

£SUDAN
@ "The tears of orphans"
**No future without
human rights**

Cases for appeals

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Sudan: "The tears of orphans" - No future without human rights

Cases for Appeals

On 30 June 1989, soldiers led by Brigadier Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir swept away Sudan's most recent multi-party government, promising a revolution of "national salvation". Since then they have delivered a human rights disaster.

The military government has held onto power through a policy of repression. Throughout the country, from north to south, it has systematically violated the human rights of ordinary Sudanese as it crushes opposition to its own ideology of political Islam. Muslims and Christians, city dwellers and peasants - none have escaped the persistent violation of human rights in Sudan.

The government has dismantled civil society. The press, the judiciary, political parties, trade unions, universities - all have been purged. Those who attempt non-violent resistance to the government face imprisonment, torture, sometimes death.

The south of Sudan and adjacent areas continue to be devastated by a bitter civil war which began in 1983 between government forces and the armed opposition Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), which has been split into two factions since 1991.

Over a million people have lost their lives in the war zones. The deliberate targeting of civilians has been a strategy used by all parties in the war. Thousands of people have been victims of political killings by security forces as well as by the SPLA. Millions have fled their homes and are reduced to dependency on food relief.

The 15 cases described here illustrate the wide range of human rights abuses committed by both the Sudan Government and the two factions of the SPLA. They represent only a tiny fraction of the men, women and children who continue to suffer at the hands of the government and the armed opposition.

By publicizing these cases and sending appeals to the authorities in Sudan, you can help stop the violation of human rights in Sudan and show the people of Sudan that you care about the situation in their country.

Please support the Sudanese people in their struggle for human rights.

Cover photograph: *Refugee woman and her children, Sudan* (c. Sarah Errington/Panos)

Abdelrahman Abdallah NUGDALLAH

Unfair trial and torture of former
government minister

Abdelrahman Abdallah Nugdallah was born in Omdurman in 1945 and is married with seven young children. He studied economics in former Yugoslavia in the late 1970s and lived in Saudi Arabia for two years in the 1980s. A former member of parliament and member of the banned Umma party, he is a leading figure in the Ansar order of Islam. Between 1986 and 1989 he served as Head of the Council for Religious Affairs in the elected government of Sadiq al-Mahdi.

Abdelrahman Abdallah Nugdallah

The current Sudan Government took power in a coup in 1989. On 20 August 1991 the authorities announced that they had uncovered a plot to overthrow the government. Over the next few days at least 80 civilians and army officers were arrested. Many of them had links with the banned Umma and Democratic Unionist parties, the two major political parties in Sudan before the current government seized power. Abdelrahman Abdallah Nugdallah was among those arrested.

Initially the prisoners were held in the security headquarters in Khartoum where many were severely tortured. Abdelrahman Abdallah Nugdallah was then transferred to one of the secret detention centres, known in Sudan as "ghost houses", where he is reported to have been tortured.

On 11 October 1991, 53 prisoners, including Abdelrahman Abdallah Nugdallah, were tried before specially convened military tribunals. The trial was held during the night while a curfew was in force. The accused were not allowed legal representation and each individual's hearing lasted only a few minutes.

Abdelrahman Abdallah Nugdallah's family and friends did not know that the trials had taken place until a film of the prisoners on trial was shown on Sudanese television in early December 1991. This is how they learned that he had received a death sentence, which was then commuted to life imprisonment. In July 1992 a government decree announced that his sentence had been reduced to 10 years imprisonment. Some prisoners were freed. The Minister of Justice said at a press conference that the decree "*has closed the door before those who had alleged that justice was not adhered to during trials*".

Abdelrahman Abdallah Nugdallah remains in prison, in Shalla in the far west of Sudan, with no right of appeal against his grossly unfair trial. In his final defence statement before the court he said:

"I have loved the Sudanese people and I am proud that I belong to them. I adore this country and will remain giving my life, blood and soul as a sacrifice for it."

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Lieutenant-General Omar
Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir
President

Mr 'Abd al-Aziz Shiddo
Minister of Justice & Attorney-General
Ministry of Justice

People's Palace
PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

Khartoum
Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum
Sudan

- express your concern about the unfair trial at which Abdelrahman Abdallah Nugdallah was sentenced.

- urge that he be released if he is not to be promptly re-tried on recognizably criminal charges before a court which conforms to internationally recognized standards of fairness.

- ask that the authorities investigate reports that Abdelrahman Abdallah Nugdallah and other detainees were tortured in the period following their arrest.

Please send copies of your letters to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Dr Gaafar Yassin Ahmad ABDULLAH Tortured

Dr Gaafar Yassin Ahmad Abdullah graduated in pharmacy from Khartoum University in 1986. He married in March 1993. Dr Abdullah and his wife spent their honeymoon in Jordan and Syria. They returned to Khartoum on 22 April. Dr Abdullah was immediately arrested at the airport. He was taken to the Security Headquarters where he was questioned.

His interrogators told him they knew he had received explosives from the Egyptian embassy and accused him of conspiring to cause acts of sabotage.

