



## SUDAN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITOR FEBRUARY – MARCH 2011

### Contents

---

The Vortex in South Kordofan: SPLM Boycotts Results over Allegations of Rigging .....	1
Political Developments .....	6
Monitoring Report .....	8
Freedom of Expression and Access to Information .....	8
Arbitrary Arrest and Incommunicado Detention.....	11
Torture of Members of the Youth Movement.....	13
Unfair Trial .....	19
Attacks and Insecurity in Darfur .....	20

### **The Vortex in South Kordofan: SPLM Boycotts Results over Allegations of Rigging**

---

On 15 May, the National Elections Commission (NEC) announced preliminary results of the long-delayed South Kordofan gubernatorial and legislative elections, declaring the incumbent National Congress Party (NCP) Governor Ahmed Haroun the victor with 201,000 votes, narrowly beating the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM) candidate Abdul Aziz Adam Al-Hilu. The independent candidate and retired Nuba General currently detained by the SPLM, Telefon Kuku, won 9,000 votes. In the legislative elections, the NCP won 22 seats in the National Assembly and the SPLM 10.<sup>1</sup>

The SPLM has dismissed the elections results, and during the tabulation phase of the elections and prior to the announcement of results withdrew. Their withdrawal was sparked by controversy about the tabulation of votes and a “bogus” voting centre allegedly established on the basis of information from the 2008 census rather than the new one completed in June 2010. The Communist, Democratic Unionist, and Popular Congress Parties also rejected the election results.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Al Sahafa*, “NEC Releases Preliminary Results of Elections”, 16 May 2011. Other margins of victory for Haroun have been reported, with other media outlets claiming that the final result was Haroun: 201,455 to Al-Hilu: 194,955, giving Haroun a 6,500 margin of victory. It’s also been reported that the NCP secured 24 seats in the legislative council, and the SPLM only 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Al Sahafa*, “NEC Releases Preliminary Results of Elections”, 16 May 2011.

Al-Hilu told a rally of supporters in Kadugli, capital of South Kordofan, on the SPLM's 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary on 17 May that the SPLM has rejected the election results, and will not participate in any legislative or gubernatorial arrangements achieved by the elections. Al Hilu went on to say that "there is no going back in defending your rights through peaceful struggle in order to eliminate all the powers seeking to take you backward".<sup>3</sup> The SPLM later announced that they would not negotiate with the NCP on the disputed elections.

Such harsh rhetoric is dangerous, particularly following elections with such broad significance for the future of the North/South relationship. South Kordofan is crucial to the future of Sudan both geographically and politically. Much of South Kordofan sympathises with the SPLM and identifies as Southern, despite being neglected during the worst years of the war. The Nuba and Arab Hawamza and Misseriya tribes have both been manipulated by the SPLM and NCP, respectively, and have formed their own militias for protection that can be easily mobilised. The potential of reactivating the Popular Defence Forces (PDF), a paramilitary group under the command of the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and used to devastating effect during the civil war, cannot be underestimated.

This tense political standoff is occurring as the SPLM and NCP continue to negotiate crucial post-referendum issues less than two months before the interim period expires on 9 July 2011. Negotiations in Addis Ababa on 19 July between the NCP and SPLM (the first since early March), threaten to be derailed by the deadlock between the CPA partners in South Kordofan and over the status of Abyei, whose referendum was never held due to voter eligibility disputes. On 21 May, the SAF occupied Abyei (see political developments).

The elections reflect a number of other elements of the national debate, such as those around oil and accountability. South Kordofan has some of the little oil present in the North (Khartoum will lose about 70% of the country's oil revenue upon Southern secession), and is bordered by Abyei to the South and South Darfur to the West. Though the Sudanese Media Centre (SMC) reported that many see Ahmed Haroun as a "safety valve" as he will not permit the SPLM to dominate the political affairs of the state, Haroun is not a native of South Kordofan and was indicted by the International Criminal Court in 2007 for war crimes and crimes against humanity in Darfur.<sup>4</sup> Though Telefon Kuku didn't enjoy the same popular support as Haroun and Al-Hilu, his detention by the SPLM prevented him from campaigning and mobilising constituents, and is worrying for the future of a pluralistic and democratic Southern state. Supporters of Kuku later reported to the SMC that the elections were transparent and democratic.<sup>5</sup>

The delayed elections were an important benchmark for the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), ensuring good faith between the SPLM and NCP, who postponed the elections in a politically negotiated solution prior to the April 2010 elections. They also are necessary in ensuring that democratically elected leaders are in place for the CPA-prescribed Popular Consultation process, assigned to assess citizen perceptions about CPA implementation and aspirations for a future regional dispensation. Though

---

<sup>3</sup> *Sudan Tribune*, "SPLM's Al-Hilu vows to buck result of South Kordofan's polls as killing incident stokes tension", 17 May 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Haroun's alleged involvement in atrocities in Darfur occurred when he managed the Darfur Security Desk. Rather than surrender him over to the ICC, Sudan appointed him as Minister of Humanitarian Affairs and then Governor of South Kordofan in 2009.

<sup>5</sup> *Sudan Media Centre*, "Haroun's Win is Safety Valve for State, Says Telefon Kuku Group", 17 May 2011.

recommendations from the process are non-binding, implementation will affect the future level of autonomy enjoyed by the region.

#### *Postponement over Discrepancies in the 2008 Census and Constituency Delimitation*

The 5<sup>th</sup> Housing and Population Census in Sudan in 2008 was extremely controversial. Censuses are necessary for the demarcation of electoral districts and ascertaining the size and distribution of communities and their need for services. The 2008 census was Sudan's first in the North since 1993 and the first in the South since independence. It was highly politicized given its critical role in determining the future structure of Sudan's governance.<sup>6</sup>

Although government officials stated that no state fell below the covering rate of 80%, many people claimed not to have been counted and the SPLM contested that estimates of the southern population were deliberately deflated. In early March 2010, the NCP and SPLM reached an agreement to assign 40 additional seats to South Sudan in the National Assembly, and two seats each designated for Abyei and South Kordofan. In the case of South Kordofan, the NCP and SPLM agreed to review the census and registration process ahead of Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly (SSLA) and gubernatorial elections to be held 11 June 2010. This deal between the SPLM and NCP on National Assembly seats and the South Kordofan Legislative Assembly was approved and endorsed by the NEC.

The new census took place in June 2010, and delimitation into 32 geographical constituencies in December.<sup>7</sup> The population increased from 1.4 million in the 2008 census to 2.5 million. A new registration was conducted from 24 January – 24 February<sup>8</sup>, and campaigning took place in March.<sup>9</sup> The entire electoral process was presided over by the NEC, which is widely seen in Sudan as not being independent from the NCP.<sup>10</sup> The final voter

---

<sup>6</sup> See the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "Shifting through Shattered Hopes", May 2010. Also omitted from the 2008 census were data on ethnicity and religion, key contributing factors to the North/South conflict. A presidential order omitted this information from the census forms. Results were expected to be delivered in September 2008, but were not made public till March 2009. Sudan's census bureau estimated the population at 39.15 million, but did not make public the aggregated breakdown of population by region, which was imperative to determine wealth and power-sharing arrangements.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* In a resource guide on electoral delimitation of constituencies, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems stated that the construction of constituency boundaries "provides the single most important opportunity to manipulate the result of elections, short of straightforward cheating. Within limits, it is possible to do almost anything". In Sudan, the formula in the 2010 elections formed a national dividend that divided the total population, and then was sub-divided into each state's population (determined by the census). In South Kordofan's case, the figures appear to not have been released. In 2010, the NEC declared that no constituency should exceed the national dividend by more or less than 15%, giving a 30% margin. Though this allows flexibility regarding geographical and tribal boundaries, it also opened the door to gerrymandering. Electoral systems around the world typically do not allow for a greater margin than 20%.

