on Monday, a relative of the victim told Radio Dabanga. The relative told Radio Dabanga that the girl, who lived in Abu Zr refugee camp, had been asked to fetch water by her mother before sunset.

#### [22] Woman gang-raped in West Darfur

GARSILA (23 November 2011) Armed herders wearing military uniforms accused of committing the crime Armed herders gang-raped a 32-year-old displaced woman from West Darfur's Wadi Dawari locality on Wednesday, a witness told Radio Dabanga. Three herders were allegedly involved in the killing which took place 3 km from the city of West Garsila.

## [23] Serial rape crimes in West Darfur: Five women fall victim to armed shepherds in one week

MORNEI (17 November 2011) A series of rape crimes were committed in West Darfur's Mornei region this week, witnesses told Radio Dabanga on Thursday. Two refugee women were raped in Mornei region's Kabiri Valley on Tuesday, on in Aro Valley on the same day and two others in Mornei refugee camp on Monday. In all cases, armed shepherds were accused of the rapes.

#### [24] Armed group rapes student

EL-FASHER (11 November 2011) Witnesses accuse that the crime has an ethnic dimension A group of unidentified armed men reportedly raped a student from the region of Azban in Tawaisha, North Darfur on Wednesday. Witnesses told Radio Dabanga that the crime was committed on ethnic lines. The group allegedly demanded other women belonging to the same ethnicity to leave the village immediately after they had raped the student.

#### [25] Refugee shot dead in North Darfur

KEBKABIYA (9 November 2011) He was killed by armed men after he attempted to rescue girls from being raped A refugee, Ahmed Saleh, was shot dead by unidentified gunmen in Al Matar neighborhood of North Darfur's Kebkabiya locality on Tuesday. Witnesses told Radio Dabanga that 52-year-old Adam Saleh was killed after he tried rescuing some girls in his neighborhood from four armed gunmen who were trying to rape them.

#### [26] Sudan: Three Teenagers Raped in West Darfur

GARSILA (6 November 2011) An unidentified armed group raped three teenage refugees in West Darfur's Garsila camp on Friday, witnesses told Radio Dabanga. "Three gunmen took the women from the village of Amarjadid in Western Garsila. The women were aged 14, 15 and 17," a witness told Radio Dabanga.

#### [27] 6 women in Tawila, 1 in Zalingei raped by government militia

TAWILA/ZALINGEI (15 June 2011) Armed men belonging to a militia closely affiliated to the government raped six refugee women from Rwanda camp in Tawila, in an area lying between the market and the camp. The rapists attacked women on

8 June and 10 June. The two girls were raped by the armed men and then taken to the camp in critical condition. The UNAMID was informed of the incident and witnesses reported that two days after the first rape, four other girls were raped in a similar manner as they were on their way to the well to bring water. The witnesses said that after the two incidents, the armed men tortured and beat a group of female displaced people who were transferred to the hospital for treatment. They also stated that UNAMID was informed of the incident and the witnesses appealed to the United Nations and Security Council to interfere to stop the rapes and protect the women and displaced people of Darfur.

Meanwhile in Zalingei, West Darfur, four armed men abducted one of the young girls from Andru village which lies ten kilometers from Zalingei on Saturday and raped her repeatedly and then released her on Sunday. A donkey cart and a donkey was also robbed from the displaced person Kaltouma Ahmed Mohammed by three gunmen as she was on her way from the agricultural fields to Hamidiya camp in Zalingei.

#### [28] Darfur woman abducted by gunmen from camp at Seraf Omra

SERAF OMRA (14 June 2011) Three armed men in military uniforms abducted the displaced person Rashida Hassan Adam Issa from Donkoy camp in Seraf Omra on Thursday evening. One of the relatives Rashida said that the gunmen entered the house of Rashida's family which was on the eastern side of the camp and led her westwards toward Seraf Omra at gunpoint. The relative also added that the family of the abducted woman had filed a complaint with the police but the police did not carry out any action.

#### [29] Five women missing near Kutum after flight from gunmen

KUTUM (14 June 2011) The residents of Jebel Mari, which lies to south of Kutum, said that armed men on two Land Cruisers and wearing military uniforms chased five women who were gathering firewood. An eyewitness stated that the women, who were from the village of Hashaba, ran away to escape. Up to now, the residents of the area could not find them despite that all residents searched the area. The witness also stated that they have reported to the police but the police told them to wait without carrying out any procedures.

#### [30] Eight (8) women raped by armed militia

EL-GENEINA (6 June 2011) An armed militia closely affiliated to the government raped eight displaced women from Kirending camp in west Darfur when they were on their way to gather wood on Thursday. Witnesses told Radio Dabanga that the displaced women were subjected to rape collectively at gunpoint and beaten with sticks and rifle ends. The raped women were transferred to Geneina hospital in

critical physical and psychological situation to receive treatment and said that they were threatened with physical torture if they would testify with any information to any human rights organization or news agency.

#### [31] Three women beaten, stabbed, raped by gunmen in North Darfur

KASSAB CAMP (9 June 2011) An unknown armed group raped three female displaced people from Kassab Camp in Kubum, North Darfur. The attack on Tuesday targeted three women aged fifteen, twenty and twenty-five years old. The women were first severely beaten with sticks, whips, and rifle butts. They were also stabbed with knives in their thighs. The person who was accompanying them was also subjected to beating. The person said that he was accompanying his relatives to get firewood from Jebel Mari but the armed group stopped them on the way and raped his three relatives in front of his eyes and beat him with sticks and whips and threw him on the ground with a gun pointed to his head.

#### [32] Woman shot in leg in attempted rape in Mershing

MERSHING (24 May 2011) Gunmen belonging to local militias closely affiliated with the government chased six displaced women in the area of Mershing with the purpose of raping them. The incident occurred last Thursday as they were coming back from gathering wood. A witness told Radio Dabanga that the six women managed to flee after running away, despite being fired at, which led to the injury of one of the women on her leg. The displaced person also stated that such criminal acts are continuously being practiced throughout the areas of Mershing, Menawahi and Duma. Gunmen also sometimes confiscate donkey-carts. The local people complain that authorities do not take any steps to protect them.