Dr Gaafar Yassin Ahmad Abdullah

Dr Abdullah told them he did not know anything about this. But, as is the case for hundreds of people held in secret detention by the Sudanese Security Services, Dr Abdullah was subjected to brutal mental and physical torture to make him "confess" to the crime he had been accused of. Along with several men arrested on charges of conspiracy against the government, he was beaten, burnt with a hot iron, whipped with plastic piping and made to stand bare-foot on hot metal. He was prevented from eating, sleeping, going to the toilet or even from praying. One day the prisoners were taken from their cells and told they were to be executed and that they should all make a will. Dr Abdullah was so weak that he had to be carried outside.

The prisoners were not killed. Instead, officials made a video of them, showing them confessing to the charges against them. Even after this the torture did not stop. Dr Abdullah was unable to move for three weeks and his wounds became infected.

In early 1994, 12 people, including Dr Abdullah, were publicly tried for plotting against the state and spying. Another 17 people, who were all in exile, were tried *in absentia*. This was one of the first high profile political trials to be held publicly in Khartoum under the current government. During the trial detailed evidence emerged, supported by medical reports, that at least five of the accused, including Dr Abdullah, had been brutally tortured. The prosecution case rested on confessions extracted under torture, yet the judge would not disqualify the confessions despite acknowledging that torture had taken place.

Dr Abdullah was one of five people in court sentenced to imprisonment. The rest were freed. Nine of those tried *in absentia* were given 10 years imprisonment. Dr Abdullah is now frequently transferred from prison to prison, making it difficult for his family to visit him. An appeal is being prepared against his conviction.

"Since the beginning of the revolution there has been a lot of talk about torture...those people detained are now free in the streets...Check that for yourself. It's all lies. There are no such things as ghost houses or torture." - Lieutenant-General Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, President of Sudan

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Lieutenant-General Omar
Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir
President
People's Palace
PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

Mr 'Abd al-Aziz Shiddo
Minister of Justice & Attorney-General
Ministry of Justice
Khartoum
Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum
Sudan

- request a prompt, independent and impartial inquiry into the torture of Dr Gaafar Yassin Ahmad Abdullah and into all reports of torture and for the findings of these inquiries to be made public
- urge the government to ensure that those found responsible for torture are brought to justice
- call for an end to the practice whereby confessions extracted under torture are accepted as evidence in court
- urge the government to take immediate and effective measures to prevent any further acts of torture.
- urge that Dr Gaafar Yassin Ahmad Abdullah be released if he is not to be re-tried on recognizably criminal charges before a court which conducts itself according to internationally recognized standards of fairness

Please send copies of your letters to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Sara Abdallah Abdelrahman NUGDALLAH

Political activist, repeatedly detained

Sara Abdallah Abdelrahman Nugdallah is in her late thirties and graduated from Khartoum University in Arts and Humanities. She is a university lecturer and a prominent member of the banned political party Umma. Her family has a long association with the Umma party; her father was Secretary General of the party and Sara Abdallah Abdelrahman Nugdallah is a member of both its executive and women's committees.

Since the current government seized power in a military coup in 1989, Sara Abdallah Abdelrahman Nugdallah has been arrested and detained in the women's section of Omdurman Prison on four separate occasions.

First arrested on 5 September 1989 together with two other women political activists, she was detained with criminal prisoners in Omdurman Prison, where conditions are harsh.

All three women were released on 12 October 1989, uncharged. But two days later they were summoned by the authorities who demanded that they sign an undertaking not to oppose the government in the future. When they refused they were immediately rearrested, and again held without charge until their release on 6 November 1989.

Sara Abdallah Abdelrahman Nugdallah's most recent arrest was on 7 April 1994. No official reason was given for her arrest and she was finally released on 20 June 1994. Every time that Sara Abdallah Abdelrahman Nugdallah has been arrested she has been detained solely for her non-violent opposition to the government. Every time that she is arrested, her family and friends fear for her safety.

Such arrests are part of a pattern of harassment of government critics who are known to be devout Muslims. The authorities, which seek to characterize criticism of the government as an attack on Islam, are particularly sensitive to opposition from members of Muslim religious orders or banned political parties related to Muslim orders. The Umma party is associated with the Ansar traditional order of Islam in Sudan.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Lieutenant-General Omar
Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir
President
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Sudan

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Minister of Justice & Attorney-General
Ministry of Justice
Khartoum
Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum
Sudan

- call on the Sudan Government to immediately and unconditionally release any prisoner held for their conscientiously held beliefs, provided that they have not used or advocated violence
- ask the government to stop arbitrarily detaining, without charge or trial, individuals such as Sara Abdallah Abdelrahman Nugdallah who are suspected of being political opponents
- ask the government to remove any legal and constitutional provisions which allow administrative detention

Please send copies of your appeals to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Karshum Mango ATIA

Primary school teacher - "disappeared"

Karshum Mango Atia is from Kadugli and is of Nuba ethnic origin. A Muslim in his forties, he is married and has four children. He lived in Kordofan for a while and then moved to Port Sudan on the Red Sea coast in 1988, where he worked as a teacher in the local primary school.

On 10 November 1992, someone came to the school to tell him to come to an education meeting in the centre of town. He remarked to a colleague, in his native language, that he was not sure that was the real reason and perhaps it was just a pretext for calling him away. Karshum Mango Atia never returned; he had been detained by security officials.