<sup>8</sup> The Carter Center monitoring mission, which observed the registration, found that the process was undermined by shortcomings, including the NEC's failure to deploy sufficient registration teams and a lack of voter education.

<sup>9</sup> NEC, "South Kordofan Elections Timetable Frame".

<sup>10</sup> "Shifting through Shattered Hopes", May 2010. Following a two and a half year delay, the National Assembly passed the National Elections Act (NEA) on 7 July 2008. The framework legislation created an institutional body, the NEC, tasked with managing the elections. The NEA gave the NEC wide-ranging powers. The provisions for the establishment of the NEC were controversial. The appointment of commissioners was to be undertaken by the president, who was also a candidate. The First Vice President was allowed to raise objections, but could not suggest alternatives in accordance with

register, published alongside the list of 200 candidates by the NEC on 4 March, included 642,558 out of 1,172,406 eligible voters, a 100,000 decrease from elections during April 2010, despite the upward adjustment of the state population.

In the weeks leading up to elections, tensions escalated rapidly. On 14 April, clashes took place in Al Faid, Al Rashad locality, allegedly between Arab Hawazma militias and the Nubians, resulting in 18 deaths and leaving some 40 – 50 people wounded. Hundreds of homes were burnt down. The Hawamza militias were allegedly mobilised by Ahmed Haroun.

#### *Controversy Over Vote Tabulation and NEC Involvement*

Polling on 2 – 4 May was generally peaceful. However, the NCP/SPLM relationship rapidly deteriorated during the tabulation period.

On 10 May, the SPLM withdrew from the counting process over the alleged inclusion of a fake polling centre's votes. When the NEC refused to dismiss the votes as political party agents present at the Centre (an agreement reached in a previous compromise between the NEC and the CPA partners) had already approved their votes, the SPLM announced it would not recognise the election results (which at the time had not yet been announced), on 13 May.<sup>11</sup> The NEC responded to the SPLM withdrawal by declaring that SPLM should utilise the appeals process, and not renounce the results before they were even announced to the public. Haroun was officially declared the winner on 15 May.

#### *Implications of a Failed Electoral Process*

South Kordofan was already one of Sudan's most militarised regions, and there was significant build up in the months leading up to the elections. Though the SAF has reported that the security situation is stable, the situation is easily combustible. Tensions escalated in the week of 16 May, when a SAF member shot the chief of the Al-Amma tribe, Awad Engiliz, at a checkpoint in Slara area southwest of Kadugli.

The SPLM maintains a strong presence in the state of troops that are natives of South Kordofan. The SAF's spokesman, Colonel Alsawarmi Khaled, stated that remaining SPLA ex combatants in the state are not seen as militia but citizens: "there are no militias in the full meaning of the word in Southern Kordofan. But there are some people from the area in the SPLA...observers said that the SPLA withdrew from the north by 33% which means that there are 67% still in the north, but in the end they are northerners, so they do not comprise SPLA or militia".<sup>12</sup>

---

Article 6(1). Although commissioners must receive approval by 2/3 of the National Assembly, the ruling party majority undermines the effectiveness of this provision in ensuring the acceptability of candidates across the political spectrum. In a resource-rich country with few mechanisms for checks and balances, commissioners to the NEC were appointed by a system of patronage which has enabled the success of the NEC in towing the NCP line. After the commissioners' appointment, a network of State High Election Committees (SHECs) was appointed. These groups were traditionally made up of Popular Committee members, who in turn became responsible for constituency delimitation, registration, and administering polling.

<sup>11</sup> Sudan Tribune, "SPLM Withdraws from South Kordofan Polls as Results/Aggregation Continues", 13 May 2011.

<sup>12</sup> The Citizen, "SAF says Security Situation in South Kordofan Stable", 17 May 2011

Media coverage of the elections was also seriously circumscribed and took place amongst little voter education and access to information, and severe restrictions on civil and political rights. Two journalists, Mohamed Al-Fatih Hamah of *Al Midan*, and Rashan Awshi of *Al Tayyar*, were interrogated for their coverage of the elections after they returned from South Kordofan to Khartoum.

The elections controversy will also impact South Kordofan's popular consultations process, a key benchmark in the CPA's political arrangements for the three areas of Abyei, South Kordofan<sup>13</sup>, and Blue Nile<sup>14</sup>. Both South Kordofan and Blue Nile regions received popular consultations as a compromise between the NCP and SPLM. Though both states are North of the 1956 border line, many communities in the two regions identify themselves as ethnically African and backed the SPLM during the civil war. Some of the worst devastation and destruction of life occurred in these two states, with many residents feeling that the SPLM did little to protect them. As such, there are a host of outstanding grievances for residents of the two areas that have not been adequately addressed by either the NCP or SPLM. The recently completed Blue Nile consultations indicated disappointment with the interim period.

The stalled popular consultations reveal both the North and South's unwillingness to discuss issues which do not directly pertain to their core constituencies, and also raises further questions for both parties' management of the relationship between state and central government post-referendum.

### *The Aftermath*

On 19 May, the parties began a new round of talks on post-referendum arrangements moderated by the AUHIP chaired by Thabo Mbeki. The last round of talks in Ethiopia led to an agreement that the South would assist the North to persuade debtors to forgive Sudan's heavy external debt. This round of talks will focus on oil, currency, and external debt, as well as touch on Abyei and border demarcation.

The electoral crisis in South Kordofan will likely cast a bitter shadow on these talks, though forward progress and concessions by each party could have the potential to produce a more mutually beneficial relationship between the North and South. The NCP's delegation will also be under a new chairman after Salah Gosh was stripped of his power after an internal power struggle within the NCP.

There has been little public revelation on the progress made by the talks. In some ways, these talks are the "last opportunity" to resolve outstanding CPA arrangements and

---

<sup>13</sup> South Kordofan was created under the CPA to accommodate the Misseriya Baggara by annexing West Kordofan to the Nuba Mountains. There also exists the potential for a re-establishment of a Misseriya dominated state in Western Kordofan (which was annexed under the CPA to South Kordofan in 2005), which would alter the calculus for both Abyei and South Kordofan. One of the challenges in the post-referendum period in Sudan will be accommodating individual freedoms and civil and political rights alongside that of collective rights. Bashir's announcement that the new constitution will not include recognition of diversity and ethnicity will particularly impact communities like the Nuba, and it is likely that a great number of people in South Kordofan will migrate South. The Nuba Mountains are badly affected by water shortages and a lack of arable land, and popular consultations will likely centre around a lack of economic support from the government.

<sup>14</sup> For more information on Blue Nile's popular consultations, see the *Sudan Human Rights Monitor*, December 2010 – January 2011.

establish a way forward for the North/South relationship before the expiration of the interim period in July 2011. South Kordofan's elections were a testament to the political impasse between the CPA partners and demands that both parties recommit themselves to the "peaceful and mutually beneficial relationship" agreed to in November's talks that led to a framework agreement for post-referendum arrangements.

