



WagingPeace

The Long Arm of the Sudanese Regime:
How the Sudanese National Intelligence and Security Service
monitors and threatens Sudanese nationals who leave Sudan

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Preface

“They were always asking me about London ... They said to me ... that I went to London because I was from Darfur and I wanted to overthrow the government of Sudan. They said they would not let this happen, that they would kill the Darfurians.”

Excerpt from testimony of Ms A

About Article 1 and Waging Peace

Article 1 is a UK-based charity which gives support to asylum seekers and refugees from Sudan, working closely with the Sudanese Diaspora community in the UK. Its sister organisation, Waging Peace, is a London-based non-governmental organisation that documents, informs and campaigns against human rights abuses in Sudan.

Article 1 and Waging Peace work closely with the UK’s Sudanese community to help them speak out about their experience of human rights abuses and to gain access to the services they are entitled to. We have a particular focus on the most vulnerable amongst the community and those seeking asylum in the UK.

For more information about our work see www.article1.org and www.wagingpeace.info.

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Introduction

With ongoing civil strife and systematic violation of human rights, Sudan remains one of the world's biggest sources of refugees, the fourth largest in the world at the end of 2013.¹ Many of those affected by years of conflict and political repression in Sudan, and particularly at the hands of the regime's National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS), seek sanctuary in the UK. Sadly, as this report makes clear, NISS's power extends beyond Sudan's borders into the monitoring of the Diaspora in the UK and elsewhere, disrupting their activities, but also putting at risk those Sudanese who return to Sudan.

Compiled over the last year and a half, this research provides a new assessment of the risk of returning to Sudan for those who are forcibly sent back. It looks at the surveillance by the NISS on nationals outside Sudan and the impact such activity has on Sudanese who return to their country, building on our September 2012 report '[The Danger of Returning Home](#)'. In this we predicted that further cases of intimidation and human rights abuses by the Sudanese security services would emerge. Here we publish testimonies from eleven individuals that sadly confirm our prediction. They testify that Sudanese in the UK are being monitored by the Sudanese government and that they have been asked about their activities in Europe while being interrogated in Sudan.

The testimonies, included in full in the Annexes of the report, show that Sudanese from across Sudan and from all sections of society may be at risk because they have spent time outside of Sudan: men and women; the rich and the poor; those from the capital as well as those from Darfur and the Nuba Mountains; politicians as well as farmers. The report also includes a review of recent publicly-available information about the monitoring of Sudanese Diaspora by the Sudanese regime in the UK, Norway, France, Egypt, Uganda, Eritrea and Israel.

As the only UK organisations focusing on Sudanese human rights and Sudanese refugees in the UK, Waging Peace and Article 1 are uniquely placed to collect, analyse and provide context for the testimonies in this report. We have written this report at the request of the Sudanese Diaspora in the UK. They have urged us to expose how they live in constant fear of their government - thousands of miles from home - and cast light on the risks they are exposed to when they return to their country.

We would like to thank those brave individuals who gave their testimonies for this report. Many of those interviewed prefer to keep their identities hidden for fear of repercussions to themselves and their families - fear of the regime does not stop at its borders. We have removed some identifying details from the testimonies so as to protect their identities.

Detailed recommendations can be found on pages 30 and 31.

¹ UNHCR, World Refugee Day: Global forced displacement tops 50 million for first time in post-World War II era, <<http://www.unhcr.org/53a155bc6.html>>, [Accessed 4 August 2014]

Immigration and Diaspora Communities

The UK Home Office August 2012 Operational Guidance Note (OGN) comments on the gap between policy and practice in Sudan: “The interim national constitution and law provide for freedom of movement, foreign travel, emigration, and repatriation, but the government restricted these rights in practice.”² And according to the International Rights Initiative, “Travel and movement has also been restricted in the context of growing tensions [in Sudan].”³

In May 2011 the Khartoum regime introduced a new civil register requiring all citizens to obtain and carry identity cards in order to qualify for various services such as driving licenses, university entrance and land ownership. Citizens need to confirm various aspects of their identity such as their place of birth, tribe and provide proof of identification like a birth certificate, passport, residency certificate, letter of employment etc. to receive a National Number with which they can then use to apply for a National Identity Card. In practice, vulnerable and marginalised groups do not have access to these documents and/or cannot get to registration centres. They therefore have difficulty obtaining the National Identity Card, leaving themselves vulnerable to persecution and unable to access services.⁴

Sudanese visa procedures impose restrictive rules and surveillance on national and international travellers who wish to enter or exit the country. All travellers must produce a valid entry visa upon arrival. In addition, Sudan is one of the few countries where you need an exit visa in order to leave. Travellers can obtain an exit visa from the Ministry of Interior’s main office in Khartoum or the transit office at Khartoum International airport. Travellers may be prevented from leaving the country and questioned about their future movements and activities, as happened in the well-publicised case of Meriam Ibrahim.⁵ Government officials working in the immigration department are known to work for NISS. Recently, travellers to Uganda, Kenya and Egypt have been subject to further questioning on exit, possibly because these countries have large Sudanese refugee populations and are home to the exiled political opposition.⁶

Those Sudanese who are outside Sudan without identification and who are forced to return to Sudan are required to go through a process of re-documentation whereby their nationality is confirmed and they are given documents with which to travel. In 2007 and 2011 Waging Peace and Article 1 produced reports showing significant procedural inadequacies in the re-documentation procedure of Sudanese asylum seekers in the UK. Asylum seekers were re-documented by the UK Border Agency before their right to appeal the refusal of refugee status was exhausted. During this process Sudanese embassy officials asked asylum seekers for personal information which was far in excess of what was required to verify nationality and obtain travel documents, including details about the

² Sudan OGN v 17.0 updated August 2012, Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/310188/Sudan_operationa_l_guidance_2012.pdf, [Accessed 4 August 2014]

³ International Refugee Rights Initiative, The Disappearance of Sudan? Life in Khartoum for citizens without rights, May 2013, Extension of the logic of exclusion beyond the conflict zones, p. 6

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ The Telegraph, ‘Sudan apostasy: Meriam Ibrahim rearrested with husband at Khartoum airport’, 24 June 2014, Available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/sudan/10922687/Sudan-apostasy-Meriam-Ibrahim-rearrested-with-husband-at-Khartoum-airport.html> >, [Accessed 19 August 2014]

⁶ Hurriyat Sudan, Security prevents journalist and activist Rasha Awad from Travel, 26 March 2013, Available at: <http://www.hurriyatsudan.com/?p=102935> >, [Accessed 5 September 2014]

whereabouts of their family members in Sudan. Asylum seekers felt vulnerable, with insufficient Home Office support and little or no translation services for the Home Office to understand the threats that were being made towards them and their family. We have not yet received an adequate response from UK Visas and Immigration addressing the concerns outlined in our research. We hope that the testimonies here will highlight the importance of our conclusions. This research can be accessed by following the links in the footnote.⁷

In the case of *HGMO (Relocation to Khartoum) Sudan v. Secretary of State for the Home Department*, CG [2006] it was accepted by the British courts that in the case of involuntary returnees to Sudan the Sudanese authorities “would have in mind that the persons concerned might be failed asylum-seekers. The evidence is that they know who is who.”⁸ And at paragraph 202 that “we cannot discount the real possibility that the Sudanese authorities might want to facilitate the return of people they have an adverse interest in, we proceed on the basis that the obtaining of a travel document still leaves the individual in the position of having to be security-cleared or screened on return, albeit by reference to information that may have been passed to Khartoum from the London Embassy.”⁹

In *YB (Eritrea) v. Secretary of State for the Home Department*, [2008] Lord Justice Sedley concluded at paragraph 18 that “Where ... the tribunal has objective evidence which “paints a bleak picture of the suppression of political opponents” by a named government, it requires little or no evidence or speculation to arrive at a strong possibility – and perhaps more – that its foreign legations not only film or photograph their nationals who demonstrate in public against the regime but have informers among expatriate oppositionist organisations who can name the people who are filmed or photographed. Similarly it does not require affirmative evidence to establish a probability that the intelligence services of such states monitor the internet for information about oppositionist groups.”¹⁰

The summary of a November 2013 Norwegian Country of Origin Information Centre (Landinfo) report states that “Political activity inside Sudan is not the sole focus of the Sudanese regime, which also tries to limit such activity among Sudanese abroad through monitoring exile communities. Although there is no concrete evidence to support that forced returnees to Sudan face problems with security forces, Landinfo can see no reason why Sudanese authorities should differentiate between political activities outside and inside Sudan, provided their aim is to change the political situation in Sudan in ways threatening president Umar al-Bashir’s regime.”¹¹

⁷ Waging Peace, 2007. “I felt like I had been brought into a lion’s den.” How Darfuri asylum seekers are being illegally interviewed by Sudanese Embassy officials at Home Office facilities. October [PDF] London: Waging Peace UK. Available at:

<http://www.wagingpeace.info/images/pdf/Exclusives/2007_10_Waging_Peace_Report_Home_Office.pdf>, [Accessed 1 August 2014]

Waging Peace, 2011. “The Border Agency are playing a game to scare us”: A report and recommendations on Sudanese re-documentation interviews. September [PDF] London: Waging Peace UK. Available at:

<http://www.wagingpeace.info/images/pdf/Exclusives/2011_09_A_report_and_recommendations_on_Sudanese_re-documentation_interviews.pdf>, [Accessed 4 September 2014]

⁸ *HGMO (Relocation to Khartoum) Sudan v. Secretary of State for the Home Department*, CG [2006] UKAIT 00062, United Kingdom: Asylum and Immigration Tribunal / Immigration Appellate Authority, 3 August 2006, paragraph 183

⁹ *Ibid.*, paragraph 202

¹⁰ *YB (Eritrea) v. Secretary of State for the Home Department*, [2008] EWCA Civ 360, United Kingdom: Court of Appeal (England and Wales), 15 April 2008, Available at:

<<http://www.refworld.org/docid/4805f3312.html>>, [Accessed 4 August 2014]

¹¹ LandInfo, 2013. Sudan: Handlingsrom for regime-kritisk politisk aktivisme. Report 11 November [PDF] Landinfo. Available at: <http://www.landinfo.no/asset/2611/1/2611_1.pdf>, [Accessed 29 March 2014].

UK

In March 2007 The Guardian reported on the case of Sadiq, who had failed in his claim for asylum in the UK and was returned to Khartoum. The following has been taken from this report:

"The end of the road for Sadiq came in January, when the Home Office ruled that he was not at risk. He lost his appeal and was arrested and transferred to Oakington detention centre, near Cambridge, to await deportation.

Within days, he was at the airport and, on February 5, was flown on a Gulf Air flight to Khartoum via Bahrain. After arriving in Sudan's capital he denied he was from Darfur, because, he said, he feared they might kill him.

"When I arrived at the airport an officer said to me, 'come here you donkey'," he remembered. "They took me into a small office and slapped me around and kicked me."

As he continued to deny he was Darfuri, the officers became frustrated. "Later I was blindfolded, and taken to another location in a car," he said. "Then I was in a room, and I was tied to a chair. After they tied me up, they beat me."

The officers brought some photos taken in London of Darfuris protesting. "They said to me: 'Do you know the people in these photos?' My photo was among those they were showing me, except I looked different. I was wearing a hat and had long hair at the time. He asked me 'do you know the people in the photos?' and began calling out their names. I recognised one name."

Sadiq's claim that he was presented with photos of himself taken during protests over Darfuris is not unique among Darfuri refugees, and it is something I put to the ambassador. "Absolutely not!" Mr Siddig said. "I have no idea of what you are talking about. No one is monitoring Darfuris, and no one took any pictures around this embassy."

But we have obtained video, shot outside the embassy, which clearly shows embassy officials filming Darfuri protesters and their supporters, including Glenys Kinnock and other campaigners. "So what is wrong if that happened?" the ambassador asked when I pointed this out.

Once confronted with these photos in Khartoum airport, Sadiq felt the game was up. He was taken, blindfolded, to an interrogation room at an undisclosed building used by the security services, where he said he was severely tortured. At one moment when his blindfold was removed, he saw some electric cables."¹²

Similar claims to those of Sadiq were documented in our September 2012 report and on 9 January 2013 the Telegraph published an article entitled 'Sudanese diplomats spying for agents that torture in Khartoum'.¹³ The article alleges that Sudanese officials used information collected by regime

¹² The Guardian, 'I was expecting to die', 28 March 2007, Available at:

<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/mar/28/sudan>>, [Accessed 5 August 2014]

¹³ Waging Peace, 2012. The Danger of Returning Home: The perils facing Sudanese immigrants when they go back to Sudan. September [PDF] London, Available at:

<http://www.wagingpeace.info/images/pdf/Exclusives/2012_09_THE_DANGER_OF_RETURNING_HOME.pdf>, [Accessed 4 September 2014]

agents in Britain to later interrogate and torture British-based opposition activists when they went back to Sudan. The article quotes Labour MP Gareth Thomas who wrote to the Foreign Office to demand officials investigate whether Sudanese with British connections had been treated unlawfully upon their return to Sudan. Mark Simmonds, the then Minister for Africa, stated in response “We have frequently made clear, publicly and in private discussions with the Sudanese authorities, our concerns over the ill-treatment of detainees in Sudan.”¹⁴

Excerpt from testimony of Mr V

A senior member of the Sudanese opposition, speaking on condition he remains anonymous, described the current situation. His full testimony appears in Annex 10.

“There is growing concern among the Sudanese community in the UK about the number of the National Congress Party (NCP) intelligence officers across the UK and the EU.

It comes to our attention that the number of the NCP intelligence agents in the UK has increased sharply in the last three years and that those in the UK include senior officers who have been involved in crimes against humanity in Sudan. Their presence has created tensions in our wounded community.

The NISS officers who come to the UK do so by falsely seeking asylum or on student visas. Some work at the Sudanese Embassy as civil servants. We are also aware that some of them try to avoid our community so as not to be identified.

We have noticed that many of them, directly or indirectly related to senior NCP members, claim to belong to the Tujur or Berti tribes, Darfurian tribes that do not have their own languages, in order to claim asylum. Sadly some of these people have been unwittingly supported by some refugee organisations and by our community.

Some of them are well known to us by their crimes against our people in Sudan whereas some hide themselves in cities across the UK so that they cannot be identified by our community.

It strikes me that the Home office has failed to adequately check or verify that these people are genuine and that they have not been involved in crimes against humanity in Sudan.

Not all of the NISS are here for one mission; they are here for different missions such as money transfer (money laundering), buying property, lobbying for the NCP and information gathering amongst the opposition.

The NCP have become extremely concerned about our community campaigns against human rights abuses and against war that targets innocent civilians. Therefore they have set to establish their own community in order to create balance and to further divide our community.

It seems to me that the war in Sudan has been transferred to the UK with the arrival of the number of NISS. Urgent action needs to be taken to prevent any community clashes in the future. It seems that the UK has become a safe haven to those who commit crimes in Sudan.

The Telegraph, Sudanese ‘diplomats spying for agents that torture in Khartoum’, 9 January 2013, Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/sudan/9790152/Sudanese-diplomats-spying-for-agents-that-torture-in-Khartoum.html>], [Accessed 5 August 2014]

¹⁴ Ibid.

NISS are currently active in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Cardiff and Newcastle.

NISS operate in many countries including Malaysia, South Sudan, Central Africa, Turkey, Qatar, Libya, Uganda, Kenya, France, Russia, Greek, Ethiopia, USA, Iran, Somalia, UK Yemen, Swaziland, Mali, Nigeria, Lebanon, Egypt, Chad and China.”

Excerpt from testimony of Mr X

We spoke to one member of the Sudanese community in the UK who told us about the threats he has received here, which he believes were made by the NCP. His testimony can be found in full in Annex 12.

“Over a year ago, my friend and I were threatened by someone whose name I do not wish to make public for my own safety, I shall call them A. He threatened us about our opposition to the Sudanese government. I was told that if I returned to Sudan, something would happen to me. I spoke to a member of my local council who arranged for me to meet with the police.

Nothing happened for a while after that and then in September I received a message from A asking me to attend a meeting about selling land in Sudan. I posted a message on Facebook saying that A should not hold this meeting, as I thought it was fundraising on behalf of the Sudanese government who were trying to sell land to get money. On Facebook, I said that by attending this meeting it would mean dealing with the Sudanese Embassy, representatives of the government of Sudan, who are killing their own people. I said whoever deals with the Embassy is a traitor.

I got a message from B telling me not to throw accusations at the government. He called me and said “how dare you call us traitors, you should delete the post.” I asked him to stop shouting.

After that, B started saying bad things about me. I posted again asking people to protest against and boycott the meeting. The meeting was held and B should have attended. He told other people he would see them at the meeting venue, but instead he disappeared for 4 or 5 hours. A few women went to protest at the event, B didn't turn up and gave them a strange reason for not turning up – saying the police called him to identify a Sudanese body – I assume that was a lie.