#### [33] Rapes prevalent in Menawashi district of Darfur, residents say

AMAR JADEED (March 15, 2011) The residents of the village of Amar Jadeed in Menawashi Locality in South Darfur complained of nighttime attacks on their wives and daughters by armed men. One villager told Radio Dabanga that elements of the border guards come nightly from their camp, which is located near the village, and rape women and girls. The attacks occur even within the homes of victims and sometimes while husbands and fathers are present and held at gunpoint. The villager said that the attacks do not stop until 10:00 the following morning.

#### [34] 7 rape cases in Shagra and 1 in Garsila by uniformed Darfur militia

SHAGRA/GARSILA (March 15, 2011) Armed men wearing uniforms and mounted on camels committed seven rapes in Shagra area, targeting displaced women who had gone out of their camps to harvest crops. Seven rape victims were from Abu Shouk Camp. Another girl was raped elsewhere in Darfur, in Garsila. A women's rights activist in el-Fasher told Radio Dabanga that a first incident oc-

curred when camel herders attacked and raped women farm workers last Wednesday. The second incident occurred Friday, also in Shagra, when herders raped three women at night near the farms. According to the activist, the women were first severely beaten with sticks, then raped.

In Garsila Locality in West Darfur, an armed group on Sunday raped a 15-year old girl. A relative said that the perpetrators were gunmen who came on three camels and horses and were wearing military uniform. They intercepted the girl as she was on her way to gather firewood. They raped her alternately and then slashed her ears (in order to mark her permanently as a rape victim).

#### [35] Gunmen in military uniforms rape two refugee girls in Darfur

ZALINGEI (March 8, 2011) Gunmen dressed in military uniforms raped two girls from Hamidiya Camp for displaced people on Sunday. The camp is located outside of Zalingei town in West Darfur. One of the displaced people told Radio Dabanga that one of the victims is 12 years old. The girls had gone out of the camp to fetch firewood. The gunmen attacked them and took them to a remote place and then gang-raped them.

#### [36] Darfur woman raped by gunmen in Sirba, Darfur

SIRBA (March 7, 2011) An armed group on Saturday raped a woman, 25 years old, at Kandiba Camp in Sirba Locality. Three others were able to escape, according to a witness. The witness told Radio Dabanga that the gunmen were riding horses and camels when they attacked the four girls near the camp on Saturday. The victim was alternatingly raped by the gunmen. In another incident near the camp, gunmen robbed five people who were on their way to the camp with donkeys carrying flour. The victims were flogged with whips and treated at el-Geneina hospital.

#### [37] Three girls, aged 10, 12 and 15 raped by Darfur gunmen

GARSILA (March 7, 2011) An armed group last Wednesday in Garsila Locality raped three girls. A relative of one of the girls told Radio Dabanga that 6 gunmen came on camels and raped two girls. One of the victims is 10 years old and the other is 15 years old. They were on their way from their village to Targo, south of Garsila in West Darfur. In a separate incident, three gunmen who arrived on motorcycles raped a 12-year-old girl, in Wadi Galanja, east of Garsila.

#### [38] 2 Darfuri girls raped near Kutum and el-Geneina

KUTUM/EL-GENEINA (February 13, 2011) An armed group raped a girl at Kassab Camp last Tuesday. The girl, 18 years old, had been out collecting firewood. The same armed group on Wednesday also beat two men from the camp. People in the camp told Radio Dabanga that the armed group accosted the girl while she was on her way to collect firewood north of the camp. []

Another case of rape was reported in el-Geneina near Martyr Airport. A 16-year-old girl from Ardamata Displaced Camp was raped at gunpoint. She was later taken to the hospital in el-Geneina after opening a police case at the Ardamata Police Department. Witnesses told Radio Dabanga that the girl was among four who went to the area near the airport to collect firewood.

#### [39] 17-year-old girl abducted by mounted gunmen

GARSILA (February 17, 2011) Seven gunmen riding camels kidnapped a girl, 17 years old, from the village of Torgo in Garsila Locality in West Darfur. A witness told Radio Dabanga that the gunmen abducted the girl at 6:00 last night while she was on her way to fetch a donkey near the village. The witnesses added that the gunmen took the girl southward from the village.

#### [40] Woman shot dead by rapists in North Darfur

KUTUM (February 7, 2011) A woman was killed by gunmen Saturday afternoon in Hilla Goz in the area of east Kutum. Witnesses told Radio Dabanga that the victim was Hassiniya Ibrahim Kuluk, a farmer, age 27, mother of four children including an infant son of five months. The killers were two armed herders. They arrived on camels and sought to rape her. The victim refused and said she would not comply even if it meant her death. Witnesses said the herders immediately shot her and left her to die. They left her baby under a tree. The witnesses said that village men took her to the hospital but she died en route.

#### [41] Two girls raped by uniformed gunmen near Kutum, Darfur

KUTUM/TAWILA (February 5, 2011) A group of armed men raped two girls in Kutum Locality in North Darfur. One girl was 18 years old and the other was 21 years old, according to a relative of the girls. The source told Radio Dabanga that someone was accompanying the girls as they were on their way from their village of Diliba to the town of Kutum. They were intercepted by an armed group made up of more than 11 uniformed men. The group severely beat the girls' escort and then alternately raped them.

Another case of rape was reported in el-Geneina near Martyr Airport. A 16-year-old girl from Ardamata Displaced Camp was raped at gunpoint. She was later taken to the hospital in el-Geneina after opening a police case at the Ardamata Police Department. Witnesses told Radio Dabanga that the girl was among four who went to the area near the airport to collect firewood.

#### [42] 17-year-old girl abducted by mounted gunmen

GARSILA (February 17, 2011) Seven gunmen riding camels kidnapped a girl, 17 years old, from the village of Torgo in Garsila Locality in West Darfur. A witness told Radio Dabanga that the gunmen abducted the girl at 6:00 last night while she

was on her way to fetch a donkey near the village. The witnesses added that the gunmen took the girl southward from the village.

#### [43] Woman shot dead by rapists in North Darfur

KUTUM (February 7, 2011) A woman was killed by gunmen Saturday afternoon in Hilla Goz in the area of east Kutum. Witnesses told Radio Dabanga that the victim was Hassiniya Ibrahim Kuluk, a farmer, age 27, mother of four children including an infant son of five months. The killers were two armed herders. They arrived on camels and sought to rape her. The victim refused and said she would not comply even if it meant her death. Witnesses said the herders immediately shot her and left her to die. They left her baby under a tree. The witnesses said that village men took her to the hospital but she died en route.

