

FABRICATING TERRORISM III

BRITISH COMPLICITY IN
RENDITIONS AND TORTURE



ABOUT CAGEPRISONERS

Cageprisoners is a not-for-profit company limited by guarantee which operates as a human rights NGO. The organisation seeks to work for political Muslim detainees, specifically those interned as a result of the 'War on Terror' and its peripheral campaigns, by raising awareness of the illegality and the global consequences of their detention. By promoting due process the vision of the organisation is to see a return to the respect of those fundamental norms which transcend religion, societies and political theories.

Cageprisoners comprises of an advisory group which includes patrons, seasoned activists, lawyers, doctors and former detainees. From the group a board has been elected which oversees the strategy and management of the organisation and its employees. By working in such a way the working environment of the organisation can constantly be reviewed in light of its aims and objectives.



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FOREWORD

In January 2002, came the first shocking images of human beings, hooded and shackled in rows in aircraft transporting them across the Atlantic, just as slaves in slave ships four hundred years ago, to be displayed for the world to see, crouched in open cages in orange jumpsuits in Guantánamo Bay. It did not require an education in international humanitarian law to know that what we were seeing was unlawful; instinctive moral revulsion precisely mirrored what is the law. This was the unlawful trafficking of human beings; it was not a manifestation of the Geneva Convention at work, it was neither deportation nor extradition, far worse, it was transport from a world and to a world outside the reach of the law, and intended to remain so. Within that world the worst of crimes against humanity were being perpetrated and they are still, terrifyingly, continuing to be perpetrated.

What has slowly and painfully come to be revealed through the debriefing of those who have through great struggle re-emerged into the light of lawful day, is shocking beyond belief; that human beings in authority have done, what has been done to these men, is a sickening indictment of how the world has not matured, and not progressed. And yet crimes against humanity, and war crimes, are defined thus:

Grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of the 12th August 1949, including torture or inhuman treatment; wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, wilfully depriving a prisoner of war or other protected person of the right to a fair and regular trial; unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement.

What of those who have perpetrated these crimes against humanity? Two issues need to concern us urgently in Britain. The visual images put out by the US military showed us in part what the US was doing and the seven year debate in the USA as to the Bush/Cheney/Rumsfeld redefinition of torture and its abusive practices has been conducted in public. Whistleblowers in the USA are a protected species. But here, the part played by our Intelligence Services, and in turn our Foreign Office and our Home Office, has remained in large part secret. There are no dramatic visual images that tell us the reality.

Yet they were there, in many cases it was they who told the Americans where to locate British nationals and British residents, it was they who provided information that could be and was used in conditions of torture, and it was and is they who have received the product.

The question of how far we will in this country ever properly know the extent of British participation, deserves to be a burning issue; we should not take for granted that there will be judicial inquiries or court cases in which we, the public, will know what we need to know about the complicity of our government in crimes against humanity. There will be and is already a continuous assertion by the Government that any issue that relates to the Intelligence Services, and any issue that relates to the conduct of diplomatic relationships, should not see the light of day in normal courts, but should be confined to special courts, and/or the evidence should be heard in secret. This is not the way that the most basic principles of democratic responsibility and due process should be exercised in even the most normal of instances. In relation to issues of such moral seriousness and public importance as the issues raised here, in the wider interests of a healthy society nationally and internationally as a whole, we must not let that happen.

It is all too obvious that the reality of guarantees of human rights does not come from the top down, but has to be fought for, generation by generation, that they be observed, preserved, or, as is demanded now in this century, reinstated. We should not let the burden rest upon the victims themselves, whose accounts have been so carefully assembled here, to ensure that the secret state is held properly and publicly to account.

[Gareth Peirce—Human Rights Lawyer]

INTRODUCTION

“English common law has regarded torture and its fruits with abhorrence for over 500 years.”

[Lord Bingham, House of Lords]

“No State Party shall expel, return ("refouler") or extradite a person to another State where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture.”

[UN Convention against Torture, Article 3]

“All you need to know is that there was a ‘before 9/11’ and there was an ‘after 9/11.’ After 9/11, the gloves came off.”

[Cofer Black, Director of the CIA's CT Center]

“The sad fact is they [the British government] have acted duplicitously, immorally and unlawfully. It is not just their uncritical acceptance of and obedience to torturous conditions, regimes, and physical restraint or worse. They were there by choice. These are the lessons of Nuremberg. You cannot simply be present in these circumstances and escape your own role. The definition of torture under the UN convention is the application of extreme mental or physical pressure by a state on an individual for the purpose of obtaining information. Any complicity in that, as well as direct application, is in breach of international law and is criminal by definition. The paradox is that whilst the government is unperturbed in using that information and depending upon it as reliable, it acknowledges too that information obtained through torture and duress is abhorrent to the British way of life.”

[Moazzam Begg, Enemy Combatant]

Over the past eight years, human rights watchdogs, researchers and lawyers recorded a disturbing number of cases involving individuals whose common experiences of detention without charge, illegal transportations to other states without recourse to due process, abuse and torture has pointed to a systematic violation of international laws. The evidence directly implicates the US administration which while denying involvement in torture, partly by redefining its meaning, has admitted that it is overseeing an ‘outsourcing’ process of intelligence gathering in which terrorism suspects are being rendered or transferred for interrogation to countries experienced and cognisant of the cultural needs of the detainees. However, the role of British authorities in this programme has still to be fully revealed. On numerous occasions Government representatives have denied any involvement in the transfer of individuals (rendition) and torture. As the evidence continues to mount it has become apparent that an international chain of abuse, links both the US and UK administrations to breaches of international human rights conventions.

After 9/11, under the slogan ‘War on Terror’, there were moves to prioritise national ‘security measures’ over human rights and civil liberties with the ratification of legislation such as the Patriot Act in the USA. Additionally, international alliances were forged involving countries which ranged from the expected, to the startling. A picture of systematic cooperation between the West, Eastern Europe, Asian sub-continent and the Middle East emerged which would allow terrorism suspects to be ‘fast-tracked’ and undergo a variety of illegal interrogation techniques, in order to crush the threat of global terrorism. Evidence is emerging that in waging this war, fabricated accounts of terrorist acts produced through forced or coerced confessions have been used to justify a whole raft of anti-terror legislation, and the illegal actions which are described in this report.

The Cageprisoners’ report entitled ‘*Fabricating Terrorism III: British Complicity in Renditions and Torture*’ is an update of the previous reports *Fabricating Terrorism* and *Fabricating Terrorism II*. The original report was compiled using evidence ranging from the testimonies of detainees, existing interviews with officials in the security services, and research.

The updated reports focus on the British Government which sees itself as a leader in the field of human rights, in recent years ratifying the Optional Protocol to the UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (OPCAT) in 2003, questioning whether its commitment to human rights is as strong as its commitment to the USA, and in the process challenging official government denials in regard to rendition and torture.

One of the key features of Fabricating Terrorism III, is the case of Farid Hilali. The case demonstrates that the UK security/intelligence officials were complicit in the rendition and torture of individuals as early as two years prior to 9/11. This fact suggests that the unlawful activities of the UK authorities are systematic, rather than rare abuses.

Below there are 31 case studies mostly detailing the experiences of British citizens and British residents granted asylum which illustrate the manner in which they have passed through a subterranean system of kidnappings, being ghosted to 'black sites' and suffering false imprisonment, abuse and torture during the process. Due to the constraints of space and time these examples represent a much larger number of cases, often undocumented. They illustrate issues of illegality that stem from current British policy on detentions in the 'War on Terror' a term itself abandoned but which remains a de facto reality. The aim of this report is to illuminate a path along which all the other detentions are discovered so that the true extent of British involvement in such practices can be highlighted.

Summary of 'Fabricating Terrorism II: British Complicity in Renditions and Torture'

1.1 The Findings of the Report

- The report has found systematic violations of international law perpetrated by the British authorities in relation to a) rendition or 'torture' flights which have been, and are using British airspace and airport facilities, and b) the role of the intelligence services in gaining information knowingly - or with reasonable suspicion that torture was used - obtained from torture, and from passing on 'intelligence' of a dubious nature to other countries' intelligence services which forms a basis for

the detention, abuse and torture of detainees.

- The British government has abrogated responsibilities towards British citizens and British residents granted asylum alike, affording them no or minimal protection or representation against the illegal actions of foreign governments.

- Senior members of the British Government and authorities supplied misinformation to Parliament.

1.2 The Consequences of British Complicity in Rendition and Torture

- The knowledge of Britain's involvements in rendition and torture tarnishes Britain's reputation as a supporter of human rights worldwide.

- When the British government is unable to confront and fully investigate evidence of torture eye-witnessed by British citizens and residents, it must throw into doubt Britain's policy of returning suspects to countries of origin through the international non-torture agreements, called inappropriately, Diplomatic Assurances.

- The role of the security services is also called into question by a) supplying questionable or downright false evidence which has led to cases of kidnapping, illegal detention and torture b) using intelligence which has been gained from interviews where torture has taken place and c) maintaining a presence at interrogations where torture has been known to be used. All of these actions are illegal under international law with evidence extracted from torture impermissible in a court of law. Although no evidence has been uncovered of the British Security Services directly torturing any suspect themselves, they are plainly guilty of facilitating the rendition of suspects.

In order to prevent the continuation of the British Government's policies on rendition and torture we have published Fabricating Terrorism III: British Complicity in Renditions and Torture alerting British citizens that these dangerous policies are being carried out in their name. The onus is on the British public itself to stop these acts continuing and to bring to account those responsible.

[Asim Qureshi—Executive Director]

MOAZZAM BEGG:

Coming out now a lot...is that there are allegations against the British intelligence, for torture of British citizens in countries as wide and diverse as Egypt, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Morocco in your case- in my case, Afghanistan and Pakistan. I think the problem is much bigger than they're admitting- do you think they're going to admit it at some point?

BINYAM MOHAMED:

I think the British government would admit a lot of this sometime in the future, unlike the Americans, who have...I would think the British are more intelligent than the Americans when it comes to this kind of stuff.

BRITISH COMPLICITY – OVERVIEW

Name	Complicity in renditions	Complicity in torture
<p>Farid Hilali</p>	<p>British authorities gave ‘direct orders’ for Hilali to be picked up and interrogated in the United Arab Emirates and Morocco. His case presents factual evidence that the UK authorities were involved in renditions and torture prior to 9/11.</p>	<p>The British intelligence officials having had the opportunity to speak to Hilali and interrogate him knew full well of the torture that he suffered while being detained by the Middle Eastern states.</p>
<p>Binyam Mohamed</p>	<p>MI6 agents spoke with Binyam Mohamed in Karachi, Pakistan. They knew he was being sent away with the Americans to Guantánamo Bay.</p>	<p>British MI5 agents supplied Moroccan interrogators with information to help extract confessions from Binyam Mohamed which included the use of some of the most horrific torture methods that have surfaced in the Guantánamo cases to date.</p>
<p>Jamal Al-Harith</p>	<p>The British Embassy in Kabul worked with British intelligence in the UK and the American military to have Al-Harith rendered to Guantánamo Bay.</p>	<p>Al-Harith was cruelly, inhumanely and degradingly treated and suffered physical and psychological torture in Guantánamo Bay where he remained for almost three years.</p>
<p>Jamil El Banna and Bisher al-Rawi</p>	<p>Both these men were had been spoken to at length by British intelligence services and one of them had in fact been co-operating with them soon before their joint business trip to Gambia. They were detained and rendered with full knowledge of British authorities and handed over to the US authorities.</p>	<p>El Banna and al-Rawi were both severely abused during the time that they were held in the Dark Prison, Bagram and Guantánamo Bay where they spent five years each – without charge or trial.</p>
<p>Martin Mubanga</p>	<p>Having made a trip to Zambia to reconnect with his roots Martin was picked up by the Zambian authorities and held at Lusaka prison. During his detention he was questioned by British agents who allowed the Americans to render him and place him in Guantánamo Bay.</p>	<p>For 33 months Mubanga faced torture and abuse in Guantánamo Bay that can be directly related to British intelligence through their part in supplying information to their American counterparts.</p>

<p>Omar Deghayes</p>	<p>A British intelligence officer by the name of 'Andrew' interrogated Deghayes in Pakistan after he had been picked up. Promising to return Deghayes home if he co-operated, Deghayes complied but was instead sent to Bagram where he was further questioned by 'Andrew' until he was rendered to Guantánamo Bay.</p>	<p>In addition to the cruel and inhuman treatment alleged by all the Guantánamo prisoners Deghayes left eye was gouged out during his time there. He was held in both Bagram and Guantánamo where he spent six years without charge or trial.</p>
<p>Richard Belmar</p>	<p>At the request of his family, the British consulate made inquiries to the Pakistani authorities who were holding Belmar. Despite their requests, they were refused, all the while MI5 were questioning him with full access. By the time the consulate were given any level of access, he was already on his way to Guantánamo Bay.</p>	<p>Belmar was tortured in Guantánamo Bay through both physical and psychological techniques and continues, like the others, to suffer the long term effects of prolonged isolation and torture.</p>
<p>Shafiq Rasul, Ruhel Ahmed and Asif Iqbal</p>	<p>Known as 'The Tipton Three' these young men were held in Afghanistan by the American forces in both Sherbeghan and Kandahar prisons. While in those prisons, they were questioned by British officials including from the SAS.</p>	<p>During their questioning, the three men were abused, short-shackled and starved until they confessed to allegations that later were proved to be false. They spent nearly three years detained without charge or trial.</p>
<p>Shaker Aamer</p>	<p>After having been sold to bounty-hunters in Kabul Aamer was held in the Dark Prison, Kandahar and Bagram. He was then taken to Guantánamo where he remains despite having been cleared for transfer several years ago. While there agents from MI5 and MI6 had been sent by the UK to interrogate him.</p>	<p>During his custody Aamer was repeatedly trampled on under the boots of the US soldiers. His case is now part of a criminal investigation into the activities of British intelligence as he maintains that he was severely abused and tortured in front of British officials, including having his head repeatedly smashed against a wall in Bagram Aamer is also the last British resident in Guantánamo and the only unsettled case of the Guantánamo civil actions against the British government. He has been held for over 9 years without charge.</p>

<p>Tarek Dergoul</p>	<p>Five days into his captivity in Kandahar, British officials arrived to question him Dergoul thought they were there to help him, however conversely they simply questioned him until he was sent to Guantánamo Bay with their knowledge of such an illegal rendition taking place.</p>	<p>During his incarceration in Guantánamo Bay, Dergoul was subjected to various forms of physical and psychological torture. His arm was also amputated during his time in custody due to an injury. He was held for almost three years without charge.</p>
<p>Moazzam Begg</p>	<p>Begg was abducted in front of his wife and children in the middle of the night by the Pakistani and American intelligence services in Islamabad where he first encountered British agents during his secret detention. With their approval he was sent first to Kandahar and then Bagram and Guantánamo where he was interrogated often by British MI5 agents, including one agent who had met him twice before in the UK.</p>	<p>Begg suffered terrible abuse and degrading treatment in secret prison, Kandahar, Bagram and Guantánamo Bay, a direct consequence of the kidnapping that had been allowed by British intelligence. He witnessed the murder of two prisoners by US soldiers during his time in Bagram, when British agents too were present at the facility. He was held for 3 years without charge.</p>
<p>Zeeshan Siddiqui</p>		<p>After being arrested by the Pakistani authorities, Siddiqui was questioned by Pakistani intelligence (ISI) with the use of torture and abuse. Not being concerned for his condition, MI6 also questioned Zeeshan despite knowing of the conditions he was being kept in.</p>
<p>Rangzieb Ahmed</p>		<p>Ahmed was detained in Pakistan by the security services and severely tortured, including having his fingernails removed. He was also questioned by British officials who were aware of his torture. He was also questioned during this time by the CIA.</p>

Tariq Mahmood	Having tracked Mahmood from the UK, through Saudi Arabia to Pakistan, MI6 had him picked up by the Pakistani ISI. The British were fully aware of Tariq's situation before they interrogated him and even after he went missing.	During his interrogations by MI6, various threats were made against Mahmood if he did not comply. Particularly worrying for Tariq, was the fact that he was threatened with death if he failed to co-operate.
Salahuddin Amin		Voluntarily surrendering himself to the Pakistani police after he heard he was wanted for questioning – Amin suffered torture concurrently to sessions of interrogation by MI5.
Mohammed Naeem Noor Khan		Being detained illegally in various unknown detention facilities around Pakistan, Khan was interrogated by MI6 before disappearing and becoming a 'ghost detainee'.
Abu Faraj al-Libbi	Abu Faraj al-Libbi, a suspected mid-level Al-Qaeda operative was captured in Pakistan after which he disappeared and was held in secret locations.	Based on unsubstantiated links to the July 7 bombings Al-Libbi became of interest to British authorities. After being held in 'ghost sites' where it is believed he was subjected to abuse and torture for several years Al-Libbi was rendered to Guantánamo Bay where he has been since 2007 – classed as a HVI (High Value Detainee).
Ahmad al-Iraqi	With the British authorities closely watching Ahmad, on arrival in Jordan, they asked Jordanian agents to pick him up. Although not personally involved in his kidnapping, the British practically rendered him by asking for the Jordanians to arrest him.	The Jordanians subjected Ahmad to a variety of torture techniques as the British authorities fed them information which they used to extract further intelligence.

