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#### EPIDEMIC: TORTURE



AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Torture today is so widespread an instrument of political repression that we can speak of the existence of "Torture States" as a political reality of our times. The malignancy has become epidemic and knows no ideological, racial, or economic boundaries.

In over thirty countries, torture is systematically applied to extract confessions, elicit information, penalise dissent and deter opposition to repressive governmental policy. Torture has been institutionalised and has evolved its own language, its own sub-culture, its own army of policemen, soldiers, doctors, judges, behavioral psychologists, pharmacologists, technicians, its own research facilities and schools, its own international experts and international trade agreements.

Confronted with the growing flow of incontrovertible evidence of daily barbarity, the Torture States attempt to deny its practice, their allies find new respect for the doctrine of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, non-governmental organisations and international bodies show their impotence, and the public, its indifference. Unless urgent and concerted action is taken by nations, organisations and the public to control the spread of torture and finally to eradicate it, torture will continue to claim its growing quota of victims.

On Human Rights Day 1972, Amnesty launched its International Campaign for the Abolition of Torture whose first tasks, by means of national and international conferences, publications which include a world survey of torture (Duckworth), an international Appeal and a draft convention against torture, are to inform the public and generate popular feeling which effectively can be translated into state action and international controls. The success of the campaign, therefore, is dependent in large measure on the individual person and the pressure he is willing to apply, in concert with others, on his elected representatives and government to actively seek the abolition of torture through diplomatic intervention, the application of sanctions, and the sponsorship and support of viable international machinery for the protection of human rights.

> Victor Jokel Director. British Amnesty.

FRONT COVER: Paraguayan peasants protest the torture of a Catholic priest, 1970; Ivan Moiseyev pictured before and after his death resulting from alleged torture, U.S.S.R., 1972; a prisoner in Kalamantan, site of mass political detention and tortures, Indonesia, 1972; a Vietnamese peasant woman threatened with death, 1967 (AP photo); Vera Silva Magalhaes, crippled after torture, Brazil, 1970; political prisoners in an

assembly hall, 1970; Chernyakhovsk Psychiatric Hospital, Kazan, site of incarceration of Pyotr Grigorenko, 1973, the body of Luis C. Batalla, dead after torture, Uruguay, 1972; Soh Sung, burned during interrogation, South Korea, 1971.

BACK COVER: a poster specially designed for Amnesty International's continuing campaign for the abolition of torture.

## international



"Torture," wrote Jean Amery, "is the most terrible event remaining in man's memory." Today, the use of torture has become an epidemic in over 30 countries.

This edition, designed for Amnesty's campaign to expose and halt the torture-crisis, gives a telling insight into the facts about torture today: where it is practiced, its social results, the latest medical research on long-term injuries, international law and outstanding statements calling for a world outcry to make torture as unthinkable as slavery.

I ENCLOSE

jean-pierre clavel george mangakis

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Incredible as it is, 2370 years after Socrates drank hemlock, 1970 years after the crucifixion of Christ, 435 years after Thomas More was beheaded and 370 years after Giordano Bruno was burnt at the stake, hundreds, thousands of men and women waste away their days in prison for their opinions. But opinions should be free. Let the violent man be guarded, but the man who utters what he thinks must be free, and if he is behind bars it is not he but those who keep him there who are dishonoured.

Salvador de Madariaga

# where torture is being practiced

#### Carola Stern

I speak about torture today. The average citizen encounters it most often as entertainment, as 'spice' in a television thriller, gangster film or Western, as a story without basis in reality, which shows the armchair reader how pain can be inflicted on other people and how it can be justified. When he hears about torture as a factual news item, he hardly reacts. Through entertainment, he is psychologically conditioned and his mind has been blunted by the almost daily reports about other acts of violence, terror and mass killings. Or he unintentionally reacts in the way intended by the torturers: he does not believe the reports. The lack of credibility of an unimaginable crime is still its best camouflage.

The torture of political prisoners is at present spreading like an epidemic throughout the world and even more terrible, just because of this, it seems to become more and more difficult to rouse people against it.

Since Amnesty International came into being, we have received proof of torture and maltreatment of thousands of political prisoners. This year alone, we have had such reports from 32 countries.