They called B but he didn't answer. Someone went to the police and he hadn't been there to identify anyone. B then said it was a police force from another part of the country – why would a police force from the other end of the country ask him to identify a body? It all seemed very odd.

The same day, I got a text from A asking me why I sent women to protest for me. I texted back asking who it was texting me, but didn't get another text from him for 2 days. At the time there were massive demonstrations in Sudan and NCP killed over 250 people. It was then that A threatened to kill me.

I contacted the member of the council again to ask about the police. The previous policeman had left so I wrote an email to a new one who arranged a meeting with me. The meeting happened and the policeman and woman I met listened to my story and asked me to report it to my local police which I did.

All of the text messages I received were submitted to the police and a record was made of them. No further action has been taken.”

Norway

On 9 October 2012, Norway's Foreign Ministry expelled a Sudanese diplomat suspected of spying on Sudanese refugees. According to the Norwegian intelligence agency, a 38-year-old Sudanese man had been collecting information on Sudanese refugees and passing it to a Sudanese diplomat. The unidentified male accused of espionage was arrested early the following morning. The Sudanese ambassador in Norway, Onoor Ahmed, denied the allegations.¹⁵ In response, the Sudanese Foreign Ministry expelled a Norwegian diplomat from the embassy in Khartoum on 10 October 2012. The British Embassy in Khartoum acknowledged in a letter dated 8 April 2013 that "in 2012 Norway expelled a Sudanese diplomat who they believed was involved in spying on Sudanese refugees there." This letter can be found in full in Annex 1.

France

Dr Mariam El Mahdi, acting Vice President of the Umma National Party (NUP) and daughter of its leader, was arrested upon arrival at Khartoum airport on 12 August 2014. She was flying back to Sudan after attending a conference of Sudanese opposition in Paris at which a declaration between the Umma party and a coalition of rebel groups was signed.¹⁶

El Mahdi had been travelling with Qatar Air from Paris, via Doha. After landing in Khartoum, NISS agents removed her from the aircraft and turned off her phone. After being detained in the airport, she was allegedly taken to Women's Prison in Omdurman. On 13 August the European Union, the resident EU Member States' Embassies and the Embassy of Norway in Khartoum officially expressed their concerns about the arrest of the political leader and called for her release.¹⁷ El Mahdi has allegedly since been released.¹⁸

Egypt

On 18 January 2013 Amnesty International published an article entitled 'Repression still stalks Sudanese activists who sought safety in Egypt'. It describes NISS activity outside of Sudan in the form of "death threats, surveillance by unidentified men, break-ins and physical assaults – including a rape and an attempted stabbing".¹⁹ Sudanese activists who fled Sudan to Egypt and continued their activism faced harassment from the Sudanese Embassy and NISS agents. "It appears the Sudanese

¹⁵ The New York Times, Norway: Sudanese Envoy Expelled, Available at:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/10/world/europe/sudanese-diplomat-is-expelled-from-norway.html?_r=1&>, [Accessed 5 August 2014]

¹⁶ RFI, 2014. Sudan's Umma party set to 'go forward' on deal with rebels despite arrest of deputy leader. 12 August [online]. Available at: <<http://www.english.rfi.fr/africa/20140812-sudan-s-umma-party-set-go-forward-deal-rebels-despite-arrest-deputy-leader>>, [Accessed 13 August]

¹⁷ European Union Delegation to Sudan, 2014. European Union calls for release of the political leader Meriam al Mahdi. Available at: <http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/sudan/press_corner/all_news/news/2014/20140813_1_en.htm>, [Accessed 13 August]

¹⁸ Yahoo News, 2014. Senior Sudan opposition figure freed after one month. 9 September [online]. Available at: <<http://news.yahoo.com/senior-sudan-opposition-figure-freed-100515585.html>>, [Accessed 11 September 2014]

¹⁹ Amnesty International, 2013. Repression still stalks Sudanese activists who sought safety in Egypt. Amnesty International News [online] 18 January. Available at: <<https://www.amnesty.org/en/news/repression-still-stalks-sudanese-activists-who-sought-safety-egypt-2013-01-17>>, [Accessed 20 February 2014]

authorities have widened their web of repression, with activists who fled abroad increasingly the target of threats and attacks.”²⁰

In June 2013 Arry, an Egypt-based Sudanese human rights organisation, reported that on 14 January 2013, Awad Altaiyeb Abdu Alrahaman, a man from South Kordofan who had been working with the Human Rights and Development Organisation (HUDO), fled Sudan to Egypt after having been harassed and attacked by the Sudanese government because of his work in documenting human rights violations in his home town of Alabasya in the Nuba Mountains. The Arry press release can be found in full in Annex 2 of this report. A few weeks after Alrahaman arrived in Cairo security agents in Sudan started threatening his wife, demanding Awad’s address and telephone number. Alrahaman advised her to give his information to the agents in order to stop them from threatening her. On 7 April 2013 he received a threatening phone call. The caller said, “You are a traitor and an agent to foreigners, we will find you.” On 17 April 2013, Alrahaman’s apartment was raided while he was out, and he found all his personal documents shredded. He also found a message written on his flat door saying, “We will find you traitor”. Later on he found out that the car the attackers had used was a Toyota Camry. He managed to trace the car’s number plate, and he believes it belonged to the Sudanese Embassy in Cairo. On 5 May 2013 Alrahaman was attacked by six Sudanese men in a car who tried to kidnap him near his house.²¹

Arry also reported that on 5 March 2012 Mohamed Ajbna was shot and wounded by police in a raid on his house in Cairo. The same day Mohamed Ajbna’s sister Awadia Ajbna was shot dead by police. Mohamed is a Nuban activist and his sister was a candidate for the Khartoum State Parliament. Since his sister’s death Mohamed had been advocating against police impunity and pursuing justice for his family. He and his family endured months of pressure from the police and Sudanese security, encouraging him to drop the case against the police officers who killed his sister. His own life became endangered when the police and security started threatening him directly. Eventually he decided to flee the country in November 2012 and go to Egypt. Once he had left Sudan, his wife and family members received more threats from the security forces. Mohamed also continued to receive many threats after he had left, demanding he stop campaigning for justice for his sister. In March 2013, he was attacked and shot at by Sudanese men in Cairo. When he reported the case to the Egyptian police they threatened to deport him back to Sudan. On 12 June 2013, two members of the Sudanese security stopped Mohamed on the street and threatened to send him back to Sudan and close the case against his sister. As he was the main witness, they told him they would continue to pursue him. The next day his mother called him from Sudan to tell him that security agents had threatened her and other family members. She told him, “You better leave Egypt. They said they will kill you there if you don’t come back to Sudan.” Mohamed lives in fear of Sudanese security’s next step.²²

Arry report that Rasha, a Nuba activist working with the Hassnat Organisation in Kadugli, was shot in the leg while detained in Kadugli after the war erupted on 5 June 2011. She fled to Khartoum where she started working with the Al Jobraka Organisation, a Nuba NGO helping IDPs in Khartoum. As a result of her work, Rasha was arrested again on 10 March 2013, and was raped whilst in detention. The security services accused her of leaking information and cooperating with the rebels in the Nuba Mountains. On 20 March 2013 she escaped to Egypt. Nevertheless, she continued to receive phone threats and had to change her home several times.²³

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Arry, 2013. Sudanese Activists and NGOs in Cairo & Kampala at Imminent Risk. Press Release 2013 [PDF]. Press Release given in full in Annex 2.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

Arry report that Mustaf Ali, a Nuba law student at Cairo University and an active member of the Nuba Students Association in Egypt, was attacked by two Sudanese men on 13 June 2013. This attack took place in Cairo near his home. They also tried to kidnap him but he fought back and managed to flee from them. However, they were able to take his bag which contained his passport.²⁴

In October 2013, The Sudan Tribune reported that security authorities arrested activist Mohamed Hashim at Khartoum airport on his return from Egypt. Mohamed was the deputy general coordinator of Sudan's Tamarud (rebellion) campaign. They "seized his passport upon his return from Cairo to spend Eid al-Adha (Feast of the Sacrifice) holiday with his family". He was interrogated about his role in Tamarud, his Facebook posts that criticised the government, and his links to the rebel Sudan Revolutionary Front. He was then transferred to NISS headquarters for further questioning.²⁵

Uganda

Six Sudanese opposition politicians were arrested in January 2013 at Khartoum airport on arrival from Uganda. While in Uganda they had signed the New Dawn Charter, under which they "agreed to overthrow the government of President Omar al-Bashir and institute a federal system of government based on democracy, pluralism and the separation of religion and the state".²⁶ Their arrest was widely reported and was acknowledged by the Sudanese government. It was also confirmed by the British Embassy on 8 January 2014 in a letter which can be found in Annex 1.

Human Rights Watch reported that, "Five of the current six detainees, all over age 50, are being held in the national security wing of prisons in Khartoum and Omdurman, while the whereabouts of the sixth is unknown. The detainees are being held without access to lawyers, adequate healthcare or regular family visits. The health situation of one detainee, Mohammed Zain al-Abdeen, 66, is particularly acute. He suffers from cancer and diabetes, and needs urgent medical care, family members told Human Rights Watch by phone."²⁷

They also report that NISS agents arrested Youssef al-Kauda on 14 February 2013, at Khartoum airport on returning from Kampala and Cairo. Al-Kauda is the leader of the Moderate Islamic Party, an Islamist opposition group. He reportedly signed a cooperation agreement with representatives of Sudanese rebel groups whilst in Kampala. Human Rights Watch was not able to find out where al-Kauda was being held or if his family had been allowed to see him.²⁸

The following article by the lawyer, Abdelrahman Gasim, was published on Hurriyat Sudan in Arabic in October 2013, describing his experience of NISS in Uganda.²⁹ It is translated here into English with his permission.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Sudan Tribune, 2013. Sudanese authorities arrest official in youth movement at airport. Sudan Tribune [online] 26 October. Available at: <<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article48581>>, [Accessed 20 February 2014]

²⁶ IRIN, 2013. Sudan continues crackdown on opposition groups. IRIN News, [online] 15 January. Available at: <<http://www.irinnews.org/report/97253/sudan-continues-crackdown-on-opposition-groups>>, [Accessed 15 January 2014]

²⁷ Human Rights Watch, 2013. Sudan: Crackdown on Political Opposition. HRW [online] 26 February. Available at <<http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/02/26/sudan-crackdown-political-opposition>>, [Accessed 24 January 2014]

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Hurriyat Sudan, Available at: <www.hurriyatsudan.com/?p=129280>, [Accessed 1 August 2014]

“At four in the evening of 30th October 2010 in Khartoum near Alqurashi Garden I was arrested by a NISS officer who was also the complainant in a criminal case against me in the Southern Section Court. I managed to escape the penalty against me which was at worst, my execution and at minimum, life imprisonment. The complainant was the aforementioned person, a NISS officer who presented a fabricated report, changed testimony and bore false witness. I miraculously escaped without penalty.

Time passed and I escaped Khartoum to Kampala leaving behind my dreams, memories and the scent of the land I was so accustomed to. I left the scholars who trained me, colleagues who I spent time with and lawyers, young in age but with great strength. Two of them were my defence lawyers whom, whenever I turned round in court, I found them pointing at me "On behalf of the sixth accused, Ustaz Abdulrahman Alqusim".

Many years later, in Kampala I heard a familiar voice calling, "Ustaz Abdulrahman" and as I turned to face him I realised it was the same NISS officer who falsely accused me. He asked me: "When did you come here, what are you doing?" He went on to ask, "Where is Mr Jaffar Alsubki?"

He is the same officer who arrested me and was the complainant in the aforementioned case. He now works at the Sudanese Embassy in Uganda.

Ever since, I have had to calculate each step I make in the magnificent city of Kampala.”

Eritrea

On 25 April 2013 Arry reported that Sudanese Security arrested Tijany Alhaj Abdu Alrahman at Khartoum airport, as he was coming back from Eritrea after living in exile there for 15 years. Tijany is a human rights defender, democracy advocate and writer. He had returned to Sudan to visit his family. The whereabouts of Tijany remain unknown, and he is in danger of torture and ill treatment in security detention.³⁰

Israel

According to advocacy groups, Israel began removing Sudanese immigrants to Sudan in December 2012. The flights went through third countries, identified by the Sudanese involved as Jordan and Egypt. Some of the returnees were reportedly arrested at Khartoum airport on arrival. There have also been reports that individuals have been killed after arriving back in Sudan. A spokeswoman for Israel's Interior Ministry, Sabine Hadad, stated that a few hundred immigrants had left Israel, but that they had done so of their own accord. Sharon Harel, assistant protection officer for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in Tel Aviv, countered Hadad's statement by saying, "If you buy a ticket, have no visa, are desperate in this country ... it's definitely not voluntary return."³¹

³⁰ Arry, 2013. Urgent Action: Sudanese HRDs Detained at Risk of Torture. Press Release 2013 [online] 25 April. Available at: <<http://arry.org/?p=749>>, [Accessed 12 March 2014]

³¹ Fox News, 'As Israel quietly returns migrants to Sudan, rights groups worry for their safety', 26 February 2013, Available at: <www.foxnews.com/world/2013/02/26/as-israel-quietly-returns-migrants-to-sudan-rights-groups-worry-for-their/>, [Accessed 11 September 2014]

On 26 February 2013, Haaretz reported that Israel secretly deported 1,000 Sudanese back to Sudan without telling the UN.³² According to the UNHCR, Sudan had “vowed to punish any of its citizens who ever set foot in Israel.” UNHCR rejected Israel’s claim that the individuals returned had chosen voluntarily to go back, stating that there was no such thing as “free will from inside a prison.”³³

In February 2014, Radio Dabanga reported that 25 Darfurian students were deported from Israel to Sudan via Jordan. An eyewitness said the 25 Darfurians were between 20 to 25 years old. After their arrival from Amman, Jordan, they were detained by the security services at Khartoum airport and taken to an unknown place. It is assumed they were detained because of the Israeli immigration stamp on their documents, although no reason was given for the arrest.³⁴ A source who works at the airport said that a large number of security forces were waiting for the students at the airport’s arrival hall, where they were detained.³⁵

³² Haaretz, Israel secretly repatriated 1,000 to Sudan, without informing UN, Available at: <<http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/israel-secretly-repatriated-1-000-to-sudan-without-informing-un.premium-1.505806>>, [Accessed 5 September 2014]

³³ Hauser, E., 2013. Israel deports refugees to Sudan despite threat to their lives [online] 27 February. The Daily Beast. Available at: <<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/02/27/israel-deports-refugees-to-sudan-despite-threat-to-their-lives.html>>, [Accessed 4 August 2014]

³⁴ AllAfrica, 2013. Sudan: 25 Darfur students arrested at Khartoum Airport. AllAfrica [online] 21 January. Available at: <<http://allafrica.com/stories/201301220070.html>>, [Accessed 20 February 2014]

³⁵ Radio Dabanga, 2013. 25 Darfur students arrested at Khartoum airport. Radio Dabanga [online] 21 January. Available at: <<https://www.radiodabanga.org/node/41857>>, [Accessed 21 February 2014]

Arrest in Sudan

Of those interviewed for the report, four were detained at Khartoum airport on arrival in Sudan and were then taken away to be questioned, three others were detained and questioned at Khartoum airport and one was questioned at Geneina Airport in Darfur sometime after arrival in Sudan. One interviewee was detained at a later time while in Sudan.

Most of the individuals interviewed returned to Sudan voluntarily, with the exception of three individuals who were involuntarily returned back to Sudan – two of whom had been returned to Sudan from the UK where they had claimed asylum, and the other had been returned from France.

Excerpt from testimony of Mr U

Waging Peace and Article 1 were in touch with a Sudanese asylum seeker in the UK who was detained under the Fast Track. He had exhausted all legal options and was removed to Sudan in 2014; a more precise date has not been given so as to protect his identity. We have since been in touch with him in Sudan.

We received the following by email after his removal:

“I phoned you before I return back home. I tried to cancel the flight by making noise or refusing to go but the security officers force me and pushed me to the plane like animal or like big criminal and they traveled with me till Sudan then they return back I had been detained for 6 days flogging. I’m suffering”.

We managed to later contact him by phone and we arranged for someone in Sudan to take his testimony.

“I received a plane ticket and was told that I would be deported to Sudan. The staff treated me badly and cuffed my hands. Three people accompanied me to the airport and I was kept between two men. In the detention centre there were four other Sudanese and all of them were waiting to be sent back to Sudan. I did not know how to help them – we were all in the same situation. When we reached the plane, they informed the airline about my situation and alerted them of my possible resistance. I was not happy with my detention in London, but I was worried about my safety and police harassment in Sudan.