Karshum Mango Atia

At first, Karshum Mango Atia was held at the security offices in Port Sudan. After four days he was escorted home to collect some clothes and was then flown to Khartoum in a military plane. A relative tried to follow, but when he arrived in Khartoum he was told that Karshum Mango Atia had already been transferred to El Obeid the day before. His bag of clothes had been left behind.

Another relative discovered that Karshum Mango Atia was briefly taken to Kadugli, his home town. He was supposed to be taken back to El Obeid, but was never seen again. Friends in El Obeid were told he was in prison in Darfur, then told he was in Atbara, then in Suakin. They checked all of these prisons without finding him. Karshum Mango Atia had "disappeared".

Many Nuba, like Karshum Mango Atia, who move away from their home area in the Nuba Mountains have often come under suspicion of being involved in political activity against the government. The family of Karshum Mango Atia has not been told why he was detained or where he is now. Some reports suggest he could be in prison in El Obeid, others claim that he has been killed. Before leaving Port Sudan, Karshum Mango Atia said:

"They can kill my body but they cannot kill my soul."

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PO Box 281
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Sudan

Mr 'Abd al-Aziz Shiddo
Minister of Justice & Attorney-General
Ministry of Justice
Khartoum
Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum
Sudan

- express concern at the detention and apparent "disappearance" of Karshum Mango Atia
- urge that there be an immediate inquiry into his whereabouts and that the government state publicly what has happened to him
- urge that, if he is in detention, he be humanely treated and allowed access to his lawyer and to relatives
- urge that, if he is in detention, he be immediately released if he is not to be charged with a recognizable criminal offence and brought promptly to a fair trial.

Please send copies of your letters to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Nadir Abdel Hamid KHAIRY

Died under torture

Nadir Abdel Hamid Khairy, born in 1964, joined the Ministry of Agriculture as an engineer in 1988. Married, with two young children, he lived in Khartoum. From mid-1993 he was arrested on several occasions and reported that he had suffered torture. The reason for these arrests appeared to be alleged links with the Umma party. The Umma, one of the major political parties in Sudan, was banned by the current government which seized power in a military coup in 1989.

Nadir Abdel Hamid Khairy's fourth and last arrest was on 4 January 1994.

Nadir Abdel Hamid Khairy

Just days before he had been dismissed from his job at the Ministry of Agriculture for reasons of "public safety". His wife was also dismissed from her job for the same reason; she applied for reinstatement but her application was turned down.

When Nadir Abdel Hamid Khairy was arrested, his family was not informed of where he was being held, nor given the reason for his arrest. It was not until 4 April 1994 that security officers visited his wife to tell her that her husband was in the Military Hospital in Omdurman. His wife visited him that same day in hospital and was shocked by what she saw. His body carried obvious marks of brutality; bruising, severe swellings and disfiguration of the face.

Nadir Abdel Hamid Khairy's family visited again the next day. But they were told he had died and that the Security Services had taken his body; the body was never handed over to the family. Relatives firmly believe that Nadir Abdel Hamid Khairy's death was a direct result of torture in detention.

There are numerous testimonies from former detainees which detail the brutal torture and ill-treatment they have been subjected to by security officials. Yet the Sudan Government denies that torture is official policy. If a victim of torture is brave enough to submit a complaint, such allegations are rarely investigated or the perpetrators brought to justice.

The detention of people such as Nadir Abdel Hamid Khairy are part of a pattern of intimidation of government opponents. Opposition to the government in any form is illegal. All political parties remain banned.

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Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum
Sudan

- request an independent inquiry into the alleged torture and death in custody of Nadir Abdel Hamid Khairy, the findings of which should be made public.

- urge that those responsible for his death be brought to justice and that his family be compensated.

- ask the government to take effective measures to prevent further acts of torture, to make clear public statements condemning torture and to ratify the *UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*

Please send copies of your letters to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Cruel punishments in law

The implications for women in Sudan

"Corporal punishments as 'lawful sanctions' under domestic laws may constitute 'severe pain or suffering' under international law. Consequently, this kind of chastisement should be revised in order to prevent torture, particularly amputations, caning or flogging."

- The UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, 1986 -

A wide variety of offences in Sudan carry cruel, inhuman or degrading punishments such as flogging and amputation. Some of these particularly affect women. Hundreds of women, many from poor, disadvantaged groups, have received flogging sentences. Muslim woman, northern Sudan (c. J.P. Rib

Alcohol-related offences

Many people have been displaced by a civil war raging in the south of Sudan. They have settled in squatter camps in northern cities, particularly in and around the capital Khartoum. To support themselves and their families, many southern women brew and sell alcohol, an activity which is illegal in the north but which is a traditional source of income for women in the south. Many women report being flogged if caught. One woman, who fled from the fighting in Juba with her five children and settled in El-Mayo squatter camp, Khartoum, was fined, given 40 lashes and imprisoned for 6 months for brewing alcohol:

"When I was lashed it affected me very badly. I had many sores but no money to go to hospital. When I came out of prison I had to go back to brewing to get money for medicine. And I have children and they must be fed, so there's no other way."