<p>Alam Ghafoor</p>		<p>Being subjected to different forms of torture both psychologically and physically, the Dubai intelligence officers used information passed on to them by the British to extract intelligence purportedly relating to the 7/7 bombings.</p>
<p>Adam Brown</p>		<p>Adam was kidnapped off the streets of Damascus by the Syrian security services. Over the course of his detention he was badly abused and came to realise that the questioning during his interrogation was being fed by the British authorities.</p>
<p>Azhar Khan</p>		<p>Khan was detained by the Egyptian authorities on his arrival to Cairo and held for a week, during which time he was hooded, starved, beaten, subjected to electric shocks, forced to stand for days at a time and forced to hear others being tortured. It became clear to Khan that the questions he was asked were coming from the UK authorities.</p>
<p>Mohammed Ezzoueck, Reza Asfarzadagen, Shahjahan Janjua and Hamza Chentouf</p>		<p>During their unlawful imprisonment by the Kenyan Anti-Terrorist Police Unit, the four British men were constantly interrogated by MI5 who were fully aware of the poor conditions they were kept in and the harsh treatment that they suffered.</p>
<p>Umm Dawud</p>	<p>Umm Dawud was abducted in Kenya while fleeing from war-torn Somalia. She was detained in Kenya and rendered to Somalia and subsequently to Ethiopia. She was subjected to interrogations by MI5 in Ethiopia despite their knowledge of her detention in Kenya.</p>	<p>During her entire ordeal, Umm Dawud was subjected to abuse and humiliation that left her in a terrible state. Her circumstances and pain were exacerbated by her pregnancy which was given no due attention during the detention and renditions.</p>

Jamil-ur-Rehman		Jamil-ur-Rehman was subjected to 29 months of abuse, torture and interrogations at the hands of the Bangladeshi authorities. During his beatings, MI5 would question him knowing full well what was taking place when he refused to cooperate with their questions.
Gulam Mustafa		Mustafa was detained in Bangladesh after years of interest by MI5. There has been strong evidence to suggest that the British security agencies have been cooperating closely with the Bangladeshi authorities who have been abusing him throughout his detention.

BRITISH COMPLICITY PRIOR TO 9/11

British complicity in renditions and torture, in the context of the War on Terror, is a phenomenon that is increasingly well documented. The security argument has been put forward on many occasions in order to justify practices that have traditionally gone outside of the rule of law. The case of Farid Hilali exposes a more sinister reality – that the policy of allowing suspects to be tortured at the behest of the UK security agencies predates 11 September 2001.

Case 1—Farid Hilali

Nationality: Moroccan/ British Resident

History/Background: Hilali was initially detained in 1999 while in the United Arab Emirates. There he was subjected to torture and interrogation on behalf of the British security services and was later sent to Morocco where this treatment continued. On his release he came to the UK and was arrested on immigration offences, but he was re-arrested in June when Spain issued a European arrest warrant to extradite him for alleged terror offences, and in particular involvement in 9/11 – he has now been released without any charges.

British involvement in torture:

According to Hilali, he had been tortured by authorities in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Morocco at the behest of British intelligence who had given, “direct orders”, for the interrogation to take a certain course. In an interview with Cageprisoners, Hilali explained that Britain was completely complicit in his torture,

“In the beginning I thought that they UAE authorities would just ask me questions about why I was there and generally just in terms of immigration issues. I don’t live in the UAE and I was there just in transit. I was surprised to see the British authorities, I was extremely surprised and it actually made me quite worried. And after that, it became very clear that I was in a really bad situation as the treatment I was getting from the police had nothing to do with being in the UAE, but rather had everything to do with my non-cooperation with their questioning and that of the British. Why was I being abused by the UAE authorities when the British were the ones who wanted to ask me questions?”¹

It was during his interrogation by the UAE police that Hilali first noticed the presence of a white British male who did not identify himself, “He introduced himself to me by saying that he represented the British government and that he was there to ask me some questions.”² He said that “if you cooperate with me, I will see if my government can help you. You are in trouble here and you have no way out except to cooperate and answer my questions”. Hilali’s freedom very much depended on the level of assistance he was willing to give the British intelligence officers, “If you want to come out of this problem, you have to cooperate with the British Government.”³



The British not only knew what was happening to him, they were also happy to let it continue while they needed to extract information from him. One British official told Hilali while he was being held in the UAE, “People like you don’t deserve human rights or democracy.”⁴

After getting into an argument with the agent that was interrogating him, the UAE police who were present with the agent retired with him briefly in order to discuss things, after a little while they returned without the agent and began to verbally abuse Hilali,

“Because I did not cooperate with this British agent, the officers came back into the room and started swearing at me saying that they would teach me a lesson...They took me and began to beat me violently for a long period. They put me in a dark cell for three days without food or water, no one came to speak to me, and that was just the start of the punishment I was to receive.”⁵

When the UAE authorities believed that they were getting nowhere with Farid, it was decided that he should be sent to Morocco in order for his interrogation to continue. Once again, it is Hilali’s firm belief that he had been sent there specifically at the request of the British government. He states,

“They started to question me straightaway. From the moment we got to this building they began their questioning – asking me the same questions again and again. Again it was all about the UK, the types of questions that were coming from the UK, about people in the UK. There was nothing about me, whether it related to my time in the UAE or in Morocco, they didn’t want to ask any questions, it was all to do with the UK and people there.”⁶

Moazzam Begg has given testimony to Hilali’s lawyers that he was first visited in the summer of 1998 by MI5 agents at his house regarding his case. Hilali had written to Begg from Dubai claiming he’d been severely tortured. In Begg’s account of his time in Guantánamo and other secret detention sites he mentions this meeting and includes an excerpt of the letter:

“While he [Hilali] was still free, he phoned me in Britain, to say he was sending some documents to my address. They included his police arrest sheet, and a handwritten letter. He wrote, ‘I am writing to you as a last resort . . .

I was arrested in Pakistan and handed over to the Dubai authorities so they could torture a confession out of me...It says I am "a member of the GIA"[Armed Islamic Group]...I am part of bin Ladin's group...they have done bad things to me...they used falaqa on me [beating the soles of the feet]...I am very hurt and tired, please get me a lawyer...please, please help me..."

After having escaped from Morocco to the UK, Farid Hilali has set about to clear his name and to highlight the abuses that have taken place against him through a process of rendition and outsourcing of torture. According to Farid, the British government were completely complicit in the torture that took place against him. His treatment is very much akin to that of those who were questioned by UK security officials and then subsequently rendered to Guantánamo, with one key difference: Hilali's treatment predated the attacks of 11 September 2001.

Current status:

Currently Hilali is in Spain having successfully challenged allegations of being involved with various terrorist plots. The case against him was based on telephone intercept evidence which the House of Lords in the UK already ruled inadmissible. In March 2009 he received bail but Hilali is concerned that once he is acquitted in Spain, that he will be deported to Morocco where he has already been subjected to torture.

BEFORE GUANTÁNAMO – RENDITIONS AND TORTURE

There are a number of examples of British citizens and residents who were forcibly captured by various intelligence agencies and taken to Guantánamo Bay or other detention facilities around the world. In nearly every single case, there are substantive allegations that British intelligence was fully aware of the plight of these individuals and still colluded in and allowed for their transfer to proceed without any due process being afforded to the men.

Further still, in many of those cases the British government was also fully aware of the renditions thus being fully complicit in their kidnapping and subsequent false imprisonment and abuse. The cases, such as those of Martin Mubanga provided in *Fabricating Terrorism III* reinforce this point, also bringing to light the systematic attempts at co-opting the 'suitable' detainees into spying through the use of false evidence and various threats against them.

All of the British citizens and residents mentioned below have been returned to the UK, with the exception of Shaker Aamer, who was cleared for transfer/release in 2007. Not a single man out of this group has ever been charged, tried and convicted with any crime related to international terrorism, a fact that was known to British authorities before their rendition to Guantánamo.

Case 2—Binyam Mohamed

Nationality: Ethiopian/British resident



History/Background: After leaving Ethiopia Mohamed sought asylum in the UK in 1994 and was granted leave to remain. Converting to Islam during his stay, he travelled to Pakistan and Afghanistan to learn more about Islam first-hand and to try and overcome previous drug problems. Mohamed travelled to Afghanistan July 2001. However, after hearing of the events of 11 September and its aftermath, he left for Pakistan in order to make his return to the UK. On 10 April 2002 he was arrested at Karachi airport by the Pakistani authorities travelling on another person's passport.

British involvement in torture:

Incarcerated in a Pakistani prison, the first in a shadowy network of transnational ghost prisons Mohamed was to experience, Pakistani intelligence operators abused him before he was told by MI6 officers that he would be rendered to an undisclosed Arab country for further torture, thereby contravening international laws.⁸

Morocco:

Mohamed was flown to Morocco where he was kept from 22 July 2002 to 21 January 2004 and has reported the following torture:

- mutilation of his genitalia on numerous occasions
- severe and sustained beatings
- sensory deprivation and solitary confinement
- exposure to loud music lasting for several days
- force fed allegedly mind-altering drugs intravenously

Of equal concern to Mohamed was the realisation that it was the British authorities who were feeding the Moroccans questions during his interrogations. On his release to the UK, Mohamed explained,

“They [the Moroccans] started bringing British files to the interrogations - not one, but several of them, thick binders, some of them containing sheaves of photos of people who lived in London and places there like mosques.”⁹

Once, when he asked a guard why he was being tortured, the guard replied, *“It’s just to degrade you, so when you leave here, you’ll have the scars and you’ll never forget. So you’ll always fear doing anything but what the US wants.”¹⁰*

Afghanistan:

After being told he was going home in January 2004 he was flown to Afghanistan, and confined at a detention centre in Kabul renowned as the ‘Prison of Darkness’ or the ‘Dark Prison’, where he was held until May 2004. Torture techniques there included:

- head being smashed against a wall by US soldiers
- hanging by his wrists, with feet barely touching the ground, for days on end
- exposure to loud music and harrowing sounds as sleep deprivation techniques

Worryingly, Mohamed claims doctors and psychiatrists were involved in his interrogations, alongside CIA operatives, and observed that being exposed to torture other detainees had ‘lost their minds’. Mohamed was then taken to Bagram airbase where he alleges he was forced to sign confessions that he had been planning a “dirty bomb” attack on a US city. He states that by the time he was taken to Bagram, *“I was telling them whatever they wanted to hear”¹¹*.

Guantánamo Bay:

After being transferred to Guantánamo Bay on 19 September 2004 Mohamed suffered other humiliations. He was placed in the ‘super maximum’ Camp V when he first arrived there. In January 2009 Mohamed was finally released to the UK after allegations of the complicity of British intelligence officers into his harrowing abuse became public.

British involvement in rendition:

Mohamed’s statements to his lawyer, Clive Stafford Smith, were not initially taken up and investigated by the British government, who repeatedly refused to comment on its role in the rendition process. However, as the evidence mounted, Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, was forced to admit that MI6 officers had interrogated him in Pakistan. Speaking before the Foreign Affairs Committee on 13 December 2005, Mr Straw said,

“Mr Habashi was interviewed once in Karachi by the security services. The security services had no role in his capture or transfer from Pakistan. The security services officer did not observe any abuse and no incidents of abuse were reported to him by Mr Habashi.”¹²

Despite having accepted that the MI6 agents met with Mohamed, there is still official denial that he was subjected to any abuse or torture, and no acknowledgement that he was to be handed over to the CIA and rendered elsewhere. According to Mohamed though, the MI6 officers were very much aware of what was about to take place,

“They gave me a cup of tea with a lot of sugar in it. I initially only took one. ‘No, you need a lot more. Where you are going, you need a lot of sugar,’ they said...I didn’t know exactly what [the MI6 officer] meant by this, but I figured he meant some poor country in Arabia. One of them did tell me that I was going to get tortured by the Arabs.”¹³

The complicity of the British goes far beyond merely allowing a plane to refuel in one of their airports. They actively allowed a man who had gained political asylum in the UK to be sent to certain torture in Morocco. According to Mohamed’s lawyer, *“The British government was complicit in some of the abuses that took place against Binyam, ... to the extent that the government told the Moroccans information that they would use against him in the torture sessions.”* The personal nature of much of what he was being asked made Mohamed realise that the British must be involved in what was taking place against him, *“I realised that the British were sending questions to the Moroccans ... I sought asylum in Britain rather than America because it’s known as one country that has laws that it follows. To say that I was disappointed at this moment would be an understatement.”* The Moroccan interrogators said to him,

“Why do you think the Brits sold you out to us so cheaply? Why do you think they sent you here?...We have been working with the British, and we have photos of people given to us by MI5.”¹⁴

Mohamed’s case is one of the most disgraceful examples of how the rendition process has been used by a number of governments in order to extract information through illegal and inhuman means. The complicity of the British in terms of the torture that took place against him is no less than the actual violence carried out by the Moroccans. In some ways it is even worse as they not only knowingly condemned a man to torture, but were also supplying further information to justify and intensify it.

Current Status:

Binyam Mohamed has now been released from Guantánamo and returned to the UK. Very quickly he agreed to speak with the Daily Mail and the BBC Radio 4 in exclusive interviews which detailed the horror of his abuse and rendition. The UK government has been placed under much pressure since the release of Mohamed as many within Whitehall have begun to question the manner in which counter-terrorism policies are being carried out.