## Political Developments

### *Violence in Abyei the Worst since 2008 as its Status Remains Disputed; SAF Occupies Abyei*

Abyei's referendum on whether to join the newly independent South never took place due to disputes over the eligibility of the nomadic Misseriya (who are present in Abyei up to 6 months of the year when they move their cattle southwards) to vote. Though the Kadugli Agreements of January between local administrators, Misseriya representatives, and the NCP and SPLM stated that the annual Misseriya migration would be allowed, senior Ngok Dinka members later withdrew their commitment after clashes were instigated by Misseriya militias. The Misseriya migration never happened, and this blockage could substantially fuel tensions should this community experience significant losses among their herds, a main source of their livelihood. Abyei will now likely be resolved through a political arrangement between the NCP and SPLM rather than a plebiscite.

In a gubernatorial rally in support of NCP candidate Ahmed Haroun in South Kordofan on 27 April, Bashir affirmed that Abyei will remain part of the North.<sup>15</sup> Days later, Bashir threatened to not recognise an independent South in July if the South's draft constitution included Abyei.<sup>16</sup> In the past months, the NCP has warned the SPLM several times of their willingness to fight over Abyei if the South were to unilaterally annex Abyei.

On 21 May, the SAF took control of Abyei militarily and bombed at least four villages in the area, including Todach and Tagalei, which had been hit the day prior alongside Noong, Maker Abior, Noong, and Banthon Bridge. It comes one day after the UN called for an "immediate cessation of hostilities" and one day before the UNSC was scheduled to hold talks with the NCP over Abyei in Khartoum.<sup>17</sup> Abyei's residents fled southwards as attacks began and "armed elements" allegedly affiliated with the Misseriya began simultaneously looting and burning the town.

On 24 May, Bashir refused to withdraw the SAF from Abyei, due to its status as "Northern Sudanese land", and also implicitly gave the SAF permission to "respond to any provocation by the South".<sup>18</sup> The SAF has stated that they were removing the SPLA, who has allegedly

---

<sup>15</sup> South Kordofan's elections have played an important role in the nexus between the two regions, as Abyei lies in the Southern portion of South Kordofan, and two existing security arrangements on the region were agreed to in Kadugli, capital of South Kordofan. The mobilisation of militias by Governor Ahmed Haroun in South Kordofan raises serious concern over potential support to the SAF in Abyei now that it has been taken over militarily, as well as further destabilisation along the North/South border.

<sup>16</sup> Both Vice President Ali Osman Taha and First Vice President Salva Kiir committed to the AU High-Level Implementation Panel (AUHIP) that both parties would not include any unconditional inclusion of Abyei in their draft constitutions; however, the South later refused to remove Abyei and vowed to keep it as the status of Abyei is not yet determined.

<sup>17</sup> Al Jazeera, "North Sudan Army Takes Control of Abyei", 22 May 2011

<sup>18</sup> Reuters, "Sudan's Bashir Refuses to Withdraw Abyei Troops", 25 May 2011

occupied the area since December, from the area, while the SPLM denied this. The Abyei administration accused the SAF of airlifting members of the Misseriya area into Abyei to occupy Dinka Ngok land.

Four UN helicopters were shot at, allegedly by Misseriya militias on 24 May. No one was injured. The same day, the UN asked the GoSS to investigate separate attacks on UN peacekeepers by what appeared to be Southern Security forces.

The occupation was predicated by a 19 May attack by militias allegedly associated with the SPLA on a UN convoy escorting 200 members of the SAF outside Abyei as part of the January Kadugli agreements. The attacks left 22 members of the SAF dead.

The attacks in late May were not surprising. Insecurity has escalated in the disputed region with over 150 civilians killed in February – March 2011 according to MSF. Both the SAF and SPLM have deployed additional battalions and weapons to the area, despite an 8 May agreement to withdraw all other armed personnel other than the Joint Integrated Units (JIUs), forces comprised of members of the SAF and SPLM.

#### *UNMIS Withdrawal after Request from the North*

In late April, the UNSC voted overwhelmingly to extend UNMIS' mission to 9 July 2011. The SMC has stated that the mission began transferring its equipment from northern Sudan (including in Kadugli) to Juba. Tensions have risen recently with UNMIS not allowed access to several parts of South Kordofan and Abyei, and the killing of four UNMIS peacekeepers on patrol in Abyei on 12 May.

A report by UN Secretary General Ban ki-Moon on the mission and published 19 May proposes extending the mission further to 9 October, during which time UNMIS will begin to downsize its presence in the North, focus on working with parties to resolve residual CPA and post-referendum issues, and find a mutually acceptable arrangement between the partners to monitor the border. In turn, the CPA partners must establish mechanisms to replace the CPA security framework.

#### *Darfur Peace Process*

The government of Sudan has proposed a referendum on the administrative status of Darfur as part of the failed 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA). The referendum will assess whether Darfuris prefer the current administrative status (part of the DPA), or the recent government proposal of two additional states of West and East Darfur.

The referendum has been rejected by Darfur's rebel groups as well as the National Consensus Forces (NCF), the Northern opposition coalition. The NCF accused the government of attempting to domesticate the process and ignore the talks in Doha, and stressed that an establishment of an East and West Darfur administrative status will perpetuate ethnic divisions. In early May, the Abdul Wahid Al-Nur and Mini Minawi factions of the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) united to sign an agreement of alliance and joint work to achieve security and humanitarian aid for Darfur, and coordinated political and military efforts aimed at overthrowing the NCP.<sup>19</sup> Simultaneously, the NEC opened up registration for organizations and groups to observe the referendum. A stakeholders' conference scheduled for 18 May has been delayed. Controversial issues, including who will take part, are still

---

<sup>19</sup> Radio Dabanga, "Abdul Wahid and Minni Minawi Sign Agreement", 16 May 2011

being ironed out. IDPs in Zamzam accused the government of using the NISS to select representatives, and that those who were selected were not actually IDPs.<sup>20</sup>

For its part, the government's domestic Darfur Peace Process (DPP) will be implemented gradually. The controversial returns and developmental projects (which have been seen as many as an attempt to dismantle the camps prematurely, as well as eliminate the role of UNAMID and bilateral donors) has established "model villages", though they are presently largely uninhabited.

A recent Presidential Statement on Sudan adopted by the UN Security Council expressed concern about the possibility of conducting effective negotiations in Darfur at this time. They set out certain elements necessary for an inclusive peace process in Darfur were not in place, such as 1) the civil and political rights of participants such that they can exercise their views without fear of retribution, 2) freedom of speech and assembly to permit open consultations, 3) freedom of movement of participants and UNAMID, 4) proportional participation among Darfuris, 5) freedom from harassment, arbitrary arrest, and intimidation, and 6) freedom from interference by the Government or armed movements. It is clear that continued monitoring and intervention is needed in order to prevent a premature change of venue.