Public morality offences

Although officially there is no "dress code" for women in Sudan, section 152 of the Penal Code defines as an offence the wearing of an outfit that is "obscene or contrary to public morals". It has rarely, if ever, been applied to men but is frequently applied to women. A woman displaced from the south to Omdurman, northern Sudan, describes her experience in late 1991:

"One afternoon I was going out. I wore trousers, I was waiting at the bus station facing a police post. Suddenly a policeman came. He said 'Listen! You! Come here! What is this nonsense you are wearing?' I said 'What nonsense?'...He said 'Don't you know the rubbish you are wearing on your body is forbidden?' I said 'Have they forbidden the wearing of trousers and shirts?'"

(The names of the women whose stories feature here have been withheld)

The policeman arrested the woman. She was found guilty by a judge, sentenced to 30 lashes and fined:

"I payed them their fine but I refused to take the lashes. So at once the judge called a policeman...who took his whip and suddenly lashed me on my back...I reacted badly. I grabbed the whip and twisted. Then two or three policemen grabbed me and tied my hands to my back...and they lashed me...After I received the lashes I got up and because I was angry I gave him a poisonous look. He noticed and gave me another five lashes."

Arresting and flogging women because of their attire, particularly for Muslim women, has been implemented with greater vigour at some times rather than others. In late 1991, hundreds of women were arrested and flogged in an apparent campaign by the authorities to enforce "appropriate" dress. This included police and vigilantes carrying buckets of water and sponges and making women wearing make-up wash it off in public.

The current Penal Code, introduced in 1991, replaced the 1983 code based on a previous government's interpretation of Islamic law, which also included cruel, inhuman and degrading punishments. Sudanese penal codes based on interpretations of *Shari'a* (Islamic) law have met with resistance from many sectors of society in Sudan, including Muslims.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Lieutenant-General Omar
Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir
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PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

Mr 'Abd al-Aziz Shiddo
Minister of Justice & Attorney-General
Ministry of Justice
Khartoum
Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum
Sudan

- urge the Sudan Government to amend the Penal Code of 1991 so that cruel, inhuman and degrading penalties such as flogging are removed from the national laws.

- as an interim measure towards abolition, ask the government to suspend the implementation of all flogging sentences, and other sentences that involve cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment.

Please send copies of your letters to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Alfred Yoron MODI
"Disappeared"

Alfred Yoron Modi was an announcer on government-controlled *Radio Juba* and President of the Justice and Peace Committee of the Catholic Church in Juba.

In June 1992, troops from the armed opposition Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) Mainstream faction mounted a major assault on Juba, the largest town in southern Sudan under government control. The two factions of the SPLA have been fighting a bitter civil war against the government in southern Sudan for many years.

Church service honouring Josephine Bakhita, Sudan
(c. Abbas/Magnum)

In the aftermath of the attack, government forces responded by killing captured SPLA soldiers and civilians suspected of collaboration with the SPLA. Government troops also arrested at least 290 soldiers, police officers, prison guards and prominent civilians.

Alfred Yoron Modi was one of those arrested after the June incursion. This was not the first time he had been detained. In February 1992 he was held for three months, accused of inciting students to resist the government's attempt to introduce Arabic as the medium of instruction in southern Sudan's schools. English is the common language used in education in the south of the country.

In May 1992, he was again arrested, this time for announcing the impending beatification of the nineteenth century Sudanese nun Josephine Bakhita. Alfred Yoron Modi was accused of broadcasting "*an offensive and subversive announcement*" and was taken to the military headquarters for questioning. It seems that the authorities had objected to Alfred Yoron Modi mentioning that Josephina Bakhita had been abducted and sold as a slave. After 10 days he was released; permission was given for a second broadcast that did not include details of her slavery.

Alfred Yoron Modi has not been seen or heard of since his latest arrest in June 1992. He has "disappeared" and there is serious concern for his safety. In the vast majority of cases, the Sudan Government has provided contradictory information, information that was subsequently disproved or simply no information about what happened to the hundreds of people from Juba who were detained. International protest about events in Juba led to a government committee being established to "*investigate the incidents witnessed by Juba town in June and July and their resultant effects on the citizens and the state.*" There is no sign of the results of this inquiry.

Alfred Yoron Modi's family continue their efforts to trace his whereabouts, as do the families and friends of all those who "disappeared" from Juba.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Lieutenant-General Omar
Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir
President
People's Palace
PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

Mr 'Abd al-Aziz Shiddo
Minister of Justice & Attorney-General
Ministry of Justice
Khartoum
Sudan

Mr Caesar Paia Loyala
Governor of Eastern Equatoria
c/o People's Palace
PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

- ask the authorities to account for the fate and whereabouts of Alfred Yoron Modi and all the individuals about whom no information has been made available since their arrest in Juba between June and August 1992

- urge that the government make public without further delay the report of the Juba inquiry and indicate what steps they are taking in response to it

- urge that, if prisoners are in detention, they be humanely treated, allowed access to their lawyer and to relatives and be charged with a recognizable criminal offence or released immediately

- urge that effective measures are taken to prevent "disappearances" from occurring in the future and that anyone found responsible for a "disappearance" is brought to justice

Please send copies of your letters to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Martin Majier GAI

Deliberately and arbitrarily killed by the SPLA-Mainstream¹

Martin Majier Gai was born in 1941 and was married with nine children. He led a distinguished career as a prominent judge and leading Dinka politician in southern Sudan. Martin Majier Gai was a founding member of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), an armed opposition group which has been fighting a bitter civil war in the south of Sudan against the government since 1983.