#### [44] Two girls raped by uniformed gunmen near Kutum, Darfur

KUTUM/TAWILA (February 5, 2011) A group of armed men raped two girls in Kutum Locality in North Darfur. One girl was 18 years old and the other was 21 years old, according to a relative of the girls. The source told Radio Dabanga that someone was accompanying the girls as they were on their way from their village of Diliba to the town of Kutum. They were intercepted by an armed group made up of more than 11 uniformed men. The group severely beat the girls' escort and then alternately raped them.

The third person managed to escape despite attempts to shoot him. In another assault, an armed group shot a farmer, Ismail Mohamed Abdel Mola, near Rwanda displaced camp in Tawila. He was taken to the hospital in el-Fasher for treatment. A relative of the injured man told Radio Dabanga that Ismail was shot while he was working in his farm near Tawila. The source added that doctors were able to extract several bullets from his stomach and back after an operation conducted in el-Fasher on Wednesday.

#### [45] Woman raped near Kutum; daughter escapes

KUTUM, North Darfur (February 7, 2011) Two herders last Wednesday raped a woman from Kurgi village, eight kilometers southeast of Kutum. The gunmen also attempted to rape the woman's daughter, but she managed to escape by climbing up a tree. Sources told Radio Dabanga that the woman herself and her daughter were on their way from their farms to Kurgi when attacked by armed pastoralists.

Witnesses said that the girl managed to escape by climbing a tree, while her mother did not get away and was raped at gunpoint. Sources said the woman who was raped decided not to open a police case. The daughter was taken to receive medical treatment for cuts she suffered during her escape. In a related incident near Kutum, a woman was shot dead when she resisted a pair of rapists.

#### [46] Woman raped and killed in West Darfur

SIRBA (January 25, 2011) An armed group killed a woman last Friday at Kandibei Camp in Sirba Locality in West Darfur. A relative of the victim told Radio Dabanga that woman was attacked by the armed group while she was on her way to cut firewood. She was found dead with three stab wounds on her abdomen after being raped and thrown into the bottom of a wadi (dry river). The relative noted that the murdered woman, Simeinj Yahia, was the 28-year old mother of two children.

#### [47] Six girls raped in Darfur

TAWILA (January 17, 2011) An armed group raped six girls between the ages of 14 to 20 years old in area Dorma near Tawila in North Darfur. Omda Atim, the coordinator of IDP camps in North Darfur, told Radio Dabanga that the girls went out last Thursday to collect firewood. They were accompanied by two men. A number of gunmen came on camels. They attacked the men, tied them up and beat them severely. Then they raped the girls.

#### [48] Adolescent girl kidnapped in North Darfur

SERAF OMRA (January 11, 2011) A 13-year old girl was kidnapped Sunday in North Darfur. She was taken by an armed group from Koro Koli village in Seraf Omra area. One of her relatives said that the region is plagued by kidnappings including one reported recently by Radio Dabanga involving a businessman besides also murder and looting by armed men on camels. Camps of conflict-displaced people are particularly affected by the violence.

#### [49] 6 Darfuri women raped by soldiers, 1 shot dead

ATTASH CAMP (January 3, 2011) Soldiers in Darfur killed one woman and raped six others. They opened fire on Mariam Isaag Adam, the 18-year-old mother of a baby girl, near Attash Camp in South Darfur on Friday. She died. They raped six other women, aged between 15 and 25 years and all residents of Attash Camp. A relative of the slain victim told Radio Dabanga that the seven women were on their way to collect palm fronds outside of the camp when they were assaulted by regular troops stationed near the camp. Mariam Isaag Adam tried to escape. The soldiers shot her dead. The soldiers halted and raped the other women.

#### [50] Militia troops assault 2 girls at Al Salaam Camp, Darfur

EL-FASHER (January 4, 2011) Three soldiers belonging to the Border Guards severely beat two girls using sticks and batons at Al Salaam Camp in el-Fasher yesterday. The two girls were transferred to the city hospital in critical condition.

#### [51] Government troops rape 2 girls in Darfur camp, terrorize refugees

TAWILA (December 28, 2010) Government forces stationed in the area of Rwanda camp in Tawila in North Darfur raped two girls, 15 and 19 years old. A witness s aid that the forces entered Rwanda camp on Saturday, firing heavily in the air, then began breaking into shops and looting. They wounded someone in the leg with gunfire and also killed a donkey. The witness said that the displaced heard there were 200 vehicles coming from Kebkabiya to the area and they fled for protection to UNAMID camp.

#### **Reports from Amnesty International**

#### From "Sudan, Darfur: Rape as a Weapon of War," (July 19, 2004)

- [52] "I was sleeping when the attack on Disa started. I was taken away by the attackers, they were all in uniforms. They took dozens of other girls and made us walk for three hours. During the day we were beaten and they were telling us: "You, the black women, we will exterminate you, you have no god." At night we were raped several times. The Arabs guarded us with arms and we were not given food for three days.' (A female refugee from Disa [Masalit village, West Darfur], interviewed by Amnesty International delegates in Goz Amer camp for Sudanese refugees in Chad, May 2004)"
- [53] "I was preparing breakfast when I saw them coming. They started shooting. They came with horses and cars and they were all in uniforms. They killed my husband Musa Harun Arba, I ran and left the village. I took my three children and two children of my neighbour and we ran to Hara, the village in the valley. Then we went to Abu Liha where we stayed for two days and from there to Bamina. The Janjawid found us on the way. Antonovs bombarded us and killed three people. We were many on the run and some people were caught by Janjawid. Nine girls and two boys were taken by Janjawid. They took one of my uncles with his son, Khidder Ibrahim. We do not know what happened to these people.' (H., a woman aged 27 from Amnatay village in Kebkabiya district, reporting a series of attacks she was subjected to; May 2003)"
- [54] "When we tried to escape they shot more children. They raped women; I saw many cases of Janjawid raping women and girls. They are happy when they rape. They sing when they rape and they tell that we are just slaves and that they can do with us how they wish." (A., aged 37, from Mukjar told Amnesty International how the Janjawid had raped and humiliated women)"
  - [55] "Rape is first and foremost a violation of the human rights of women and

girls; in some cases in Darfur, it is also clearly used to humiliate the woman, her family and her community:

"There was also another rape on a young single girl aged 17: M. was raped by six men in front of her house in front of her mother. M's brother, S., was then tied up and thrown into fire." (H., a 35-year-old Fur man from Mukjar)

- [56] "In July 2003, the Arabs raped M, 14, on the market square and threatened to shoot on the witnesses if they tried to intervene. They also raped other girls in the bush." (S., a 28 year old Zaghawa woman from Habila region)
- [57] "Gang rapes have also been reported. On 11 March 2004, a report by the UN Darfur Task Force Situation stated: 'UNICEF has completed a child protection survey in Tawila. The report confirms a host of disturbing findings from the recent inter-agency mission, including a very large number of rape cases, in one case targeting 41 school girls and teachers, gang rape of minors by up to 14 men, abduction of children and women as well as killings of many civilians."
- [58] "S., from Disa, was raped by a soldier despite being pregnant. She is now the mother of four children, having given birth recently to the boy she was carrying while she was raped. 'I was with another woman, Aziza, aged 18, who had her stomach slit on the night we were abducted. She was pregnant and was killed as they said: "it is the child of an enemy.""
- [59] "In some cases, women who have resisted rapes were reportedly beaten, stabbed or killed. I., a Zaghawa man from Miski, in the district of Kutum, told Amnesty International:

'At 7am in August 2003, our village was surrounded by the Janjawid; we heard machine guns and most of the people ran away, some were killed while trying to escape. My sister, M., aged 43, was captured by the military and the Janjawid. They tried to sleep with her. She resisted, I was present and could hear her: 'I will not do something like this even if you kill me' and they immediately killed her. Other people were also present when this happened."'

[60] "In order to prevent them from escaping. N., a 30-year-old woman from Um Baru, told Amnesty International delegates in the camp of Konoungou:

'The attack took place at 8am on 29 February 2004 when soldiers arrived by car, camels and horses. The Janjawid were inside the houses and the soldiers outside. Some 15 women and girls who had not fled quickly enough were raped in different huts in the village. The Janjawid broke the limbs (arms or legs) of some women and girls to prevent them from escaping. The Janjawid remained in the village for six or seven days. After the rapes, the Janjawid looted the houses."'

[61] "Torture appears to have sometimes been used as a tactic to prevent women

held as sexual slaves from escaping: 'They took K.M., who is 12 years old in the open air. Her father was killed by the Janjawid in Um Baru, the rest of the family ran away and she was captured by the Janjawid who were on horseback. More than six people used her as a wife; she stayed with the Janjawid and the military more than 10 days. K, another woman who is married, aged 18, ran away but was captured by the Janjawid who slept with her in the open place, all of them slept with her. She is still with them. A, a teacher, told me that they broke her leg after raping her.' (A., a 66- year-old farmer from Um Baru in the district of Kutum)"

- [62] "N., a 30-year-old woman from the village of Disa in the Masalit area of western Darfur, told Amnesty International delegates how she was abducted and subjected to gang rape after an attack by government forces and the Janjawid on her village. She and her 15-year-old sister fled when the attack happened but were caught by soldiers in uniforms. She refused to follow them, reportedly accusing them of having already killed children. The soldiers reportedly beat her up and she was taken away by force."
- [63] "K. from Kenyu, aged 15, was reportedly abducted on 15 January 2004 and raped by several men. She was later found with two serious wounds on her head and a crippled leg, apparently from blows inflicted on her knee. The wound on her leg was putrescent when she was found five days after her abduction; she had been abandoned by her abductors."
- [64] "In the same camp two women, M., a 40-year-old woman and N., aged 17, both from the village of Kibbash in the region of Silaya reported to Amnesty International having been abducted and gang-raped by the Janjawid:

'The Janjawid held women in different huts. The children ran away but some were caught by the Janjawid: they abducted five of them; three boys aged two, four and six, and two girls, aged five and six. The Janjawid took me away, bound my hands in the back and took me along with four other girls in the wadi. In the wadi I saw some 20 other women, their hands and feet tied, who had arrived on the same day. We received some water and rice. During the day, most of the Janjawid left the wadi to loot the neighbouring villages and at night they came back to the wadi where they raped the girls in turn. Some 50 Janjawid stayed in the camp during the day. I did not see government soldiers in the wadi."

[65] "S. from Silaya, near Kulbus, was five months pregnant when she was abducted by the Janjawid with eight other women during an attack on 24 July 2003. Some of the girls who were abducted were reportedly as young as eight years old. According to S.:

'After six days some of the girls were released. But the others, as young as eight years old were kept there. Five to six men would rape us in rounds, one after the

other for hours during six days, every night. My husband could not forgive me after this, he disowned me."

[66] "Another refugee woman in Konoungou camp, K., aged 23, from Ibek, mother of three children, told Amnesty International how she was abducted with two other women and one man, the husband of one of the women:

'On the first night I had to endure five men who raped me, the second night I was raped by three men. The third night I managed to escape with one of the others. I do not know what happened to the third women, the wife of I. who was with us."

[67] "The husband of the missing woman, who was abducted with her, is 36. His 11-month-old child was killed before his eyes. He reported being severely beaten by the Janjawid:

'They slit the throat of my only child in front of my eyes. I don't know where my wife is and what happened to her. It is only because one of the soldiers was merciful that I was not killed."

[68] "Girls, like women, have been raped, abducted and kept in sexual slavery. M., a Fur woman from Um Bada near Kutum reported the abduction of girls from the village by the Janjawid:

'During the attack on Kutum, many girls disappeared. Some of their names are: Hamra (15), Khadija(14), Fatima (12), Hama (10). An old woman called Khadija (80) was also abducted. Those women were taken away on camels and the Hakama saw this and cheered their men."

[69] "In many interviews with refugees it became apparent that the differing circumstances of men and women and the gendered roles they played in society meant that they reacted to attacks in different ways. M., a 46-year-old man from Abu Jidad (close to Kornoy) described how people reacted during attacks:

'Only women and children were in the village, the men were with the cattle a bit further north, closer to the hills. When the attack occurred, men ran up the hills in order to see and the women ran into the village to take their children and flee south of the village."