## **Monitoring Report**

---

### **Freedom of Expression and Access to Information**

---

- On 3 February, students at Sennar University organised a peaceful demonstration against rising prices of petrol and other commodities. Police dispersed the demonstrations with tear gas, and beat students with belts and sticks. Several students were injured, and 26 were arrested and detained in a small space no more than four metres wide. They were prevented from receiving medical treatment, and bail was only issued to those whose families could afford it. Another two students were kept in isolation from the beginning, and one student, Khalid Ansarah, was taken to NISS offices and beaten before being released at midnight. Mr. Ansarah was charged with rioting under the 1991 Sudanese Criminal Code. Others arrested are:
  - Almoiz Adil Ibrahim
  - Ahmed Mohamed
  - Omar Ahmed Mahmoud
  - Yusuf Abdelbagi
  - Zobaida Abdelrahim (f)
  - Ali Abdalla Al Tahir
  - Rada Abdul Ibrahim
  - Salaheldin Ahmed Hassan
  - Mohamed Ahmed
  - Moaid Ismail
  - Khalid Owa Al Karim
  - Hassabala Hassan Ali
  - Ibrahim Saeed
  - El Tahir Salah Abdulla

---

<sup>20</sup> Radio Dabanga, "Deep divisions in Darfur over choice of delegates to Doha Conference", 25 May 2011

- Osama Falih
  - Ismail Ada
  - Musa Mohamed Quhreshi
  - Fatima Ibrahim Adam
  - Hussam Adim Ahmed
  - Mohamed Abdul Maroof
  - Daoul Aneim Ahmed
  - Abdul Ali Ahmed
  - Abdulla Mohamed Abdulla
  - Osman Idris
  - Diya Ibrahim
  - Mohamed Yago
  - El Tahir Salah
  - Ali Kamal Addin
- On 9 February, the NISS prevented the Shroruq Forum from organising a public talk on the events in Tunisia and Egypt, scheduled to be held at the Gedarif club. The club was ordered by this NISS to cancel the event, despite the Shroruq Forum obtaining all the necessary permissions.
  - On 10 February, families of 30 January detainees organised a peaceful demonstration in front of NISS offices in Khartoum. NISS agents forced them to go home and escorted them in their cars. Some of those escorted away are:
    - Mariam Al-Sadiq, Umma Party
    - Majid Al Goni, *Al Midan*. He was also stopped by the NISS for 30 minutes when he tried to cover the demonstrations before being released without charge.
  - On 14 February, Ali Mohamed Osman, a member of the SPLM and 30 January movement, was arrested in Omdurman near the Youth and Children’s building. He was taken to NISS offices near the Republican Palace in Khartoum and beaten severely. He was released on 15 February.
  - On 15 February, student members of NCP supported by the NISS attacked the student compounds of the University of Khartoum’s Veterinary Sciences School in Shambat, Khartoum North, after students began a protest in solidarity with other students who had been barred by the University’s administration from sitting for the end of the year exams. Eyewitnesses reported that 10 vehicles carrying NISS personnel came to the student compounds. In the ensuing clash, three students were injured and three arrested. Those arrested were released after a brief interrogation.
  - On 8 March, International Women’s day, the No to Women’s Oppression Coalition organised a demonstration in Omdurman. The demonstration called for an end to discriminatory laws against women in Sudan, and investigations into the rape and other physical and verbal abuse of female detainees after the 30 January demonstrations, particularly Safiya Ishag, a 24-year old activist and member of *Girifna*.<sup>21</sup> Before the demonstration, heavily armed anti-riot police carrying tear gas and members of the NISS

---

<sup>21</sup> Ms. Ishag is a 24-year old activist and member of the youth movement *Girifna*. On 13 February, she was arrested and forced into a NISS car. She was taken to an unmarked NISS office in Khartoum Bahri, where she was interrogated about her relationship with the Communist Party and political views. They accused her of incitement for distribution of leaflets in Khartoum, and she was beaten and her clothes forcibly removed before she became unconscious. When Ms. Ishag awoke, she was being raped by a NISS agent. After, she was raped by the other two agents present. Ms. Ishag obtained a medical report documenting multiple rape, and went public with her story. Her testimony can be seen [here](#). The NISS has denied the incident, though they already had a copy of Ms. Ishag’s medical report and the police investigation. She has since left Khartoum for fear of retaliation against her or her family. There have been six reported incidents of assault and threats of rape towards women.

beat members of the group with batons and arrested 54 individuals. Those arrested were taken to police stations throughout Omdurman and Khartoum, including Al-Fitahaib, Shemali in Omdurman North, Al-Mohandeseen in Omdurman, Al-Janoubi in Omdurman South, and Abu-Si'ed, Gharb, in Omdurman West. A full list of those arrested is available with the Centre. This is not the first time that members of the Coalition and their supporters have been arrested; demonstrations on 14 December against Sudan's Public Order laws resulted in 52 arrests.

- On 9 March, the National Consensus Forces and other opposition supporters held demonstrations in solidarity with the people of Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya in Abu Gerein Square, Khartoum. Despite warnings from the NISS that the demonstrations would be considered "illegal", dozens of demonstrators gathered at 1 PM. They were greeted by hundreds of anti-riot police and plainclothes NISS agents, who had been gathered since the early morning. Mohamed Ibrahim, Political Secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party, was promptly arrested alongside Abdul Fattah Al Rihai, a Communist activist, and three journalists, allegedly affiliated with pro-National Congress Party (NCP) newspapers. The journalists were taken to a police station in Khartoum North before being released quickly, while the others were taken to the Department of Political Security in Khartoum North. They were released hours later. Upon the groups' arrest, dozens of supporters yelled slogans calling for an end to the NCP regime and the NISS' control over political affairs. Police from Aandalaq Station began to attack the demonstrators, beating them with batons and cartridges. Over 50 opposition supporters were arrested and released in the evening, including Ibrahim Al-Sheikh, leader of the Sudanese Congress Party, and Gamal Idris, member of the Unionist Nasserist Party.
- On 10 March, El Fashir University enacted a resolution preventing cultural and political activities by students inside the university. Two days later, student representatives and members of political parties submitted an appeal to the head of the university and the Student Affairs Department protesting the resolution. They refused to receive the appeal.

On 16 March, student representatives and members of political parties organised a demonstration at 12:00 PM. As the demonstration began, university administrators called the police and the NISS. About 200 joint forces (some in plainclothes uniform) arrived heavily armed and with water pipes and tear gas in 12 land cruisers. The joint forces beat students with sticks and water pipes before dispersing the crowd with tear gas. They received support from the Central Police Reserve and drove the students from the inside of the university to the dormitories. When they reached the dormitories, they entered both the male and female housing sections and arrested students from their rooms. Police fired into the air to disperse students outside.

Jamal Adam Mustafa (pictured), was hit by a stray bullet and killed. After his death, police ordered students to evacuate the university. Over 20 students were sent by the university to the Military and El Fashir Hospitals to be treated for inhalation of tear gas. The NISS confiscated the medical reports of five students who were seriously injured and taken to El Fashir Hospital.

Twenty students were also arrested by the NISS and released later that day from their offices in El Fashir. The university expelled five students without any explanation. They are:

- Azrag Khalid
- Mohamed Ahmed Tabit
- Amir Yagoub Mohamed

- Bahradeen Jibril
- Al Nazir

UNAMID confirmed the death of a second student days later.

After receiving an appeal from lawyers in El Fashir calling for an investigation, the Governor of North Darfur formed a commission comprised of El Fashir's prosecutor, Ahmed Mohamed Ahmed, and representatives of the NISS, police, and university. Thus far, the Commission's work has focused mainly on the death of the two students, but no university students' testimony has been taken and the joint forces' entrance to the university has not been explained.

- On 19 March, the NISS charged three journalists with defamation and publishing lies in conjunction with articles written about Safiya Ishag, a youth activist gang-raped by NISS agents following the 30 January demonstrations in Khartoum. The charges leveled against the journalists are punishable by prison or a large fine. They are:
  - Amal Habbani, *Al Jareeda*. Ms. Habbani was fired from her position.
  - Faysal Mohamed Saleh
  - Faiz al Silaik
- On 21 March, police crushed anti-government demonstrations with tear gas in Khartoum, Medani, Senar, and Port Sudan. 23 people were arrested.