In November 2010, the British Government paid out an undisclosed sum as part of an out-of-court settlement agreement to all the British citizens and residents who had begun civil actions against the British Government for complicity in rendition, false imprisonment and torture. Prime Minister David Cameron also ordered an official judge-led inquiry into the actions of British intelligence services which will address the cases of both the Guantánamo men and others mentioned in this report who allege their abuse was carried out with British complicity.¹⁵

Case 3—Jamal Al-Harith

Nationality: British

History/Background: Al-Harith was at the centre of an international news story when on 9 March 2004 he joined with four other men who became the first batch of British detainees to be released from Guantánamo. His shocking eye-witness account on the role of UK secret agent operatives in interrogations, the catalogue of abuse and torture and the use of rendition, all contradicted previous public announcements made by both British and American governments on these matters and opened a window at a massive cover-up.

Having converted to Islam in his 20s¹⁶, he became a studious practitioner of his new found religion and spent many years abroad learning about the deeper complexities of the Islamic faith.

On 2 October 2001 Al-Harith arrived in Pakistan to attend a religious retreat¹⁷, but fearing that as a British citizen he would come under suspicion of being a British spy due to the US occupation of Afghanistan, he attempted to make his way to Turkey but was intercepted and imprisoned by Taliban forces en route to his destination. Al-Harith then contacted the British Embassy in Kabul for help and followed the advice of the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) to remain at the prison compound whilst they tried to make arrangements with the British Embassy for his return to the UK. However, Al-Harith fell into the hands of the US Special Forces

Interrogation, abuse/torture:

Afghanistan:

The US forces told Al-Harith that he would be taken to Kabul and from then on could fly home. However, only two days before he was due to go to the Afghan capital, he was told by one of the American soldiers, “You’re not going anywhere. We’re taking you to Kandahar Airbase.”¹⁸ At the airbase Al-Harith was beaten and stripped naked.

Guantánamo Bay:

“Now, it is not a resort area in Guantánamo Bay. But at the same time we did not abuse the individuals who were down there.’ Colin Powell, Former Secretary of State March 15 2004 (in response to a question concerning the allegations by Jamal Al-Harith)”¹⁹

Al-Harith’s evidence certainly showed that Guantánamo is no resort, in fact it highlighted systematic abuses and torture confirmed later by other detainees who claimed they were:

- Shackled for up to 15 hours a day
- Confined to open air cells exposed to extreme temperatures, rats and snakes
- Subjected to physical beatings by the Internal Reaction Force (IRF) teams
- Subjected to psychological torture
- Denied medical aid (there are documented cases that this endangered the lives of individuals, causing later unnecessary operations and amputations)
- Served rotten food and bad drinking water
- Suffered abuse of religious practices

British involvement in rendition:

Initially, there was a dereliction of duty on behalf of the British Embassy in Kabul which was well aware of Al-Harith’s plight, but had no intention despite promises, to help him return to the UK. What is worse, they abandoned a British subject to the discretion of a foreign military.

Al-Harith’s testimony also contains evidence that the British secret services were a hindrance rather than help in establishing his innocence, and his ultimate release. Confrontations with MI5 operatives appear startling for their apparent ineptitude. On eight or nine occasions they tried to make him admit he was involved in terrorism.

Al-Harith said, “They would say: ‘Are you a terrorist?’ I’d say ‘no, get me out of here!’”²⁰

Of his British interrogators, Al-Harith added, “They were a mixed bunch. There was one young nervous guy who looked about 21. I called him ‘Youth Training Scheme MI5’. He wasn’t very professional and hadn’t even checked out my background. One of them did say they had run my name and details through every Interpol check, but could find nothing. I told them that’s because I’m innocent. There’s nothing on me. I haven’t even got a parking ticket.”²¹

Questioning and background checks by MI5 and other British intelligence personnel clearly appear farcical. Despite trying their hardest to find

legitimate reasons for incarcerating those British citizens sent to Guantánamo Bay, they were able to come up with very little in terms of substance relating to the alleged reasons they were being held. Instead of apologising for putting these men through a terrible experience, the British authorities simply allowed the men to be taken by US forces and have them rendered illegally to Guantánamo Bay, despite knowledge of their innocence.

Current status:

Al-Harith, released in March 2004, was part of a case brought against the British government which saw the settlements being paid to all the former British citizens and residents who were in Guantánamo . He said,

“They deprived me of my liberty, interrogated and tortured me and let me go without even a word of apology.”²²

Indeed after speaking out against the actions of American and British authorities, Washington made serious unfounded accusations against Al-Harith and the four other former detainees claiming they received weapons training and fought for the Taliban forces, in an attempt to discredit their testimonies.

Al-Harith is also one of the litigants in the civil action against the British Government that was settled out of court last year.

Cases 4 and 5—Jamil El Banna & Bisher Al-Rawi

Nationality: Jordanian and Iraqi/ British Residents

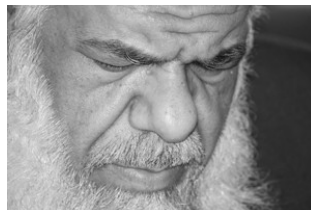
History/Background: British involvement in the rendition process is not necessarily limited to the rendition having taken place after British authorities questioned the individual concerned. As with the cases of Alam Ghafoor and Ahmad Al Iraqi (detailed later in the report), the British authorities often request that the other countries ‘pick up’ and question certain individuals who are travelling abroad, providing their security services with information to be used during interrogation.

Bisher al-Rawi had been recruited by MI5 to attempt to act as an intermediary between the Muslim cleric Abu Qatada and themselves.²³ Abu Qatada was fully aware of this arrangement.²⁴ The agents who were in contact with al-Rawi identified themselves as ‘Alex’ and ‘Matt’.²⁵ During the time the British government claimed they did not know the whereabouts of Abu Qatada, they were attempting active dialogue with him through al-Rawi.²⁶

El Banna and his friend al-Rawi, were both long-term UK residents granted leave to stay in the UK, along with al-Rawi’s brother Wahab al-Rawi planned to travel to Gambia to establish a new business venture – a peanut oil production factory. Arriving at Banjul Airport on 8 November 2002 the companions were all arrested by the Gambian authorities. They were soon interrogated by US officials, who told El Banna,

“Why are you angry at America? It is your Government, Britain, the MI5, who called the CIA and told them that you and Bisher were in Gambia and to come and get you. Britain gave everything to us. Britain sold you out to the CIA.”²⁷

Prior to his trip to Gambia, El Banna had been visited by Special Branch who told him that they were aware of his travel arrangements and had no objections to such a trip. Soon after, the three men were arrested for carrying a suspected improvised explosive device when attempting to leave for Gambia from Gatwick Airport, transferred to London and questioned by anti-terrorist police. The device turned out to be no more than a battery charger; which their lawyer procured a version of from her local Argos. Despite British assurances that they were free to travel to Gambia, the Gambian



Jamil El Banna



Bisher Al-Rawi

authorities still arrested them. When they asked for a lawyer the Gambian agents laughed and said it was “...the British who have told us to arrest you.”²⁸ Both men knew Abu Qatada in London, an Islamic figure who is detained at Long Lartin prison in the UK without being charged for the last nine years and that seems to have been the sole reason for their incarceration.

Interrogation and abuse/torture:

Afghanistan:

Before they got to Guantánamo, al-Rawi and El Banna were held in total isolation in the “Dark Prison” in Kabul for 2 weeks. It was so dark that El Banna says that he couldn’t see his fingers. Abuse included:

- Physical attacks by interrogators using fists and boots
- Subjection to very cold temperatures without appropriate clothes
- Threats of torture and rape

The pair were rendered to Bagram Airforce Base in January 2003. El Banna was forcibly shaved and both suffered ritual humiliations. During their time in Bagram, the only information that the interrogators were interested in was that relating to Abu Qatada, this being despite that fact that it was MI5 who had asked them to act as go-betweens.²⁹

Guantánamo:

Both men were kept in solitary confinement during their first month in Guantánamo Bay.³⁰ Their days consisted of spending around 14 hours in the interrogation room of which six hours would be spend in actual interrogation, “...sometimes in freezing temperatures to induce hypothermia.”³¹

El-Banna was often denied medication for rheumatism and diabetes. Countless prisoners have maintained that the ‘medical assistance’ supplied by the

authorities is inadequate and illnesses are often left to deteriorate whilst operations are performed for inexplicable reasons.

British involvement in rendition:

After being transferred to the Dark Prison in Kabul where they were assaulted, the two men were transferred to Bagram Airbase in January 2003. The rendition to Afghanistan and subsequent rendering to Guantánamo was commented upon by al-Rawi's MP, Edward Davey who wrote,

“This is not a conspiracy theory...In Gambia the group were interviewed by American officials. They had a file on Bisher, which must have come from the UK authorities...It had information on Bisher's hobbies that he pursued in the UK...flying planes and parachuting. Perhaps such hobbies post-September 11 aroused suspicion, but is it illegal to be an Iraqi with a pilot's licence?”³²

Current status:

In March 2007 Bisher Al-Rawi was released to the UK from Guantánamo without ever having been charged with a single crime after it became public that Al-Rawi had co-operated with British authorities and he had ended up in Guantánamo despite it – or even because of it.

Jamil El Banna was not released until December 2007, after having spent five years in Guantánamo Bay. He was reunited with his wife and five children, the youngest of whom he had never met. El Banna has never been charged with any crime and spent those years in Guantánamo without reason.

Both men are litigants in the civil action against the British Government that was settled out of court last year.

Case 6—Martin Mubanga

Nationality: Dual
Zambian/British national

History/Background:

Martin Mubanga left Britain for Pakistan in October 2000, where he was planning to study Islam and Arabic. After a spell in Peshawar he entered Afghanistan and attended two *madrasahs* (Islamic schools) in Kabul and Kandahar. Mubanga had a flight back to Britain booked for 26 September 2001, from Karachi, and says he had planned to return to Pakistan by bus. But after the terrorist attacks of 11 September, the bus stopped running. Hiding in Kandahar while the American bombing campaign began, he says he discovered that his British passport was missing.



He went to visit relatives in Zambia, and whilst there found out that a man called Martin Mubanga had been captured by the coalition forces in Afghanistan. A few days later he was arrested by the Zambian security service. Mubanga's solicitor, Louise Christian, suggested that by this time the authorities must have realised they did not have Martin Mubanga in Afghanistan, and would easily have discovered that the real one had recently flown from Karachi to Africa. The Zambian authorities did not take Mubanga to a police station as would be expected under these circumstances. Instead, he was immediately treated as a high profile suspect, shifted around to different motel rooms all over Lusaka. The Zambians interrogated him for days on end, without ever explaining what was really happening.

Interrogation and abuse/torture:

Guantánamo:

- 'IRFd' where a number of military personal dressed in full riot gear force prisoners to the floor, involving the use of violence, and incapacitating agents like pepper spray
- Forced shaving off of beard and hair.
- Desecration of Qur'an.

British involvement in rendition:

A terrible irony was played out when during questioning by the Zambian authorities he was asked if he considered himself a Zambian or British citizen.

Mubanga immediately answered British, deducing that the British authorities would intervene immediately in the case. Unfortunately, the 'intervention' took an unexpected turn. An American female defence official and a British MI6 agent also called Mubanga introduced themselves to him. It became obvious that they were trying to extract information from him initially trying a friendly approach, especially agent Mubanga who claimed that he was a fellow supporter of Arsenal Football Club. Speaking about the agent Mubanga said,

*"[agent] Martin tried to bond with me by saying he supported Arsenal like me. It was all pretty transparent. You didn't have to talk to him long to realise he hadn't spent very much time on the North Bank."*³³

Events however took a turn for the worse three or four days into the questioning by the British officials. The agents produced Mubanga's British passport, and other documents which they claimed had been found by them in a cave in Afghanistan, the reason for accusing him of being an al-Qaeda operative. One of the documents was allegedly a list of Jewish organisations in New York, while the other was a military instruction manual supposedly written in Mubanga's own handwriting. These were the most serious allegations that the interrogators had against him.

It soon became apparent in the case of Martin Mubanga that when they were unable to prove he was an al-Qaeda operative, the security services focused on working to recruit him as a plant within Muslim communities in South Africa or Leeds, if he preferred to stay in the UK. Of this experience Mubanga said,

*"They wanted me to go where no one would know me, I suppose so I could be undercover."*³⁴

The routine of interrogation lasted a period of three to four weeks, finally interrupted one morning when the American officer told him,

*"I'm sorry to have to tell you this, as I think you're a decent guy, but in 10 to 15 minutes we're going to the airport and they're taking you to Guantánamo Bay."*³⁵

Mubanga claims that this instantly evoked the images he had seen in the media. He remembered the pictures of the goggles, jumpsuits and chains holding prisoners in the dust. All he remembers next is that he was stripped, anally searched, placed in a big diaper and blindfolded before being placed on a plane. With only one stop between, the flight to his destination took a period of almost 24 hours.³⁶

Only later was it revealed, that the British government played a crucial role in the secret detention and abduction of Mubanga to Guantánamo Bay. The 33 months of abuse and torture that he faced can be linked directly to British intelligence officials. The Observer newspaper was given access to documentation which even the Pentagon's lawyers had to admit was deeply flawed in maintaining his guilt.³⁷

His lawyer, Louise Christian, claimed that the detention and transfer breached not only international law, but also British and Zambian law as well, *"We are hoping to issue proceedings for the misfeasance of officials who colluded with the Americans in effectively kidnapping him and taking him to Guantánamo."*³⁸

Current status:

Like some of the other Guantánamo prisoners released, when Martin reached the UK he was taken into custody for 24 hours. Restrictions on travel outside the UK, and a ban on new passports, under Royal Prerogative, were also imposed by the Government which have since been lifted. Mubanga is also one of the litigants in the civil action against the British Government that was settled out of court last year.

Case 7—Omar Deghayes

Nationality: Libyan/British Resident ³⁹

History/Background: As in the case of Moazzam Begg, Deghayes decided on travelling to Afghanistan to experience life under Taliban rule, after seeing it shown through the distorting lens of the Western media. He married an Afghan woman whilst living there, but on the outbreak of war he left for Pakistan. When Omar Deghayes was arrested in Pakistan he was visited a number of times by British officials who consistently told him words to the following effect, “we’ll take you home if you help us, because you’re one of us.” The British complicity in his case is particularly horrifying when it is considered that all the while he was detained, his innocence was known.

In Islamabad during June 2002, Deghayes was taken from his cell and driven to another location where he was told he would meet a British official. A British man in his 40s introduced himself as Andrew saying that he was working for British intelligence. Andrew asked Deghayes to cooperate with him by looking through photos and identifying those he knew saying, “you help me and the Americans and you will be back home in the UK.”

Omar Deghayes was rendered to Bagram Airbase where he was kept alongside many others who were being ‘processed’ by the Americans and other interested countries. Once again it was the man that Deghayes knew as Andrew who came to reassure him that he was being considered a British citizen as he was practically one anyway and would be treated accordingly.