[70] "Women in most cases have described how during attacks they started looking for their dependents before leaving the village. K., a 40-year-old woman from Jaroko explained:

'When the Janjawid came, they put fire on our huts and they beat the children and the women. I have seven children and six are here with me now, I put one on my back and on in front and the others were holding my hands and we ran. Also my grandmother was with me. On the way there were many Janjawid and they were beating people and we saw them raping women and young girls."

- [71] "Another 45-year-old woman, A., from Mamoun describes a similar flight: 'We heard when the Janjawid attacked Kenu and then, before breakfast they came and killed people. I collected my children and the old woman who is deaf and whom I am taking care of."
- [72] "A. from Khusha in North Darfur said that she witnessed a rape and abductions when she and several other women ran away from the attack on their village in August 2003:

'A woman had her legs and arms broken and was left on the road. Others were beaten up when they refused to undress and they were taken away to a Janjawid camp."'

- [73] "A., a 40-year-old Tama woman from Azerny (30 miles south of Jeneina) witnessed rape while she was fleeing: 'After the attacks we ran for four hours to our neighbours who are Tama as well. On our way from Aserny two women were raped by three Janjawid. I was there; I saw it with my own eyes.' (She gave the names of the women reportedly raped to Amnesty International)"
- [74] "In February 2004, I abandoned my house because of the conflict. I met six Arabs in the bush, I wanted to take my spear to defend my family, they threatened me with a weapon and I had to stop. The six men raped my daughter, who is 25 years old, in front of me, my wife and the young children.' (H., a man from Magarsa in the Masalit region of Western Darfur)"
- [75] "Several testimonies report abductions during the flight. It seems that it is mainly women and children who are abducted. In most cases the whereabouts of those abducted are not known. Amnesty International received more than fifty names of people who have 'not been seen again' after being abducted by Janjawid."
- [76] "M. a 47-year-old man from Nan Kursei, a village in the district of Garsila told Amnesty International in Chad:

'The population of more than 30 villages escaped to Garsila and there we were held in IDP camps. In Garsila it is like this: the army barracks are outside the town. Inside the town there is a big camp for the Janjawid, there is the National Security and the Police and then there are more than 21,000 IDPs. The government prevents them from coming to Chad. They want to leave this place in Garsila. The government people said: 'There is peace now. There is a delegation coming and we want you to go back to your villages, there is no danger now you have to go back.' The Janjawid prevent people from leaving Garsila, it is surrounded by Janjawid. They killed more than 60 people who tried to escape, you can see the bodies, they did not allow us to bury the dead, the bodies are still there around Garsila.'

'There was one woman, Rusonga, she refused to be raped, she hit a Janjawid and then he shot her. In Garsila the women wanted to bring firewood and water and many were raped by Janjawid. On our way to Garsila the Janjawid tried to rape my wife. I managed to catch her and nothing happened."'

[77] "The United Nations Inter-Agency Fact Finding and Rapid Assessment Mission 30 reports on 25 April 2004, after visiting the town of Kailek in South Darfur:

"The women unequivocally stated their great fear of living in this location (Kailek) due to the daily and nightly harassment and sexual abuse of the Janjawid in town. They expressed how they feel 'imprisoned' and how the women and girls have been raped and sexually abused when leaving the IDP setting, while the men are being harassed and frequently beaten by the security forces. When asked, the women identified several of the rapists and abusers among the present group of armed elements. They explained how the perpetrators use to come to the setting during the night to abduct girls, bringing them to the nearby wadi where they would be raped."

[78] "One cultural belief is apparently that women cannot become pregnant through rape. One refugee from Kenyu explained: 'Some women were raped. We heard about this. But only those who are not married can talk about it. We believe that nobody can become pregnant when raped, because this is unwanted sex and you cannot have a child from unwanted sex. For those who are in the camps in Darfur, those whom they rape day and night, they might become pregnant. Then only Allah can help the child to look like the mother. If an Arab child is born, this cannot be accepted."

[79] "K., a 40-year-old woman from Jaroko presented a similar belief, shared by a group of women sitting with her, whom Amnesty International interviewed in Goz Amer refugee camp:

'If there is any woman pregnant she cannot come to Chad. When we were in Deleij, we were not allowed to move and there are still many people there. They take the women as their wives. This is a big problem, if they become pregnant they must escape, they cannot stay in their family or in their community. Why? Because it is not normal for her to be pregnant from being raped, so she has to go."

[80] "Although the majority of women who are pregnant as a result of rape seem to remain mostly in Darfur or in border locations, Amnesty International met a number of women in camps in Chad who were pregnant as a result of rape by the Janjawid. K., a woman currently in Konoungou camp said that she was raped during an attack on her village and, at the time of interview, was nine months pregnant with the child of one of the suspected rapists."

[81] "F., from a village located between Silaya and Jebel Moun told Amnesty International how she was abducted on 5 August 2003 by men in uniforms, whipped and raped. She said that she miscarried a boy some months after her rape. M. was nine months pregnant as a result of rape. At least three men raped her and she said to Amnesty International: 'I don't even know who the father is."

[82] "S. a 38-year-old mother of six children from Abu Sin, south of Abu Gamra gave a detailed account of her flight: 'We ran, I had the little one on the back and two on my hands and two with my older brother. My husband lived with me in the village but was absent when we escaped. We were hiding in the forest and I had only one little bag of clothes and nothing else. For three days I could only feed my children with water. One of my children felt sick with malaria after 10 days and we had to stay there for eight days before the child was stronger again.

'I was pregnant and I lost my baby. I was very weak but everybody had to help themselves. I was worried that we would all die. Some people who came by gave us food, I could not get up and I could not find food for the children because I was weak after losing the baby. I took mimosa as medicine and after 20 days we were able to move further to Kornoy. On the roads the Janjawid would stop us and tell us: "You are wives of the Tora Bora, we can kill you." There was rape as well. There is one woman, Zara, who was raped and now is pregnant. This was in Kamu when they came with many cars to the road where we were running to Tine from Kornoy."