#### Arbitrary Arrest and Incommunicado Detention

- On 31 January, NISS arrested Adil Ibrahim Karar, a 56 year old civil engineer, from a bookshop in Omdurman. The reasons for Mr. Karar's arrest are unclear, and seem to have been precipitated by the 30 January demonstrations calling for regime change and his perceived involvement. Mr. Karar was subjected to torture when he requested pain medication for back pain and arthritis caused by prior torture. He was locked in a small storage room without ventilation, and forced to stand for several hours during the day and night. Mr. Karar's family has advocated strongly for his release, sending applications on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> of March, and 5<sup>th</sup> of April requesting that the government charge him with a reasonable offence or release him immediately. They never got any reply from the NISS. On 27 April, the NISS took his wife and two children, Ibrahim (18), and Amro (13), to the NISS offices in Khartoum Bahri and interrogated them from 6:30 AM to 3:30 PM. Since then, they have been threatened and harassed by the police.
- On 2 February, the NISS arrested Abdelazim Mohamed Ahmed of El Sharg Centre for Culture and Legal Aid in Omdurman alongside two friends, whose identities were not confirmed.
- On 3 February, a teacher, 45 (name unconfirmed) was arrested from his home in Nyala. The teacher is a member of the Umma Party and was allegedly arrested for his support of the 30 January movement and demonstrations.
- On 2 March, the NISS in Nyala arrested Yahiya Makta Mohamed Hamed, 20, and a member of the Zaghawa tribe, for allegedly being a member of the SLA/MM near El Geneina station in Nyala.
- On 20 March, NISS in Al Nuahod town in North Kordofan arrested Abdel Majid Mohammed Adam for distributing leaflets in the market. NISS agents banned the party from holding a public forum later that day.
- On 23 March, a group of lawyers wrote an open letter to the Justice Minister Bushara Dosa and the NISS Director demanding the release of 12 Popular Congress Party detainees arrested 16 January, including Hassan al Turabi. The lawyers argued in their letter that the detention exceeds the maximum time period allowed by the National

Security Act, and is thus unconstitutional. The group was released in early May. Prior to Turabi's release, the PCP accused the NISS of poisoning him after he was hospitalised in early April. Turabi's family demanded that the NISS allow him to seek medical attention abroad, citing lack of faith in the medical treatment he was receiving at Sahiroon police station in Khartoum.

Throughout 2008 – 2010, scores of Darfuris were arrested and detained at Khartoum's notorious Kober prison. The group listed below is all being held without charge, despite some being in custody nearly three years. They are:

- Azizedeen Al Zubir Harun, 29, living in Omdurman Umbada, businessman, arrested in Kasala, Eastern Sudan, on 21 May 2009;
- Zakaria Nourein Nasr, 64, living in Omdurman, businessman, arrested 10 November 2008 in Omdurman;
- Bakhiet Libs Hurry, 44, Omdurman, businessman, arrested 22 May 2009 from Omdurman;
- Daoud Mohahmed Dagoat, 46, living in Hafla Al Gerida, farmer, arrested 9 July 2009 from Halfa al Gerida, Eastern Sudan;
- Abdelrahman Adam Yahia, 42, Kabkabia, North Darfur, businessman, arrested 30 July 2010 from Kabkabia;
- Mansour Musa Taj Adeen, 32, Kabkabia, university student, arrested 2 August 2010 from Omdurman;
- Abdulaziz Iss Adam, 32, El Fashir, Businessman, arrested 29 July 2010 in El Fashir;
- Adam Mohamed Sahrief, 38, Omdurman, businessman, arrested 28 July 2010, Omdurman;
- Mohamed Hassan Ishag, 24, El Fashir, businessman, arrested 29 July 2010 from Kabkabia;
- Sadig Ahmed Al Boker, age unknown and location, arrested 17 October 2010, from Kabkabia;
- Abdulghani Ilia Salih, 17, Jebel Marra, student, arrested on 29 May 2009 from Um Barou, North Darfur;
- Ahmed Adam Omar, 17, El Geneina, West Darfur, arrested 5 October 2009 from El Geneina;
- Younes Fadul, 25, from Jebel Moon, farmer, arrested 5 October 2009 from Jebel Moon
- Ahmed Dahiya Abdelrahman, 50, Al Muklad, teacher; arrested 12 March 2009 from Khartoum airport;
- Hassan Bilad Adam, 27, Umbaru, animal farmer; arrested 29 May 2009 from Umbaru;
- Osman Omar Saber, 35, from El Fashir, North Darfur, arrested 26 June 2009, from El Fashir;
- Mohamed Al Mojahid, 29, Omdurman, construction worker, arrested 11 May 2008 from Omdurman;
- Mohamed Younis, 24, Omdurman, car-washer, arrested 10 May 2008 from Omdurman;
- Tehra Abdulrazul, 30, Al Muglad, businessman, arrested 2 August 2009 from Al Muglad;
- Yahiya Aldai Zacharia, 28, Omdurman, arrested 12 July 2009 from Omdurman
- Salih Mohamed, 40, Omdurman, Fur community leader, arrested 10 December 2009 from Omdurman;

- Mohamed Nour Ashar, 45, Omdurman, driver, arrested 12 January 2010 from Omdurman;
- Albkar Sharaf Aldeen Hagar, 61, Omdurman, businessman, arrested 12 December 2010 from Omdurman;
- Agelsadiq Ismail Yahiya, 26, Umbaida, businessman, arrested 10 August 2010 from Omdurman;
- Bushra Adam Daout, 33, businessman, arrested 22 July 2008 from Omdurman;
- Jafar Abdullah Al Hassan, 37, Omdurman, vegetable seller, arrested 11 May 2008, Omdurman;
- Ishag Bali Mohamed, 46, arrested 12 July 2009 from Omdurman;
- Ibrahim Yahiya Atim, 35, Barber, arrested 10 July 2009 from Al Daein, South Darfur;
- Sadiq Ahmed Taha, arrested 10 November 2010 from Kabkabia, North Darfur;
- Barsham Hassan Fadul, 35, Al Rahad, businessman, arrested 10 July 2009 from Wau, South Sudan;
- Al Sadig Sandar Hagar Yahiya, 24, El Fashir, businessman, arrested march 2010 in El Fashir;
- Yahiya Mohamed Adam, arrested 17 July 2010 from Omdurman;
- Abdulhafez Mohamed Zaein, arrested 8 August 2010 from Omdurman;
- Yahiya Ibrahim Yahiya, arrested 12 September 2009 from Khartoum; and
- Mohamed Omar, living in Khartoum Bahri, arrested 14 May 2010 from Khartoum

### Torture of Members of the Youth Movement

The African Centre has documented the testimonies of several released detainees of the 30 January demonstrations and subsequent gatherings. These testimonies can be found in [“Silencing the New Front: the Emergence of Widespread Torture against the Youth Movement”](#). Torture was so severe that the NISS headquarters in Khartoum Bahri were dubbed “the capital of hell”. Those who were willing to speak about their treatment reported severe and widespread torture, often with detainees being targeted on the basis of gender and ethnicity. Members of disfavoured ethnic groups, such as in the case of Taj Al Deen Mohamed Ibrahim (Darfuri) and Louis Aweil Weriak (a Southerner), were often transferred immediately to incommunicado detention and repeatedly referred to as “slaves” and other racial slurs.