When the plane took off my hands were released from the cuffs. We flew by Qatar Airlines and two men who acted like security staff closely monitored my movement. There was a third person with me who was a female and who looked like a nurse. We sat in the back of the plane and there were no other passengers next to us. The other people on the flight looked at me as if I was a criminal. I had a strong feeling that if I resisted the nurse would inject me with a syringe she was carrying. I was scared, but remained calm. I did not know that I had the right to consult a lawyer; I only found this out when it was too late. When we arrived at Qatar airport, the escorts followed me closely. They walked around me and I felt that people were looking at me as if I was a criminal so I kept silent with my head down.

When we landed at Khartoum airport the three British escorts handed me over to the Sudanese team at the airport. They told them that I was working illegally in UK and that the authorities deported me to my country of origin. The three British escorts left immediately as they did not want to miss their flight back to the UK with the same Qatar Airline. About five Sudanese NISS officers started asking what I had done in the UK and three security officers escorted me to an internal office at the airport. After interrogating me for a few hours they accused me of being a member of Girifna

youth group. From the airport they took me to a place in South Khartoum and I spent six days without being able to see my family or even notify them that I had arrived in Sudan. I was beaten.”

Excerpt from testimony of Mr W

Mr W was born in Khartoum, and he spent some of his childhood in North Darfur, the area where his Berti mother comes from. He worked as a medical doctor in several hospitals in Sudan. He then changed careers and started to work in the health insurance industry.

He has been an activist since secondary school. Although he is not a member of the Communist Party, he believes in their ideology and has participated in many party activities. He is also a supporter of the rebel group, the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N).

He was dismissed from work in 2010, and subsequently started a private clinic in a small town south of Khartoum. Later that year he was detained, questioned and tortured for three days.

In 2012 he took his 90-year-old father to the UK for medical treatment.

“I came to the UK on a valid tourist visa, arriving at Edinburgh airport. We stayed with my brother in Glasgow. During my stay I attended a meeting organised by a Darfuri civil society organisation, the Union of Darfur, in Scotland. I carried out no further political activities during my time in the UK.

“A month later, I returned to Sudan with my father. I left the plane with my father but when we were standing in the queue at immigration I heard my name being called. The man calling me said that he would like to talk to me and asked me to follow him. When I asked the man who he was, he replied he was from NISS. There was another man associated with the first, who was standing further back. I followed the two security officers to a car which was waiting outside the airport.”

Excerpt from testimony of Dr Sidgi Awad Kaballo

Dr Kaballo is 66 years old. He is an economist who graduated from Khartoum University, where he received his Master’s degree. He went on to receive a graduate diploma in Naples, Italy and completed his PhD at Leeds University. He is a member of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party. During the Nimeiri regime, from 1969 to 1985, he was arrested and detained several times. The shortest length of detention was two months, and the longest was 52 months, from 1979 to 1983. During this period of detention he completed a Master’s degree and wrote a book called *The Political Economy of the African Crisis: Case of the Sudan*.

He applied for asylum in the UK, with the support of Leeds University Student Union and Amnesty International (he was recognised as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International) and he became a refugee in 1991.

“When I would return to Sudan, I would stay with my family for about two or three months. From 2009, I made many trips to Sudan, and in all this time I experienced no problems at all with the Sudanese government. During this time I was giving interviews to journalists and writing articles in newspapers. But in September 2013, when I arrived at Khartoum Airport and passed through the passport control, I saw that there was an additional security control behind the passport control. After I had scanned my hand luggage, they looked at my passport, entered my name in their computer and the person said to me, “You are wanted.” He called a national security officer in charge of airport operations. In this office outside of the airport, they asked me why I came in with my Sudanese passport when I had a British passport. I told them that I was a politician coming to Sudan and practicing political activities, and therefore I did not want to link these activities to the British government. Then they transferred me to the security building in Khartoum North, near to the Shendi Coach Station.”

Excerpt from testimony of Mr T

Mr T is Darfurian, from the Berti tribe. He left Darfur in 2007 because of the murder and destruction in Darfur. He went first to Libya, then Italy and on to France. He was arrested by the French police when he took a train from Paris to Lille without a ticket. The police asked him where he was going, and he told them to the UK, making clear he did not want to claim asylum in France. He was in detention for six months in France before being deported to Sudan.

“In November 2011 the French government put me on a plane. I didn’t have any documents. From France I took a plane to Germany where I had a connecting flight to Khartoum Airport. On these flights there were four non-Sudanese officials flying with me. There were two other Darfurians on the plane that had also been deported from Lille, France. I don’t know what happened to them, as they were still on the plane when I got off. I was received at the airport by six people from a UN organisation that I had not met before. I think they met me because I had told the French officials before I left that I feared for my life if I was returned to Sudan. They told me they would make sure that I was safe. This was all translated to me through a Syrian translator. When I got off the plane, the UN people met me at the launch pad. They told me that everything would be fine and tried to calm me down. They asked me where my family was. I told them that my family were nomads and that they would be near Bentiu and Mayom, in the Bhar al Arab area [in the now Republic of South Sudan, close to the border with Sudan]. They then took me to a location where I had told them my family came from. We were close to the oilfields, where my family used to take their animals to graze. They told me, “Now go find your people.” However, this area is very big, and I had explained to them that my family were not staying in one place all the time. But they just left me here.

Later that day a group of men, a mix of police, military men, and NISS security forces, found me. They didn’t even ask me any questions. They just started physically abusing me by hitting me on the head and all over my body. They claimed I was a rebel without making any sort of investigation or giving me any chance to defend myself. I always have bad luck. I want the whole world to know about what has happened to me and to others. This area I was in was about 13 hours driving from Heglig (also known as Panthou), and near to the oil pipeline. The area was also near to Abyei. They treated me badly instantly, and then they took me to prison where I was accused of being part of a rebel group that was part of the opposition.”

Excerpt from Ms A

Ms A is from Nyala, South Darfur. She lived in Omdurman and worked as a journalist. Ms A is currently claiming asylum in the UK.

“I found work in a TV company based outside Sudan and I came to London in October 2012 to attend a media training workshop. This course lasted for two weeks. It was my first time in London. While I was in London, I did nothing political. I just went to my training workshop as I didn’t know anyone in London at that time.

The second time I came to London was in May 2013, for a six week training course on media and English language skills. I could only stay in London for two weeks because of family responsibilities back in Sudan. I travelled over with a general visa for six months, which I had no problem attaining.

I flew back May 15 to Khartoum with Qatar Airways. We had a layover in Qatar airport on the way for one hour. When the plane landed in Khartoum, I walked off of the plane and into the airport. I had gone through security in the airport, and I had shown my passport. Everything seemed ok at this point. Then as I was going out to see my husband two men stopped me and told me to come with them. I asked them where they wanted to take me, and they said, ‘You will know when we go there.’ I said my children and husband were right outside and I wanted to see them. They told me,

‘Not now.’ I said to them, ‘Let me see them and tell them that I will go with you. But let me see them at least.’ They said no. I shouted for my husband but they forced me to get into a car without getting to speak to him. My family didn’t know where they took me. From the airport, I was in the car for about 10-15 minutes before we arrived at the building. I think it was a Security Systems Building.”

Excerpt from testimony of Afaf Mohamed

Afaf is from El Geneina in Darfur and is from the Massalit tribe. She is involved in an organisation in London called Voice of Darfur Women. Her husband had applied for asylum in Holland and got refugee status, and she met him there in 2001. She has Dutch nationality. She came to the UK on 5 June 2008. She has returned to Sudan only once since coming to the UK. She and her three young children got tourist visas which had three month durations.

“I flew with British Airways to Khartoum in December 2011 and stayed in Sudan for about a month. I registered in Khartoum after I arrived, and I had to fill out a special form explaining the reason for my trip there, and this had to be done within the first three days of arrival. I had to go to the foreign office and fill out a special form, and you have to pay about 500 Sudanese dollars for this, which is about £50. I think at that time (in 2011) kids were free. Then I got a pass that I paid extra for after I finished my registration, which was so I wouldn’t need a visa for the next five years in order to visit Sudan. I was in Khartoum the first week of my trip and then I stayed for two weeks in El Geneina, Darfur before going back to Khartoum.

When we were on our flight to Darfur, there was a security agent on the plane behind us. He then switched seats with another man, I think because the first man couldn’t understand us talking in English. They tried to ask me questions by starting conversation and saying, ‘Hello, what’s your name, where are you from?’

On 1 January 2012, my three boys and I were at El Geneina airport, about to get on our flight to Khartoum. Then a man came up to me and asked, “Are you Afaf Mohammed?” and I said yes. He said, “We need you.” And I said, “Why? What did I do?” He said again, “We need you.” He asked for my passport. I asked him what he needed me for. I didn’t have any criminal record in Sudan so I didn’t understand why he had stopped me. I told him I had come legally into the country, and that I had registered when I arrived. I showed him my travel visa and I asked him what was wrong. He said only, “We need you in the security office.” I said, “Do you have any paper from the court that says you can arrest me?” and he replied, “No.” Then he started trying to look through my stuff, and I told him, “That’s not allowed.” He also tried to go through my phone but he wasn’t able to unlock it. He said to me, “I know that when you left Sudan, you got a new passport.” He said I was Sudanese, and I said that I was not Sudanese and my passport showed that I was not Sudanese. I told him he had to bring a paper from the court; otherwise he could not take me. He told me he did not care, and he tried to take my bag. He was also shouting at me and not talking nicely. My kids were standing behind me this whole time. I refused to go back to the office with him because I told him I didn’t know what he would do to me there; maybe he would hurt me or kill me.”

Excerpt from testimony of Mr Z

Mr Z ran a business in Khartoum. He claimed asylum in the UK in 2002. He has had British citizenship since 2009 and lives in Manchester.

He has returned to Sudan numerous times since 2009 (approximately six). His most recent trip was in late 2012.

He was involved in the Democratic Unionist Party but parted ways with them in 2006. He is no longer active in Sudanese political activities; however he attends meetings of the Sudanese community in Manchester very regularly. Over the last two months he has attended approximately six meetings.

“When I was at Khartoum Airport [during my most recent trip in 2012] to take my flight back to the UK I was challenged by a member of the security apparatus. I was asked for money which I said I did not have. Upon saying no, I was taken to an office in the airport. There I was asked for money again which I again refused. I was asked where I was going. I said to Manchester. The security guard said that they knew all about people in Manchester and what they look like. I was allowed to leave but I was told that this was a warning.”

Excerpt from testimony of Ms B

Before coming to the United Kingdom in 2008 to study Ms B worked as a journalist in Khartoum, Sudan. She is originally from the Nuba Mountains but lived mainly in Khartoum with her family. She originally came to the UK with a student visa and completed a Master’s degree in Agriculture in the UK in 2009 and 2010. She now has refugee status in the UK.

“I flew to Sudan at the end of July 2010 with my Sudanese passport. I flew with Qatar Air, with a layover in Doha. I flew into Khartoum airport. On the plane, all of the citizens had to fill out a form, which is a standard thing to do. The form was simple – it asked for my name, family name, and address.

Upon landing and stepping off the plane and before we arrived at customs, I stood in line for about 45 minutes and we had to fill out another form which was very similar to the form I had filled out on the plane. After this, I stood in another line to give my passport. But before I got through this line, an officer took me aside and took my passport. Then another officer asked me, ‘Do you have another passport?’ I said no, this was my only passport. Everyone else was allowed to come and go except for me. A smiling man then came up to me and said, ‘I told you she was genuine.’ No one explained what was going on.

There was a mean officer who came up to me – he looked horrible. He asked me where I lived, and I gave my family’s address in Khartoum. They also asked how long I had lived there. They asked about what jobs I had had in Sudan. I said I had been a journalist, and they mocked me. They also asked me what I did in the UK, to which I answered that I was studying. They asked me if I worked in the UK. All of this questioning happened in the public, it was very humiliating.

Then another officer came up with my passport and asked me when I had renewed it last. I couldn’t remember exactly, but I remembered I had renewed it in London between 2008 and 2009. He handed me my passport and asked me if I was ok. Then he said, ‘Welcome to Sudan.’ I didn’t feel very welcome.

Although I can’t be sure, my instinct is that they stopped me because I had come from the UK, as no other passengers on the plane had come from there. The reason I suspect this is because of the types of questions they were asking me about the UK.”

Excerpt from testimony of Mr Y

Mr Y claimed asylum in the UK and was not successful in his claim.

“One morning I was praying in my room at the detention centre when four people, two men and two women who looked like bodyguards came in and said to me, “We have no need to hurt you, just

take your stuff, and follow us". I followed them and they took me to the airport, where they parked their car next to the airplane door. I told them, "Wait! I'm waiting for my solicitor to tell me what is happening." One woman told me, "Shut the fuck up, go back, we don't need you here." This woman drives a van and I saw that her ID card had the company name Reliance or Relanse on it. An hour after the plane took off they removed the handcuffs.

When we arrived to Khartoum Airport there were two men and one woman. They removed their ID badges from around their neck and while they greeted me they said they could not let me leave until I met with NISS. Then they asked a security guard where the main office for NISS was. He pointed it out to them and a huge man from the UK came up to me and told me go fast. "Don't hurt me" I said. Then the huge man talked to the head of the security force and they talked for about 30 minutes. They then gave my passport and details about me.

After that the people from UK left and the head of NISS sent someone from the security force to take me to their office, with two people also from NISS. In total there were three men and they pushed me inside the office and closed the door. The boss kept looking at me, and I looked at his face. He looked irritated, racist, frightening, and spiteful. He asked me why I went to the UK, and I said to study. He asked me if I had a student visa, and I said yes. He asked me why I spent more time in the UK and I said that I had not had enough money to return. He asked why I had not completed my course in the UK. He asked me, "Which province and tribe are you from?" I said I was from Darfur. They asked me again, "You're from Darfur?" I said yes and they all continued provoking me by laughing at me. He asked me for my mobile phone. I gave it to him, they searched through it and when they didn't find anything, they returned it to me. They told me to write down my full address. The boss said, "You will leave your passport, and after two days, you collect it from the Head Office of the National Security." Then he hit the table in anger and said, "Get stupid out of my office!" They brought me a paper and took down my name, passport number and all my details. They gave me the paper and told me that when I go to National Security I should give them this paper."

Treatment of Prisoners

The UK Home Office Sudan Operational Guidance Note (OGN) of August 2012 states:

“A new National Security Act passed in December 2009 came into force in February [2011]. The Act maintained the NISS’s extensive powers of arrest and detention without judicial oversight for up to four and a half months. The NISS continued to arrest and detain political activists and human rights defenders, hold them incommunicado, torture and ill-treat them, and prosecute them for the peaceful exercise of their rights to freedom of expression, assembly and association. NISS agents remained immune from prosecution and disciplinary measures for human rights violations.”³⁶

The conditions and treatment of those detained in Sudanese prisons and detention centres have been widely documented and are recognised to be in breach of Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights. Prisoners are subjected to inhumane and degrading conditions, ill-treatment and torture, often without access to legal advice or outside communication. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office’s Country of Concern Report on Sudan published in April 2014 states: “Torture is prohibited by the Interim Constitution. There are, however, widespread reports that security forces routinely carry out torture, beatings, rape, and other cruel and inhuman treatment or punishments.”³⁷

The OGN states: “Prison conditions throughout Republic of the Sudan are severe. Taking into account the severely decayed infrastructure, lack of meaningful control by the authorities, widespread abuse of inmates, including likely use of torture and extremely poor health facilities and sanitary conditions, prisons and detention facilities in North Sudan are likely to reach the Article 3 threshold.”³⁸

This section documents the conditions and treatment of those interviewed for this report, which corroborate the descriptions in the OGN. The individuals interviewed were all detained as political prisoners.

Excerpts from testimony of Mr T

“A group of men, which was a mix of police, military men, and NISS security forces, found me. They didn’t even ask me any questions, and they just started physically abusing me by hitting me on the head and all over my body. They claimed I was a rebel without making any sort of investigation or giving me any chance to defend myself.

They treated me badly instantly, and then they took me to prison where I was accused of being part of a rebel group that was part of the opposition. I was expecting to be given a death sentence. I was held in prison for about five months. While I was in there, they told me they would kill me if I did not admit that I was part of the rebel group that had killed government soldiers. I told them I had not done anything. They wanted me to admit the number of people I had killed from the police and

³⁶ Sudan OGN v 17.0 updated August 2012, Available at:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/310188/Sudan_operational_guidance_2012.pdf>, [Accessed 4 August 2014]

³⁷ Available at: <<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/sudan-country-of-concern/sudan-country-of-concern#torture>>, [Accessed 11 September 2014]

³⁸ Sudan OGN v 17.0 updated August 2012, Available at:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/310188/Sudan_operational_guidance_2012.pdf>, [Accessed 4 August 2014]

NISS. They also asked me about being Darfurian. I told them that I was from Darfur, from Mahadariya. They replied, "Yes you are, you Darfurians are all militias."