[83] "M., a Fur woman from Um Bada near Kutum reported the death of children during her flight: 'Many of our children died on the way. There was no food, there was malaria and they were weak."

### **Reports from Human Rights Watch**

In April 2008 Human Rights Watch issued a starkly damning report rape as a weapon of war:

Five years into the armed conflict in Sudan's Darfur region, women and girls living in displaced persons camps, towns, and rural areas remain extremely vulnerable to sexual violence. Sexual violence continues to occur throughout the region, both in the context of continuing attacks on civilians, and during periods of relative calm. Those responsible are usually men from the Sudanese security forces, militias [i.e. Jan-jaweed], rebel groups, and former rebel groups, who target women and girls predominantly (but not exclusively) from Fur, Zaghawa, Masalit,

Berti, Tunjur, and other non-Arab ethnicities.

Survivors of sexual violence in Darfur have no meaningful access to redress. They fear the consequences of reporting their cases to the authorities and lack the resources needed to prosecute their attackers. Police are physically present only in principal towns and government outposts, and they lack the basic tools and political will for responding to sexual violence crimes and conducting investigations.<sup>36</sup>

### Individual reports by Human Rights Watch, "Sexual violence and its consequences among displaced persons in Darfur and Chad," (April 2005):

[84] "For example, a thirty-five-year-old Fur woman and mother of five children, from Krolli village, South Darfur, told Human Rights Watch that when the Janjaweed militias attacked her village many of the village residents gathered in the police station, seeking protection. The police took no action. Civilians were held there for several days while the militia selected young women for rape and men were shot and tortured if they protested. She said:

'Janjaweed would pass their hands touching the heads and legs of women, if a woman has long hair and fat legs and silky skin she is immediately taken away to be raped. There was panic among all of us and we could not move. They took girls away for long hours and brought them back later. Girls were crying, we knew they raped them. Some of us were raped in front of the crowd. I was sitting with the others on the bare floor, very exhausted, thirsty and scared. Two of them came to me, I resisted them and told them I did not want them but they did not like that. They hit me and decided to rape me in front of others, one of them came to me from the back and started raping me.I could not move after that. Some young men tried to protect us from [rape], they received shots in both their legs. That was very painful and made them bleed, they could not move any more. Others were hanged on the tree naked.It was just killing us to be raped and to see our men tortured like that."

[85] This example from Human Rights Watch also comes from a February 2005 interview in Kass Camp, South Darfur:

"When the Janjaweed militia members tried to rape [a woman's] fourteen-yearold daughter she said: 'I covered her with my body and prevented them from taking her. They became very angry, they lashed me and decided to have me. They took my tope (outer garment worn by many Sudanese women) off and tore my dress while I was resisting them. They took me a bit far from the group and started raping me. One would rape while two others would guard him. There were about thirty women in the same place. They took their turns raping me, after that they hit me hard, took me on the floor back to the crowd and threw me beside them."

[86] "A woman who was raped by five soldiers when she was traveling to the market at Abdu Shakur, North Darfur to get food, told Human Rights Watch that they ordered her off her donkey. When she refused she was whipped and then raped by all five men. She said:

'They were regular soldiers, with no rank. They wore army uniforms and one had a Kalashnikov [assault rifle]. The police have red caps. There were two with red caps but the others were bareheaded. They whipped me with two whips, used by three men.I said nothing, I could not scream. I was raped by all five. I did not report the rape because they were government soldiers."

[87] "A sixteen-year-old girl who was raped while traveling from her village to Nyala, the capital of South Darfur, described the attack to Human Rights Watch:

'[I was with] a group of girls traveling from our village to Nyala. Suddenly the Janjaweed attacked us; they took our money and our donkeys. The majority [of the girls] managed to escape; me, my cousin and my sister were captured. They took all our topes and veils, they left us only with our dresses. We were screaming. I was taken with my younger cousin to the wood; I don't know where they took my sister. One of them forced me on the ground and all the time I was resisting them.all the time one of the Janjaweed kept his gun pointed at my head. They started raping me. I was bleeding heavily but could do nothing. It was so painful, but fear was even more than pain. Four of them raped me."

[88] "The mother of a sixteen-year-old girl who had been raped and then married to a cousin to protect her honor described her daughter's condition and the effect on the whole family:

'My daughter screams at night. She is not happy as she used to be before, she cannot sit in one place; she is mashautana (possessed). She is always worried and in continuous movement, I never talk to her about what happened, although she knows that I know what happened to her. Of course she does: I cleaned her wounds after her return every day, but still, talking about it is very difficult. Her father became very ill since that time. He never goes out with the rest of the men and he does nothing but staying inside the room. I feel very bad about the whole situation but there is nothing we can do, God only can help us. Now my daughter is married to her cousin, but where is he? He does not communicate with her or with us."

#### Reports from Doctors without Borders/MSF

Individual reports of rape cited by Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)—Holland in "The Crushing Burden of Rape: Sexual Violence in Darfur," March 2005. Senior MSF officials were arrested and later expelled in the wake of the report's promulgation:

[89] "Five women, 2 young girls (13 and 14 years old) and 3 older women, went to collect grass for their donkeys. The group got ambushed by three armed men. 'I was taken to the near-by riverbed away from the other women. One man took me in one direction. The other man took the other girl. [] The man who took me told me to sit on the ground. But I refused. He hit me twice on my back with a stick. Then he took out a knife and threatened me by pointing the knife at me. I sat down. And then he told me to take off my underwear. I refused, but he threatened me again with his knife. He pulled his trousers down and raped me. He left without saying anything or even looking at me.' (Young girl, 13, February 2005, South Darfur)"

[90] "One of the three man took me away from the other women. He threatened me with his knife by pinching my chest with it. He pushed me on the ground and took off my underwear. He raped me and was repeating "I will kill you" all the time to intimidate me.' (Young girl, 14, February 2005, South Darfur)"

## Gang-rape is, as MSF has established beyond doubt, a characteristic feature of sexual violence in Darfur:

[91] "[A number of] women described that the rapists abducted them and held them captive for several days and during that period they were raped regularly by several men. One woman reported that her abduction lasted 6 days and she was raped by 10 men. In addition, almost half of the survivors report that there was more than one victim in the attack."