Interrogation and abuse/torture:

Like all the other Guantanamo prisoners Deghayes has made substantive claims that he endured:

- Physical and psychological abuse
- Sexual and religious degradation
- Prolonged periods in isolation
- Absence of meaningful communication with his family
- Detention without charge or trial for years

As a result of abuse suffered in Guantánamo Deghayes was blinded in his left eye by soldiers.⁴⁰

British involvement in rendition:

In August 2002 while in poor physical condition due to contracting malaria,



Deghayes was called out of his cell in order to meet with the ‘British delegation’. Two men stood before him who explained that they were from British intelligence. Once again they made the same offer that Andrew had made as according to Deghayes who stated, “If I helped them they would take me home [to England] soon.” The American officials said that they had a videotape which could place him in Chechnya fighting alongside the Chechen mujahideen. They also tried to intimate that he had been to Iran along with another person that they were tracking. The British failed to take any steps to exculpate him of these charges, although some elementary investigative work would have confirmed his innocence and, presumably his freedom. At the time, the British authorities refused to take any steps to prevent the refoulement (or return) of Deghayes to Libya, renowned for its poor human rights record, the very state that his family fled when his father, Amer, was tortured and killed by Col. Gaddafi in 1980.

Current status:

After six years of incarceration without charge or trial, Omar Deghayes has been released back to the UK. He currently lives in Brighton where he is involved with projects to aid those who remain in Guantánamo Bay and others detained without charge around the world. He is also one of the litigants in the civil action against the British Government that was settled out of court last year after secret documents disclosed in court which confirmed Deghayes’ allegations were made public.⁴¹

Case 8—Richard Belmar

Nationality: British⁴²

History/Background: Richard Belmar's path to Afghanistan started when he fled the UK in order to avoid questioning on a possible charge of being an accessory after the fact of manslaughter.

After the invasion of Afghanistan he made a number of attempts to leave before crossing the border to Pakistan where he was picked up by Pakistani authorities in February 2002, and later rendered to Bagram airbase and then on to Guantánamo.

Interrogation and abuse/torture:

Belmar suffered the following injuries:

- Broken skull caused by a rifle butt
- After effects from *strappado* – where the victim is handcuffed and then hanged by the wrists

He also witnessed the death of a detainee at the hands of American personnel, which the American authorities later classified as a murder.

British involvement in rendition:

The role of the British intelligence agencies, especially in Belmar's case, was taken up by the Liberal Democrat foreign affairs spokesman, Menzies Campbell, in February 2005 who asserted,

*“Belmar's treatment amounted to wholly unjustified abuse. A review of the actions of the British in this matter, and the extent to which our operations were part of the detention and interrogation process, is now obviously required.”*⁴³

Evidence is available showing how MI5 agents helped blocking attempts by diplomats from the British consulate in February 2002 to visit Belmar after having been alerted by his family in the UK. The Pakistanis themselves were refusing to confirm whether or not he was in their custody. It was five months later that any news was given to the consulate. By then he was already on his way to Guantánamo Bay.

*“A spokesman from the Home Office, which is responsible for MI5, said it was 'no secret' that officers had questioned UK citizens in places such as Pakistan, but he could not comment on an individual case.”*⁴⁴

The Observer had been told by a senior US official, a whole year before Belmar's release from Guantánamo, that had recommended he be repatriated to Britain. The US had requested MI5 to recruit him and others to work as informers for them in Karachi. MI5 rejected the idea of recruiting Belmar. Instead they quite happily allowed him to be sent to Bagram and then subsequently to Guantánamo Bay, despite knowing there was nothing they could reasonably hold him for. The US official said,

*“He was insistent he had not been involved in any fighting, and when we asked if he would be willing to assist us in the war against terror, I thought he might be willing to try. So we contacted the Brits and they sent two guys from MI5, but after a couple of days they decided they didn't want him. We had dinner with them one night at the American club. They were just young guys. One of them was an ex-cop who used to work where Belmar lived, and he said he'd vetted him and felt he was telling the truth. But they didn't want to try to use him, although they wouldn't say why.”*⁴⁵

Through all the cases that have already been dealt with, one thing is certain, that the British government did not want to deal with these people themselves, and thus gave no support to them when they faced the immediate possibility of rendition to Guantánamo Bay. Belmar's case is just another that highlights the deep impacting injustice by British officials in allowing its citizens to be kidnapped by the Americans, but further, being totally complicit in the way that kidnapping took place.

Current status:

Belmar was released in January 2005, initially detained back in the UK for 24 hours and then released without being charged. As with other former detainees was subject to travel restrictions which have now been lifted. He is also one of the litigants in the civil action against the British Government that was settled out of court last year.

Case 9, 10 and 11—Tipton 3

Nationality: British⁴⁶

History/Background: Shafiq Rasul, Asif Iqbal and Rhuheel Ahmed were initially detained in northern Afghanistan in November 2001. Having travelled to Pakistan for Iqbal's wedding they crossed the border to see events in Afghanistan and give humanitarian assistance to Afghans after the invasion by American forces. As foreigners in Afghanistan they were soon captured by forces loyal to General Abdul Rashid Dostum. The three men were handed over to the Americans as suspected terrorists. Later on the Americans were to wrongly identify the men as having been pictured in a video tape of a meeting in Afghanistan between Osama bin Laden and the leader of the 11 September hijackers Mohamed Atta.

Interrogation and abuse/torture:

The interrogations veered from the comic, (*"If I wanted to get hold of surface-to-air missiles in Tipton, where would I go?"*) to the brutal.

Abuses included:

- Beatings
- Shackling for long periods
- Death threats
- Acts of humiliation (e.g. anal searches)
- Exposure to freezing cold conditions

After months of questioning in coercive conditions, Rasul, desperate to end his living conditions admitted meeting Osama bin Laden and Mohammed Atta in Afghanistan in 2000. In fact, he was working in a Curry's store in the West Midlands.

British involvement in rendition:

All three detainees were at some point interrogated by British military personnel, and the role of the British in the interrogations and their eventual fate became clearer as events unfolded. Rasul was introduced to a man apparently from the SAS during an interview where letters were produced, supposedly from Scotland Yard and Interpol containing incriminating evidence against him. The British authorities apparently had clear proof he was a member of Al Muhajiroon and had been sent to Afghanistan in order to fight.



Right: Shafiq Rasul
Left: Rhuheel Ahmed

Rhuheel Ahmed faced a similar accusation as he was also taken before the British officer and subsequently interrogated for three hours. Throughout the questioning, a US soldier held a gun to his head and said that if he moved, he would be shot. The SAS officer said, *"You are funded by the Al Muhajiroon to fight"*, and was consistently told to admit that the reason he was in Afghanistan was to fight for a holy jihad. The interrogator mentioning the three main maximum security prisons in Britain told Ahmed that he would be sent there.

Asif Iqbal after already having been interrogated in some detail by US officials in Kandahar and Sherbeghan prisons was also subjected to further probing by the SAS officer. Unlike his friends, he was taken the following day after the initial interrogation for a second session. It was then that the British officer told him, *"your friends have confessed to being members of the Al Muhajiroon."* After three days of interrogation Asif explained,

"I was told of maximum security prisons in the United Kingdom, including Belmarsh. The British officer told me that within a few weeks I would probably be taken there to be tried."

The role of officials from the British Foreign Office was not to assess how these British nationals were faring and to listen and act on their concerns, but was primarily a role of intelligence gathering alongside MI5. In February 2002 Ahmed was visited by an official from the British Foreign Office and also from MI5. They came to him and said that they had just seen his friends in Cuba and that they had confessed to everything. They explained to Ahmed that if he confessed to everything, they would send him back to the UK. Starving, frightened, totally fatigued and kept in the most appalling conditions, he admitted that he had been paid by the Al Muhajiroon to go and fight a holy jihad in Afghanistan. He said that he *"couldn't hack it"*. Ahmed says that *"I was in a terrible state. I just said 'OK' to everything they said to me. I agreed with everything whether it was true or not. I just wanted to get out of there"*.

The Foreign Office, despite knowing that Rasul and Iqbal were being flown to Cuba failed to inform their families that such a rendition was taking place. Ahmed's family were told while he was still in Kandahar.

The involvement of British officials is something that cannot be hidden or justified in any way. They knew of the plight these young men were going through, and a series of background checks would have established their innocence of any crime relating to terrorism or fighting for Al Muhajiroon. Rather, the reverse, the British officials set up these men by providing information to US officials who rendered them to Guantánamo Bay. The British officials who dealt with the Tipton Three were thus totally complicit in this process of rendition and should be held responsible for the illegality that took place.

Current status:

Rasul, Iqbal and Ahmed have all moved back to the Tipton area and are all taking legal action against the US administration. A film directed by Michael Winterbottom entitled 'The Road to Guantánamo' details the kidnapping of the Tipton Three and their eventual rendition to Guantánamo Bay. The movie won the Silver Bear award at the Berlin Film Festival for direction. The Tipton Three are all litigants in the civil action against the British Government that was settled out of court last year.

Case 12—Shaker Aamer

Nationality: Saudi Arabian/British Resident

History/Background: Shaker Aamer is a long-term British resident of Saudi origin whose wife and children are all British citizens. Due to his incarceration his youngest child Faris and has never met his father and all the children has almost memory of him due to their tender ages. Aamer had been given leave to remain in the UK before his visit to Afghanistan and his subsequent abduction.

While in the UK, Aamer spent his time working as an Arabic translator for a solicitor who was already advising him on his immigration case. He decided to find more work in order to support his ever increasing family, but due to his status as a foreign national, this was increasingly difficult. Eventually he decided to move his whole family to a Muslim country in an attempt to support them pending the resolution of his application for British nationality. In the summer of 2001, Aamer also decided to do some charity work in Afghanistan with Moazzam Begg, the British detainee released from Guantánamo Bay in January 2005.⁴⁷

The events of 11 September 2001 changed Aamer's life forever with the US army invasion of Afghanistan. Separated from his family in their effort to leave the country, he got as far as Jalalabad where an Afghani family turned him in. He was sold to the Northern Alliance who then subsequently handed him over to another group in Kabul. When he heard the sounds of American accents, he was filled with relief at the thought that at last he might be rescued, however, to his dismay he had only been sold again.⁴⁸

British intelligence were very much aware of Aamer's predicament while he was in Afghanistan and subsequently when rendered to Guantánamo Bay.⁴⁹

Interrogation and abuse/torture:

Bagram Airbase and Kandahar:
Aamer faced terrible abuses that he still cannot bring himself to speak about them. After having been abused badly, he was taken to Bagram Airbase where the Americans starved him for nine days and subjected him to further cruel and degrading

treatment. On leaving Bagram to be taken to Kandahar, he was tied together with other prisoners and they were all forced to keep their hands in the air, when they could no longer do so, they were hit on the head.⁵⁰ Shaker recalls that in Kandahar,

"They were jumping up and down on me in their boots, on my back and head. Yelling about my religion, my family and my race. A soldier took the holy Qur'an and threw it in the shit bucket on the floor."⁵¹

It was during his time in Kandahar that Aamer was visited by two British agents from the UK security/intelligence services. He had already been subjected to sleep deprivation and beatings by the time that the UK agents came to visit him, but even then he claims that his abuse continued in their presence. According to Aamer an agent named 'John' was in the interrogation room where he was 'bounced' against a wall.⁵²

Guantánamo Bay:

The systematic torture that was carried out by the US included stripping Aamer naked, beating him, and sticking fingers up his anus. For the next four years he was subjected to routine humiliation.

British involvement in rendition:

From early as January 2002, the British authorities knew of Aamer's incarceration and even interrogated him before he was taken to Guantánamo Bay, thereby having every opportunity to ascertain his innocence. The US have assured him that he will never leave the island,

"Then they sent us to Guantánamo, the evil island... You've come to your end. You will not be going anywhere from here."⁵³

The British government long refused to acknowledge the plight of Aamer and the other British residents still present in Guantánamo Bay. According to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, as the residents are not British citizens, they could be given any help. This of course did not take into account the fact that Aamer's four children and wife are all British citizens. The complicity of the British government in his situation is undeniable, as the UK authorities could have quite easily demanded, on the basis that Aamer has leave to

remain in the UK and thus some form of legal protection, that the US administration release this man to the UK. Not only should the government be held responsible for his detention, but also be for all the torture he was continually subjected to. The government after litigation was forced to change its stance but Aamer still remains in Guantánamo today.

Current status:

At Guantánamo Shaker has been considered a leader among the other prisoners who rely upon his kindness and intelligence to stand up for the atrocities that occur against them. Having had enough of their situation, Shaker has led many other fellow detainees in an organised hunger strike in order to raise awareness of their plight as they feel they have no recourse left other than to take their own lives,

"I am dying here every day, mentally and physically. This is happening to all of us. We have been ignored, locked up in the middle of the ocean for many years... I have problems many problems from the filthy yellow water...I have lung problems from the chemicals they spread all over the floor...I am already arthritic at 40 because I sleep on a steel bed, and they use freezing air conditioning as part of the interrogation process. I have ruined eyes from the permanent, 24-hour fluorescent lights. I have tinnitus in my ears from the perpetual noise...I have ulcers and almost permanent constipation from the food. I have been made paranoid, so I can trust nobody, not even my lawyer. I was over 250 lbs. I dropped to 130lbs in the hunger strike. I want to make it easy on everyone, I want no feeding, no forced tubes, no 'help', no 'intensive assisted feeding.' This is my legal right."⁵⁴

Despite official requests by two consecutive British Governments calling for his repatriation to the UK since he was cleared for transfer in 2007 Shaker Aamer remains held without charge or trial in Guantánamo Bay where Cageprisoners has learned through several former prisoners recently released that Aamer is mentally and physically deteriorating at alarming levels. Aamer has neither been designated for trial by military commission nor has he been charged after nine years in unlawful detention.

Crucially, Aamer is also one of the litigants in the previous civil action against the British Government and is the only case as such which remains unsettled. His release is required not only because it is the right thing to do but, in order for his claim to be concluded and for him to receive the opportunity to present his testimony to the judge-led inquiry.

Aamer's case is also the subject of a criminal investigation into the actions of British intelligence, much as in the case of Binyam Mohamed and the police need to speak to him about this.⁵⁵

It is the unanimous position of all the former prisoners, family members, legal teams and NGOs that the inquiry cannot be complete or resolved without the return of Shaker Aamer.

Case 13—Tarek Dergoul

Nationality: British⁵⁶

History/Background: In July 2001 Tarek Dergoul and his friends went to Pakistan on an extended holiday. In Afghanistan he saw a business opportunity open up in the property market, but whilst there he was led by local Northern Alliance fighters into the hands of American forces who were given a bounty by the US for capturing foreigners and handing them over.

Role of British Authorities in Rendition:

From the outset of his incarceration at Bagram, Dergoul maintains that British representatives were complicit in his interrogations. After only five days, he was led to a room to be questioned by two British men in their thirties. He was initially pleased to see them, trusting that once the question of his nationality had been established they would guarantee his safe return home. It was only later Dergoul was to find that they “left him to dry”.

To Dergoul the British officers clearly stood apart from their trans-Atlantic counterparts. “*They were more skilled in interrogations,*” he discerns, and apparently tried to appear friendly as a guise of obtaining more information. As with other detainees Dergoul noted that officials from the Foreign Office (FO) would arrive with members of MI6 making the two indistinguishable. Paramount in their minds, FO officials wanted intelligence information from him, reassuring him that they were helping him. Of one FO official Dergoul said,

“He would ask about my health and sly questions to obtain information.”