I was first in the Al Mujalat prison in 2012, from which I escaped. I was captured after three days and then they transferred me to the Al Odaya prison. I had very bizarre treatment while in prison. I was in a cell by myself. I was treated like a traitor, as a spy for Western countries. I was tortured, not given food or water, and they would come and hit me on a regular basis. They kept me hungry and deprived of water. I escaped from the first prison, but they caught me again. I tried to escape because I was told I would be given the death penalty in six weeks' time. There were no court proceedings, no lawyers, and no legal documents. But I was informed that I would be hanged in six weeks. The second time I escaped, it was from Al Odaya prison in 2012, through the observation tower."

Excerpts from testimony of Mr W

"When I told the Security officer that the reason for my trip to the UK had been to get my father medical treatment and was not for political reasons, the interviewing officer became aggressive. The officer used abusive and racist language and started slapping me on the face.

After being questioned for some time, I was made to stand outside the building, where different officers approached me, repeatedly asking me who I was and what I was doing there.

After about an hour I was taken back inside the house where I was asked further questions. Again the officer who was interviewing me became aggressive, hitting me a number of times. The officer referred to Arabs as being the pure race and said opponents would be demolished.

I was detained, questioned and tortured for a total of three days. The questioning and torture followed a similar pattern to the first day on the two subsequent ones. On the day of my release I was asked to sign a piece of paper but the security officers refused to show or tell me what I was signing. I was then told that I must sign in at a police station at 10am the next morning, which was a Friday."

Excerpts from testimony of Dr Sigdi Awad Kaballo

"During the 18 days I was detained, I was only able to leave my cell four times. The first time was for them to take photos and fingerprints of me. The second time was to interview me about various topics, including asking me questions about my friends and family. They also asked about my political stance, to which I responded, 'You are detaining me, and you don't know what political party I am in?' I told them I was a member of the Communist Party for the last 50 years. I told them I was 65 years old, and therefore I was an 'old Communist'. After this they relaxed somewhat, they began asking questions about the Revolutionary Front. I said I had no connection with the Revolutionary Front. They asked me whether I knew if the Revolutionary Front was using force during the demonstrations, and if they were responsible for burning petrol stations. I said I didn't believe they were, and I said I knew some of the political leaders of this revolutionary front, naming some of the ones I knew personally. They asked me who I thought was responsible then, and I said that NISS [the Sudanese National Intelligence Service] was. The third time I was let out of my cell was to complete the interview, and this was for half an hour. The fourth time was to have a visit with my brother-in-law.

I was detained for eighteen days, and during this time I was subjected to investigations without any clear accusations. I was not allowed to make phone calls. I did not hide any of my political activities, since I know I am a peaceful person who never supported any sort of violent actions against anyone, whether government or anyone else. I was isolated and alone while I was detained.

I think I was arrested because when I arrived in Sudan, there were demonstrations going on, and they didn't want me to join into the activities, since I was a known human rights activist.

I believe that NISS use force, violence and torture because they are not a sophisticated security organisation, and therefore they do not know a better way of getting information from their prisoners."

Excerpts from testimony of Ms A

"For three days they kept me at this place, hitting me every day, all the time. I can't explain everything they did to me. I refused to say I did something that I hadn't done. When I told them I was pregnant, they started to kick me in my stomach. If I asked them for food they would hit me. I was so tired. There were different people hitting me, and sometimes it was one, sometimes two, and sometimes three people. I was hit a lot with something like a long pipe that was similar material to a garden hose. I became unconscious and woke up later.

After one week they suddenly said I could go. They took me to an officer, and he said to me I could go to my home, but I must come back every day to report. Whilst I was in detention I never got to speak to a lawyer and I was again not able to contact any of my family or friends. The next day I had to go back to the same building I had been detained in at seven in the morning, because they had told me that if I didn't they would do something to me and my children. My husband came with me. When he tried to come in with me, they refused him entrance, and said I must come in by myself. They kept me there from seven in the morning until seven in the evening. They put me in a room and were hitting me. They asked me again what I had been doing in London. Again I said I hadn't done anything in London that was wrong. I had to go every day for about five or six days. I was barely fed when I was there. I later developed diabetes. I was four months pregnant at this time."

Questioning about the UK and Europe

This section covers the nature of the questioning and interrogation experienced by those interviewed for this report. The testimonies indicate that the interrogators showed great interest in the presence and activities of Sudanese within Europe, especially where the activities were perceived as posing a threat to the Sudanese government. Seeking asylum in itself is viewed as damaging Sudan's international reputation. Taking part in or being linked to 'anti-government' political activity is treated very seriously and is often the focus of interrogations. In some cases it is apparent there has been Sudanese surveillance at meetings and protests about Sudanese political issues which have been held in the UK or Europe.

Excerpt from testimony of Mr U

"For three months I had to report daily at the NISS office in my area between 8:30am to 10:30am. Every day I was forced to remember my arrest and how for six days I was asked about the people that I met in London, the members of communist party that I met in the UK and about the opposition groups that I support. They mentioned names of politicians and asked me if I had met with them. They insisted that I was a member of Girifna and asked me to provide them with additional information about the group."

Excerpts from testimony of Ms A

"We arrived at the security building, less than 15 minutes' drive from the airport. The men took me to see another officer who was waiting for me. He asked me where I was coming from. I said I was coming from London. He said to me, "Why did you go there?" I said for training. He hit me hard and said, "Don't lie to me." I said I was not lying, but still he did not believe me. He showed me a photo of me in London with my JEM friend. The photo showed us at a coffee shop on a street near to Westfield shopping centre in Shepherd's Bush. There was me, my friend, and his friend that he had brought with him whom I had not met before. I said those were just my friends. He also showed me a photo of me at the SRF event in London. My JEM friend had also been at this event with me. I think that whoever had taken these photos had maybe been following my JEM friend.

They were always asking me about London when they showed me the photos of me in London at this café meeting and at the SRF event. They showed me many photos of everyone at this event. They asked me for information about the other people at the event. I said I didn't know anyone else, and that it was only my second time in London and I was there for training, so I didn't have lots of time to meet up with people. They said to me that I was lying and that I went to London because I was from Darfur and I wanted to overthrow the government of Sudan. They said they would not let this happen, that they would kill the Darfurians.

They kept me there from 7 in the morning until 7 in the evening. They put me in a room and were hitting me. They asked me again what I had been doing in London. Again I said I hadn't done anything in London that was wrong."

Excerpt from testimony of Mr W

"I was led into the house and was taken to a room where two members of the security service were waiting. I was made to sit. One of the officers sat at the back of the room whilst the other officer asked me questions. I was asked specific questions with regards to my activities whilst I was in the UK, including why I had gone to the UK, who I had met whilst I was there and what meetings I had attended. When the security officer asked whom I had met during my stay, the officer referred to particular political leaders, refugees and asylum seekers in the UK.

I was asked about Sudanese political organisations in the UK, such their location, who worked within these organisations, their activities and any future plans they had.”

Excerpt from Afaf Mohamed

“He also asked me a lot about the UK, like what I did for work there, and if I had any links to human rights organisations there. I said yes, but I refused to tell him which ones. He questioned me about the UK for about one hour 25 minutes. The questions were about what activities I did there, and if I got any support from the organisations I was connected to. He asked if I was an active Darfurian and I said that I was. I would not give him any details on how I was active. He also asked me if I represented any rebel group. I said I did not. He asked specifically about Darfur Union. I told him that with Voice of Darfur Women, I visited refugee camps, and I helped form women groups. I was very honest, but I did not give him many details about Darfur Union. I told him I was a human rights activist, and that was why I tried to support women in Darfur at the refugee camps.”

Excerpt from testimony of Mr T

“I told them that I had just come back from France and that the UN people had actually brought me to the area. Then they asked me why I had gone to France in the first place. The fact that I told them I had gone to France became problematic, because then they thought I was working with the French, and that I was spying on the Sudanese government for them. They actually thought that I was working for the Western countries.”

Excerpt from testimony of Dr Sigdi Awad Kaballo

“I don’t know why I was detained, but I suspect that in Birmingham the NISS have some people working for them who send them information about Sudanese people living there. I think this because they asked me while I was detained for those 18 days, whether I had attended a specific meeting in Birmingham. This meeting had been organised by about three or four people that I did not know who asked me to join in and had asked me what they could do to support the uprising in Sudan. I gave them some information about media and human rights organisations - this was all I did. NISS didn’t ask me any further questions, and I think this is because then I would have known that they were being fed information from the UK. I was also asked about my relationship with Yassir Arman, the leader of the SPLM-Northern Sector. I told them Yassir was my family friend. Then they asked me if I had met Yassir in the UK and I replied that yes, Yassir had come to visit me once in Birmingham, and stayed the night with me. In the morning Yassir went to visit his brother-in-law. They asked me if I met him after this when Yassir visited Birmingham on another, more recent, occasion, and I said no, I hadn’t known that Yassir had been in Birmingham again. It seemed they knew about Yassir’s time in Birmingham, which means someone had informed them.”

Monitoring of Involuntary Returnees

The use of incommunicado detention and the absence of access to legal advice mean that it can be very difficult to trace those who are detained by the Sudanese authorities. We have not been able to contact Mohamed, mentioned at the end of [‘The Danger of Returning Home’](#), since his removal in February 2012, despite several attempts to do so.

Since the publication of our last report in September 2012, three people we worked with have been unsuccessful in their asylum claims and have been removed to Sudan. We have attempted to stay in touch with all of these men and have had contact with two of them since their removal. One is Mr U, whose testimony has been given in full in Annex 9, the other is Mr Y, whose testimony has been given in full in Annex 13. In each case we have been in touch with both the Home Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) about the men and Mr U has since met with the British Embassy in Khartoum.

Excerpt from testimony of Mr Y

“First he opened my passport and asked, ‘Why don’t you have an exit stamp from the UK?’ I responded that the legal period has ended. And really at this time I was worried that if I told him I was seeking asylum he would shoot me. He asked me why I went to the UK, and I said to study. He asked me if I had a student visa, and I said yes. He asked me why I spent more time in the UK and I said that I had not had enough money to return. He asked me when I had left Sudan, and I told him he had my passport and could see when I had left. Then he got angry and hit the table. He said, ‘If I ask you answer me.’ He asked why I had not completed my course in UK. I said I didn’t have the money, it was expensive for me.

Someone standing by the door beside me said to the boss, ‘These people go to the UK for asylum and they say what we do in the Darfur province.’ The boss asked me if that was true. I said, ‘I don’t know what you mean or are talking about.’ He asked, ‘You don’t know? Or you don’t see any stupid people from your tribe there in the UK seeking asylum or talking about what we do in your province?’ If I told them that yes I knew, they would give me a big problem. So I said, ‘I don’t know, I never saw anyone from my tribe there.’”

Excerpt from testimony of Mr U

“When we landed at Khartoum airport the three British escorts handed me over to the Sudanese team at the airport. They told them that I was working illegally in UK and that the authorities deported me to my country of origin. The three British escorts left immediately as they did not want to miss their flight back to the UK with the same Qatari Airline. About five Sudanese NISS officers started asking what I had done in the UK and three security officers escorted me to an internal office at the airport. After interrogating me for a few hours they accused me of being a member of Girifna youth group. From the airport they took me to a place in South Khartoum and I spent six days without being able to see my family or even notify them that I had arrived in Sudan. I was beaten.

After six days I was told I would be released. They took my address and ordered me to report to the local police station in my area. They then drove me to the main road and told me to get out. I didn’t have any money with which to get transport. I rented a private car and when I arrived at my family home a member of my family paid my fare. I told them what had happened to me.”

We remain concerned about the third man, an asylum seeker who was on the Detained Fast Track and was forcibly removed to Khartoum at the time of protests in March 2014, at which one

individual died and over a hundred were arrested.³⁹ Despite our best efforts, and those of a friend of his in the UK, we have been unable to contact him since he was removed. We had arranged for trustworthy people to meet him at the airport in Khartoum. However they were unable to find him there.

The friend in the UK did make contact with someone who she presumed was a passenger with him on the flight, immediately following his removal. The person said that the returnees' passport and ticket were being kept by the airline and that the man was told that on arrival at Khartoum he was meant to stay on the plane until everyone else had disembarked, when he would be taken to the immigration desk by the airline with his passport and with a letter from the Home Office which said he had been removed from the UK. That was all the person said, they did not reveal their identity, nor did they try to contact the friend in the UK again.

In April 2013 a UK Border Agency request for further information about the safety of returnees received the following response from the British Embassy in Khartoum: "We contacted the office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Khartoum, as well as the German and Netherlands Embassies. None were aware of any cases of returnees being mistreated on return to Sudan, although they do not actively monitor every case of Sudanese being returned from their countries. However there is evidence from domestic and international human rights groups to show that those who openly oppose the Government from abroad will likely be arrested on return." - Deputy Head of Mission, British Embassy, Khartoum, 8 April, 2013. The letter can be found in full in Annex 1.

More recently, we received the following in response from the Sudan Unit at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office about one of the men who was removed:

"██████████ or one of his colleagues can contact this person to hear about this treatment since he returned to Khartoum but there is no assistance that we can offer in terms of protection in such cases. Unsuccessful asylum seekers once they are removed from the UK are, by definition, foreign nationals who have been found as a matter of law not to need the UK's protection and it would be inconsistent with that finding for the UK to assume an ongoing responsibility for them when they return to their own country. We would suggest that he contacts the local UNHCR office in Khartoum to see what support they could offer. Their general number is ██████████ and e-mail is: ██████████

Our embassy is currently in the process of updating the information we send to the Home office on the situation for those that return to Sudan so any information on this or other cases that you could share with us would be helpful. I know our embassy in Khartoum, has made enquiries with relevant international organisations who have a presence in Sudan. While we do not dispute that arbitrary detention and mistreatment is a routine occurrence in Sudan, based on our own discussions and what we have heard from others we have no verifiable or substantiated information to indicate returnees experience such ill treatment when returned to Sudan. However we continue to take such allegations seriously and, where appropriate, continue to follow up on such reports. The Upper Asylum tribunal intends to investigate the issue of treatment of returnees to Sudan in a Country Guidance appeal case later this year. We will continue to assist the Home Office and Tribunal in this case, by providing the latest in-country information available."

³⁹ Amnesty International, Sudan: Student shot dead and more than 100 arrested at Khartoum protest, 11 March 2014, Available at: <<http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/sudan-student-shot-dead-and-more-100-arrested-khartoum-protest-2014-03-11>>, [Accessed on 4 August 2014]

Conclusions

The testimonies included in this report were gathered over a period of eighteen months. Although they provide only a snapshot of the situation, they supplement those published in our September 2012 report '[The Danger of Returning Home](#)'. We believe a more comprehensive investigation would unearth many more such stories. We plan to continue collating such interviews and to publish more in due course. We urge other Sudanese who have had similar experiences to record them and to contact us or other human rights groups. We have noted whilst carrying out this research that the interviewees were not aware that their stories warranted documentation. We hope that this report will act as a catalyst for further investigation into this issue.

These testimonies are a reminder to the international community that arbitrary arrest, detention, and inhumane treatment continue at the hands of the Sudanese government. Individuals who have lived, received education or simply spent time in Europe, are monitored and treated with suspicion on their return to Sudan and they are at risk of persecution for this reason. The various ethnic backgrounds of those interviewed shows this risk applies not only to people of Darfurian origin, but also to members of other groups.

The testimonies make clear the significance of the international community's obligation not to return asylum seekers to persecution or to a risk of serious harm. They also illustrate the devastating consequences of our poor decisions. The UK does not provide ongoing protection or post-return monitoring to failed asylum seekers once they are back in Sudan because they are considered foreign nationals, and not entitled to the UK's attention. However, as highlighted by the testimonies, failed asylum seekers appear to be vulnerable to immediate arrest and detention upon arrival to Khartoum airport.

In 2013, 743 Sudanese applied for asylum in the United Kingdom, the highest number since 2005. In 2013 43 were forcibly removed.⁴⁰ In the first quarter of 2014 there were 193 applications for asylum made by Sudanese applicants and 332 were made in the second quarter of the year.⁴¹ In the first quarter of 2014 there were 14 enforced removals of Sudanese to Sudan, which is up from seven the year before in the same quarter. There were six Sudanese accepted on to the fast track in 2013; no figures are available for the first two quarters of 2014. This is up from one in 2010, none in 2011 and one in 2012.⁴²

Damien Green, then Minister for Immigration, wrote to Alex Cunningham MP in 2012, "If specific allegations are made that any returnee, to any country, has experienced ill-treatment on return from the UK, then these are investigated through the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) as a matter of urgency. ... The FCO will pass to the UK Border Agency any general information it may receive that suggests that returnees have been mistreated."⁴³ Whilst we have found the FCO and Home Office response to our allegations of mistreatment of returnees has been positive, it has not gone far enough.