#### **Individual women offer counts of unsurpassable horror:**

[92] "'I was walking with a group of nine women and two men. We met some armed men along the road. They took the nine women and held us under a tree in their camp. They released us after three days. During all this time, I was raped every night and every day by five men.' (Woman, 30, October 2004, South Darfur) (Among the nine women, only three came to the clinic, among which two girls were 12 and 13 years old.)"<sup>37</sup>

#### **Early Reports**

From various sources

[93] Incident cited in "Nowhere to Turn: Failure to Protect, Support, and Assure Justice for Darfuri Women," May 2009:

"'One of the Janjaweed pushed me to the ground. He forced my clothes off and they raped me one by one vaginally. No objects were inserted. When they shot my father, they saw I was a little girl. I did not have any energy or force against them. They used me. I started bleeding. It was so painful. I could not stand up...I was sick for seven days. No one helped me." (2008? 2009?)

[94] "In February 2008, large-scale air and ground attacks by government and government-supported militia on the towns of Sirba, Silea, and Abu Suruj, in northern West Darfur, led to more than 100 civilian deaths, destruction of property, and massive displacements. In a visit to Sirba, witnesses told UN human rights monitors that up to 10 women and girls were either raped or sexually assaulted.

At least 15 land and air attacks against civilians were carried out by government, allied militia, and SLA/MM forces from June through November 2007 and many of these attacks are believed to have included incidents of sexual violence that were not reported or documented. For example, in spring 2007, displaced persons living in camps in the Tawila area reported rapes that had occurred in attacks by government-allied SLA/MM forces on their villages, prompting some to refer to SLA/MM soldiers as 'African Janjaweed."

[95] "Sexual violence was used during a series of government-supported militia attacks on civilians in the Abu Sakin region of North Darfur from October to December 2006. In the course of a large-scale attack, government soldiers and Janjaweed from the neighboring town of Um Sayalah, which hosts a military base, abducted eight women and girls, brutally raped at least three, and forced them to walk back to their village naked. To date, the military has refused to hand over identified suspects to the prosecutor in el-Fasher."

[96] "Rape also featured in a large-scale government attack on Deribat, in eastern Jebel Mara, in December 2006. Large numbers of militia and government forces killed civilians and abducted and raped dozens of women and girls. One witness told UN human rights officers, 'they were raped by any man who wanted. Whenever any man came to them, the women were supposed to comply, otherwise they were badly beaten."

[97] "In an example from Fataborno IDP camp in North Darfur, a 20-year-old

woman described being sexually assaulted by an armed man while she was farming at the outskirts of the camp in August 2007: 'We were with a group of people about one kilometer from the camp when we saw some armed Arab men and started to run away. One man came to me and asked where I lived. He had a weapon. When I told him where I live, he swore at me and called me a Torabora. He threw me on the ground and kicked me and beat me, then twisted my taub [traditional wrap] around my neck. He wore civilian clothes and looked Arab."

[98] "In an example from West Darfur, a 12-year-old Erenga girl described how in December 2007, an armed Arab man in uniform lured her and her younger sister into a secluded area by pretending to help them find their lost donkey. 'He said if we went with him he would show us. He grabbed me and took off my clothes to do bad things to me. My younger sister ran back to the camp."'

[99] "In North Darfur, a Fur woman living in the Zam Zam IDP camp reported that in March 2007, while she was collecting firewood with five other women and girls, three Arab men wearing civilian clothes riding donkeys intercepted them and asked what they were doing. One of the men slapped her and said, 'you black people are not allowed to take wood from here,' and wrested away her axe. The men proceeded to beat the women, take away their axes, and threatened to rape them by saying, "we'll circumcise you again now.""

[100] "According to a 20-year-old woman who was among them, the men asked, 'Where are your husbands' and accused the women of carrying food to the Abdel Wahid faction of the SLA. Then the men proceeded to rape three of the women. 'They took us into the bush. One raped me, then beat me with sticks and whips. I was unable to walk afterwards. People came and carried us back to the camp.

In an especially brutal case, an 11-year-old girl who left the Rwanda camp [North Darfur] to collect grass one morning in August 2007 with her seven-year-old sister, was reportedly raped by three armed men whom she identified as Zaghawa. 'I went to [the mountain] with my sister to collect grass. Three Zaghawa men in civilian clothes with guns in their hands appeared. One of them grabbed my sister and two of them raped me.' The attack caused her to bleed profusely and she required a medical evacuation by AMIS helicopter to el-Fasher for treatment."

[101] "In one example, a Tunjur woman described how a group of women and girls went to collect wood in a valley and were intercepted by two Arab men with knives. The men called the women 'Torabora' and beat them with sticks and stones. In another example, a 15-year-old Fur girl reported she was raped on the outskirts of town by two militia men she identified as ethnically Gimir (an ethnic group allied with Arab ethnicities) as she and three women were returning home from collecting

wood. 'They stopped us and told us to get off our donkeys. We tried to run away but they shot bullets in the air. They managed to catch me. Two of them beat me and raped me. When they finished, they took the donkeys and the firewood and left me."

[102] "In one case from West Darfur, an Arab man armed with an AK-47 assault rifle, whip, and a stick, attacked a Massalit woman and her seven-year-old daughter on a hillside. The girl escaped but he caught the mother and beat her severely. She said during the beating he shouted, 'We stopped all the Massalit from coming to this area. How come you dared to venture out this way?"

[103] "In an example from North Darfur, three armed Arab men reportedly raped a Berti woman and her daughter who were out collecting wood. According to the survivors, the men approached on camels and asked what tribe the women belonged to and whether they had seen any other camels roaming the area. The men pointed their weapons at the women and ordered them to follow them to a nearby village, where they took the mother and daughter into an abandoned hut and proceeded to rape them in turns. During the rape, one said, 'You Bertis are slaves. Go and tell your men to come meet us."

[104] "In South Darfur, two 18-year-old girls reported they were returning to their IDP camp when two armed Central Reserve policemen intercepted them and tried to force the women to a secluded area to rape them. In the words of a survivor of attempted rape from Al Salaam IDP camp, North Darfur, she did not report the sexual violence committed against her because 'police are part of the problem."