However, Martin Majier Gai is reported to have been critical of the SPLA's policies under the leadership of John Garang de Mabior.

Martin Majier Gai's home area was southern Bor, one of the heartlands of the SPLA.

Martin Majier Gai

His popularity in that area meant that his disagreements over policy represented a threat to the SPLA leadership.

As a result, in 1985 he was arrested in Ethiopia where at that time the SPLA, supported by the Ethiopian government of Mengistu Haile Mariam had its main base. He remained in various SPLA detention camps, first in Ethiopia until the fall of the Mengistu government in 1991, and then in southern Sudan, for seven years.

During his years in SPLA custody, Martin Majier Gai was never charged or tried. Although married with nine children, his family was not allowed to visit him. He was also denied access to medical treatment.

In September 1992, Martin Majier Gai was released from detention, but his freedom of movement was restricted to the town of Kaya. In December 1992 or January 1993, he was again taken into custody by the SPLA-Mainstream faction, reportedly because he was suspected of leading a plot against the SPLA-Mainstream leadership. Shortly afterwards he was killed.

The SPLA-Mainstream has claimed that he and two other detainees were shot while trying to escape. Other reports suggest that they were deliberately and arbitrarily killed by the SPLA-Mainstream, either in January or April 1993.

¹ The Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) is currently split in two factions: SPLA-Mainstream, under the leadership of John Garang de Mabior and SPLA-United, under the leadership of Riek Machar

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Commander John Garang de Mabior	Commander Oyai Deng Ajak
Sudan Relief & Rehabilitation Association	Chair of the Military and Security Affairs Committee
PO Box 39892	c/o Sudan Relief & Rehabilitation Association
Nairobi	PO Box 39892
Kenya	Nairobi, Kenya

Mr Henry Wani Rondyang
Chair of the SPLA-Mainstream
Human Rights Committee
68 Cavanagh Close
Manchester M13 9DF
United Kingdom

- call for the SPLA-Mainstream to carry out a prompt and impartial investigation into the killing of Martin Majier Gai
- urge that SPLA-Mainstream take effective steps to prevent deliberate and arbitrary killings of suspected opponents and to respect the principles of humanitarian law
- urge that noone be detained on account of their conscientiously held beliefs

Nuer Women

Deliberately and arbitrarily killed by the SPLA-Mainstream

The village of Pagau, about 12 kilometres from Ayod, is a typical Nuer village in Upper Nile province, southern Sudan. Daily life revolves around tending cattle, the mainstay of the economy. Men take the cattle out to graze; women are responsible for milking cows, fetching water and preparing the family's food. In the countryside, this involves the heavy work of pounding grain, where it is available, into flour - labour which can take up much of the day.

In March 1993, Dinka troops from the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) Mainstream faction, which is led by John Garang de Mabior, attacked the village.

Nuer women, Nuer village, Sudan
(c. Rory Nugent)

Thirty-two women were lined up and shot in the head. Their only crime was to be of Nuer ethnic origin, and therefore suspected of loyalty to the rival SPLA-United faction.

Other atrocities committed by the troops included reports that children were locked in a hut which was then put to the torch. Three who attempted to escape were gunned down and killed.

The SPLA, an armed opposition group formed in 1983, has been fighting a bitter civil war in the south of Sudan against the Sudan Government. Since the SPLA split into two factions in 1991, fighting between SPLA-Mainstream and the other faction, SPLA-United, has increasingly become an ethnic conflict involving raids by both factions on villages suspected of supporting the rival faction.

Some attacks appear to be motivated by revenge for previous killings. Between 1991 and 1993, hundreds of unarmed civilians, many of them women, have been massacred by both sides.

Raids by SPLA-Mainstream troops in other villages around Ayod in March and April 1993 also led to the massacres of scores of Nuer men, women and children. Thousands of others have been displaced. Women have been locked inside cattle byres which were then burnt down, others have been clubbed or hacked to death.

In May 1993 both factions agreed to a ceasefire and a withdrawal of troops from central Upper Nile. The deadline was 5 June 1993. Neither side honoured the agreement and within a few days Pagau was again attacked and yet more defenceless villagers killed.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Commander John Garang de Mabior	Commander Oyai Deng Ajak
Sudan Relief & Rehabilitation Association	Chair of the Military and Security Affairs Committee
PO Box 39892	c/o Sudan Relief &
Nairobi	Rehabilitation Association
Kenya	PO Box 39892
	Nairobi, Kenya

Mr Henry Wani Rondyang
Chair of the Human Rights
Committee
68 Cavanagh Close
Manchester M13 9DF
United Kingdom

- call for a thorough and impartial inquiry into the killing of women and children in Pagau, and for investigations into all such killings of civilians by SPLA-Mainstream troops
- urge that those responsible are removed from positions of responsibility
- urge that the SPLA-Mainstream leadership take immediate steps to prevent deliberate and arbitrary killings, by establishing a clear chain of command to ensure that their troops are under strict control at all times, and by issuing clear instructions that such killings will not be tolerated
- point out that the killing of people taking no active part in hostilities is a violation of the principles of humanitarian law, in particular Article 3 of *the Geneva Conventions*

Dinka Civilians

Deliberately and arbitrarily killed by the SPLA-United

In November 1991, forces loyal to the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) Nasir faction, which in 1993 was re-named SPLA-United, raided Dinka villages in the Upper Nile, looting property, food and animals. Civilians fearful for their lives tried to flee southwards. Others hid in the long grass and scrub woods surrounding their village.