Far from what the Foreign Office would have us believe, that, ‘none of the detainees have alleged to us they were beaten or subjected to systematic abuse,’ Dergoul continues,

Every time they would come, I would tell them about the abuses. I asked them once, ‘What does Tony Blair think about Cuba [Guantánamo]?’ The British official replied, ‘He agrees that Cuba is a good thing.’ I asked, ‘Does he know what’s going on here?’ He said, ‘Yes’. I then wondered, ‘Does he help in any way?’ and the reply was ‘Yes.’ At a time when there was international outcry about the human rights violations in Guantánamo,

Tarek was told by the British official, “*The public agree too. They support and stand by Blair.*”⁵⁷

What is clear from the events of Dergoul’s questioning and interrogation is that British officials were fully aware of his situation and were indeed wholly complicit in his rendition to Guantánamo Bay. What compounded his situation was that they made him believe that the actions that were taking place against him were all legitimate and were supported by the majority of public in the UK.

Current Status:

Tarek Dergoul was released from Guantánamo Bay in March 2004 to be arrested on his arrival in the UK. He was released without charge within 24 hours. He was initially deeply traumatised by his experiences, to the extent that he was unable to give an account of his ordeal for some months. His family believed his mental health has been severely affected and that he is in a poor condition, physically. He has since spoken publicly about his ordeal and complains of suffering from migraines, memory loss and depression. Dergoul is one of the litigants in the civil action against the British Government that was settled out of court last year.

Case 14—Moazzam Begg

Nationality: British⁵⁸

History/Background: Moazzam Begg is a British citizen who moved to Kabul, with his wife and children in July 2001 to continue work on a girls' school he helped to fund from the UK. After the allied attack on Afghanistan began in October 2001, Begg and his family moved to Islamabad in Pakistan for safety. It was there that he was seized in January 2002 by Pakistani intelligence and CIA officers, bundled into a back of a car and taken back to Kandahar, Bagram and Guantánamo.

Hooded, shackled and cuffed, he was taken first to the US detention facility at Kandahar, then on to Bagram, and finally to Guantánamo Bay. During his internment, he says he was kicked and beaten, suffocated with a bag over his head, stripped naked, chained by his hands to the top of a door and left hanging, and led to believe he was about to be executed. One psychiatrist encouraged him to kill himself. In all he was detained for three years in prison, much of it in solitary confinement, and was subjected to over three hundred interrogations, as well as death threats and torture, witnessing the killings of two detainees.

Having articulated much of the atrocities that took place in Kandahar, Bagram and Guantánamo Bay, including allegations that two detainees were tortured and killed at the hands of interrogators, Moazzam Begg has detailed the involvement of British officials in the renditions that have been taking place not only against himself, but all those who have fallen victim to this illegal form of transfer. The following is his testimony taken from the account he gave to Cageprisoners regarding the British government's role in his rendition and abuse:

Begg's testimony:

“On the second day [after being seized in Pakistan] the British turned up to interrogate [me], so I have absolutely no doubt in mind that the British knew about our situation. My friend back here in the UK told me [prior to this] that the MI5 were very interested in speaking to me, and the same person he described as heavy-set and having glasses and that he was coming over to Pakistan to meet me. So I said to my friend, give him my phone number, I am not hiding from anybody, if he wants to come

over, he can do so. The day after I was held and taken, he turned up and interrogated me. He came with another woman who also questioned me. After that day I never saw him again, but during my time in incarceration, the British turned up for interrogation in Bagram and Kandahar and in Guantánamo. For every leg of my journey, they were always there.”⁵⁹

In his published memoirs about his time in US custody Begg mentions having been approached twice by the same MI5 agent who was later to ‘haunt’ him during his time as a captive of the US military. He first describes meeting ‘Andrew’ at his home in 1998 regarding the case of Farid Hilali and, the following year, when the same man questioned him at Birmingham airport.⁶⁰

In an exchange between the two during an interrogation at the Bagram airbase it is clear that serious threats were made against Begg in which the British government could have intervened.

“I told him what had been done to me during the interrogations in May, emphasising that the Americans had really intended to send me to Egypt to be tortured. I asked how he, and the British government, felt about what their top allies had done and were threatening to do. What would they do if it really happened? He said that MI5 would never deign to be involved in things like that. I said that surely any information gathered by the Americans via abuse and torture had been shared with the British. He didn't answer that. He just reiterated that Britain would never take part in rendition and torture. ‘But it happened. It happened to me, Andrew. Most of their lines of questioning couldn't have been taken without your full knowledge and cooperation. That is undisputable. It was only because of that intelligence officer finally applying a little intelligence to their nonexistent evidence of those computer photos that I didn't go to Egypt. It would have been easy for them to do it, very easy. I have no access to any legal representation; I have no consular access, even though there is a functioning British Embassy in Kabul.”⁶¹

MI5 agents reappear several more times in Begg's account after he is sent to Guantánamo Bay. Corroborating past statements of other former British prisoners held there, despite him been isolated from them, Begg tells of how British Consular representatives and MI5 agents were indiscernible as they came together and questioned him together whilst he was kept in a tiny windowless cell.

“Martin had two other people with him, though not from the Foreign Office. Lucy and Ian both identified themselves as MI5 agents. Lucy was quite unlike any previous MI5 official I had met. She was very talkative, with a passion for soap operas and film, which, to my amazement, she talked about endlessly. Ian was different. He seemed to want me to feel reassured. But that was all part of the deception. They were doing nothing for me, and presented me with yet another set of questions to answer. Martin utterly confused me. He was from the Foreign Office, but was questioning me with MI5. It was impossible for me to distinguish between the two, despite the introductions. I thought they were all the same.”⁶²

But instead of getting consular access he was told that he would stand trial at the kangaroo court-like Military Commission:

“On 7 July 2003, I became one of only six prisoners in Guantánamo facing a potential trial, under President Bush’s military order. I didn’t know this, until that day, almost two months later, when Martin told me. ‘After discussions held between the UK and US governments I must now inform you that you are eligible for trial by US Military Commission,’ he read from a sheet on the table between us. ‘I want to ask you if you understand what has been said to you and if you have any questions. I am not a legal advisor, or part of the military process, but my colleague may be able to answer any questions you might have.’”

It is hard to maintain the myth that British intelligence, and indeed the government, was not involved in Begg’s ordeal. In January 2005 he was released from Guantánamo Bay and returned to the U.K. The following year Begg published his book which he concludes with some very serious questions and allegations:

“...one of the hardest truths I’ve had to face since my return has been the complicity of my own government in what happened. For me the questions remain. Who provided false information to the US, and allowed my detention in the first place? Who exploited my situation to the maximum at every stage of my ordeal in Islamabad, in Kandahar, in Bagram, and in Guantánamo? Who was then, as now, the closest ally of the US? I have read Foreign Office letters to my father that maintain the Americans denied access to UK officials in Afghanistan, and yet I was interrogated by British intelligence in these very places – places where people, in the same situation as me, were tortured to death.”⁶³



Current status:

Since his return from Guantánamo Begg has toured extensively around the UK and internationally speaking about his time in US custody and the role of the British in his abduction, false imprisonment and torture. His memoir of his time in captivity, *Enemy Combatant*, is named after the status given to the Guantánamo prisoners during the Bush era. He is also one of the litigants in the civil action against the British Government that was settled out of court last year.

PROXY INTERROGATIONS

Complicity in the detentions process takes on various permutations around the world. Often Western nations such as the US, Canada and the UK have relied on regimes known for their gross human rights abuses to conduct an arrest and hold an individual beyond the pale of the law. In such a circumstance, the security agencies of the Western country will take the opportunity to either question the individual within the detaining country themselves, or send a file of questions for the prisoner to be interrogated by proxy. Both methods rely on knowledge that no due process is being afforded to the individual detained and that the methods carried out will not be acceptable in the detainee's country of origin.

The UK has been particularly guilty of complicity in the unlawful detention, interrogation and torture of British citizens and residents abroad. In many cases there has been direct evidence that the British security/intelligence agencies had full knowledge of the torture that was taking place and yet continued to interrogate. The following case studies show the various methods by which British agencies operating in countries such as Pakistan, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Syria, Bangladesh and Kenya have been complicit.

UK-PAKISTAN COMPLICITY: Case 15—Zeeshan Siddiqui

Nationality: British

History/Background: Siddiqui was arrested in North West Pakistan on 15 May 2005, initially thought by the Pakistani Intelligence to be some called ‘Shahzad’.⁶⁴ He was picked up after information had been fed to the Pakistani authorities by British officials regarding links that Siddiqui had with suspected Islamic militants in the UK. After the London bombings, there was an effort to interrogate him over any possible involvement. What he was actually charged with though, was being in possession of a forged national identity card. However on 23 December 2005 he was acquitted of all charges.⁶⁵

British involvement in torture:

Having been hurt badly during his interrogations, District Judge Shahjehan Khan Akhundzada of Peshawar ordered the provincial health department to conduct corneal grafting treatment of Zeeshan after he lost sight in his left eye.⁶⁶ Having had ample opportunity to interrogate Zeeshan before his trial, MI6 had sufficient opportunity to see the conditions under which he was being held and also to raise objections with the Pakistani Government and secret service. Silence by the British authorities and Foreign Office implicates complicity in their part in the torture of this British citizen.

In his own words, Zeeshan Siddiqui, speaking to BBC’s Radio 4 Today Programme explained the types of torture carried out against him,

“I was drugged. I was forcibly injected with chemicals, I had chemicals injected up my nose which burnt my nasal passage and burnt my throat. I was forcefully inserted with a feeding tube and forcefully fed, even though I was capable of feeding myself. I was chained to a bed for approximately eleven days in a row and was not allowed to even use the bathroom. I had the catheter forced up me, only in order to stop me using the bathroom, then this catheter was forcefully pulled out and I was made to bleed. Then I had the shackle pressed into my wrists so tightly that it slit my wrist. Then I was threatened with sexual abuse, for example one person came along and started opening up my clothes, they forcefully stripped me and started touching up my body and telling me that they would commit sexual abuse if I did not cooperate.”⁶⁷

British Involvement:

Pakistani ISI and British MI6 intelligence agents both took turns interrogating Siddiqui alongside others whom they felt were part of a circle of connections linked to London. Among the names of those who were questioned was that of Naeem Noor Khan (also mentioned in this report) who subsequently disappeared. MI5 had implicated Siddiqui by the slightest of acquaintances that he had had with others in the UK.⁶⁸

It is noteworthy that Zeeshan Siddiqui was questioned by the British intelligence officers before the 7 July bombings. He clearly remembers that on 5 July 2005 he was approached by British agents for the first time,

“...a few seconds later four British guys came in...they came up to me and shook my hand. They said are you Mr Siddiqui? I replied yes. They sat down in front of me. They could see I was I in such a state. I was unable to even talk properly. They said to me there are people from the British embassy who are designed to help people like you. We are not those people. At a later stage we will try and get those people to speak to you later.

First they just confirmed my address and details. Then they spoke about the consular [service]. They told me they are from the intelligence. They said if you can talk to us then we want you to tell us what you know about people involved in illegal activities. I asked for a lawyer. They said yes but anything you can tell us today we can tell our Pakistani friends and they can help you.”⁶⁹

The security services of both countries went to the effort of seeing if they could use him in order to provide more information on the London bombings and other possible missions aimed at targets in the UK. British intelligence dropped their interest in him though soon enough as they had ascertained that he was an ‘ordinary citizen’.⁷⁰

The British intelligence officers openly admitted to Siddiqui that they were there to question him, after which they would allow him access to British consular officials,

“They were asking me about what my views were on Palestine. What my views were on the war on Chechnya. What my views are on the war in Iraq. What my views are on the war in Afghanistan. A lot of the time they

spent questioning me about other people who they thought I knew. *I did not know most of the people they questioned me about who they thought I knew, because the Pakistani authorities had lied to them and said that I knew a whole host of Arabs from Al Qaeda and that I had met certain senior people in Al Qaeda. And that was a load of totally false statements which the Pakistanis themselves had made up.*"⁷¹

Siddiqui's innocence had been argued from the start of his incarceration by his lawyer, Mussarat Hilali. According to Ms Hilali, he had complained of severe torture having been used again in order to extract a false confession pertaining to Al Qaeda movements and other terrorist networks. Speaking to the Daily Times newspaper in Pakistan, she also commented on the involvement of British intelligence who had apparently known full well of the treatment of her client.⁷²

Current status:

After going through a terrible ordeal where he was held in secret detention, Siddiqui was eventually released without any charges being brought against him. He returned to the UK scarred by his experience.

After some time the UK government placed a control order on him. The trauma he faced from his torture in Pakistan coupled with the restrictions of a control order resulted in severe depression. Eventually he absconded from the order in June 2007. Siddiqui is still missing today.

Case 16—Rangzieb Ahmed

Nationality: British

History/Background: Following the Pakistani earthquakes in 2005 Ahmed travelled there from the UK in order to help in the relief effort. According to his own testimony he wished to make his stay a productive one and he registered himself with Al Qasim, a humanitarian non-governmental organisation based in Islamabad. He was given the task of helping to distribute corrugated iron sheets which would help to set up temporary shelters for those displaced from their homes.

On 20 August 2006, Ahmed was seized by Pakistani officials in the town of Haripur on his way back to Islamabad. The police cuffed and hooded Ahmed and took him to a secret location. During his arrest he noticed the presence of a Caucasian woman in the lead car that was in charge of detaining him – he strongly believes it was a westerner who was conducting the operation.

British involvement in torture:

After an initial round of questioning, Ahmed was made to sit in front of two men who became more aggressive than their colleagues. Immediately accusations began to be thrown at Ahmed who denied any involvement with international terrorism. The security officers repeated he was lying over and over again and began to beat him.

“The other male rang the bell on the table and then someone came into the room and handed in a piece of wood with rubber wrapped around it. He said to me that if I didn’t say everything including links with Al-Qaeda that they would beat me. I told them repeatedly that I had no links with this organisation or any other Islamic organisations.”⁷³

For the next two weeks he was kept in the same interrogation facility during which time he was beaten severely with wooden sticks on the soles of his feet, whipped with a rubber lash, and had three of his fingernails pulled out with pliers. Both British and CIA agents had unfettered access to him throughout this period and were very much aware of the abuse he endured. After this period of detention he was taken to another location where he was permitted to meet with British personnel. These British officials however made it perfectly

clear to Ahmed that they were not from the consulate but were there to question him. It was clear for the British men to see that he had been tortured.

“At this location I received a visit from British officials, following which I was taken back to the interrogation centre. These two males introduced themselves as being from Britain and that they worked for the British Government. They clarified that they were not from the Consulate but they did not say if they were intelligence officers. They did give their names but I cannot remember them.

They asked me questions which lasted approximately 40 minutes. During this period I was shackled and handcuffed (to the front) throughout. They saw my hood in the room.

I told them that I had been tortured. This was clearly visible due to sleep deprivation and my three fingers being bandaged on my left hand. They could see that I was uncomfortable and I was unable to sit due to the beatings I had received on my buttocks.”

Current status:

On his return to the UK, Rangzieb Ahmed was charged with being a member of Al Qaeda and directing a terrorist organisation and was later convicted in 2008. The judge at his Manchester trial refused to throw out the case and rejected Ahmed’s claim that his fingernails were pulled before he had been interviewed by MI5.