⁴⁰ Gov.uk, Immigration statistics, April to June 2014: data tables

Available at: <<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/immigration-statistics-april-to-june-2014-data-tables>>, [Accessed 5 September 2014]

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Minister for Immigration, Damian Green to Alex Cunningham, 22 February 2012, (CTS Ref: M1407/12). Quoted on p.6, Unsafe Return II: A report by Catherine Ramos, 3 October 2013

The testimonies in this report illustrate the way in which the Sudanese regime's arms extend beyond its borders. The Sudanese security service takes a keen interest in the Sudanese community and opposition in the UK. The testimonies also suggest that NISS is monitoring the Diaspora in this country, and that 'evidence' gathered by them can prove dangerous to individuals when they return to Sudan. We believe the testimonies included here are not isolated cases but are representative of a repressive, state-sanctioned system, and that many other similar stories exist. It is unlikely that NISS has the resources to monitor the return of all low-level activists but it monitors some, as has been shown by the testimonies.

In addition, the testimonies show that high-profile activists and opposition figures may return to Sudan from outside the country numerous times in safety, perhaps due to their status, but this may be revoked at times of high security alerts, as shown by the recent arrest of Mariam El Mahdi, the New Dawn arrests and the testimony of Dr Sidgi Awad Kaballo provided in Annex 4. Therefore the time of the return may be a factor in the risk faced; Dr Kaballo returned on numerous occasions without any problem but was detained during the September 2013 protests. Mr T seems to have been detained as he was in the Hegleig/Panthou area at a time of conflict.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Al Jazeera English, Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yuzws4CVX-I>>, [Accessed on 4 August 2014]

Recommendations

Article 1 and Waging Peace:

- Welcome the forthcoming update by the British Embassy in Khartoum to the Home Office about the treatment of failed asylum seekers.
- Ask for an assurance by the Secretary of State for the Home Department (SSHD) that they do not provide the Sudanese authorities with confidential information about asylum claims for the purposes of re-documentation or return.
- Ask that the British Embassy in Khartoum establish a formal procedure to allow returnees from the UK who have experienced persecution on return by the Sudanese authorities to document their experience.⁴⁵ This information should then form part of Home Office Country of Origin Information on Sudan.
- Ask that a system to monitor the safety of those Sudanese who have claimed asylum in the UK and who are returned to Sudan be established.
- Ask UNHCR to make a commitment to prioritise the investigation of failed asylum seekers' experiences when they return to Sudan. Any results of such an investigation should form part of the Home Office's Country of Origin Information on Sudan. Article 1 and Waging Peace are in touch with those interviewed in this report and remain in touch with those interviewed for our previous report, '[The Danger of Returning Home](#)'. The individuals concerned may be able to provide more detailed testimony that can be subjected to the appropriate external scrutiny, however neither they nor Waging Peace or Article 1 have been approached to provide any such information.
- Ask that the SSHD makes an urgent assessment about the appropriateness of the use of Detained Fast Track in Sudanese asylum cases.
- Ask the SSHD to be mindful of section 2.1 of the most recent OGN on Sudan which states that, "Claims should be considered with the most up-to-date and relevant country of origin information."⁴⁶ Flexibility and responsiveness should be built into the removals procedure, thereby allowing removal procedures to Sudan to be suspended for a short duration during periods of high national insecurity in Sudan as deemed by an assessment by UNHCR or the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and/or the British Embassy in Khartoum.
- Ask that the 2006 decision in *HGMO (Relocation to Khartoum) Sudan v. Secretary of State for the Home Department*, CG [2006] UKAIT 00062, United Kingdom: Asylum and Immigration Tribunal / Immigration Appellate Authority, 3 August 2006, which found that failed asylum seekers were not at real risk on return to Khartoum, is reviewed.

⁴⁵ Unsafe Return II, A report by Catherine Ramos, Available at: <<http://justicefirst.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/UNSAFE-RETURN-I1-October-3-14-50.pdf>>, [Accessed 4 August 2014], p. 11.

⁴⁶ Sudan OGN v 17.0 updated August 2012, Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/310188/Sudan_operationa_l_guidance_2012.pdf>, [Accessed 4 August 2014]

- Ask that Home Office should direct the Metropolitan Police to conduct a full investigation into the monitoring and intimidation of Sudanese Diaspora in the UK by Sudanese Embassy staff in the UK.

For those interviewed for this report little can be done to erase the mental and physical damage done to them by the Sudanese government. However, by documenting and sharing their experiences it is hoped that others will not have to endure similar treatment in future. Article 1 and Waging Peace would like to thank the Sudanese community in the UK, especially those brave individuals who have given their testimony for this report.

Thanks too to all of those who have given their time in producing this report, special thanks go to Isobel Crowther and Francisca Stewart.

Please contact Olivia Warham on olivia.warham@article1.org or 020 7243 0300 for more information about the report.

For more information about Waging Peace please visit our website at www.wagingpeace.info and for more information about Article 1 please see www.article1.org. You can follow us on Twitter [@WagingPeaceUK](https://twitter.com/WagingPeaceUK) and [@Article1UK](https://twitter.com/Article1UK).

Annex 1



British Embassy
Khartoum

British Embassy
Off Sharia Al-Baladiya
Khartoum
Sudan

8 April 2013

We have contacted the office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees here in Khartoum. They are the lead agency for dealing with refugee issues in Sudan and have large protection teams operating throughout the country in Sudan. They had no knowledge of returned asylum seekers being mistreated by the Sudanese security agencies. We also contacted the German and Netherlands Embassies. None were aware of any cases of returnees being mistreated on return to Sudan, although they do not actively monitor every case of Sudanese being returned from their countries. We have also raised our concerns about allegations of returnees being mistreated verbally with EU partners at EU Human Rights meetings. Again EU partners had no knowledge of mistreatment of returnees but were also concerned at the reports.

However there is evidence from domestic and international human rights groups to show that those who openly oppose the Government from abroad will likely be arrested on return. Recently a number of opposition leaders who signed a political manifesto (New Dawn Charter) in Uganda calling for reform and the overthrow of the Government of Sudan were detained for a number of weeks. These were widely reported in the Sudanese press and acknowledged as fact by the Sudanese Government. One of the arrestees was a dual Sudanese/British National and this Embassy has had direct contact with the Government of Sudan about the case. We have also received credible reports from political parties and human rights groups in Sudan that those who are overly critical of the government are usually subject to surveillance and intimidation by security services. Reports from human rights groups suggest that Darfuris and Nubans are also more likely to be at risk from this type of persecution.

We should also acknowledge that in 2012 Norway expelled a Sudanese diplomat who they believed was involved in spying on Sudanese refugees there.

Deputy Head of Mission
British Embassy
Khartoum

This letter has been compiled by staff of the British Embassy in Khartoum entirely from information obtained from the sources indicated. The letter does not reflect the opinions of the author(s), nor any policy of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The author(s) have compiled this letter in response to a request from UKBA and any further enquiries regarding its contents should be directed to UKBA.

Annex 2



Press Release

Sudanese Activists and NGOs in Cairo & Kampala at Imminent Risk

In the wake of the escalating threats to activists in Cairo and Kampala, Dr. Bushra Gamar the director of HUDO, launched a press release today alerting the activists in both cities from the Sudanese government plans to execute assassinations and kidnappings in both cities. According to HUDO statement, the Sudanese government will take advantage of the unrest in Cairo due to the 30 June demonstrations. Moreover, the statement noted to the deployment of 100 security elements to Cairo in the last few days to implement the government plan. Array organization has been following the situation in Cairo very closely and documented some of the reprisals and kidnapping cases in the last y months, but we would like emphasize the that there is more incidents that we documented but has not been shared here for security reasons. In addition to that we call on you to share this info among trusted contacts.

Kidnapping attempts and intimidation:

Awad Altaiyeb Abdu Alrahaman is HRD from Southern Kordofan, working with "Human Rights and Development Organization (HUDO)". He fled Sudan to Egypt on January 14, 2013 after being harassed and attacked by the Sudanese government in result of his work in documenting their violation in his home town Alabasya, in Nuba mountains.

Few weeks after Awad arrived in Cairo the security elements started threading his wife in Sudan to give them Awad's address and number, therefore he told her to give his informations to the security to ease the pressure on her. On April 7th, 2013 Awad received phone thread, the caller said to him" you are traitor and agent to foreigners we will find you". On April 17th, 2013, Awads apartment was raided while he was out and he found all his personal documents shredded and he found a message written on his flat door saying" we will find you traitor", Later on Awad found out that the car the attackers used was Toyota Camery, and he managed to trace the plate and he believe its belonging to the Sudanese embassy in Cairo. On May 5th, 2013, he was attacked by a car while six Sudanese men tried to kidnap him near his house. Awad and his family in Sudan are living in fear as the threats from the Sudanese government continue to take place, either to him or his family in Sudan.

Southern Kordofan/Nuba mountains NGOs teams at risk:

Awad Altaiyeb said in his interview with Array, that he received informations from his source who works inside the security in Kadugli. According to Awad, the source informed him that Ahmed Haroon- the governor of Southern Kordofan state and the wanted suspect by the ICC for war crimes in Darfur- is considering the work of Bushra Gamar the director of HUDO and the Nuba activist who was in prison for

Array Organization for Human Rights

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a year, and Osman Naway the director of Arry organization and their organizations members as dangerous activism for his government. Haroon and the security believe that these organizations have close relations with the international human rights NOGs and the International Criminal Court(ICC).

Many of the active members of Arry organization and HUDO has been arrested and some of them forced to leave the country in the last 6 months in result of vicious attack against both organizations teams and their families. The activists who work with these organizations who managed to leave Sudan, their families in Sudan are facing intimidation, while the activists themselves are receiving continuous threats either in Egypt or in Uganda or in other locations.

HUDO had been closed in Kadugli since the beginning of the war in Nuba mountains in June 2011. Dr. Bushra Gamar, HUDO's director has been detained for a year from June 2011 to June 2012. In addition to that at least 4 HUDO members forced to leave the country while Bushra's family is living under threats after he fled the country in the wake of death threats from the security and Ahmed Haroon the governor of Southern Kordofan state .

Arry organization for Human rights had been closed in Sudan in December 2012, and 6 of its team were arrested and later fled the country, while their families are also receiving threats and being subjected to reprisals. Furthermore, in September 2012 few days after the participation of Arry director in the UN Human Rights Council session, the Sudanese security raided Osman Naway family house in Sudan and tried to arrest his brothers, and continued to harass his family even after they fled Sudan to Egypt, as the threats continue to take place in Cairo in result of the high activity of the Sudanese embassy in Egypt.

Death threats and intimidation of families:

On March 5th, 2012 Mohamed Ajbna was shot by the police in a suspicious raid on his house and family member, that day Mohamed's sister Awadia Ajbna was shot dead by police. Mohamed is Nuba activist and his sister Awadia was a candidate for Khartoum state parliament. Since his sister's death, Mohamed was advocating against police impunity and perusing justice for his family. After months of fighting against the police and Sudanese security pressure on him and his family to drop the case against the police officers who killed Mohmaed's sister, his own life became in danger as the police and security started threatening Mohamed, eventually he decided to flee the country in November 2012 to Egypt. Once he left Sudan his wife and family members received more threats from the security.

Mohamed received many threats to stop his advocacy for justice for his sister since he arrived in Cairo, however, in March 2013, he was attacked by Sudanese men and shot at in Cairo but the shot missed him. When he reported the case to the Egyptian police they threatened of deporting him back to Sudan. On June 12th, 2013, 2 members of the Sudanese security stopped Mohamed and threaten him to go back to Sudan and close the case, as he is the main witness, or they will be after him. The second day, his mother called him from Sudan and informed him that the security threaten them and she told him, " you better leave Egypt they said they will kill you there if you didn't came back". Mohamed is living in growing fear from the Sudanese security's next step.

Attack on Nuba Student in Cairo:

Arry Organization for Human Rights

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Mustaf Ali is a Nuba low Student in Cairo University and active member in the Nuba Students Association in Egypt. On June 13th, 2013 Mustafa had been attacked by tow Sudanese in Cairo near his home they tried to kidnap him, but he fought back he managed to flee from them, they took his bag which contain his passport.

Rape and Detention:

Lana is Nuba woman HRD, she is well known by her work on advocating against the human rights violation in Nuba Mountains through the social media such as Facebook. She was receiving threats on her Facebook account and her phone for months from the Sudanese security in the embassy which led her to change her resident and phone number numerous times, however, on January 26th, 2013, Lana has been kidnapped from the street near her house where 5 men attacked her and took her to unknown place and raped her. She was missing for three days and on the third day they released her. Lana is living in hiding since her kidnapping.

Rasha is a Nuba activist she was working with Hassnat Organization in Kadugli, and she was shot in her leg while she was detained in Kadugli after the war erupted in June 5th, 2011. She fled to Khartoum and started working there with Al Jobraka Organization, which a Nuba NGO working in helping IDPs in Khartoum. In result of her work Rasha was arrested again in March 10th, 2013 and she was raped in detention. The security accused her of leaking informations and cooperating with the rebels in Nuab Mountains. On March 20th, 2013 she managed to leave Sudan to Egypt, while her family continued to receive threats and she also received phone threads which led her to change her place several times since her arrival in Egypt.

The Sudanese government continues to target Nuba activists and their families inside and outside Sudan. The reprisals and intimidations that Nuba HRDs and their families face increased recently, while the Sudanese government lead a vicious campaign against Nuba HRDs and Nuba NGOs. There is dozens of Nuba activists who are in detention now or under serious threats who are not able for security reasons to reveal their identity or tell their stories, and more Nuba activists are living under this danger conditions in result of their as human rights advocates.

Arry Organization and the Organizations signing below call upon the Sudanese government to end its intimidation and attacks against Nuab HRDs and their families inside and outside Sudan, and also call on the International and regional Human Rights institutions to protect Nuba HRDs and their families, we specially call on the rapporteurs of human rights defenders in the UN Office of High Commissioner of Human Rights and on the African Commission for Human and Peoples Rights to immediately take action to end this violations against the Nuba HRDs rights and protect them to be able to continue their work inside or outside Sudan without any harassment from the Sudanese government. We also call on them to put pressure and take the necessary measures to force the Sudanese government to end its attack against Nuba HRDs and their NGOs.

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Annex 3

Afaf Mohammed

Testimony taken on 28 May 2014 in person.

I am from El Geneina in Darfur and am from the Massalit tribe. I am involved in an organisation in London called Voice of Darfur Women. My husband had applied for asylum in Holland and got refugee status, and I met him there in 2001. I have Dutch nationality. I came to the UK on 5 June 2008. I have returned to Sudan only once since coming to the UK. I and my three young children got tourist visas to go back. The visa I attained was for about three months.

I flew with British Airways to Khartoum in December 2011 and stayed in Sudan for about a month. I registered in Khartoum after I arrived, and I had to fill out a special form explaining the reason for my trip there, and this had to be done within the first three days of arrival. I had to go to the foreign office and fill out a special form, and you have to pay about 500 Sudanese dollars for this, which is about £50. I think at that time (in 2011) kids were free. Then I got a pass that I paid extra for after I finished my registration, which was so I wouldn't need a visa for the next five years in order to visit Sudan. I was in Khartoum the first week of my trip and then I stayed for two weeks in El Geneina, Darfur before going back to Khartoum.