The sites where torture is carried out are called by various names: Con Son in Vietnam; Korydallos Prison in Athens; Public Security Headquarters, Sao Paulo; Psychiatric Clinic, Chernyakhovsk in the USSR; Savak office in Iran. The often harmless-sounding descriptions of the methods also vary: "parrto perch", "dragon chair" and "telephones" (Brazil), "bicycle", "record player" (Spain), etc. Yet the methods are alarmingly similar. Partly they go back to the Middle Ages, were adopted by the Gestapo and GPU, while newer methods, such as torture by electric shocks, were tried out by the French during the war in Algeria. Amnesty International is in possession of reports about electric shock torture — where joints, sensory organs and genitals are connected to electrically-charged wires — being practised in South Africa, Turkey, Indonesia, Brazil, Iran, South Vietnam and Greece, to name only a few instances.

Governments co-operate by exchanging information about instruments of torture and their effects. Relevant schools and courses have been set up. In 1959, for instance, a French priest reported after returning from Algeria, where he had been a reserve officer, that he had been forced to attend a course on so-called humane torture. Exactly ten years later, in October 1969, a course on torture was held in Rio de Janeiro for Brazilian army personnel. Techniques were explained, advice given on the use of different instruments, and the effect on the prisoner was demonstrated - partly by lantern slides, but also on living objects: political prison-American soldiers, back from Vietnam, told how they were trained by their sergeants and officers in interrogation and torture techniques of enemy prisoners. Amnesty also knows that there are international torture training programmes where torturers are trained in the latest medical and psychological techniques by instructors from different countries.

#### psychological tortures

That which Herbert Marcuse describes as "the aggressiveness of present-day industrial society" in the average person, and what he calls technological aggression, also affects torture in a perverse way. In the "modern" methods of physical torture, the destruction of a person is not brought about directly by another person but by technical tools whose use does not require physical force, but only the pressing of a button. Electric shock torture, for instance, has a two-fold advantage for the torturer. It inflicts pain without leaving any traces, and it reduces the sense of guilt in the perpetrator by giving him the illusion that it was not he personally who had inflicted the pain, but the wires.

It is mainly in the USSR that a "modern" form of psychological torture has been practised since the early 1960's: the committal of dissidents to mental hospitals, where they are detained together with seriously ill patients; and on the pretext that they need medical treatment, they are given over-doses of Aminasyn and Sulphasyn, which cause shock effects and serious physical disturbances.

#### verdict before trial

According to the information available to Amnesty, political prisoners are tortured most severely immediately after their arrest, while still at police stations, in the offices of the security police, and while under preliminary detention — in the first place to make them reveal the names and hiding-places of their friends; and then to extort from them an extensive confession and declaration of remorse while their trial is being prepared, if there is to be a trial at all. The verdict is not being entrusted to independent judges; the outcome of the trial is decided in the torture chamber.

To attack the use of torture does not mean the defence of guerrilla warfare and political terror. But it must be agreed that there can be no justification whatever for torture. Even the other side's political terror does not supply the torturers with a justification. The torturers know much better than we do how many innocent and uninvolved people they have worn down, how many false confessions are filed in their archives — false confessions made in desperation. At the same time, they know how often, in spite of all, the victims have refused to speak. And they

know how many people were induced only by torture to declare themselves for violent, merciless war.

#### a concealed purpose

Extortions of information and confessions, intimidation of the political opponent, deterrence — these are often the ostensible reasons for using torture. But on the basis of their investigations into the nature of sadism and cruelty, scientists have taught us that there is a further purpose.

Those who practice torture maintain that their victims do not belong to human society.

Criticised for the persecution of the political opposition in the USSR, Soviet officials declared that opposition in their country was a kind of schizophrenia. As allegedly mentally sick people, dissidents are deemed to be of unsound mind and therefore denied the status of a political opposition.

In Iran, the security police, the Savak, is particularly anxious to make political prisoners incriminate themselves with high treason under torture. Would not the patriotic public be prepared to exclude the traitor from the community?

The intention is always the same: to label the political opponent as the enemy, to expel him from society, to depict him as a beast. This is how the torturer is to see him, even before he tortures. This is how the tortured person is to see himself after being tortured.

"The purpose of torture is not only the extortion of confessions, of betrayal; the victim must disgrace himself, by his screams and his submission, like a human animal." (Sartre).

Carola Stern is a noted European journalist. In 1972 she was awarded the Carl von Ossietsky Medal by the International League for Human Rights. The Medal is named after the winner of the 1935 Nobel Peace Prize who was a pacifist and newspaper editor and who died after maltreatment in a Nazi concentration camp. The above text is an abridged version of her acceptance speech delivered in Berlin in December 1972.