For many, their efforts to escape the raids were in vain. They were deliberately and arbitrarily killed.

Victim of SPLA-United killing, Bor, Sudan

After the troops had left, villagers who survived the attack started to come out of hiding. They found the bodies of friends and relatives bound at their ankles and wrists and then speared to death. Other bodies were found with cords or belts around their necks that had been used to strangle them.

Since the civil war in the south of Sudan between the SPLA and the Sudan Government began in 1983, thousands of civilians have been killed and millions of southern Sudanese have been displaced. Although the war is being fought between the government and factions of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, inter-factional fighting has also led to the massacre of many innocent civilians.

In August 1991, the SPLA split into two groups, currently known as SPLA-Mainstream and SPLA-United. The two groups rapidly became polarised along ethnic lines. SPLA-Mainstream draws most of its support from the Dinka. SPLA-United draws support primarily from Nuer and is led, like its precursor SPLA-Nasir, by Riek Machar Teny Dhurgon.

Within months of the split, both factions were committing atrocious human rights abuses against civilians thought to support the rival faction. SPLA-United have been responsible for the massacre of hundreds of innocent Dinka civilians.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Dr Riek Machar Teny Dhurgon
Chairman

Central/Upper Nile
c/o PO Box 30770
Nairobi
Kenya

Mr Elijah Hon Top
SPLA-United Commander
SPLA-United

c/o PO Box 30770
Nairobi
Kenya

- call for a thorough and impartial inquiry into all deliberate and arbitrary killings of civilians and call for those found responsible to be removed from positions of responsibility
- urge that the SPLA-United leadership take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of deliberate and arbitrary killings, by establishing a clear chain of command to ensure that their troops are under strict control at all times, and by issuing clear instructions that such killings will not be tolerated
- state that the killing of people taking no active part in hostilities is a violation of the principles of humanitarian law, in particular Article 3 of *the Geneva Conventions*

Twenty-eight Army Officers Sentenced to death and summarily executed

On 24 April 1990, 28 military officers were executed by firing squad in Khartoum on 24 April 1990 after a summary military court found them guilty of conspiring to overthrow the government. Their trial, which lasted only minutes, was a travesty of justice. Basic rights, such as legal representation and an appeal to a higher court were denied. Their execution violated the right to life itself.

Between 60 and 90 soldiers from other ranks were also reportedly executed around the same time. Scores of soldiers had been arrested, most of them only 24 hours beforehand.

The families of the dead men, who call their executed relatives the "democratic martyrs", have been vocal in their protests about the executions ever since.

In Sudan the death penalty exists for a variety of offences including waging war against the state, apostasy, murder and rape outside of marriage or importing illegal drugs. Since the current government seized power scores of people have been executed; the majority have been members of the armed forces convicted of treason-related offences at unfair summary trials.

For example, following incursions by the SPLA into the garrison town of Juba in mid-1992, around 300 suspected SPLA sympathizers, including police officers, soldiers and civilians, were arrested. The government has admitted that three aid workers were executed after summary trials. Many others, about whom no further information has been made available, may have suffered the same fate.

A soldier, one of another group of 23 army officers arrested in March 1990, who was tried by a military tribunal in May 1990, and later managed to escape and flee the country, has said that each person was on trial for approximately two minutes:

"They read the accusation: "You are accused of conspiring against the government under the terms of..." and read out the relevant laws. Then they asked: "are you guilty?". I said "no". Then they read out the prosecution case and said "the court finds you guilty". I had no representation and was not allowed to call witnesses".

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Lieutenant-General Omar
Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir
President
People's Palace
PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

Major-General Hassan 'Abd al-Rahman Ali
Minister of Defence
Ministry of Defence
Khartoum
Sudan

Mr 'Abd al-Aziz Shiddo
Minister of Justice & Attorney-General
Ministry of Justice
Khartoum

- call for the abolition of the death penalty, which is a violation of the ultimate human right, the right to life
- call for the government to put an end to summary military courts martial, which should be replaced by courts which contain procedural safeguards protecting human rights
- call for all trials before such courts to conform to internationally recognized standards of fairness

Please send copies of your letters to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Relatives of officers executed in 1990

Repeated harassment and arrest

Twenty-eight army officers were summarily executed on 24 April 1990, the 28th day of Ramadan. Ever since, their families have held frequent meetings and demonstrations to commemorate the dead men and to protest against their execution. As a result, they have been regularly harassed and frequently detained.

In October 1991 a meeting of women family members in a private house was broken up by security men. Everyone present - women, children and even domestic servants - were arrested.

Majda Awad Khojali and Widad Ali Karrar were held overnight with two other women.