Conservative front bencher, David Davis MP said regarding Ahmed’s case that MI5 supplied the Pakistani interrogators with questions. And when Ahmed later told visiting MI5 and MI6 officers he had been tortured, they did not return.

“A more obvious case of outsourcing of torture, a more obvious case of passive rendition, I cannot imagine,” Mr Davis told MPs. “...They knew that he would be tortured, and they arranged to construct a list of questions and supply it to the ISI. The authorities know full well that this story is an evidential showcase for the policy of complicity in torture.”

Ahmed has appealed his conviction and is pursuing legal action against the British Government in a civil case.

Case 17—Tariq Mahmood

Nationality: British

History/Background: After a joint operation between British, Pakistani and American intelligence services, British citizen Tariq Mahmood was arrested on 20 October 2003. Having already travelled through Saudi Arabia, Mahmood was on his way to Pakistan in order to visit relatives in Pakistan. From his departure from the UK, MI6 were fully aware of his movements, and as soon as he arrived in Saudi Arabia, information was being passed over to Saudi intelligence by the British who followed his every step.⁷⁵ He was also held in the same secret prison at which Salahuddin Amin (below) was later detained.

British involvement in torture:

When Mahmood finally reached Pakistan, he was detained by the Pakistani security service (ISI) who began to question him. According to spokesman for the Pakistani authorities, Masud Khan, *“He is being investigated on suspicion of having links with al-Qaida...I cannot tell you his whereabouts and how the investigations are being carried out.”*⁷⁶ While he was being held by the Pakistanis, he was kept bound and hooded; however, from the accents of those who were interrogating him, he could quite easily discern that there were Pakistani, American and British interrogators questioning him.⁷⁷

What is particularly worrying with regard to the process of interrogation that took place against Mahmood is the way that MI6 officers threatened him with death if he did not cooperate. After five months in custody, Mahmood was released without charge and sent back to the UK.⁷⁸

Being a dual national of Britain and Pakistan, Tariq Mahmood was not given the full protection that he is entitled to by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office. His case is only one among many where the British government has failed to make correct representations on behalf of those citizens who hold dual nationalities with other States.

Current status:

Mahmood was released without charge four months later. Mahmood's brother Asif says: *“Everyone mistreated him in a bad way. It was the British, it was MI5, and it was the FBI.”* Mahmood remained in Pakistan for quite some time after his release, where friends and neighbours say he was unable to recover his UK passport from the high commission. Eventually they provided him with documents and he is now safely back home in the UK.

Case 18—Salahuddin Amin

Nationality: British⁷⁹

History/Background: In April 2004 Salahuddin Amin was detained by the security services of Pakistan after he voluntarily surrendered himself when his uncle informed him that the police were looking for him. Amin's arrest was part of wide arrests that were made in the UK when 18 people were detained over a plot to blow up the Bluewater shopping centre in Kent as part of 'Operation Crevise'.

British involvement in torture:

Amin was immediately tortured as part of his detention. According to claims that he has made, he was put through sleep deprivation for extended periods of time, beaten, whipped and threatened with an electric drill. As part of routine torture in Pakistani prisons, he was also hung from his wrists for days on end.

After just over two weeks of torture, Amin was taken to another building where he met individuals who identified themselves as being from MI5. He realised during the next ten months of interrogation by the British security officials, that every single time he was interrogated by MI5, inevitably after he would be put through a long session of abuse by the Pakistanis.

"After beating me for a few minutes that seemed like hours, the inspector ordered the guard to get the drill. This is when I got really scared because I didn't know how far these people could go. I have heard many stories about them torturing people to death. I was in tears.

The drill machine was brought in and plugged in outside the room somewhere. It didn't work at first and the inspector shouted at the guard and said to make it work. I was praying that it wouldn't work, but it started working. The inspector told Sikander to drill a hole in my backside and he told me to face the wall and lift my shirt and I had no choice but to do so. Sikander came and warned me while the machine was running. He touched me.

I realised later it wasn't the drill machine he touched me with because I had no injuries, but at that point I really thought it was a drill. They were doing this to break me. I started saying to them that I would agree with whatever they would want me to.

That's when the inspector told me to sit on the stool and put my glasses back on. They then showed me a photograph of another terrorism suspect. I told them that I knew him, and met him in Luton ..."⁸⁰

Current status:

Amin was sent back to the UK without any formal deportation or extradition proceedings. He was essentially rendered back to the UK where he was immediately arrested on his arrival to Heathrow airport. The government has officially denied that he was ever tortured, despite the overwhelming evidence that exists to support such a claim. Amin was convicted in 2007 of conspiring to cause explosions in the UK.

Case 19—Mohammed Naeem Noor Khan

Nationality: Pakistani national

History/Background: On 13 July 2004, Mohammed Naeem Noor Khan was arrested in Lahore by the Pakistani authorities.⁸¹ Mohammed is now a 'ghost detainee'. He was picked up after two Malaysian students implicated him⁸² in an Al-Qaeda active cell (after they had allegedly been tortured). He was never once given the opportunity to defend the allegations against him or charged with any crime despite being detained by the CIA in their black sites.



Current Status:

After three years of secret and unlawful detention, Mohammed Naeem Noor Khan was released without any charge or trial in 2007. The statements issued by the UK authorities and the confessions of Khan seem to bear no significance to his eventual release which has come without any calls for imprisonment over his alleged crimes – that fact in itself condemns the process that he was placed through and seriously brings into question the information that was disseminated about him regarding his involvement with international terrorism.

Khan, has a strong background in computer science and he has been suspected of sending coded messages on behalf of Al Qaeda. Having graduated from Nadir Eduljee Dinshaw Engineering University in Karachi, he moved to the UK and enrolled in a human resource management course at City University in January 2003.⁸³

British involvement in torture:

In June 2005, *The Telegraph* reported that British officials from MI5 had flown out to Pakistan in order to question Zeeshan Siddiqui (above) and Mohammad Naeem Noor Khan. According to the officials conducting the interview, Mohammed confessed fully to have been part of a London cell who were planning to carry out attacks against Heathrow Airport through his many visits to London.⁸⁴ An MI5 source told Gordon Thomas, “We have been given first crack at the pair because of their backgrounds and the valuable information they could provide about a new attack.”⁸⁵

The British having interrogated Khan, were fully aware of his status and should therefore have been vocal in demanding his release into the normal criminal justice system of Pakistan and not be subjected to secret detention and torture.

Case 20—Abu Faraj Al-Libbi

Nationality: Libyan national

History/Background: When George Bush declared to the world that the arrest of Abu Faraj al-Libbi, allegedly Al-Qaeda's 'number three' in May 2005 was 'a critical victory in the war on terror',⁸⁶ parts of the intelligence community had doubts. The man in question was not on the FBI's most wanted list or the State Department's 'Reward for Justice'. The importance of the catch seemed to be exaggerated perhaps to compensate for the lack of success in capturing the main ringleaders. Several observers believed that the Bush administration had in fact caught the wrong man.⁸⁷

After his capture by the Pakistani authorities in Mardan (north Pakistan), Abu Faraj al-Libbi became one of the many 'disappeared', 'ghosts' detainees who were held in any number of secret locations worldwide and are being interrogated outside the law of due process.

After his arrest on 2 May 2005, Abu Faraj was taken to a secret location in Islamabad where he was questioned by US and Pakistani authorities.⁸⁸ According to Amnesty International,

"On June 6 the Pakistani authorities confirmed that Abu Faraj al-Libbi had been handed over to US custody in response to a request from the US authorities, saying that he had been taken out of Pakistan on a plane by US officials and sent to an unknown destination at the beginning of June. One Pakistani intelligence official said he did not know where al-Libbi had been taken, while another said that he would be taken to a US detention facility where other suspects are held so that interrogators could 'verify very quickly' information he had give the Pakistani authorities."⁸⁹

British involvement in torture:

After the bombings of 7 July 2005 Britain, which had already been interested in Abu Faraj stepped up its efforts to question him regarding his alleged involvement in planning the attacks.⁹⁰ A senior officer who worked closely with the London investigation told *The Times*, "We obviously need to know what threat remains and we are asking all our international allies for help even if the standards of their interrogation methods are not as scrupulous as our own. Needs must, I fear".⁹¹

Further, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw agreed with this view saying that the UK could not ignore intelligence that was extracted from those detainees who may possibly have come under the threat of torture.⁹²

The statements that have come from various British authorities regarding information extracted from Abu Faraj shows a clear intention to acquiesce the torture that has taken place against detainees worldwide. British complicity cannot be currently proven to extend to actual torture of detainees as was the case in the dirty war during the 'troubles' over Northern Ireland, but rather extends as far as using that evidence which is extracted by those who openly use torture.

Current status:

Abu Faraj was detained in secret for two years but was taken to Guantánamo Bay in 2007 where he remains in detention without charge or trial.

UK-JORDAN COMPLICITY: Case 21—Ahmad Al Iraqi

Nationality: Iraqi/British resident

History/Background: At a Stop Political Terror conference⁹³, Ahmad Al Iraqi, highlighted the way in which the British were complicit in his torture meted out by the Jordanian intelligence. As with some of the previous cases already mentioned, although no actual kidnapping took place, the British government requested that the Jordanian intelligence pick him up and interrogate him, knowing that Ahmad could well be interrogated using torture techniques.

Ahmad's testimony:

"I am a business man and I live in the UK. I went for a business trip to Jordan and was stopped by MI5 before leaving. There were about half an hour's worth of questions asked about my business. I declared that the money that I was carrying with me, about £5000 was for business. I showed them all my legal documents and they let me go.

On 9 November 2003, during Ramadan, the moment I landed from the plane I was taken by Jordanian intelligence straight to prison. On the same night they took me from my cell and they started beating me up by saying that I was a terrorist, related to al-Qaeda and that I had been to Afghanistan for several months, which is not true as I have never been to Afghanistan, and accusing me of [planning the] blowing [up of] the Jordanian embassy [in Afghanistan] and other acts I had nothing to do with.

I started lying, saying that the guys who did these things were from Falluja as they recognised that my father and brother were from Iraq. Every night they took me to a place they called the Park, where they took me downstairs and they put a hood on my head, and they hung me up and started beating me with cables on my back and on my feet. They asked me to run for two minutes and they come back again and they beat me on my feet.

I was jailed for six weeks. It was a very hard time but alhumdulillah (praise be to God) I was praying and reading Qur'an all the time and Allah helped me. Every day they brought me pictures to inspect and asked me if I knew these people, and I said, no, telling them to check everything you want about me as I have nothing to do with any terror activity in the UK, in Iraq or anywhere else. After all this I was told by the Jordanians, you will be sent to a hiding place."

British involvement in torture:

"The Jordanian intelligence pointed out that I had a real opportunity to work with MI5 and the British authorities. They arranged a hotel meeting with 2 members of the British Embassy in Jordan, who wanted information about the Mujahideen in Iraq, information about any other suspects in Britain. I firmly refused and the Jordanians beat me further, damaging my right ear

After all of this, they deported me to the UK on December 17/18. MI5 were waiting for me at the airport. I was in a wheelchair as I could not walk because of my injuries. A doctor examining me said I was not fit enough to go to jail, and I was released.

During my interrogation in Jordan, the interrogators said that all the information on me was coming from the UK. The pictures and papers that they had about me were in English but since the British couldn't get the information they wanted, they worked with the Arab intelligence.

I have been offered by MI5 to work for them [spying] and I refused. They threatened me, saying that if I refuse I would have a hard time. I am the right person for them basically, because of my background. However, they have repeated these demands promising they would make my life hell saying I am going to face a lot of difficulties wherever I go, especially from the Americans and also in the UK. But they don't know what Al Aqeedah (Islamic Belief) means; they should understand that, for it is something that no one can play with at all."

Current status:

Ahmad Al Iraqi was finally released and made his way back to the UK where he is now a free man. He has never been charged with any crime.

UK-UAE COMPLICITY: Case 22—Alam Ghafoor

Nationality: British

History/Background: British citizen and businessman, Alam Ghafoor, made a trip to Dubai in order to further a joint venture with some friends. The British authorities, knowing of his presence in Dubai, allegedly contacted the security services there, and requested that Alam and his friends be picked up and interrogated. All four men were victims of torture using various interrogation techniques in which the British government was knowingly complicit. Alam related his experience to journalist Yvonne Ridley expressing his concern over the way he was treated by both the British and Dubai intelligence.

Alam's testimony:

"This was my third visit this year [2001] for holidays, however this time when we went over it was going to be part holiday and part business. We went over on the 4th of July...that was myself and my colleague Mohammed Rafiq Siddique. [On] 7th July we were at the hotel. We saw the British news and at first they were claiming power failures on the underground, however as the story progressed, it was actually confirmed that there had been bombs.

[After being confronted by a group of unidentifiable men and bundled out of the restaurant] these guys have just picked us up and we didn't know if they were going to take us into the middle of the desert, and they will shoot us in cold blood. They didn't say who they were and I didn't know who in the hell they were.

I was taken into a building, put into a room, sat down, and there was this deathly silence. All of a sudden the door flies open, someone comes in the room and slaps me around the head and whips the blindfold off. I am surrounded by six or seven Arabs, two or three are shouting in English, two or three are shouting in Arabic, and one of them is trying to speak in Urdu. There are all these fingers pointing with them saying to me, "You are the bomber, you are linked to London bomb, we want information from you now". I was totally gobsmacked, I was like, "I don't know anything about this".

They said, "No no no, we have been told to pick you up by the British intelligence". I said "Look, there has been some kind of mistake, I am a British citizen, let me speak to my Embassy".

They said, "No no no, they have asked us to pick you up, you are here because you are tied up with the bombing campaign in London and you have fled to this country to hide." There was so much screaming and shouting going on from these guys, they were so angry and agitated, pushing me around, threatening to hit me and threatening to punch me. This went on for some time and then they left.

As for my friends, similar treatment was given, however luckily one of my friends was thrown straight into a cell, so they did not start on him until Friday morning. With me, it was these questions about my name, nationality, what I knew about the London bombings, how I was involved and when did I come to Dubai. I said I came to Dubai on the 4th July and when they asked for what purpose, I said it was part business part pleasure. They told me "No, you came to flee England before you gave the command for the bombs to go off". I said, "I am not linked in any way I run a business in England in a mini market and beyond my family I really don't have contact with anyone else". I just could not believe it.

Someone else came in; again he started questioning my name and nationality and then asked me if I was married. I said, "No, I am not married. He said then why do you have a son? I explained to him that I used to have a relationship with an English girl, I was engaged to her which didn't happen but I had a son from that". He turned around and asked, "What kind of Muslim are you, you have done the wrong thing". I said, "Well at the time, situations happen, and there is nothing I can do now". He said, "Do you pray?" I said,

"Yeah, I pray as much as I can, I don't pray as much as I should do, and I am well aware of this. Life is quite difficult, and sometimes you just don't have the time, and some times you cant make that time, my mother is quite ill and I have been trying to take care of her. I am the eldest, and I am the head of the family, so I must take care of things. If I was good Muslim with a long beard and was very religious, you would think I am more of a terrorist than you already do, I just cant win with you people, either I'm a bad Muslim or a good Muslim, but if I was a good Muslim praying five times a day, you would condemn me for that, and because I am not you are condemning me for that".