When we were on our flight to Darfur, there was a security agent on the plane behind us. He then switched seats with another man, I think because the first man couldn't understand us talking in English. They tried to ask me questions by starting conversation and saying, 'Hello, what's your name, where are you from?' The flight was three hours long. When I got to Darfur I visited three or four refugee camps because I have family in them. At the camps I didn't say that I came from outside of Sudan, because even there I have to be careful since people may go give information on me. I didn't let my kids talk a lot because they do not speak Arabic, so I didn't want people to figure out that they hadn't grown up in Sudan. I thought people were following me once I landed in Darfur because when I woke up in the mornings while I was there and would open the door, I would see individuals standing in the corner and watching me without any reason to be there. I immediately knew they had been sent to watch me by the government. On January 1st, 2012, my three boys and I were at El Geneina airport, about to get on our flight to Khartoum. Then a man came up to me and asked, "Are you Afaf Mohammed?" and I said yes. He said, "We need you." And I said, "Why? What did I do?" He said again, "We need you." He asked for my passport. I asked him what he needed me for. I didn't have any criminal record in Sudan so I didn't understand why he had stopped me. I told him I had come legally into the country, and that I had registered when I arrived. I showed him my travel visa and I asked him what was wrong. He said only, "We need you in the security office." I said, "I can't go with you until I know what I did." If I had a criminal record then I would understand, or if he had a warrant from the court to arrest me then ok, but he wouldn't explain anything to me. I said, "Do you have any paper from court that says you can arrest me?" and he replied, "No." I asked him, "How did you get information about me? What did I do?" Then he started trying to look through my stuff, and I told him, "That's not allowed." He looked through my bags in front of everyone despite my protests. He also tried to go through my phone but he wasn't able to unlock it. I had some dollars, and he told me I was not allowed to have these, and I said that I was of course allowed to have them. He said to me, "I know that when you left Sudan, you got a new passport." He said I was Sudanese, and I said that I was not Sudanese and my passport showed that I was not Sudanese. I told him he had to bring a paper from the court; otherwise he could not take me. He told me he did not care, and he tried to take my bag. Then I said I wanted to see the head of the airport, so he could see the terrible things that were happening to us. He was also shouting at me and not talking nicely. My kids were standing behind me this whole time. I refused to go back to the

office with him because I told him I didn't know what he would do to me there; maybe he would hurt me or kill me. I told him I was going to my brother's flat and I would not go with him. Then the director of the airport came and said to this man, "This lady is right, you don't have any right to arrest her, you have no documents for this. Also, she is a foreigner." The man said, "No, she's Sudanese, not a foreigner." I said, "I'm not Sudanese here. My papers say I'm not Sudanese." The man told me I had to go to the security office. I missed my flight and I went back home, and then I went to the security office in El Geneina and talked to a man there who was from the army. He was a very nice guy. The first question he asked me was whether I had visited the refugee camps. I told him I was visiting women to help them and give them strength, and that I had a right to do this. He agreed. Then he asked me, "Where do you live? Where were you born?" I gave him this information. I asked him, "What is the reason I am here? Why am I in your office?" He could not answer my question. He said, "I don't know why you are here." He said, "It's possible it's connected to the flight you were on to Darfur." He didn't know anything else, or have any notes on the case. He also asked me a lot about the UK, like what I did for work there, and if I had any links to human rights organisations there. I said yes, but I refused to tell him which ones. He questioned me about the UK for about one hour 25 minutes. The questions were about what activities I did there, and if I got any support from the organisations I was connected to. He asked if I was an active Darfurian and I said that I was. I would not give him any details on how I was active. He also asked me if I represented any rebel group. I said I did not. He asked specifically about Darfur Union. I told him that with Voice of Darfur Women, I visited refugee camps, and I helped form women groups. I was very honest, but I did not give him many details about Darfur Union. I told him I was a human rights activist, and that was why I tried to support women in Darfur at the refugee camps.

I think maybe the people that were following me and the guy who approached me in the airport were connected. But the guy in the security office did not seem to be connected to them. The security man, who was from Khartoum originally, also said he was not happy with the situation in Darfur. The next morning I was able to get on a flight with my children to go back to Khartoum.

I am scared to return. I appeal for protection for me and for my fellow Darfurians.

Annex 4

Dr Sidgi Awad Kaballo

Testimony taken on 10 June 2014 over the telephone.

I am 66 years old, born March 28, 1948. I am an economist who graduated from Khartoum University, where I received my Master's degree. I then went on to receive a graduate diploma from Naples, Italy and completed my PhD at Leeds University. I am a member of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party. During the Nimeiri regime from 1969 to 1985, I was arrested and detained several times. The shortest length of detention was two months, and the longest was 52 months, from 1979 to 1983. During this period of detention I completed Master's degree and he wrote a book called *The Political Economy of the African Crisis: Case of the Sudan*.

In November 1987, I came to the UK to complete my PhD at the University of Leeds. When the regime in the Sudan was changed by the Islamic military on June the 30th, 1989, I kept a low profile while I was doing my studies, because I had had so many problems in the past with the Sudanese regime, and I knew if they found out where I was they would order me back to Sudan as they had been searching for me in Khartoum. The Sudanese regime withdrew my scholarship and ordered my return. From a work colleague at the University of Khartoum where I had been working part-time before coming to the UK, I found out that there was an order to detain me when I arrived back in Sudan. I was advised not to return to Sudan. Because of this, I applied for asylum in the UK, with the support of Leeds University Student Union and Amnesty International (I was recognised as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International) and I became a refugee in 1991.

In 1984 I helped to found a human rights organisation in Khartoum called Sudan for Human Rights Organisation. The organisation was re-launched in exile in London in 1991 and this made me a target of the Sudanese government. They harassed my brother-in-law and sister in Sudan. I attended the UN Commission for Human Rights every year from 1992 until 1999. My organisation was based in London, but when I left it in 1999 to return to my political activities, the organisation declined and is now defunct.

From 1999 on I began to become involved in politics in the Sudanese Communist party branch in the UK, speaking in political rallies and attending meetings. I was head of this branch from 2005 - 2009. I was then elected head of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in January 2009. The first time I returned to Sudan since I had first left the country was in December 2004. Upon my return to Sudan, I saw some change in the country, and I felt it had become more open. I didn't come with a Sudanese passport when I flew to Sudan, but instead used my British passport. I didn't have a Sudanese passport at the time.

Whilst I was in Sudan I organised to get a Sudanese passport. I did this because I had re-entered politics and therefore wanted to be Sudanese, and didn't want to 'hide' behind my British nationality. I kept my British nationality as that was where I had made a home with my family and had been given sanctuary.

After this, when I travelled to Sudan, I would enter on my Sudanese passport. I would therefore not need a visa for entry. When I travelled from Sudan to Britain I would use my British passport, allowing me easier entry. When I would return to Sudan, I would stay with my family for about two or three months. From 2009, I made many trips to Sudan, and in all this time I experienced no problems at all with the Sudanese government. During this time I was giving interviews to journalists and writing articles in newspapers. But in September 2013, when I arrived at Khartoum Airport and

passed through the passport control, I saw that there was an additional security control behind the passport control. After I had scanned my hand luggage, they looked at my passport, entered my name in their computer and the person said to me, 'You are wanted.' He called a national security officer in charge of airport operations. This officer told he did not know why I was wanted, and then he took me to another office outside of the airport. In this office outside of the airport, they asked me why I came in with my Sudanese passport when I had a British passport. I told them that I was a politician coming to Sudan and practicing political activities, and therefore I did not want to link these activities to the British government. I wanted to take responsibility for my actions and thoughts. They were not happy about my response, and they thought that I was arrogant. Then they transferred me to the security building in Khartoum North, near to the Shendi Coach Station. I told them about my diabetes and that I needed my medicine, which they gave me in the beginning three times a day, and then later gave to me all at once every morning to last the day. They had a doctor there. During the eighteen days I was detained, I was only able to leave my cell four times. The first time was for them to take photos and fingerprints of me. The second time was to interview me about various topics, including asking me questions about my friends and family. They also asked about my political stance, to which I responded, 'You are detaining me, and you don't know what political party I am in?' I told them to write down that I was a 'big Communist'. I told them I was a member of the Communist Party for the last fifty years. I told them I was sixty-five years old, and therefore I was an old Communist. After this they relaxed somewhat, they began asking questions about the Revolutionary Front. I said I had no connection with the Revolutionary Front. They asked me whether I knew if the Revolutionary Front was using force during the demonstrations, and if they were responsible for burning petrol stations. I said I didn't believe they were, and I said I knew some of the political leaders of the revolutionary front, naming some of the ones I knew personally. I told them that they wouldn't destroy this property. They asked me who I thought was responsible then, and I said that NISS [the Sudanese National Intelligence Service] was. They asked me, 'Why do you think we would do this?' I responded, 'To justify your violence against the demos'. The third time I was let out of my cell was to complete the interview, and this was for half an hour. It seems they had spoken to someone, and now had more questions to ask following the first interview. The fourth time was to have a visit with my brother-in-law. During this visit my brother-in-law gave me some fruit, which I was able to bring back to my cell. On the eve of Eid, there was a lot of movement around, and I decided to go to bed early. But by 12 am, they opened my cell and told me to take all my belongings because I was released. They took me with about fifteen other people and dropped us in Khartoum North City Center. There my nephew came with the car, taking me to my mother's house. In the morning I returned to my house with my wife.

I was detained for eighteen days, and during this time I was subjected to investigations without any clear accusations. I was not allowed to make phone calls. I did not hide any of my political activities, since I know I am a peaceful person who never supported any sort of violent actions against anyone, whether government or anyone else. I was isolated and alone while I was detained.

Since my nephews were meant to pick me up from the airport when I arrived, they found out that I had been detained and they went on Twitter and Facebook as quickly as possible to send messages to my wife and son. My wife, son and daughter made a campaign to have me freed. They brought in the media to publicise my detention. My Birmingham MP, Richard Burden, and George Galloway also put pressure on the Sudanese government to release me. I found out about this campaign going on for me while I was in detention because when I was let out of my cell after three or four days to get my fingerprints taken, I met another prisoner who was a lawyer called from the Arab Nasserist party. He was detained later than I had been and therefore knew about the campaign that was taking place.

I think I was arrested because when I arrived in Sudan, there were demonstrations going on, and they didn't want me to join into the activities, since I was a known human rights activist.

When I was held for these eighteen days, they already had information about my time at Leeds. Even during my time studying at Leeds in 1991, there is evidence that NISS tried to make trouble for me there, as at one point a student tried to frighten me and broke my glasses and my pipe. The Assistant Registrar at the University said they would give him a warning for getting in to a fight, and if such action took place again, he would be dismissed from the university. The regime was strong at this time and was cracking down on the opposition. While I was at Leeds, my sister was harassed by security and was told that they would bring me back to Khartoum in a coffin.

I believe that NISS use force, violence and torture because they are not a sophisticated security organisation, and therefore they do not know a better way of getting information from their prisoners.

I don't know why I was detained, but I suspect that in Birmingham the NISS have some people working for them who send them information about Sudanese people living there. I think this because they asked me while I was detained for those eighteen days, whether I had attended a specific meeting in Birmingham. This meeting had been organised by about three or four people that I did not know who asked me to join in and had asked me what they could do to support the uprising in Sudan. I gave them some information about media and human rights organisations - this was all I did. NISS didn't ask me any further questions, and I think this is because then I would have known that they were being fed information from the UK. I was also asked about my relationship with Yassir Arman, the leader of the SPLM-Northern Sector. I told them Yassir was my family friend. Then they asked me if I had met Yassir in the UK and I replied that yes, Yassir had come to visit me once in Birmingham, and stayed the night with me. In the morning Yassir went to visit his brother-in-law. They asked me if I met him after this when Yassir visited Birmingham on another, more recent, occasion, and I said no, I hadn't known that Yassir had been in Birmingham again. It seemed they knew about Yassir's time in Birmingham, which means someone had informed them.

Annex 5

Amnesty International, Sudan escalates mass arrests of activists amid protest crackdown

2 October 2013,



Youth activists from "Sudan Change Now" have been among those targeted in mass arrests.

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“

Sudan’s National Intelligence and Security Service is notorious for its repressive tactics in rounding up and placing perceived dissidents behind bars – but even by their standards, this latest round-up marks a significant escalation in arrests

”

Lucy Freeman, Africa Deputy Director at Amnesty International

Wed, 02/10/2013

Reports that Sudan’s security forces have arrested at least 800 activists, members of opposition parties, journalists, and others amid ongoing anti-government protests mark a shocking escalation of the crackdown on dissent, Amnesty International said.

A wave of arrests took place between the night of Monday 30 September and the early hours of Tuesday 1 October. Amnesty International is still receiving reports of arrests at the time of writing.

“Sudan’s National Intelligence and Security Service is notorious for its repressive tactics in rounding up and placing perceived dissidents behind bars – but even by their standards, this latest round-up marks a significant escalation in arrests,” said Lucy Freeman, Africa Deputy Director at Amnesty International.

“We fear that the hundreds of arrested or missing are at grave risk of torture or other forms of ill-treatment. Those detained are being held incommunicado, with no access to lawyers or their families.”

The Sudanese Minister of Interior stated in a press release that they have arrested 700 “criminals” in Khartoum and elsewhere since mass protests began on 23 September. But reports from journalists, members of opposition parties, activists, and family members indicate that the figures are much higher.

Some of those who have been detained have been taken from their homes and others from their places of work. Most have reportedly been arrested without a warrant.

Under Sudan’s 2010 National Security Act, the National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) is allowed to detain suspects for up to four and a half months without any form of judicial review.

“All indicators are that people are being targeted for arrest for no other reason than they are members of opposition groups, or activists, lawfully exercising their rights to freedom of expression and assembly. If the authorities have evidence to the contrary, they must charge them with a recognizable criminal offence or else release them immediately. In the meantime, they must be granted immediate access to their families, legal representation and any medical treatment they may require,” said Lucy Freeman.

“The draconian 2010 National Security Act must be scrapped, as it gives the NISS extraordinary powers to detain without charge, in blatant violation of international law.”

Political opposition

At least 17 members of the Sudanese Communist Party have been arrested in and around Sudan’s capital Khartoum since the protests began.

On 27 September, the NISS arrested Dr Sidgi Kabbalo, a member of the Central Committee of Sudan’s Communist Party, shortly after he returned from the UK. Family members attempted to visit him on 30 September, but were told to return in 15 days. The NISS would not disclose the detained doctor’s whereabouts to his family.

The 64-year-old doctor holds dual Sudanese and British nationality. He suffers from Type 1 Diabetes and his family are concerned that he is not receiving adequate care in detention.

Amnesty International has received reports that members of other opposition parties, including 15 members of the Sudanese Congress Party, have also been arrested.

Youth activists

Youth activists have also been targeted in the NISS round-up. On 23 September, six armed men from the NISS raided the home of Mohayed Siddig – a founding member of the youth movement “Sudan Change Now”. They arrested him after searching his home for more than two hours and confiscating his wife’s laptop, as well as CDs and documents.

Since his arrest, Mohayed has been held incommunicado without charge. Amnesty International believes that he is at great risk of torture or other ill-treatment.

Other members of “Sudan Change Now” were also arrested, including Dahlia Al Roubi, Rayan Zein Abideen, Omar Ushari and Khalid Omar. On 30 September Dahlia and Rayan were taken to the NISS building in Emarat area where they were held without charge, access to lawyers or their families. Amnesty International has received information that they have now been moved to an unknown location

Background

Protests broke out in cities around Sudan on 23 September after President Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir announced cuts to fuel subsidies on 22 September. Since the start of the demonstrations the following day, security forces have used excessive force – including live ammunition – killing what is believed to be upwards of 200 protesters. They have censored and shutdown newspapers, and arrested hundreds of activists, members of political opposition parties, and journalists.

The number of deaths of protesters is estimated at 210 people in Khartoum alone, according to the Sudanese Doctors’ Union. Amnesty International has spoken to doctors who report that the majority of deaths in hospital were due to gunshot wounds to the chest and head. The death toll estimate does not include people killed in other towns and cities in Sudan where protests continue, or those who were not taken to hospital.

Amnesty International has previously called for an immediate end to the harassment and unlawful arrest of human rights activists and members of the opposition for the lawful and peaceful exercise of their right to freedom of expression and assembly. The organization has also urged the Sudanese government to immediately establish an investigation into the use of disproportionate force and allegations of the intentional killing of protestors and use of live ammunition by security forces

The government of Sudan has a responsibility to respect, protect and fulfil human rights, including the rights to life, and freedom of torture and other ill-treatment, the right to liberty, to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Sudan escalates mass arrests of activists amid protest crackdown. Amnesty International [online] 2 October 2013. Available at <<http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/sudan-escalates-mass-arrests-activists-amid-protest-crackdown-2013-10-02>> [Accessed 4 October 2014]

Annex 6

Ms A

Testimony taken on 2 June 2014 over the telephone.

Ms A has asked for anonymity to protect her identity.

Ms A is currently claiming asylum in the UK. Ms A is from Nyala, South Darfur. She lived in Omdurman and worked as a journalist.

At my job I got a lot of discrimination, and I think it was because I was from Darfur, not because I was a woman, since I know other women who are not from Darfur who do quite well in their jobs. I was dismissed from my jobs without any reason. They let me work a number of years without paying me, and they always said they would pay me, but they never did. Finally they dismissed me without any reason and without paying me for the years of work I did with them. I went and worked with a television station. Then they also dismissed me, and when I asked why they didn't give me a reason. But I heard from some other people that it was because the government didn't want them to let me work there. In July 2012, I was arrested. I was arrested because there was a demonstration taking place that I went to with some friends. This was the first time I was arrested. Many of my friends were arrested as well with me. They held me for one month. They didn't give us enough food, and we had to sleep on the ground. Opposition parties protested against our detention and so, after one day, they just let us go. In December 2012, I was arrested again. There were more protests around this time and I had written articles calling people to demonstrate. We arranged an event to protest against human rights violations. I supported and attended this event. After the second day of the protests, they detained me along with other people. This time I was detained for two weeks. My treatment was the same as the first time; I was not fed well and slept on the ground. They made us do hard work for them, including cleaning for them. I did not have a lawyer either time I was detained. I was not able to talk to my husband or anyone else either time I was detained. No one knew where I was. My husband tried to find out, as well as my other family, but they were refused any information about where I was. They let me out after two weeks; everyone else who was detained with me was released as well. The prisons I was in detained in these first two times seemed more like houses, or a cross between a house and a prison.