The next year, on the 28th day of Ramadan in 1992, relatives staged a protest in the centre of Khartoum. They blocked the traffic and distributed leaflets, photographs and poems commemorating the officers. Security officials arrived and ten women, including the sisters and mother of Captain Mustafa Awad Khojali and the sisters of Lieutenant Colonel 'Abd al-Moneim Hassan Ali Karrar, were arrested and taken to Omdurman Women's Prison. The next day they went on hunger strike. One elderly woman fell sick.

Over the next three weeks the women were released and made to sign an undertaking:

"It said we were not to insult the June revolution, nor to engage in any anti-government activity nor to leave Khartoum without permission. We ignored it."

The families have not given up. They continue to meet to remember their loved ones. In October 1993 and March 1994 security personnel broke up their meetings. Further arrests were made, this time including male family members. In October 1993 the brother of one of the dead men, who had been at the meeting, was detained for a month. A gathering on 10 March 1994 led to the arrest of about 30 other men. Six days later all except four men were released after reportedly having been beaten with plastic piping. On 5 April 1994 those that remained in detention were released.

Despite continuing harassment, the families refuse to be silenced about the executions.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Lieutenant-General Omar Hassan
Ahmad al-Bashir
President
People's Palace
PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum
Sudan

Mr 'Abd al-Aziz Shiddo
Minister of Justice & Attorney-General
Ministry of Justice
Khartoum

- call on the Sudan Government to immediately and unconditionally release any prisoner held for engaging in his or her internationally recognized fundamental right to freedom of expression and association
- ask the government to stop arbitrarily detaining without charge or trial individuals suspected of being political opponents
- ask the government to remove any legal and constitutional provisions which allow detention without charge or trial

Please send copies of your letters to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

The women pictured overlaf are relatives of Captain Mustafa 'Iwad Khojali, one of the 28 army officers:

Top left: Muna Khojali (sister)
Bottom left: Manal Khojali (sister)

Top right: Magda Khojali (sister)
Bottom right: Jarah Osman el-Husszin (mother)

Apiu and Acur MAJOK

Children abducted by government forces

Cattle camp, southern Sudan (c. Katz)

In April 1993, government controlled Popular Defence Force (PDF) troops entered the Luo village of Pankuel in northern Bahr al-Ghazal, southern Sudan. They proceeded to loot the village, taking food, cattle and goats...**and children.**

Apiu Majok, aged 12, and her sister, Acur, aged nine, were amongst a number of girls who were abducted. Terrified, they were put on a government train travelling north which was carrying a number of other children. It seems likely that the two sisters were separated before being forced on board. Maybe they were separated while on the train.

Whatever the exact circumstances of their nightmare, Acur was liberated by police in Aweil, the main garrison town in northern Bahr al-Ghazal, far from her home village. Her older sister, Apiu, was not so fortunate. Her whereabouts are still unknown.

Apiu Majok and her sister were growing up in the wrong place at the wrong time. Their village was situated alongside the railway line in northern Bahr al-Ghazal, a railway line of strategic importance to the government which uses it to transport troops, food and other supplies to its garrison towns in the south. The surrounding territory is controlled by the armed opposition Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), engaged in a bitter civil war in the south of Sudan against the government. PDF troops on horseback accompany government trains, clearing civilians and the SPLA from a wide swathe of territory on each side of the track. Killings and rape of women and children by PDF troops are frequently reported. It is thought that many of those who are abducted are taken into domestic slavery.

In June and July 1993, another government train travelling south was carrying 217 abducted children by the time it arrived in Wau. These children were then kept for 17 days in Wau railway station. The train then returned northwards. It appears that in Aweil the local authorities again intervened and freed around 150 children. However, no further action against the PDF appears to have been taken. A youth interviewed in Akon in June 1994 described being taken and put in the train by the PDF:

"The train was going north. The PDF caught me in the forest with cows and goats. They beat me a bit and then they dragged me towards Aweil. When they reached Kuom they started putting little children in sacks. I was locked in a lavatory with five boys. I knew three ... In Aweil there was a search by the police. They found us and we were freed."

Apiu is still missing. So are at least 80 other children.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Lieutenant-General Omar
Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir
President
People's Palace
PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

Major-General Hassan 'Abd al-Rahman Ali
Minister of Defence
Ministry of Defence
Khartoum
Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum
Sudan

- express concern at the taking into captivity of children by government controlled Popular Defence Force militias

- call for a thorough and impartial inquiry into the "disappearance" of **Apiu Majok** and all other children who have been abducted without trace and into reports alleging they are being used as slaves

- urge that the government takes immediate steps to prevent the taking into captivity of defenceless civilians, by establishing a clear chain of command to ensure that PDF troops are under strict control at all times, and by issuing clear instructions that violations of human rights will not be tolerated

Please send copies of your letters to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Joseph, 11 year old boy
Forcibly detained and ill-treated

Joseph (*not his real name*) is 11 years old. A Dinka child originally from the south of Sudan, he had been sent by his parents to live with an aunt in the capital, Khartoum, in order to attend school.

In late 1992, Joseph was walking in the market in Kalakala, a suburb of Khartoum, when the market was surrounded by police searching for "street children". Twenty southern Sudanese children between 3 and 11 years old, including Joseph, were forced into a minibus and taken to a police station in Soba, south of the city, where a number of them were badly beaten with camel-hide whips and accused of being thieves.