Detainees also reported degrading and humiliating treatment while in detention, for example, only being allowed to use the restroom for two minutes and while guarded by heavily armed NISS agents. Detainees held at NISS offices in Khartoum North, near Shendi Coach Station, were allowed to use toothbrushes only after five days in detention. Many detainees’ heads were forcibly shaved, and some were forced to sleep on their backs on tiled floors facing strong lights with the air conditioning on. Detainees were often forced to look down while being interrogated and in transit between different detention centres.

The following is a synopsis of the treatment of youth detainees and journalists while in NISS custody.

#### *Torture of Journalists*

On 30 January, Hamza Balole, a journalist with *Al Ahdath* and *Al Sharq* newspapers, was arrested with other journalists at Al Qasr Street and taken to NISS offices. They were interrogated and ordered to delete the demonstration photos they had taken. They were severely beaten and accused of “disloyalty”.

On 2 February, 17 journalists, staff and visitors were arrested from *Al-Midan*, a Communist-affiliated newspaper, after their office was raided and coverage of the 30 January demonstrations confiscated. Members of the group were held incommunicado after being taken to NISS headquarters in Khartoum North, and several members were forced to open their e-mail and Facebook accounts. The following journalists and employees were subjected to torture while in NISS custody:

- Muawya Abu Hashim, employee: Mr. Hashim was forced to stand on his toes, facing the wall, with his hands up while he was threatened with beating. Mr. Hashim and Mr. Karrar were ordered alongside the group to do hard exercise (“rabbit jumps”) for one hour. They were further subjected to sleep deprivation. Mr. Hashim was released after 11 days without charges.
- Kamal Karrar, deputy chief editor: Alongside the rest of the group in transit to NISS headquarters, Mr. Karrar was ordered to blindfold himself with his shirt and to lie face down on the floor of the van. NISS agents put their shoes on the detainees’ heads. Upon arrival at NISS headquarters in Khartoum North, they were subjected to severe beating. Mr. Karrar was released after 11 days in detention without charges.
- Ibrahim Mirghani, journalist, political section: was severely beaten and subjected to degrading treatment with the group. Mr. Mirghani was prevented from taking his medication, and was released after 11 days in detention without charges.
- Al Sadig Omer, journalist: Mr. Omer was severely beaten and prevented from taking his medication. Alongside the other journalists, he was interrogated on his political affiliation, family, personal address and phone number. He and others were made to draw maps to their homes.
- Ahmed Ali, journalist: Mr. Ali was abducted separately from the group on Mohamed Najeeb Street while on his way home. He was beaten and kicked, then forced to blindfold himself with his own shirt before being taken to NISS offices in Khartoum North, where he was intimidated and verbally abused. He was asked for personal information and made to draw a map to his home. He was threatened with rape, beaten, punched and kicked, and hot water was poured on his back. Mr. Ali was also subjected to sleep deprivation. He was subsequently released after 11 days in detention.
- Samir Salah Al Deen, a trainee journalist: Mr. Al Deen was subjected to severe beating and electric shocks.

Other detained journalists who suffered torture include:

- Rashid Abdul Wahab, *Ajras Al Huriya* newspaper
- Ali Haj Al Ameen *Ajras Al Huriya* newspaper

#### *Lack of Access to Medication*

- On 31 January, Kamal Mohamed Osman, a student and political activist, was arrested in front of the Umma Party headquarters in Omdurman. He was been subjected to sleep deprivation, and has not been allowed to see a doctor.

#### *Physical Abuse and Humiliation*

- On 3 February, Farouq Osama Abdul Rahman Al Nur was arrested near Agrab Square, where he was severely beaten with a thick black hose.
- Both Abdul Aziz Kambali and Abdulla Aidaroose, both political activists, were subject to severe beating, degrading verbal insults, and ill-treatment on an unknown date.

- On 14 February, Ali Mohamed Osman, an unemployed Khartoum University graduate, was severely beaten by more than ten NISS agents on Al Mawrada Street near Al Nilain Mosque in Omdurman with two friends, Abdul Rahman Ahmed Hasan (see Abuses on the Basis of Race and Ethnicity) and Haseeb. The three were then arrested and taken to a house in Al Shuhada neighbourhood of Omdurman, where they were detained for over two hours. They were then transported in an unmarked van and ordered to cover their heads with their shirts. Shortly after 11 PM, they arrived at an unknown location and were initially asked for their personal information.

The group was ordered to stand with their hands against the wall. Mr. Osman was ordered to do hard physical exercise, and beaten with a hose for half an hour when he could no longer continue. Throughout his detention, he was subjected to insults and offensive and humiliating language. After his beating, he was forced to remain standing against the wall from midnight to ten AM the following morning, when he was taken for interrogation.

Mr. Osman's interrogation focused on what the NISS agent referred to as a "plan to mobilise the public against the government". He was interrogated until 4 PM, during the course of which he was ordered to remain standing and was frequently beaten. He was not allowed to use the washroom, and was given only a sandwich to eat and no water. Mr. Osman insisted repeatedly that he had only taken part in a public campaign to ensure the release of detainees following the 30 January demonstrations. When the interrogation ended, he was forced to sit on a chair facing the wall till the following morning, when he was interrogated again by an Eastern Sudanese NISS officer, named Al-Tahir, until midnight on 16 February, who accused him of "mobilising the street against the government", and demanded that he tell the NISS "the plan".

Mr. Osman was released at 1 AM on the morning of 17 February, and ordered to report back the following morning. When he left, he realised that the facility was east of the Republican Palace, near Al Jam'aa Street. Before leaving, he was made to sign an oath to not participate in any political activities. The NISS agents told him that what had happened to him was just the "tip of the iceberg" and that if he spoke of his arrest he would be arrested again and "left in the detention centre for years without anyone knowing where he was".

#### *Electric Shock Regimens*

- On 3<sup>rd</sup> February, Ahmed Mahmoud Ahmed, 24, a student at the Sudan University for Science and Technology, was arrested in Agrab Square alongside seven others. The group was severely beaten and verbally insulted before they were taken in an unmarked van to another location. They were ordered to look down in the car, and were beaten in transit. The other members of the group are:
  - Ali Al Naeem Al Basheer, a Khartoum University student (see his account below)
  - Bakri Mohamed Omer, a Khartoum University student (see his account below)
  - Abdul Fattah Tibin, a Ahlia University student (see Abuses on the Basis of Race and Ethnicity)
  - Mohamed Balla, a worker at a café near Agrab Square
  - Mohamed Al Sadig, a Gaziera University unemployed graduate
  - Hamad Al Neel Al Shaikh, a Nilain University student
  - Marwa Al Tijani, a Khartoum University student (see Sexual Violence)

When they arrived at NISS offices, their possessions were confiscated, including their mobile phones and cameras. Before being placed in a cell they were photographed and asked for personal information about their families and political affiliations. The group was then moved a second time to NISS premises near Shendi Coach Station in Khartoum North at 7 PM. Mr. Ahmed, who has long hair, was taunted by NISS agents who inquired if he was a man or a woman. One officer slapped Ahmed and ordered another agent to shave his head.

The group was then taken to the top floor of the building, where they were severely beaten for 3-4 hours in an “honorary reception”. They were then asked about their personal lives and political activities. Members of the group who denied any political affiliation were beaten and accused of being Communists.