They took me into another room, and put me through sleep deprivation for four days straight.

I was slowly losing my mind as it seemed as if the walls were closing in, literally I thought the walls were caving in. I told them, "I have told you everything that I know, there is absolutely nothing else that I can tell you, give me a piece of paper, and I will write down for you everything that you want me to write". I wrote for them a confession, that I am involved with the London gang. The guy interrogating me asked me if the statement was true, "I said it doesn't matter if it is true or not, this is what you want", I said, "You want to show the world that you are fantastic in this war on terror". I said to them, "You have done it, you have caught me, I am the mastermind".



Current status:

When Ghafoor returned home, he was diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder. His relationship with his partner broke down and he suffered nightmares, anxiety and paranoia.

Ghafoor is furious that there has been no explanation for his treatment, nor an apology. "I would like to know why I was put through this hell and I would like someone to be accountable."¹⁹⁴

The guard rushes out of the room and calls his senior who asks me again if what I have written is the truth. I say again that, "It doesn't matter if it is the truth it's what you want". At this point I had been for four days and nights without sleep under bright halogen lights. I was going out of a mind. He said that they will put me under the lie detector machine to see if I am lying. I said, "You didn't believe me when I told you the truth before, why would you believe me now?" At the bottom I said I want a trial before a British judge in a British court.

After a little while, the first interrogator comes back, and he says to me that he doesn't think that I am telling them the truth. I said, "Everything that I told you, you don't believe, and now that I have given you what you want, what else do you want from me?" After a few days I was allowed a shower again and they gave me a shave after which I was handed my original clothes. At that point, Rehana Hafiz from the British Embassy met us in another office, and she told me that they were trying to get me out possibly today or tomorrow.

I broke down, I thought I was going to die and rot there, I told her that they had tortured, humiliated and degraded us. Thankfully soon enough we found our way home. One thing that does stick out, is when I told them that I was a British citizen, they said, "Who do you think you are? You are not Tony Blair. They know you are here, and no one cares." All through the questioning I would ask, "Why am I here?" They said, "Because British intelligence told us to pick you up".

UK-SYRIA COMPLICITY: Case 23—Adam Brown

Nationality: British⁹⁵

History/Background: Adam Brown went to live in Damascus with his wife in Autumn 2005 and had been studying Arabic at Damascus University. He was kidnapped at the end of December 2006 by six men government officials who took him to a secret location. "I was thrown into the back of a van which had its windows blacked out."⁹⁶

British involvement in torture:

He was detained incommunicado and forced to confess he was a terrorist preparing to go to Iraq. "They punched and kicked me and [asked] "where's the money and the weapons". He said: "They wanted me to admit that I was an extremist and wanted to go to Iraq". He was taken to what appeared to be a military base.⁹⁷

Brown was then beaten, stripped naked, given a dirty military uniform and detained in a tiny cell like "an underground tomb". "The cell was one metre wide and two metres long," he described. "It was complete darkness for a month. I had no light, no mattress, nothing."⁹⁸ For the first seven days he was interrogated by two men who slapped and punched him and beat the soles of his feet with electric cable.

Brown believes that his detention in Syria was with the collusion of the British authorities,

"...I didn't have knowledge of anything, I didn't even know what was happening on the outside world, I didn't even know where my wife was. So there was nothing like that, I was not spoken to by anyone from foreign intelligence services and there were no questions asked that would hint to that. But there was something that they said that made me think that there was no way they could have known that; when the final interrogator wanted me to fingerprint some paperwork that he did. It was quite embarrassing because I was with some other guys from different countries he said "Oh you're not actually married are you? You live with your wife like friends" and I was like "excuse me I'm married to my wife, I was just married in a mosque I've not been married in a court, I just got married in a mosque", when he said this I thought that they must have interrogated my wife by now and I was quite sad because I didn't know what state she was in.

There was no way that they could have known that other than from my wife because I didn't tell anyone the whole time I was in Syria, I was never asked for a marriage certificate or ever been asked for any sort of proof for my marriage and everyone knew she was my wife, I'd never stated anything other than that so I was certain they had spoken to my wife. When I came out and came back to UK, I said to her, were you ever asked for a marriage certificate or anything regarding our marriage, and she was never asked by anyone anything about that so there was no way they could have known that other than from me or my wife or from the authorities here, so that they could check on their system and see that these two have never been married under British law, and there is no way they could have known that other than from them."⁹⁹

Current status:

Brown was released after 14 weeks in detention. He says he was never brought before a court nor charged with an offence. Scotland Yard officers interviewed him on his return.

UK-EGYPT COMPLICITY: Case 24—Azhar Khan

Nationality: British

History/Background: Having flown to Cairo on 9 July 2008 on holiday, Azhar Khan was detained by the Egyptian authorities immediately on his arrival to the country. Despite the immediate arrest, Khan's travelling companion was not detained and he took that opportunity to inform the British embassy. During the course of his unlawful detention, Khan was subjected to torture by the Egyptians and interrogations which evidenced the complicity of British authorities.

Azhar's testimony:

"I was held at the airport for two days in one room, my mobile phone and belongings were taken from me immediately, no food or drink was provided, I was not allowed to make any calls or even leave the room. The room was guarded. Eventually I was told that there was a problem with my passport and that I would have to return to London on the next flight.

From there I was escorted to a jeep, cuffed, hooded and covered by a blanket in the back of the jeep. I was taken to a location which I later discovered to be a secret prison. There were many people held at this location, each were given numbers and interrogated in various orders.

Personally I was subjected to electrocution, beatings, starvation for certain periods and sleep deprivation. None of the prisoners were kept in one place for too long, another tactic to disorientate us further. Over a period of five days, I was subjected to various stress positions.

During interrogations I was asked about my family, friends, upbringing, my local masjid, so much so that they even asked the name and address of my Masjid and details of the Imam. They demanded my e-mail addresses and passwords which they accessed and also incorporated into the interrogation. None of the questions were related to Egypt, my trip to Egypt, whether or not I even had any associates or friends that resided in Egypt, all the questions were related to the UK and people in the UK."¹⁰⁰

Khan says he was also asked about discrepancies between a statement that he had given to British police at the time of his questioning four years before relating to 'Operation Crevice' and later

comments that he made while visiting friends in jail.

The Foreign Office fully acknowledges the use of torture against detainees in police stations in Egypt. In January 2008 it reported: *"One of the key human rights concerns in Egypt is the widespread mistreatment of detainees and use of torture in police stations, especially in cases involving political detainees."*¹⁰¹

Current status:

Azhar Khan was released to the UK where he lives free without any accusations of involvement with terrorism being brought against him.

UK-KENYA COMPLICITY: Cases 25, 26, 27 & 28—Nairobi 4

Nationality: British

History/Background: In January 2006, a small group of British nationals—Mohammed Ezzoueck, Reza Asfarzadgen, Shahjahan Janjua and Hamza Chentouf—were detained by the Kenyan Anti-Terrorist Police Unit while attempting to escape from Somalia where a conflict had just begun. Trying to reach the closest British embassy, the men were forced to make their way to Nairobi. However, they were detained and kept secretly in prisons without access to consular officials.

British involvement in rendition:

During their detention in Kenya, the men were interrogated by MI5 who knew that they were being kept in poor conditions and beyond any legal recourse. The agents from MI5 were particularly interested in their activities in the UK, more so than any reason why they may have been in the Horn of Africa. According to Mohammed Ezzoueck,

“This time the woman [MI5 agent] did most of the talking. She asked me to go through my entire story again. She asked me questions about my religion, my beliefs, whether I had given my allegiance to any group. She asked me if any of my friends were extremists. I told her no and she said that she did not believe what I was telling her. I told her that she would have to accept it as it is the truth. She said to me that I and Hamza Chentouf had made up a story.

The woman agent asked me what I thought about 9/11 and 7/7. I replied that both of those events were wrong as innocent people had been killed. She replied sarcastically and then she said that she did not believe me.

The woman agent told me that her stay in Nairobi was limited and that she would soon have to return to the U.K. She told me that she was the only person who could help me, but that I would have to co-operate with her. She told me that if I told her what she wanted to hear, I would be on the first plane back to the U.K., but if I didn't come up with the information she wanted, I would stay here forever. I told her that I would like to come home but that I could not give what she wanted.

Francis [one of the agents] asked me if I had heard about all the people being sent to Somalia, and if I knew about Guantánamo Bay.

[On a third questioning by MI5] Francis sat down with me at the coffee table. She had a notepad and a folder. She asked me if I had thought more about what she had said to me. She said that I was not co-operating with her. She talked about my family and asked me what I wanted to do when I went home. When I answered her she replied that it would be difficult for me to do these things from a cell.

She asked me if I would ever tell anyone about her when I went back to the U.K. When she said this she sat back with her arms crossed in front of her. I thought she sounded frightened when she said that.

Francis then asked me if I would come and work for her. I replied that if I heard anything that would harm anyone then I would tell her anyway. Francis asked me for more names and addresses of people that I knew. I told her that I could not remember any more.

Francis asked me about which mosques I visited and which tapes I listened to. She then said to me that this was the last time I would ever see her.”¹⁰²

The rendition of the four men from Kenya to Somalia only took place with the direct knowledge of the British security agencies. The agents used the situation of the men in order to place pressure on them to cooperate and yet refused to help or grant them access to help in any way.

The detentions evidence the way in which the UK security agencies operate in countries abroad—the case of Umm Dawud (after) shows that MI5 were not satisfied with their interrogations of the four British citizens in Kenya, but followed her detention and rendition from Kenya to Somalia and then finally in Ethiopia where she was interrogated. The complete testimony of Ezzoueck and others detained in Kenya highlights that MI5 were fully cognisant of the treatment of Umm Dawud and that she had been given permanent leave to remain in the UK.

Current status:

All four British men are now in the UK and are living their lives free of any charges. Although they are not accused of anything, their lives have been made difficult when they attempt to find work or apply for further education.

Case 29—Umm Dawud

Nationality: Ethiopian/British resident

History/Background: In January 2006, Umm Dawud attempted to flee with a small group of foreign nationals from Somalia. They were detained by the Kenyan Anti-Terrorist Police Unit while attempting to seek refuge in Kenya. As a British resident, she attempted to gain access to the closest British embassy to her in Nairobi. At the border between Kenya and Somalia, she was arrested alongside her travelling companions and detained incommunicado without charge or trial.

She was eventually placed on a rendition flight to Somalia and then sent on another flight soon after to Ethiopia. It was during her detention in Ethiopia, MI5 came to interrogate her, however, from other testimonies it has become obvious that they were aware and potentially complicit in every part of her detention.

Interrogation and abuse/torture:

After a three week trek through a jungle between Somalia and Kenya, Umm Dawud and her companions were detained at the border between the two countries. According to the women, the entire operation was being conducted by an American soldier, as Umm Dawud recounted, *“It was at this time that I noticed that the person who seemed to be conducting the entire operation was a white American soldier. I began to shout at him that we needed help, that we needed to get to some kind of refugee camp, just to go anywhere to flee the conflict. I kept on shouting that we were just civilians and that there were many western nationalities amongst us, such as Swedish, many different citizens.”*¹⁰³

The women and children were taken to a police station in Nairobi, where conditions were particularly difficult for them.

“The conditions in Nairobi were amongst the worst that I experienced, it was a hard concrete freezing cold floor, there was nothing for us to use for comfort, no mattress, blanket or cushion, nothing at all. The children were in so much pain, some of them had diarrhoea, stomach pains and nappy rash which was making them cry. We were forced to use our own clothes as pillows, and that was the only comfort that we were afforded during that time. The whole situation was horrible.

We were kept in the Nairobi cell for five days and we were absolutely begging them to give us any legal help that they could or just to be able to contact our embassies. They would just laugh and say that you are terrorists and you have been arrested under the terrorism laws and so you have no rights to such access. At the time I told them that I had British residency, that I had been granted permanent leave to remain there, but they were not interest at all in giving me any of my rights.

*It was during my time at the cell that I was interviewed for the first time. I am not entirely sure by who, but it seemed that it was the Kenyans who were using a Somali as well. A group of men came who interviewed us and asked about where we came from and why we had come to Kenya. They were asking many questions about our husbands who were attempting to flee from the conflict and get to their embassies in separate convoys. They kept on telling us that we were arrested while fighting back – that we were terrorists and were fighting them with guns etc. They just could not hear anything else that we had to say.”*¹⁰⁴

British involvement:

After her eventual rendition to Ethiopia, Umm Dawud spent the following three months of her pregnancy in a small cell. Eventually MI5 turned up to question her about matters relating to the UK. Previously the British citizens who had been detained in Kenya, had informed MI5 of her detention and they were thus fully aware of the rendition flights she had been subjected to. Umm Dawud described her interrogations during her detention in Ethiopia,

“I was questioned two to three times by the Ethiopian officers, they were predominantly concerned with my husband. They kept on repeating that I knew where he was and that I was hiding it. I really had no clue where my husband was and still am worried about his fate now. They also kept on asking me what position I held within the Union of Islamic Courts, and things like that.

The British authorities came to question me once. This was about a month after I arrived in Ethiopia. A female agent came to question me, and although I do not remember her name, she specifically introduced herself as being from MI5. She was interested in the men, if I knew the men, if I knew what was going on, about my husband. She also showed me a number of pictures of people

in the UK, none of whom I knew. She kept on going over these questions again and again. She never offered me any assistance in terms of actually helping, she said that I was Ethiopian and so there was nothing the British government do, this is despite the fact that I had been given asylum in the UK from Ethiopia and had been returned there without any due process. The interview with MI5 happened a month after my detention there.”¹⁰⁵

The rendition and abuse of Umm Dawud, highlights the way in which the security agencies have been operating. When placed adjacent to the other testimonies, a clear pattern of complicity begins to emerge.

Current status:

Umm Dawud was released in Ethiopia, one month prior to the birth of her daughter. Since the summer of 2007 she fought a legal battle to return to the UK and was granted her residency in 2010. She is now living in the UK again and has not been charged with any crimes.

UK-BANGLADESH COMPLICITY: Case 30—Jamil-ur-Rehman

Nationality: British

History/Background: In the summer of 2005 Jamil-ur-Rehman and his friends decided to travel to Asia and made the collective decision to go to their country of origin, Bangladesh. They wished to experience life outside of the UK and discover their family and cultural heritage.

The trip was made with various intentions in mind including aid work for needy orphans. The men had witnessed the effects of natural disasters on their country of origin and wanted to help. Rehman made one final decision before leaving: he wanted to get married by finding a bride in Bangladesh.

Within the first few months of his arrival Rehman was able to arrange his marriage to a woman from his native town of Sylhet. A month after their marriage their ordeal began when he was detained and placed through a system of incommunicado detention and torture.

Detention:

On 1 December 2005, Jamil-ur-Rehman, his wife and other members of the family were detained by the Bangladeshi Royal Action Battalion (RAB) forces while at a family dinner. That time was extremely confusing for the family who did not know what was to become of them. Rehman explained,

“I saw them taking my wife and other men in our family away and putting them in the vans. I was getting agitated with concern, where are they taking my wife? She’s a woman? What has she done? What have any of us done?”