Southern Sudanese children
(c. Crispin Hughes/Panos)

Over the next five days, they were held together in a cell while more children were rounded up. When about 30 children had been assembled, Joseph and the others were taken to a children's camp north of Khartoum. From descriptions given, the camp could have possibly been Abu Dom, which is 90 kilometres outside the capital.

Any child attempting to escape received severe punishment and was harshly beaten. A first attempt to escape by Joseph and three other children led to them being flogged and forced to hold a brick in each hand above their heads for most of the day.

Joseph managed to escape two months later. After initially hiding in an irrigation canal, he walked for several days to reach the safety of his relatives in Khartoum.

With the growth in the numbers of displaced people in Sudan there has been a corresponding increase in the number of children living on the streets of the capital. In September 1992 the Khartoum authorities initiated a program to remove vagrant children from the streets. Since then at least six special camps and schools for children, including Abu Dom, have been created.

The authorities argue that the rounding up of street children is a social welfare measure, to protect them from "the multiple risks and dangers confronting street children, including addiction, pornography, prostitution and sale of organs". Whatever the motive behind the policy, Amnesty International is concerned at the way it is being carried out.

There are reports that the rounding up of the children is arbitrary and that children are often kept in police cells before being forcibly taken to the camps. Children who have escaped and parents trying to locate their missing children say that information provided by children about their relatives is frequently ignored.

Most alarming is the cruel, inhuman and degrading punishments for children who try to escape the camps. Reports suggest that floggings and being held in leg-irons are routine punishments.

Joseph's story is similar to that of many other southern Sudanese children. Although the authorities insist that the camps have been established for "street children", Joseph and others like him were taken to camps despite having homes and having relatives who cared for them in Khartoum.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please send appeals to:

Lieutenant-General Omar
Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir
President
People's Palace
PO Box 281
Sudan
Khartoum
Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamad
Ahmed Sadiq
Director General of Police
Sudan Police Headquarters
PO Box 981
Khartoum
Sudan

Dr Ibrahim Abu Awf
Minister of Social Planning
Ministry of Social Planning
Khartoum
Sudan

- express concern at reports that children have been detained by police in Khartoum, taken to special camps and flogged and beaten if they try to escape

- urge the authorities to issue directives to police and officials in charge of children's camps that cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and punishment of children is a violation of their human rights and will not be tolerated

- urge the Sudanese authorities to abide by its human rights obligations under international law to which it is a party, including *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child*

Please send copies of your appeals to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country.

Dinka Fishermen

Killed by government troops

Sudanese fisherman (c. Peter Charlesworth/Panos)

In April 1994 government soldiers patrolling from Aweil, the main garrison town in northern Bahr al-Ghazal, came upon three Dinka men who were fishing near their home village of Awulic.

Kir Lual Dut, Majok Akon Dut and Mayom Bol Acien were standing waist-deep in the waters of the river, fishing in the traditional method with nets and spears. The soldiers called the men over to the river bank where all three men were shot dead.

One was shot seven times in the back, another was shot four times. The last was killed with a single bullet through his forehead. The soldiers moved on. People from the village coming out to investigate the sounds of shooting found the bodies lined up on the river bank.

Around 48 hours later, Awulic itself was attacked by government troops - this time at night. Villagers were shot at as they fled for their lives. Aghok Luac Amuk later described how her baby was shot dead in her arms as she tried to run to safety.

Government forces, seeking to regain control of areas held by the armed opposition group the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) target the rural population as a deliberate military tactic. Soldiers reportedly raided a number of villages in this area of northern Bahr al-Ghazal in April 1994.

Since 1983, the SPLA has been engaged in a bitter civil war against the government in the south of Sudan. Hundreds of civilians have been extrajudicially executed by government troops during attacks on villages, the aim of which appears to be to destroy the SPLA in a locality by simply clearing the area of people.

Despite a number of declared ceasefires by the government, such killings of unarmed civilians appears to continue unabated. Civilians live in fear of raids by government troops, or are forced to leave their home areas. Around three million people have been displaced from their villages and forced to start rebuilding their lives away from the war zones.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Please write to:

Lieutenant-General Omar
Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir
President
People's Palace
PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

Major-General Hassan 'Abd al-Rahman Ali
Minister of Defence
Ministry of Defence
Khartoum
Sudan

Dr al-Tayib Ibrahim Mohamed Kheir
Minister of the Interior
Ministry of the Interior
Khartoum
Sudan

Mr Joseph Ajuong
Governor of Northern Bahr
al-Ghazal State
c/o People's Palace
PO Box 281
Khartoum
Sudan

- call for a thorough and impartial inquiry into all extrajudicial executions and call for those found responsible to be brought to justice and removed from positions of responsibility
- urge that immediate steps be taken to prevent the recurrence of extrajudicial executions, by establishing a clear chain of command to ensure that their troops are under strict control at all times, and by issuing clear instructions that such killings will not be tolerated
- state that the killing of people taking no active part in hostilities is a violation of the principles of humanitarian law, in particular Article 3 of *the Geneva Conventions*

Please send copies of your appeals to diplomatic representatives of Sudan in your country