Mr. Ahmed was called for another interrogation in a separate room, and made to lie on the floor, where he was beaten with a thick black hose. When he tried to grasp the hose to stop the beating, he was electrified with a black-stun gun like device.

He was then asked about his relationship to another one of the female detainees, Ms. Al Tijani (see Sexual Violence section). He replied to his interrogator that she was a friend. The interrogator slapped him, saying that he should have said “colleague” in keeping with “Sudanese morals”. The interrogator then asked Ahmed “How many times have you had sex with her? What type of sex do you have with her? Do you only kiss and fondle her, or do you have sexual intercourse?” Every time Ahmed denied the relationship, he was beaten. He was then taken from the cell to Ms. Al Tijani’s, where he was beaten in front of her.

Mr. Ahmed spent 12 days in isolation and was interrogated daily before being released on 15 February. During his detention, he was taken away in the evenings while the rest of the detainees slept and forced to wear only his underwear. Electric shocks were administered three times daily for a week in an attempt to make him sign into his Facebook account. Mr. Ahmed denied having an account.

- On 3 February, Ali Al Naeem Al Basheer, 21, and a University of Khartoum Student, was arrested from Agrab Square in Khartoum North alongside Mr. Ahmed and the others. He attempted to escape, but was apprehended by the NISS and members of the public who believed he was thief. The group was initially taken to a nearby house, where he was beaten and kicked by three security agents.

Mr. Basheer was then transferred alongside the other detainees to NISS officers near Shendi Coach Station at Hillat Khojali, Khartoum North. He was beaten again and interrogated about his political affiliation and why he joined the demonstrations. He was ordered to sign into his Facebook account, but refused.

Mr. Basheer was then transferred to NISS headquarters in Khartoum Bahri, where he was asked for the names, addresses, and phone numbers of his brothers. He was beaten with a thick hose and batons, and given electric shocks during his interrogation. When he tried to raise his head, he was kicked. Mr. Basheer is asthmatic, but was not allowed to take his medication. After being interrogated until midnight, he was taken to a small room guarded by uniformed men, who ordered him to stand with his hands against the wall.

After five days in detention, Mr. Basheer and his fellow detainee Mr. Omer were taken to a room together and severely beaten. They were told that they would be tortured for a further day as they had admitted no political affiliation. They then admitted allegiance to the 'Haq', a splinter of the Communist Party. They were ordered to shout "I am a communist dog...I am a dog affiliated to the Haq." They were then questioned about their work with the Haq and offered work as NISS informants. When they refused, their interrogator threatened them with two years in prison.

Mr. Basheer was released after 15 days in detention. He was ordered to sign an undertaking not to participate in any demonstrations in the future.

- On 31 January, Kamal Mohamed Osman, a student and political activist, was arrested in front of the Umma Party headquarters in Omdurman. He was been subjected to sleep deprivation, and has not been allowed to see a doctor.

#### *Abuses on the Basis of Race and Ethnicity*

- On 30 January, Taj Al Deen Mohamed Ibrahim, 24, and a Khartoum University student, was arrested at 11 AM in front of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Khartoum. He was then taken to a NISS office near North Khartoum Police Station. He was severely beaten with thick black hoses when arrested and while in detention by five NISS agents. Due to his appearance, he was accused of being a member of the Darfuri armed movements.

He was then taken on a bus with 50 other detainees, who were all forced to blindfold themselves with their own shirts. He overheard the driver being asked to drive to the "execution site". The bus took them to NISS headquarters in Khartoum North. The detainees were made to sit under the hot sun for three hours, and were interrogated while being beaten. Mr. Ibrahim's interrogation focused on his political affiliation and his alleged ties to the Darfuri rebel movements. He was threatened with electric shocks unless he admitted his relationship with Abdul Wahid Al Nur of the Sudan Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement. He was asked "how come you slaves want to rule the Sudan?" Mr. Al Deen was released the following day, and was made to sign an oath that he would not participate in future demonstrations.

- On 30 January, Louis Aweil Weriak, a Southerner and a member of the Faculty of Pharmacy at the University of Khartoum, was arrested and held incommunicado away from the other members of the group, where he was reportedly severely tortured.
- On 3 February, Abdul Fattah Tibin, a Darfuri student at Ahlia University, was detained near Agrab Square, Khartoum North. He was subjected to severe beating and electric shocks while accused of being affiliated with the Darfuri armed movements.
- On 16 February, Abdul Rahman Ahmed Hasan, a 35-year unemployed engineering graduate from Nyala Technical College, was arrested alongside his friends Haseeb and Ali Mohamed Osman. He was taken to a house near Masjid Al Khaleefa (Al Khaleefa Mosque) in Omdurman. He was initially asked about his name, tribe and ethnic origin. When the interrogator learned that Mr. Hasan is Darfuri, he told him: "Do you think you are human beings? Do you want to topple the government? As long as we are in the government, you will remain as low as you are".

At about 11 PM, the group was taken in a NISS truck to a building east of the Republican Palace. Mr. Hasan was subjected to the same torture as his friends. He was also

interrogated by the same Eastern Sudanese NISS officer, Al Tahir, who said “Do you want to topple the government? Do you want to mobilize the street? We are ready to liquidate and annihilate you because you are powerless.” Mr. Hasan’s interrogation continued for an hour and a half, in which he was forced to stand. He was not beaten during this period.

Mr. Hasan and Haseeb were then taken to the Al Khaleefa Mosque, and allowed to enter. Mr. Osman was made to stand outside the mosque gate.

At 4 AM, Mr. Hasan heard Mr. Osman being beaten and interrogated as to whether he was a communist. Mr. Hasan asked to use the washroom, and when he passed Mr. Ali’s cell saw him on his knees with his hands up while two other NISS agents beat him. The beating continued for an hour and a half, and then there was silence and Mr. Osman’s voice could no longer be heard. A group of NISS agents entered Mr. Hasan and Haseeb’s cell and told them that they had killed Ali and that they were next.

Around mid-day, Mr. Hasan was blindfolded and taken to another place, where two officers made him sign an oath not to participate in any political activities and not to disclose his torture to anyone. He was released 16 February, when he discovered that he had been held near NISS headquarters by Shendi Coach Station in Khartoum North.

#### *Sexual Violence and Threatened Rape*

- On 30 January in Khartoum, Samah Mohamed Adam, a Baath Party activist, was forced into a NISS van by 14 agents. She was violently dragged by her clothes, and one of the agents tore her blouse, exposing her breasts. Another agent pressed himself against her saying that if she did not want “this to happen she wouldn’t have gone out to the street in the first place”. While trying to cover her chest with a head scarf another NISS agent said: “...there is nothing today but fucking”. Samah was taken to NISS offices until 2 AM, where she was repeatedly beaten with a black hose and threatened with rape before she was released.
- On 2 February, Najat Al Haj, a leading member of the Democratic Unionist Party, was arrested after attending a National Alliance Forces meeting. During her arrest she was forced to cover her face with her *tobe* (a long cloak-like garment) and was forced into a NISS car with a gun pointed to her head. Ms. Al Haj reported that when she was taken to NISS offices she found four blindfolded women journalists facing a wall while being collectively interrogated. They were all insulted and mocked about their “morals” during the interrogation. While searching her handbag, a NISS agent found some medication and said “these are contraceptives...You can sleep outside your house and it’s normal, no? and now you are accompanying young men who carry condoms!” Ms. Al Haj also reported that the interrogator asked her “where is your husband? If you had a husband you would not have been here”. She was released late in the evening and told that “she must be used to returning home at such a late time”.
- On 3 February, Marwa Al Tijani, a member of the Student Movement, was arrested at about 4:00pm near Agrab Square alongside six others. The group was forced into a NISS car at gunpoint. They were first taken to NISS offices in Khartoum North, and then to another location she couldn’t identify, where she reported seeing women being obscenely insulted and whipped. She was made to undress and repeatedly beaten on her back and legs with a thick black hose. Marwa and the other female detainees were threatened by NISS agents with detention in the women’s prison “with liquor makers and prostitutes”. They were also threatened with being photographed with other

prisoners alleged to be prostitutes, and the photos sent to her family. Ms. Al Tijani was accused of having a sexual relationship with Mr. Ahmed, who was also detained after the demonstration. Ms. Al Tijani asserted that while detained she was never asked about any political issues.