[105] "Frustration over police inaction-echoed by displaced persons across Darfur-came to head in one high-profile case in Kebkabiya, North Darfur, in October 2007. A man identified by eyewitnesses as an Arab wearing civilian clothes and carrying a gun attacked an 18-year-old Zaghawa girl while she was farming five kilometers from town. Her mother, who witnessed him harass and kill her daughter, said the man was attempting to rape her daughter when he shot her."

[106] "One case of gang rape by seven soldiers of an 18-year-old Arab woman in el-Fasher in August 2007, illustrates [the] problem. The prosecutor ordered the victim and her family to attend the crime scene-a tent inside a military barrack-saccompanied by a prosecutor, a military official, soldiers, and police officers. The inquiry was unstructured and no measures were taken to protect the victim's privacy or guard against painful or dangerous interactions with the alleged perpetrators."

[107] "[In one example a] 15-year-old girl who was beaten and raped outside of Kebkabiya in June 2007, police gave the form to the family and instructed them to return it after having it filled out by a doctor. When the family returned the completed form, they said the police kept it and took no further action in the case.

In some cases, victims have had to pay for the forms."

[108] "In an example from North Darfur in July 2007, six women alleged that three government soldiers from a military base near their village raped them. According to one of the rape survivors, she encountered the soldiers while returning from the market on her donkey:

'One of [the soldiers] grabbed my arm and pulled me off my donkey. When I shouted for help he hit me in the mouth with the butt of his gun. He hit me several times and then tore off my clothes and raped me. When he finished, the other man came and raped me."

Hundreds of earlier reports from Radio Dabanga remain to be added to this compendium.

#### **Notes**

```
1 Reuters, June 21, 2005.
 2 Gingerich and Leaning, "The Use of Rape as a Weapon of War in the conflict in Darfur, Sudan,"
   page 1, at http://reliefweb.int/node/411176
 3 Gingerich and Leaning, page 1.
 4 AP, June 22, 2005.
 5 The US, the countries of the European Union, and all current members of the UN Security
   Council are contracting parties to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the
   Crime of Genocide
 6 Voice of America, June 22, 2005.
 7 UN Security Council Resolution 1556, July 30, 2004.
 8 MSF, "The Crushing Burden of Rape: Sexual Violence in Darfur," page 1.
 9 Gingerich and Leaning, page 15.
10 MSF, page 5.
11 MSF, page 5.
12 MSF, page 1.
13 MSF, page 3.
14 UN Integrated Regional Information Networks, March 22, 2004.
15 Reuters, June 21, 2005.
16 Gingerich and Leaning, page 16.
17 Footnote 29, Jonathan Gottschall, "Explaining Wartime Rape."
18 For example, in addition to the reports by MSF and Gingerich and Leaning, see Amnesty
   International, "Sudan, Darfur: Rape as a Weapon of War" [July 19, 2004] at http://www.
   amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR54/076/2004
19 MSF, page 4.
20 UN, Darfur Humanitarian Profile No. 14; May 1, 2005.
21 Gingerich and Leaning, page 17.
22 Gingerich and Leaning, page 18.
23 Gingerich and Leaning, page 18.
```

24 Gingerich and Leaning, page 18.

25 See Gingerich and Leaning, page 19.

- 26 See Gingerich and Leaning, pages 6 12.
- 27 "Rape as a Weapon of War," Amnesty International, at http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR54/076/2004
- 28 Gingerich and Leaning report: http://reliefweb.int/node/411176
- 29 HRW report, 2005: http://reliefweb.int/node/411952
- 30 MSF report: http://tinyurl.com/8vtonu8
- 31 Congressional Testimony by Eric Reeves: http://tinyurl.com/983mnqu
- 32 HRW Report, 2008:http://www.hrw.org/node/62269/section/1
- 33 Physicians for Human Rights Report: http://darfuriwomen.phrblog.org/nowhere-to-turn/
- 34 Gingerich and Leaning, page 16. Data for 9,300 figure: [footnote 72: interview, October 12, 2004]; Data for "double that figure": [footnote 73: Interviews, September 21, 2004].
- **35** MSF, page 1.
- 36 HRW 2008.
- **37** MSF, page 5.



Photography credit: Enough Project

# THESE ARE WOMEN FROM AN INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS CAMP IN DARFUR

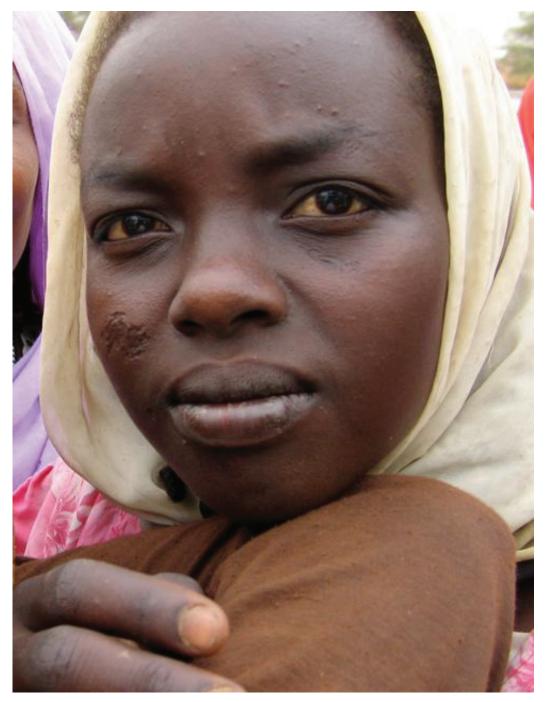
Not only must they make long trips for water in many places, but they must travel increasing distances to collect firewood (see next photograph); this exposes them to sexual assault by militia forces, and increasingly opportunistic paramilitary groups. Men and boys could not accompany the women, as they would be killed rather than "merely" raped. This sense of powerlessness on the part of the husbands, brothers, and sons of these women has created intense anger and frustration.



Photography credit: withheld by request

### KASS IDP CAMP (JUNE 2005)

These women are terrifyingly vulnerably when they leave the camps to collect firewood; most rapes have occurred during such necessary foraging for cooking fuel.



Photography credit: Mia Farrow

WOMAN IN DARFUR who has been raped and subsequently scarred to ensure that her shame can never be concealed



Photography credit: Mia Farrow

Another woman marked as a victim of rape by her attackers.