After this every door was shut in my face for work, because people were told by the government not to work with me. The one place that allowed me to work in the end also dismissed me and did not pay me, and they would not tell me why. I found work in a TV company based outside Sudan and I came to London in October 2012 to attend a media training workshop. This course lasted for two weeks. It was my first time in London. While I was in London, I did nothing political. I just went to my training workshop as I didn't know anyone in London at that time.

The second time I came to London was in May 2013, for a six week training course on media and English language skills. I could only stay in London for two weeks because of family responsibilities back in Sudan. I travelled over with a general visa for six months, which I had no problem attaining. This time I met a friend who was part of the Justice and Equality Movement [JEM] whilst I was here. I also met a friend who was with the Communist party. We didn't arrange anything political, we just met up to socialise. Whilst I was in London I attended an event in honour of the anniversary of the creation of the Sudanese Revolutionary Front [SRF]. It was on Edgware Road in a hall. There were many people there, from JEM, SPLM-N, and from the Communist Party. I flew back on 15 May to Khartoum with Qatar Airways. We had a layover in Qatar airport on the way for one hour. When the plane landed in Khartoum, I walked off of the plane and into the airport. I had gone through security in the airport, and I had shown my passport. Everything seemed ok at this point. Then as I was going

out to see my husband when two men stopped me and told me to come with them. I asked them where they wanted to take me, and they said, 'You will know when we go there.' I said my children and husband were right outside and I wanted to see them. They told me, 'Not now.' I said to them, 'Let me see them and tell them that I will go with you. But let me see them at least.' They said no. I shouted for my husband but they forced me to get into a car without getting to speak to him. My family didn't know where they took me. From the airport, I was in the car for about 10-15 minutes before we arrived at the building. I think it was a Security Systems Building.

We arrived at the security building, less than 15 minutes' drive from the airport. The men took me to see another officer who was waiting for me. He asked me where I was coming from. I said I was coming from London. He said to me, 'Why did you go there?' I said for training. He hit me hard and said, 'Don't lie to me.' I said I was not lying, but still he did not believe me. He showed me a photo of me in London with my JEM friend. The photo showed us at a coffee shop on a street near to Westfield shopping centre in Shepherd's Bush. There was me, my friend, and his friend that he had brought with him whom I had not met before. I said those were just my friends. He also showed me a photo of me at the SRF event in London. My JEM friend had also been at this event with me. I think that whoever had taken these photos had maybe been following my JEM friend.

For three days they kept me at this place, hitting my every day, all the time. I can't explain everything they did to me. I refused to say I did something that I hadn't done. When I told them I was pregnant, they started to kick me in my stomach. If I asked them for food they would hit me. I was so tired. There were different people hitting me, and sometimes it was one, sometimes two, and sometimes three people. I was hit a lot with something like a long pipe that was a similar material to a garden hose. I became unconscious and woke up later.

They were always asking me about London when they showed me the photos of me in London at this café meeting and at the SRF event. They showed me many photos of everyone at this event. They asked me for information about the other people at the event. I said I didn't know anyone else, and that it was only my second time in London and I was there for training, so I didn't have lots of time to meet up with people. They said to me that I was lying and that I went to London because I was from Darfur and I wanted to overthrow the government of Sudan. They said they would not let this happen, that they would kill the Darfurians. I was by myself in a cell the whole time I was there. After 1 week they suddenly said I could go. They took me to an officer, and he said to me I could go to my home, but I must come back every day to report. I was let out onto the street and I took a taxi home. Whilst I was in detention I never got to speak to a lawyer and I was again not able to contact any of my family or friends. When I got home I was too tired, shocked and confused to explain what happened to my family at this time. The next day I had to go back to the same building I had been detained in seven in the morning, because they had told me that if I didn't they would do something to me and my children. I didn't want them to do anything to my children, and I know they could, so I went again the next day at seven in the morning. My husband came with me. When he tried to come in with me, they refused him entrance, and said I must come in by myself. They kept me there from seven in the morning until seven in the evening. They put me in a room and were hitting me. They asked me again what I had been doing in London. Again I said I hadn't done anything in London that was wrong. I had to go every day for about five or six days. I was barely fed when I was there. I later developed diabetes. I was four months pregnant at this time. My husband finally said I can't go anymore to this security building. I said I had to or they would come to our home. My husband said no, you must leave and go to somewhere safe. I asked how I could do this. He told me to use my visa that I had used before to go to London, and then he bought me a plane ticket to Heathrow. I flew to London on the evening of 3 June 2013.

After I had flown and landed in London on the morning of June 4, 6 men came to my house in Omdurman and started destroying everything in my house. They asked where I was and my husband said I do not know, she came to see you, and didn't come home again. They kept asking where I was, and he said he didn't know, that he thought I was with them. They tortured him for a long time; I don't even know how long, he didn't tell me.

Annex 7

Ms B

*Testimony taken on 8 July 2014 in person.
Ms A has asked for anonymity to protect her identity.*

Before coming to the United Kingdom in 2008 to study, I worked as a journalist in Khartoum, Sudan. I am originally from the Nuba Mountains but lived mainly in Khartoum with my family. I originally come to the UK with a student visa and I completed a Master's degree in Agriculture in the UK in 2009 and 2010. I now have refugee status in the UK.

My last visit to Sudan was in 2010. My colleagues expressed concern about me visiting Sudan, but I thought that they must be paranoid. I chose to go home to see my family, and because I wanted to make an impact at home. I wanted to do a real project for my dissertation that would influence my people.

I flew to Sudan at the end of July 2010 with my Sudanese passport. I flew with Qatar Air, with a layover in Doha. I flew into Khartoum airport. On the plane, all of the citizens had to fill out a form, which is a standard thing to do. The form was simple – it asked for my name, family name, and address.

Upon landing and stepping off of the plane and before we arrived at customs, I stood in line for about 45 minutes and we had to fill out another form which was very similar to the form I had filled out on the plane. After this, I stood in another line to give my passport. But before I got through this line, an officer took me aside and took my passport. Then another officer asked me, 'Do you have another passport?' I said no, this was my only passport. Everyone else was allowed to come and go except for me. A smiling man then came up to me and said, 'I told you she was genuine.' No one explained what was going on. Also, I had made a friend while I was on the plane and I had told her that I was surprising my family with a visit. She waited with me because she was concerned for me. There was a mean officer who came up to me – he looked horrible. He asked me where I lived, and I gave my family's address in Khartoum. They also asked how long I had lived there. They asked about what jobs I had had in Sudan. I said I had been a journalist, and they mocked me. They also asked me what I did in the UK, to which I answered that I was studying. They asked me if I worked in the UK. All of this questioning happened in the public, it was very humiliating. The friend I had made was nice enough to stay with me this entire time.

Then another officer came up with my passport and asked me when I had renewed it last. I couldn't remember exactly, but I remembered I had renewed it in London between 2008 and 2009. He handed me my passport and asked me if I was ok. Then he said, 'Welcome to Sudan.' I didn't feel very welcome.

Although I can't be sure, my instinct is that they stopped me because I had come from the UK, as no other passengers on the plane had come from there. The reason I suspect this is because of the types of questions they were asking me about the UK.

Once I saw my family I pretty much forgot about this incident. I travelled on to the Nuba Mountains from Khartoum. I was in Sudan 15 days altogether before returning to the UK, and I only spent 3 days in Khartoum.

Because of the research project I was working on, I was told I had to register with the main office in the Nuba Mountains in Dilling. I went by myself voluntarily. They asked me if I had a translator. They asked me where I was living. They took a copy of my passport. They took down my name, telephone, email, and my family contact details in Khartoum. I was then told to leave the office and accompanied out. I was told that they could not be held responsible if anything happened to me. They finished by saying, 'You have been warned.' After this, I was always accompanied by at least 10 people, usually volunteers helping me on my project or friends of mine.

One day I went to the market in Sonjokayaa, the area of my research, and was talking to a seller there. 2 men sipping tea came towards me and one of them said, 'Who gave you the right to question the people here?' I think word had gotten out about what I was doing, and then they had followed me to the market. They tried to drag me away, physically grabbing me in the middle of the day, and saying they were taking me to the police station. Other people started to get involved at this point, and some of my volunteers got involved and a fight erupted. One of the volunteers dragged me out of the market to get me away from the two men. This is when I decided to leave the area. I started getting text messages shortly after this incident. They told me to go to the police station. They were threatening, saying I would get arrested if I didn't go there because I had assaulted a police man. I was scared not to go because I thought I may get in trouble, but I was even more scared to actually go. In the end, I chose not to go. I ended up throwing out the SIM card connected with this phone number.

When I got to Khartoum, I received an email and I opened it. It put a virus on my computer and I was then unable to access any of my other emails. I then later got a second email, and when I opened this one, it was able to hack into my account and spam all of my contacts.

There is a lack of security and trust in the Sudanese government and its apparatus. This experience made me very scared to even go to the Sudanese Embassy in the UK.

Annex 8

Mr T

Testimony taken on 11 June 2014 over the telephone and using a translator to translate from Arabic.

I am Darfurian, from the Berti tribe. I left Darfur in 2007 because of the murder and destruction in Darfur. I went first to Libya, then to Italy and on to France. I was arrested by the French police as I took a train from Paris to Lille without a ticket. The police asked me where I was going, and I told them to the UK, making clear I did not want to claim asylum in France. I was in detention for six months in France before being deported to Sudan.

In November 2011 the French government put me on a plane. I didn't have any documents. From France I took a plane to Germany where I had a connecting flight to Khartoum Airport. On these flights there were four non-Sudanese officials flying with me. There were two other Darfurians on the plane that had also been deported from Lille, France. I don't know what happened to them, as they were still on the plane when I got off. I was received at the airport by six people from a UN organisation that I had not met before. I think they met me because I had told the French officials before I left that I feared for my life if I was returned to Sudan. They told me they would make sure that I was safe. This was all translated to me through a Syrian translator. When I got off the plane, the UN people met me at the launch pad. They told me that everything would be fine and tried to calm me down. They asked me where my family was. I told them that my family were nomads and that they would be near Bentiu and Mayom, in the Bhar al Arab area [in the now Republic of South Sudan, close to the border with Sudan]. They then took me to a location where I had told them my family came from. We were close to the oilfields, where my family used to take their animals to graze. They told me, "Now go find your people." However, this area is very big, and I had explained to them that my family were not staying in one place all the time. But they just left me here. them that my family were not staying in one place all the time. But they just left me here.

Later that day a group of men, which was a mix of police, military men, and NISS security forces, found me. They didn't even ask me any questions, and they just started physically abusing me by hitting me on the head and all over my body. They claimed I was a rebel without making any sort of investigation or giving me any chance to defend myself. I always have bad luck. I want the whole world to know about what has happened to me and to others. This area I was in was about 13 hours driving from Heglig (also known as Panthou), and near to the oil pipeline. The area was also near to Abyei. They treated me badly instantly, and then they took me to prison where I was accused of being part of a rebel group that was part of the opposition. I was expecting to be given a death sentence. I was held in prison for about five months. While I was in there, they told me they would kill me if I did not admit that I was part of the rebel group that had killed government soldiers. I told them I had not done anything. They wanted me to admit the number of people I had killed from the police and NISS. I just said them that it was not me. I told them that I had just come back from France and that the UN people had actually brought me to the area. Then they asked me why I had gone to France in the first place. The fact that I told them I had gone to France became problematic, because then they thought I was working with the French, and that I was spying on the Sudanese government for them. They actually thought that I was working for the Western countries. They also asked me about being Darfurian. I told them that I was from Darfur, from Mahadariya. They replied, "Yes you are, you Darfurians are all militias."

I was first in the Al Mujalat prison in 2012, from which I escaped. I was captured after three days and then they transferred me to the Al Odaya prison. I had very bizarre treatment while in prison. I was in a cell by myself. I was treated like a traitor, as a spy for Western countries. I was tortured,

not given food or water, and they would come and hit me on a regular basis. They kept me hungry and deprived of water. I escaped from the first prison, but they caught me again. I tried to escape because I was told I would be given the death penalty in six weeks' time. There were no court proceedings, no lawyers, and no legal documents. But I was informed that I would be hanged in six weeks.

The second time I escaped, it was from Al Odaya prison in 2012, through the observation tower. The room was made out of mud, and when no one was there and they were busy, I went to a window with metal bars, and I pushed the bars and got them loose when I could see that no one was watching. This was the same way I had escaped from the first prison, too. I walked for eight days through the forest, hiding along the way. I was so tired and exhausted, and I was bleeding from being hit on the head while in prison. I met a civilian man in a village who helped me escape the area and drove me to Port Sudan. The man took me to a private clinic to get medical help. I told the man that I was going to be killed by the government, and the man told me he would take me to a safer place, to help me get out of Sudan. The man asked me if I had any money, and I said no. The man told me he had relatives with a business that transferred live sheep out of the country for meat. The man said I should help him to take the animals onto the ship and then I could get into the ship also and look after the animals, which would also be helping them out. So I was shipped with the sheep, spending twenty days on this ship. I acted as someone who looked after the sheep. I was then transferred to another ship, on which I spent 4 days. This ship came straight to the United Kingdom. I don't know where I was when I first arrived. I went straight away to talk to some police, but they sent me away. I tried to explain to them my situation, but the only thing I could understand of what they said was when they asked me if I had a passport. I didn't understand what they were saying, and they drove away and left me. I managed to get to the police station, but no one tried to help or understand me, and I sat there all day with no help. I then met a Somali man who gave me money and bought me food. He put me on a bus, telling me that this bus would take me to a place where people would help me. This was the Home Office in Croydon. I was sent away by them, but I refused to leave. I insisted to be given help. Then they asked for the police. The police took me to a hostel in Croyden for two days. After this I was taken to detention.

Annex 9

Mr U

*Testimony taken on 10 August 2014 in person in Sudan.
Mr U has asked for anonymity to protect his identity.*

Waging Peace and Article 1 were in touch with a Sudanese asylum seeker in the UK who was detained under the Fast Track. He had exhausted all legal options and was removed to Sudan in 2014; a more precise date has not been given so as to protect his identity. We have since been in touch with him in Sudan.

We received the following by email after his removal:

“I phoned you before I return back home. I tried to cancel the flight by making noise or refusing to go but the security officers force me and pushed me to the plane like animal or like big criminal and they traveled with me till Sudan then they return back I had been detained for 6 days flogging. I’m suffering”.

We managed later to contact him by phone and we arranged for someone in Sudan to take his testimony in more detail.

London

I received a plane ticket and was told that I would be deported to Sudan. The staff treated me badly and cuffed my hands. Three people accompanied me to the airport and I was kept between two men. In the detention centre there were four other Sudanese and all of them were waiting to be sent back to Sudan. I did not know how to help them – we were all in the same situation. When we reached the plane, they informed the airline about my situation and alerted them of my possible resistance. I was not happy with my detention in London, but I was worried about my safety and police harassment in Sudan.

When the plane took off my hands were released from the cuffs. We flew by Qatar Airlines and two men who acted like security staff closely monitored my movement. There was a third person with me who was a female and who looked like a nurse. We sat in the back of the plane and there were no other passengers next to us. The other people on the flight looked at me as if I was a criminal. I had a strong feeling that if I resisted the nurse would inject me with a syringe she was carrying. I was scared, but remained calm. I did not know that I had the right to consult a lawyer; I only found this out when it was too late. When we arrived at Qatar airport, the escorts followed me closely. They walked around me and I felt that people were looking at me as if I was a criminal so I kept silent with my head down.

Khartoum Airport

When we landed at Khartoum airport the three British escorts handed me over to the Sudanese team at the airport. They told them that I was working illegally in UK and that the authorities deported me to my country of origin. The three British escorts left immediately as they did not want to miss their flight back to the UK with the same Qatari Airline. About five Sudanese NISS officers started asking what I had done in the UK and three security officers escorted me to an internal office at the airport. After interrogating me for a few hours they accused me of being a member of Girifna youth group. From the airport they took me to a place in South Khartoum and I spent six days without being able to see my family or even notify them that I had arrived in Sudan. I was beaten.

Home in Sudan

After six days I was told I would be released. They took my address and ordered me to report to the local police station in my area. They then drove me to the main road and told me to get out. I didn't have any money with which to get transport. I rented a private car and when I arrived at my family home a member of my family paid my fare. I told them what had happened to me.

For three months I had to report daily at the NISS office in my area between 8:30am to 10:30am. Every day I was forced to remember my arrest and how for six days I was asked about the people that I met in London, the members of communist party that I met in the UK and about the opposition groups that I support. They mentioned names of politicians and asked me if I had met with them. They insisted that I was a member of Girifna and asked me to provide them with additional information about the group.

Detained Again

One day, on reporting, two NISS officers arrested me and took me to somewhere in Khartoum (I don't know where it was) and they held me for a month. They told me that they received new information to confirm that I'm a member a Girifna and they told me to confess all that I know about the group. After spending a month imprisoned and beaten they freed me. They kept saying that they received new information confirming that I was a member of Girifna.