- On 10 February, Suad Abdallah Jummaa, a member of the Communist Party, was arrested from a public bus after the bus was ordered to stop by security. When she refused to give the NISS her phone's SIM card, she was beaten and verbally abused. She was able to protect herself by crouching between two chairs in the NISS office. One of the agents told the others to "leave her with me for three minutes only and she will admit where the memory card is and get it out on her own". She reported that this terrified her, as she had heard about abuse and rape of women in NISS detention centres.
- On 13 February, Safiya Ishag, a *Girifna* activist, was in a bookshop when she was forced into a car by two NISS agents. At around 10pm, she was taken to NISS offices in Khartoum North, where she was raped. She was interrogated about her political affiliations, alleged leaflet distribution and inciting others to demonstrate. She was forcibly stripped of her clothes, and repeatedly beaten and subjected to obscene verbal abuse. Ms. Ishag fell unconscious, and when she regained consciousness found one of the NISS agents raping her. All three agents raped her while the others watched. Official medical reports, including a prosecutor report, also confirmed that she had been repeatedly raped, though at first the NISS refused to file the reports. Ms. Ishag went public with her testimony.
- On 16 February, at a press conference organized by the Popular Congress Party (PCP) at its headquarters, Asmaa Hasan Al Turabi reported that NISS forces brutally dispersed a peaceful protest by female activists calling for the release of Hasan Al Turabi and other members of the PCP arrested in January. Ms. Turabi reported abusive and aggressive behavior by the NISS, who reportedly threatened to strip the women of their *tobes*.

Male detainees were also threatened with rape and were forcibly stripped and tortured. On 2 February, Abdul Gadir Abdul Rahmen, a Khartoum University student, was arrested near Agrab Square, Khartoum North. While in custody, he was beaten with a thick black hose and subjected to electric shocks. He was stripped and hot water poured on his genital organs. He was then threatened with rape.

### Unfair Trial

- On 1 February, the Nyala Special Court sentenced to death Ishag Ali, Zaghawa, 46, to death under Article 130 of the 1991 Sudanese Criminal Code. He was accused of murdering and robbing a man in 2010 and stealing his land cruiser. The case file no. is 2030/2010. The court released his two co-defendants. They are:
  - Ibrahim Mohamed Salih, Reizegat tribe, 23
  - Mohamed Osman, Zaghawa, 25
- On 3 February, the Chief of the Judiciary issued resolution no.32/2011 and referred a case to the Special Court of Nyala in regards to the robbery of Altadamon bank in Nyala on 28 September. In the incident, 250,000 Sudanese pounds were stolen. Matro Hairalla, 20 years old and a member of the Riezegat tribe, was arrested by a NISS captain, Nazir, and three members of the secret police. Mr. Hairalla's trial lasted from 13 February to 21 February, in which 10 of his co-defendants were found innocent. Mr. Hairalla was sentenced to amputation. Lawyers and activists appealed the case, citing violations of the 1993 Evidence Law. The judge in the case was Mr. Alamin Al Tayeb Al Bashir.

- On her way to a demonstration on 21 March, Widad Abd-Elrahman Dirweesh, 27, a human rights defender and volunteer with the Sudan Organisation for Non-Violence and Development, was arrested alongside Muhanad Nagm Aldin and Manal at 3 PM near Khartoum Stadium. Four plainclothes NISS officers knocked Ms. Dirweesh to the concrete street, and two other officers dragged her through stagnant water. Ms. Dirweesh cut her head badly when she fell, and began to bleed profusely. She was pulled up by two NISS agents, one of whom held her face with his two hands and moved his face close to her and began verbally abusing her, saying that she looked ready and prepared to sleep outside her house as she had a backpack of clothes with her.

The group was taken in a pickup truck to a NISS office in Buri, Khartoum. Throughout the journey Ms. Dirweesh was bleeding, and fainted when she arrived at the office. She received no medical care when she arrived, but was allowed to use the washroom to wash blood from her face. She was then interrogated.

When her condition worsened, the NISS offered to take her to a Police Hospital. She was taken to a Civil Public Hospital, where she received stitches. After treatment, she was taken to the Khartoum North Police Station and charged under Article 66 (publication of false news). Ms. Dirweesh was released at 1 AM on bail and tried in the following days. Both Ms. Dirweesh and her lawyer were not allowed to address the court, and they declined her request to adjourn the trial on account of her injuries. Ms. Dirweesh was convicted and fined to 500 Sudanese pounds (\$200 dollars).

- On 22 March, a judge in Khartoum sentenced Mohaned Kheir, 27-year-old, to three months in jail and fine of 500 SDG under Article 66 of Sudan's criminal law, "false information", for attending a demonstration on 21 March.

### Attacks and Insecurity in Darfur

- On 22 January, joint militias and the SAF attacked an IDP camp near UNAMID headquarters in Shangil Tobaya. They were led by a SAF captain and a militia led by Abdul Bashit. They began searching for people inside the camp and market, and arrested Ibrahim Suleiman Hajjar, Zaghawa, Magoub Hassan, and Mohamed Younis, alongside others. They beat them on the back and forced them into a military car after blinding them. They were brought to the Amar Albara Abrya camp.

They were all taken to a hut, where their hands and feet were bound. They were interrogated at night over their relationship with the rebel groups, and struck with the butt of the soldier's Kalashnikovs. They were beaten and waterboarded, and forced to drink water out of a small bowl like a dog with their hands bound. They were not given food for four days.

On the fifth day, Governor Kibir visited the camp in a helicopter. When the military asked to transport them to El Fashir with the helicopter, Kibir refused to ride with them. They were transported the next day via a government helicopter. They were heavily bound and sent to NISS offices near the high commander of El Fashir. They were separated. The following day, the NISS allowed their families to come and bring food and clothes, and released the group after two weeks without charge.

- On 15 February, a 14 year old girl, Sumaya Abaker Mohamed, was raped by two members of the Central Reserves while she was gathering firewood outside the IDP camp in Tawila. She was raped for more than 30 minutes by both men before they ran

away after UNAMID peacekeepers fired their guns into the air. Ms. Mohamed didn't file a case because the police were the perpetrators.

- On 4 March, the North Darfur Government mobilised local militias to attack Ali, Abodelge Council, Dar el Salaam, North Darfur. Ali is a Zaghawa village. Five were killed, including:
  - Mohamed Ishag
  - Abdalla Adam Nahar
  - Jummaa Allah Shinepo Ahmed
- On 10 March at 1 AM, Ahmed Abdul Hamid Hassan, a 50 year old IDP, was shot in his left leg by the Central Reserve Police near Rwanda Camp in Tawila.