I asked, “Please tell me what is going on? Why you have arrested me?” Colonel Saiful and Major Mamun both turned around. Major Mamun grabbed my head whilst Colonel Saiful punched me in the back, then Major Mamun pointed at me and said, “you speak again we’ll tie you up behind the van and drag you all the way to the headquarters”, I just put my head down and cried silently.”¹⁰⁶

The abuse for Rehman began almost immediately as he was put through a system of physical and psychological torture while being accused of being a member of al-Qaeda. This process was to

continue for a long while as the Bangladeshi security agencies attempted to extract false confessions from him.

“After being in the cell [for] what seemed like an hour to me, Colonel Saiful and Major Mamun, came into my cell. Colonel told me you are, “Al-Qaeda, you bastard, you’re a terrorist, why have you come to my country”, I told him I’m not al-Qaeda or a terrorist, and I condemn all acts of terrorism. Colonel Saiful said, “See that’s what I mean you say things like that and it’s all over for you, your wife and all your family”, at that point I knew they got it all wrong, and it was a big mistake, and they will soon let me go.

Colonel Saiful and Major Mamun both told some of the other officers who were outside to do what they have to do and he leaves, couple of minutes later the officers come in and start pushing and shoving me and then striped me bare naked, and started taking measurements of all my body, groping me, squeezing my testicles, I screamed in pain and told them, “Stop! Stop! Please Stop! this is inhumane”, they all were laughing, one of the officers said “How would you like to be gang raped”, he put his baton on my backside, as he was saying this, it was so nasty and disgusting, I did not know what to do and how long this would last, then one of the officer says “We’ll start off with you and then go and gang rape your wife, and after we finished with her, we will pass her to the police and they will gang rape her as well”. One of them starting kissing me on my neck, they started fondling me, I was shouting “Please stop! Don’t do this”, I was pleading but they carried on touching me, it seemed forever not ending.

I was mentally starting to lose it; I did not know what to do, this ordeal lasted for about an hour, I was pleading to them to stop, I was crying out loud, they told me to shut up, I just wanted this to end. After a while one of the officers said, “Let’s not have all the fun in one night, leave him, let’s go,” and said, “If you speak about this I will urinate in your mouth”. , They then left pushing me to the ground. I quickly put on my clothes and curled up in the corner and started to cry, I felt disgusted and helpless.”¹⁰⁷

British involvement in torture:

After over a week of continued abuse and interrogations, Jamil-ur-Rehman was finally prepared by the Bangladeshis to meet with British security agents. He was given specific instructions to repeat all the answers he had been tortured to give during his previous interrogations. The man responsible for his previous interrogations, Colonel Saiful, told him, "Our British friends are here, they are MI5, are you ready to tell them everything? What I told you to say." In the presence of his captors, Rehman felt obliged to reiterate the lies he had been forced to tell. The two MI5 officers that met with Rehman used the names of Liam and Andrew – potentially the same Andrew that had interrogated some of the former Guantánamo detainees.

When I saw some British faces, I was so relieved; I believed I will get some justice now, some law and order.

As I sat down Liam told me to relax, they were trying to show they were my friends, all smiling and happy. Andrew then said to me, "I hope our Bangladeshi friends are treating you fine", this with a smirk on his face.

Liam and Andrew had two black rucksacks with them, from their rucksacks they took files, pens, papers and all different electronic gadgets out, I do not know what they are but it seemed like recording devices to me. After the introductions were done Liam starts the questioning, by looking at his file and asking me questions from there, while Andrew was writing down everything I was saying.

Liam says, "From our findings we see you are a highly trained individual aren't you, so why have you obtained all these training?" He then says, "Ahh so you are the mastermind for the atrocities in the UK, aren't you? So you know about the July 7 bombings" saying this very calmly but with a sharpness coming from his throat.¹⁰⁸

At that point I told Liam and Andrew, "it's not true, it's all been a mistake, I am innocent, I don't know why I am arrested, please tell me why am I here for, what have I done, please help me I am a British Citizen. These guys have been abusing me for the last three weeks or so, beating me and threatening me that they will rape my wife. Whatever I have said or wrote is all made up; I did all this just to please Colonel Saiful." The MI5 just turned around and looked at Colonel Saiful and shook their heads in disappointment. Liam said, "I think we need a

break". It seemed both Liam and Andrew were disappointed with my demonstration of innocence.

I look at Colonel Saiful's face and he was fuming with anger. Both Liam and Andrew laughed after I spoke and Andrew said, "They haven't done a very good job on you have they", I was gob-smacked, I thought what is he saying, so he knows what is happening to me, but he is doing nothing about it even though I am a British citizen, my head started spinning, I felt a little dizzy.

Liam then said, "Colonel Saiful I believe you need a 10 minute break now".

The officer shoved me in the room with him waiting inside with me. Colonel Saiful came in a minute or two later, he first slapped me in the face, I was shocked as he then punched me in the back really hard, I was about to go down when he grabbed me by the testicles so hard he kept me standing. I was in pain, and had tears coming down my cheeks; I was finding it hard to breath. He said, "What are you playing at, you think this is a game, this is not the movies." He let my testicles go and I went straight to the floor huffing and puffing with pain. He ordered the officer to beat me on my body, but he told them not to break any bones, just to give me pain. He said, "Not the face".

Colonel Saiful ordered the officer to stop and then told him to go and rape my wife, the officer was just about to leave the room to execute his order, and I shouted, "No, no please no, I will say whatever you want me to say, I will admit to everything".

Colonel Saiful said, "You keep saying this you will do what I tell you to do, but you keep playing games, this is your last chance, and you try anything like this again and its over for you and your wife".

He told me to pull myself together, I tried to pull myself together but all my body was aching with pain, and I could not walk straight, because of the pain in my testicles. Colonel Saiful ordered me to walk up and down the room so I walk straight.

He then shoved me out the room and then pushed me into the interview room, and sat me down. He told me don't move just stay sitting don't show them you're in much pain. Liam and Andrew had left the room by now. A few minutes later, Liam and Andrew returned. They sat back in their normal position as before one on either

side of me. Andrew and Liam knew exactly what was happening. They left the room and arranged for me to get a beating.

Andrew said, "Are you okay, I hope you are okay and the break has done you some good". Liam said, "Where were we, so you are a trained person from my notes I see you trained in Kashmir, Bomb expert", I just agreed with him, he carried on asking me about training, my involvement with July 7 Bombings in UK, fighting in Afghanistan, the assassination attempt of General Pervez Musharraf, he kept asking me about why I came to Bangladesh, to be with JMB, HUJI, [Bangladeshi Islamist militant groups] I was funding them, training them, training western people to make bombs so they can go back to the west to bomb places, he said, "so you are Al-Qaeda, they have sent you here, your boss is Osama Bin Laden", I just agreed. Liam told me, "So you were with Sheikh Abdur Rahman, and Bangla Bhai, you are funding them and working under their protection. These were the leaders of JMB, they have been executed by the government of Bangladesh, even though I have never seen them or met them in my life. I just agreed, thinking of my wife.

At that point Andrew stopped writing and said, "That's good you've learnt your lesson."¹⁰⁹

British Abuse of Power:

The abuse of the power that the British agents exercised against Jamil-ur-Rehman is one of the most tragic examples of how a tortured man who was not being charged with any crime was put through a process of shame and humiliation. Rehman had been released on the condition that he would use a phone that the Bangladeshi authorities gave him and would constantly be available to speak to them or MI5. For 29 months, Rehman was subjected to fear and intimidation by his captors and had the weakness of his position exploited by British security agents. He continues:

"Liam and Andrew were putting enormous pressure on me to become a witness for them, work for them in the UK. That meant whoever they wanted me to testify against in court I had to, even though I do not know who these people are, what they have done, innocent or guilty. Liam, Andrew would threaten me if I don't do this, they will get someone to do the same for me, and so I will end up in prison for life.

They were telling me I had to incriminate myself, by doing so, they would bring my wife over to the UK, they would give me a deal, immunity, protection, new identification, house, job, basically a new life.

I kept stalling them, by telling them I need time to think, then they would leave me alone for a while, I would also tell them sorry I am not ready for this, I cannot do it.

A few times when I had enough of the same thing over and over again, and when I built up a little courage, I would say "No I don't want to speak no more, you tell me I am not arrested, if I am not arrested, then I do not want to speak no more".

When I said this Andrew just laughed, and said, "You can do this here, or behind prison bars, it's your choice".

He then looked at the DGFI officer, at this questioning it was Major Mizan.

He told me, "You are not a free man like us, you do not have a choice, you are lucky we allow you to stay with your family, you will speak to whoever we tell you to speak to, be it British, American or anyone".

At this Liam and Andrew just kept nodding their head in agreement with Major Mizan."¹¹⁰

Current status:

After 29 of the most difficult months, Jamil-ur-Rehman was released without charge or trial and made his way back to the UK. He is now a free man and is no longer questioned or subjected to intimidation by the UK security agencies but the scars of his horrific ordeal remain with him.

Case 31—Gulam Mustafa

Nationality: British

History/Background: On 3rd March 2007 Gulam left the UK to go to Bangladesh. Mustafa had been of interest to MI5 for several years. In April 2007, a month after he travelled to Bangladesh, financial sanctions were imposed upon him, freezing his assets and prohibiting others from making funds available to him.

Mustafa's family said he was frightened to return to the UK after this happened. After his departure, a number of his associates in Britain were questioned by MI5 officers.

His wife repeatedly asked him to return to Birmingham, and he told relatives, in a telephone call in November that year, that he was planning to do so. Five days later, he was arrested and charged with a firearm offence. His defence was that he watched police officers plant the weapon during a search of the flat and, when he demanded to know why they were doing it, he was told it was at the instigation of British authorities. He was convicted and sentenced to 17 years in prison, but was released on bail in January pending an appeal.

He was re-arrested on 15th April and has been in state custody since. When he appeared in court 11 days later, a journalist working for the Guardian could see that he was unable to stand throughout the proceedings, at one point sinking to his knees. Mustafa appeared to have a swollen face when he was paraded before television cameras shortly after his arrest, according to his family.

British involvement in torture:

There are strong grounds to believe that British officials had been complicit in his mistreatment.

The family's solicitor, Gareth Peirce, said in a letter to the foreign secretary, David Miliband, *"It is already well known that MI5 has been co-operating with the Bangladeshi authorities and providing and exchanging information with them about Mr Mustafa."*¹¹¹

She said a number of Mustafa's associates in the UK had been questioned about him, adding, *"There is serious reason to believe that the security services have therefore been mixed up in the ill-treatment carried out by the Bangladeshi authorities and this is still ongoing."*

Bangladeshi news reports link Mustafa to Islamist groups there and accuse him of laundering money for them. His family details, including children's names and ages, have been printed in the papers. All of this has placed Gulam in an extremely vulnerable and position.

According to investigations conducted by Ian Cobain at The Guardian, the police officers who first received the file from the Rapid Action Battalion said, *"...it was marked 'MI6' file."* They further stated that the British authorities wanted, *"maximum information"* out of Mustafa.

Further, it is feared, under torture he may confess to matters he has no involvement with and then be charged with serious offences. Maximum sentences for terrorism related crimes include the death penalty. There is a special court procedure set up for this type of offences where matters are expedited and any executions carried out very quickly.

Current status:

Gulam Mustafa is still currently being detained in Bangladesh where he is in an extremely vulnerable position. The case against him seems to be very weak and yet, despite the allegations of Britain's collusion in his abuse, little has been done to help.

CONCLUSION

The cases highlights in this report suggest a strong correlation between the act of rendition and torture. In the overwhelming number of case studies presented, the act of rendition has nearly always led to some form of torture or abuse. Despite the assertions made in relation to the productive use of the rendition programme by those within the US State Department, do we feel more secure? Although the role of the intelligence agencies in apprehending the perpetrators of 9/11, the Madrid, Bali and London bombings must not be underplayed, the instrumentalisation of the concept of 'security' to unilaterally break international laws on human rights, is a deeply disturbing trend which must be halted.

Rendition and torture do not help to build security but instead only compromise the standing and security of the British Government in the international community. They form part of a global network of illegality which includes collusion on the part of States in the Middle East, Sub-Continent and Western world. The British authorities do not wish to have their hands stained with the blood of those who are tortured, thus they choose to send them to the Middle East and beyond where certain States will use any means to extract information. In doing so Britain legitimises the countries in which the torture takes place. The cost of British collusion with these countries to gather intelligence is the further oppression of Arab people in the Middle East creating arguably greater instability.

Information gleaned from torture itself does not raise a sense of security as witnessed by those innocent men incriminated based only on the evidence of confessions extracted through torture, against which they cannot defend themselves. Or seen by Colin Powell's address to the UN justifying the future invasion of Iraq when he cynically used 'intelligence' as a product of torturing senior Al Qaeda operative Ibn al-Shaykh al-Libbi, to prove the golden link between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda.

And finally a sense of security is not felt by those from the same communities as the innocent men released from Guantánamo and other detention centres without charge, their powerful testimonies contradicting Government denials on rendition

and torture, and the concocted evidence which would not stand up in a court of law.

The report is only the tip of iceberg in terms of the incidents of British complicity in renditions and torture. It has been produced, despite the Government's wish for secrecy, predominantly from the voices of the victims. It hints at far greater numbers of detainees held illegally in a network of 'black sites' and other detention centres, lacking contact with the outer world, and the possibility of practices which go much further than those presented within the limited capacity of this document.

This information has been produced in order to encourage Parliamentary members, human rights lawyers and investigative journalists to continue lobbying the Government in relation to the forthcoming Torture Inquiry. The UK government should be commended for taking the bold step to finally commission an inquiry, however it must be a full and truthful accounting of the crimes that were committed against the men and women in this report.

The report further seeks to challenge the government to uphold international agreements it signed up to and oppose legislation which erodes our human rights further in the name of security and the fight against global terrorism.

Finally, the information gained for the report is also a testament to the families of the detainees who have had to struggle to find information about their husbands, wives, sons, and brothers with little help, and often obfuscation from the Government authorities.

RECOMMENDATIONS—UK GOVERNMENT

Cageprisoners calls on the UK government to:

1. Increase pressure for the immediate return of the last British resident in Guantanamo, Shaker Aamer.
2. Give full powers to Sir Peter Gibson to ensure that he may conduct a full, fair, open and, crucially, impartial inquiry into British complicity.
3. Remove the requirement of secret evidence during the course of the public inquiry in order to identify the manner in which the authorities were complicit so that those processes can be effectively reviewed.
4. Stop any intelligence sharing or collusion with the security agencies of countries where they do not present a British citizen before a court and provide that citizen with full access to legal recourse.
5. Provide full consular assistance to Muslim terrorism suspects when they are detained abroad. Their situation should not be used as a means of abusing them further.
6. Comply with all of its human rights obligations as according to its international treaty obligations.

RECOMMENDATIONS—PUBLIC

Cageprisoners calls on the public to:

1. Continue the pressure on the UK government to give a deadline for the release of Shaker Aamer.
2. Write letters to MPs specifically requesting a date of return for Shaker Aamer.
3. Write letters to MPs encouraging the government to engage with the Torture Inquiry sincerely and not to use it as an exercise to white-wash past crimes.
4. Request the government to hold accountable those who have been involved in the torture of British citizens and residents, whether they simply knew the information came from torture or were present outside of rooms where the torture was taking place.

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