My family has tried to help me to leave the country to go to a safe country. I don't have a passport as it was taken when I came to the UK to claim asylum. I lost everything and I do not have the documents required to obtain a new passport. It will be difficult for me to leave as I have to report the police every day and if they discover that I would like to leave the country, they will stop me. My family has tried to help me go to Egypt by road as that may be the easiest and safest way to get out of Sudan.

I do not care if it is in the UK or anywhere else – I would just like to be safe. I'm happy to give my testimony to be used for the benefit of other Sudanese people, but I do not think that it will help my case. Now, I'm stuck here without any documents and with the police following me every day. I'm doing some hidden work to survive, but I will not stay in the country much longer. I am imprisoned here, but I faced the same situation in UK. I didn't find support there and I'm still struggling. I don't see the value of trying, but my family wants me to find my way out.

Annex 10

Mr V

*Testimony given to Waging Peace by email on the 11 June 2014.
Mr V has asked for anonymity to protect his identity.*

I am a senior member of the Sudanese opposition in the UK.

There is growing concern among the Sudanese community in the UK about the number of the NCP intelligence officers across the UK and the EU.

It comes to our attention that the number of the NCP intelligence agents in the UK has increased sharply in the last three years and that those in the UK include senior officers who has been involved in crimes against humanity in Sudan. Their presence has created tensions in our wounded community.

The NISS officers who come to UK do so by falsely seeking asylum or on student visas. Some work at the Sudanese Embassy as civil servants. We are also aware that some of them try to avoid our community so as not to be identified.

We have noticed that many of them, directly or indirectly related to senior NCP members, claim to belong to the Tujur or Berti tribes, these are Darfurian tribes that do not have their own languages, in order to claim asylum. Sadly some of these people have been unwittingly supported by some refugee organisations and by our community.

Some of them are well known to us by their crimes against our people in Sudan whereas some hide themselves in cities across the UK so that they cannot be identified by our community.

It strikes me that the Home office has failed to adequately check or verify that these people are genuine and that they have not been involved in crimes against humanity in Sudan.

Not all of the NISS are here for one mission they are here for different missions such as money transfer (money laundering), buying property, lobbying for the NCP and information gathering amongst the opposition.

The NCP have become extremely concerned about our community campaigns against human rights abuses and against war that targets innocent civilians. Therefore they have set to establish their own community in order to create balance and to further divide our community.

It seems to me that the war in Sudan has been transferred to the UK with the arrival of the number of NISS. Urgent action needs to be taken to prevent any community clashes in the future. It seems that the UK has become a safe haven to those who commit crimes in Sudan.

NISS are currently active in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Cardiff and Newcastle.

NISS operate in many countries including Malaysia, South Sudan, Central Africa, Turkey, Qatar, Libya, Uganda, Kenya, France, Russia, Greek, Ethiopia, USA, Iran, Somalia, UK Yemen, Swaziland, Mali, Nigeria, Lebanon, Egypt, Chad and China.

Annex 11

Mr W

*Testimony taken on 24 June 2013 over the telephone.
Mr W has asked for anonymity to protect his identity.*

I was born in Khartoum. I spent some of my childhood in North Darfur, the area where my Berti mother comes from. My father is of mixed ethnicity.

I have worked as a medical doctor in several hospitals in Sudan. I then changed careers and started to work in the health insurance industry.

I have been an activist since secondary school. Although I am not a member of the Communist Party, I believe in their ideology and have participated in many party activities. I am also a supporter of the rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North, the SPLM-N.

I was dismissed from work in 2010, and subsequently started a private clinic in a small town south of Khartoum. Later that year I was detained, questioned and tortured for three days.

In 2012 I took my 90-year-old father to the UK for medical treatment. I came to the UK on a valid tourist visa, arriving into Edinburgh airport. During our visit we stayed with my brother in Glasgow. During my stay I attended a meeting organised by a Darfuri civil society organisation, the Union of Darfur in Scotland. I carried out no further political activities during my time in the UK.

A month later, I returned to Sudan with my father. I left the plane with my father as usual and when standing in the queue at immigration I heard my name being called. The man calling me said that he would like to talk to me and asked me to follow him. When I asked the man who he was, he replied he was from National security (NISS). There was another man associated with the first, who was standing further back.

I followed the two security officers to a car which was waiting for them outside the airport. The car had a driver. I was made to sit between two men in the back of the vehicle, who then blindfolded me. We travelled for about 20-30 minutes before the car stopped. My blindfold was then taken off and I was in a yard area with trees and a house.

I was led into the house and was taken to a room where two members of the security service were waiting. I was made to sit. One of the officers sat at the back of the room whilst the other officer asked me questions. I was asked specific questions with regards to my activities whilst I was in the UK, including why I had gone to the UK, who I had met whilst I was there and what meetings I had attended. When the security officer asked whom I had met during my stay, the officer referred to particular political leaders, refugees and asylum seekers in the UK.

I was asked about Sudanese political organisations in the UK, such their location, who worked within these organisations, their activities and any future plans they had.

When I told the Security officer that the reason for my trip to the UK had been to get my father medical treatment and was not for political reasons, the interviewing officer became aggressive. The officer used abusive and racist language and started slapping me on the face.

After being questioned for some time, I was made to stand outside the building, where different officers approached me, repeatedly asking me who I was and what I was doing there.

After about an hour I was taken back inside the house where I was asked further questions. Again the officer who was interviewing me became aggressive, hitting me a number of times. The officer referred to Arabs as being the pure race and said opponents would be demolished.

I told the truth whilst I was being questioned, but omitted mention of the meeting I attended with the Darfurian civil society in Glasgow.

I was detained, questioned and tortured for a total of three days. The questioning and torture followed a similar pattern to the first day on the two subsequent ones. On the day of my release I was asked to sign a piece of paper but the security officers refused to show or tell me what I was signing. I was then told that I must sign in at a police station at 10am the next morning, which was a Friday.

The following day I arrived early at the police station but was told to wait outside. When I was finally allowed to enter the police station I was questioned as to why I was late. Once I had registered my attendance I was told that I must continue to sign in every Friday. I was then able to leave.

I feared for my safety in Sudan. My brother contacted a friend of his who worked for the police and the security services, who agreed to help me to leave the country.

In January 2013 I met my brother's friend at the airport in Khartoum. He escorted me through the airport directly on to a plane bound for London. I was made to walk some way behind the man and was given a fake passport on which to travel. When I arrived at London's Heathrow Airport I claimed asylum.

Annex 12

Mr X

Testimony taken on 9 October 2013 over the telephone.

Mr X has asked for anonymity to protect his identity.

I am a Sudanese designer, human rights activist, torture victim, and part of the Sudanese Youth Union. I came to the UK in 2006 for a Master's degree. I refused to claim asylum at the time as I was aware of the lengthy procedures in the UK. I carried on my Sudanese political activities in the UK, joining in with protests, meetings, talks and events regarding Sudan and opposing the NCP. My involvement in these attracted the Sudanese government's attention, as I believe informants and spies passed on information about me and my activities. My job now is advocating and supporting Darfurians and other oppressed people from the Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile and other parts of the country. I also support refugees and asylum seekers from Sudan and other countries and I have put together a project to help change the negative perception about refugees and asylum seekers, by supporting them to volunteer in the community helping old people and using this as a platform to raise awareness and educate the British public about refugees. My work has won me awards. Until recently I was an asylum seeker in the UK, but I have recently been granted refugee status.

Over a year ago, my friend and I were threatened by someone whose name I do not wish to make public for my own safety, I shall call them A. He threatened us about our opposition to the Sudanese government. I was told that if I returned to Sudan, something would happen to me. I spoke to a member of my local council who arranged for me to meet with the police.

Nothing happened for a while after that and then in September I received a message from A asking me to attend a meeting about selling land in Sudan. I posted a message on Facebook saying that A should not hold this meeting, as I thought it was fundraising on behalf of the Sudanese government who were trying to sell land to get money. On Facebook, I said that by attending this meeting it would mean dealing with the Sudanese Embassy, representatives of the government of Sudan, who are killing their own people. I said whoever deals with the Embassy is a traitor.

I got a message from B telling me not to throw accusations at the government. He called me and said "how dare you call us traitors, you should delete the post." I asked him to stop shouting.

After that, B started saying bad things about me. I posted again asking people to protest against and boycott the meeting. The meeting was held and B should have attended. He told other people he would see them at the meeting venue, but instead he disappeared for 4 or 5 hours. A few women went to protest at the event, B didn't turn up and gave them a strange reason for not turning up – saying the police called him to identify a Sudanese body – I assume that was a lie.

They called B but he didn't answer. Someone went to the police and he hadn't been there to identify anyone. B then said it was a police force from another part of the country – why would a police force from the other end of the country ask him to identify a body? It all seemed very odd.

The same day, I got a text from A asking me why I sent women to protest for me. I texted back asking who it was texting me, but didn't get another text from him for 2 days. At the time there were massive demonstrations in Sudan and NCP killed over 250 people. It was then that A threatened to kill me.

I contacted the member of the council again to ask about the police. The previous policeman had left so I wrote an email to a new one who arranged a meeting with me. The meeting happened and the policeman and woman I met listened to my story and asked me to report it to my local police which I did.

All of the text messages I received were submitted to the police and a record was made of them. No further action has been taken.

Annex 13

Mr Y

Testimony sent by e-mail to Waging Peace in 2014.

Mr Y has asked for anonymity to protect his identity and dates have been removed.

Waging Peace was in touch with Mr Y in the UK. Mr Y claimed asylum in the UK and was not successful in his claim.

In 2012 I was taken to London Colnbrook Detention Centre. One morning I was praying in my room at the detention centre when four people, two men and two women who looked like bodyguards came in and said to me, "We have no need to hurt you, just take your stuff, and follow us". I followed them and they took me to the airport, where they parked their car next to the airplane door. I told them, "Wait! I'm waiting for my solicitor to tell me what is happening." One woman told me, "Shut the fuck up, go back, we don't need you here." This woman drives a van and I saw that her ID card had the company name Reliance or Relanse on it. An hour after the plane took off they removed the handcuffs.

When we arrived to Khartoum Airport there were two men and one woman. They removed their ID badges from around their neck and while they greeted me they said they could not let me leave until I met with NISS. Then they asked a security guard where the main office for NISS was. He pointed it out to them and a huge man from the UK came up to me and told me go fast. "Don't hurt me" I said. Then the huge man talked to the head of the security force and they talked for about 30 minutes. They then gave my passport and details about me.

After that the people from UK left and the head of NISS sent someone from the security force to take me to their office, with two people also from NISS. In total there were three men and they pushed me inside the office and closed the door. At this time I was really worried of them getting my report from UK Asylum office, as I don't know what was written in there. The president kept looking at me, and I looked at his face he looked. He looked irritated, racist, frightening, and spiteful.

First he opened my passport and asked, "Why don't you have an exit stamp from the UK?" I responded that the legal period has ended. And really at this time I was worried that if I told him I was seeking asylum he would shoot me.

He asked me why I went to the UK, and I said to study.

He asked me if I had a student visa, and I said yes.

He asked me why I spent more time in the UK and I said that I had not had enough money to return.

He asked me when I had left Sudan, and I told him he had my passport and could see when I had left.

Then he got angry and hit the table. He said, "If I ask, you answer me."

He asked why I had not completed my course in UK.

I said I didn't have the money, it was expensive for me. Someone else in the room commented, "Why not? You didn't complete your course because you're stupid!" At this time I was tired from the trip and from the situation. One of them told me "Don't sit down until this is finished. If you sit again, you go to prison!"

He asked me, "Which province and tribe are you from?"

I said I was from Darfur.

They asked me again, "You're from Darfur?"

I said yes and they all continued provoking me by laughing at me.

Someone asked me, "Wanna know stupid people like you know how to go to there?"

I didn't answer him, and then I saw one of them inspecting my bag.

He ask me for my mobile phone.

I gave it to him, they searched through it and when they didn't find anything, they returned it to me. They told me to write down my full address.

I wrote it down for them.

The man in charge said to me, "We will see if you have any problem there in the UK, we will see and give you big problem (trouble)."

Someone standing by the door beside me said to the boss, "These people go to the UK for asylum and they say what we do in the Darfur province."

The boss asked me if that was true.

I said, "I don't know what you mean or are talking about."

He asked, "You don't know? Or you don't see any stupid people from your tribe there in the UK seeking asylum or talking about what we do in your province?"

If I told them that yes I knew, they would give me a big problem. So I said, "I don't know, I never saw anyone from my tribe there."

The boss said, "You will leave your passport, and after two days, you collect it from the Head Office of the National Security. Then he hit the table in anger and said, "Get stupid out of my office!"

I said, "Thank you, sir."

He said, "You're going to call me sir?"

I said "yes sir" and two people followed me to another office. They brought me a paper and took down my name, passport number and all my details. They gave me the paper and told me that when I go to National Security I should give them this paper.

Someone told me that after I get my passport back, I would have to make fingerprints.

When I went out of the airport, I saw two men following me until the parking lot outside. They stopped me and I said to them, "What do you want from me? I'm nothing."

One of them asked me, "Do you like this word? What did you say again?"

I said to him, "I'm nothing please leave me to go home."

He says, "You can go now. Maybe we will meet again."

After that I got a taxi from the parking lot outside of the airport, and I think the taxi driver was with the NISS because the first question he asked me was, "You come from the UK?"

I said, "How do you know?"

He responded, "Let's say I guessed" and he laughed. I was scared.

After that I did not talk to him much. When I got near the neighbourhood, I said to the driver to stop because I didn't want him to know where I was going. After I got out of the taxi, I walked for about twenty minutes to get to my house.

After all that I did not go out of my home until I called Waging Peace to help me, and thank you again for that.

Waging Peace staff called someone who went to the Head Office of the National Security. He got my passport and told me that it's good I did not go by myself. A friend I trust obtained a visa to bring my girlfriend from the UK to Sudan. After that my girlfriend came to Sudan and we needed to make marriage arrangements. First we went to the court. When I stood before the judge he looked at me contemptuously. He told me to go fetch the paper from the President of the People's Committee. When I went to him he told me, "I can't give it to you because you're not from here." He told me go to my province, but when my friend talked to him and asked him to please give me the paper, I finally got it. When I got the paper I went to court, but the judge told me, "No I can't give permission to get married. Go to the UK Embassy. After that I hate Sudan and I hate myself because there is nothing to do in Sudan. I wanted to leave Sudan but I didn't know how because I'm worried that if I want to get a new passport I will have to do fingerprints. If I made a fingerprint, I worried that the NISS would put me on the black list. I called that man who picked up my passport, and he went to the fingerprinting office and checked for my name. It wasn't listed. Then I went I got

fingerprinted and got a new passport with a new serial number. I went to the airport, and I was really worried. When I was on the plane I was still worried until it took off. Then I was smiling because I was out Sudan.

Annex 14

Mr Z

*Testimony taken on 19 January 2013 over the telephone.
Mr Z has asked for anonymity to protect his identity.*

I claimed asylum in the UK in 2002. I have had British citizenship since 2009. I live in Manchester. I have returned to Sudan numerous times since 2009 (approximately six). My most recent trip was in late 2012.

I ran a business in Khartoum. I was involved in the Democratic Unionist Party but parted ways with them in 2006. I am no longer active in Sudanese political activities, however I attend meetings of the Sudanese community in Manchester very regularly. Over the last two months I have attended approximately six meetings.

On 3 September, 2011 I flew from Manchester to Khartoum, where I stayed for a week. I then flew on to Addis Ababa, and then returned to Khartoum for a few days. I then flew to Juba, back to Khartoum, to Addis once again and then back to Juba before finally returning to Khartoum. I flew back to Manchester on 3 November 2011.

During this trip I attended the British embassy two or three times during the day in order to try and sort out a visa for my mother to visit the UK. I also attended two parties during the evening at the British embassy. These were social events.

After attending the first party I was followed by the national intelligence and security service. It was the early hours of the morning, and there was minimal traffic on the road. I noticed a Toyota pickup vehicle was following us. I then spotted the same vehicle sitting outside my house. I also noticed this same car was following me when I was driving. This is the type of car known to be used by National security. I also think that my phone was tapped.

During my most recent trip in 2012, a friend in the UK had asked me to deliver a present to their mother who was in hospital in Khartoum. Whilst I was in Khartoum I tried to do this but I was prevented from doing so by the security people who had been following me. I was initially allowed to enter by the hospital security staff but when inside I was approached by 2 men in civilian clothing who refused me entry. I explained to them what I was trying to do but was prevented from entering the hospital. I then phoned the person in the hospital, who was able to come outside and pick up the present from me.

When I was at Khartoum International Airport to take my flight back to the UK I was challenged by a member of the security apparatus. I was asked for money which I said he did not have. Upon saying no, I was taken to an office in the airport. There I was asked for money again which I again refused. I was asked where I was going. I said to Manchester. The security guard said that they knew all about people in Manchester and what they look like. I was allowed to leave but I was told that this was a warning.

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