Women inmates of Tan Hiep national prison, South Vietnam, undergoing treatment for acid burns at Cho Ray Hospital in Saigon. They alleged they received these burns when the prison authorities forcibly suppressed a prisoner demonstration for better conditions.

# three cases

Vera Silva Araujo Magalhaes



Vera Silva Araujo Magalhaes was a 24year-old student of economics in Rio de Janeiro when she was arrested by the military police in March 1970 for "distributing leaflets."

Her torture began twenty days after her arrest at the army police headquarters where she was first suspended for more than seven hours on the 'Pau de arara' (Parrot's Perch where a prisoners' wrists and ankles are tied together and the whole body suspended from an iron bar under the knees, leaving the naked body doubled over and defenceless). While in this position she was subjected to differ-

## brazi

Pyotr Grigorenko



Pyotr Gregorevich Grigorenko, now aged 66, is a much-decorated former Major-General in the Red Army and permanently disabled from wounds he suffered during World War II. A devoted campaigner for human rights, he took up the cause of the Crimean Tartars deported to central Asia during the War. In May 1969, he was arrested for anti-Soviet activities, ten months later he was brought to trial, found guilty of crimes committed while of unsound mind and sentenced to an indefinite period of detention in a psychia-

tric hospital until his recovery.

(continued on page 8)

National Congress.

(continued on page 8)

U.S.S.r.

Desmond Francis



Desmond Francis is a South African Indian schoolteacher now aged 34 and living in Zambia. He was arrested in January 1968 by Rhodesian security police when he crossed the border, allegedly because of his involvement with a magazine printed by the banned African

He was taken first to Bulawayo in Rhodesia where he spent 17 days in an infested cell, chained by leg irons and severely beaten. His head was held under water to make him confess to corrupting African detectives and when he refused to comply, he was smothered by a canvas bag and beaten on his testicles with a copper finger-printing pad.

south africa

(continued on page 8)

Argentina Bahrain Belgium (NATO) Bolivia Brazil Burundi Cameroon Chile Colombia Cuba Dominican Rep. Ecuador Egypt Ethiopia Ghana Greece Guatemala

Haiti

India Indonesia Iran Iraq Israel Korea Malawi Mexico Morocco Namibia Nicaragua Oman Pakistan Paraguay Peru Philippines Portugal Rhodesia

South Africa
Spain
Sri Lanka
Syria
Tanzania
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
United Kingdom
Uruguay
U.S.S.R.
Venezuela
Vietnam

Yemen

Zambia

Torture is an international menace. Though it may originate in a distant place, if we shut our eyes to it, it may spread and effect us. To know that torture exists somewhere and to remain silent is to encourage the torturers.

Dr. Alexander Esenin-Volpin

# a sense of loss

#### Jean-Pierre Clavel

"Sadism," wrote Erich Fromm, "is the passion for gaining absolute control over another being." This passion to "break" another being is the mainspring of the act of torture: the violation of a human will by the systematic infliction of suffering.

Whether or not anyone can presume to judge all torturers as sadists, the fact remains that the act itself of deliberate and sustained cruelty is universally recognised as a crime against humanity.

As such, it is not only held to be morally indefensible, it is an indictable offence under international law.

This principle was first established in the definition of Crimes against Humanity set down in the Nuremberg Charter, 1950:

"Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts done against any civilian population or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds, when such acts are done or such persecutions are carried out in execution of or in connection with any crime against peace or any war crime.

It was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, however, and the subsequent U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights that made explicit the international injunction against all acts of torture:

"No one shall be subjected to torture, or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

Despite arguments advanced by strategists to justify use of controlled third and fourth degree methods in urgent intelligence operations, no government or international body has since been able to openly sanction any form of torture. In fact, a consistent and consolidated effort has been made in recent years to bring torture under strict international legal control.

Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the fact that at no time in the history of international law in the years since the Second World War has any provision been made to admit the legality of torture even in wartime. The Geneva Conventions Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and on the Protection of Civilians in Wartime are specific and unequivocal in prohibiting the cruel treatment and torture of captives.

This refusal to provide legal sanctions for torture under any circumstances has not, of course, prohibited its practice. Sartre's warning at the height of the Algerian War is even more true today: "Disavowed—sometimes very quietly—but systematically practised behind a facade of democratic legality, torture has now acquired the status of a semi-clandestine institution.

But the slowness of international law to halt the spread of torture does not repudiate the fundamental moral principles upon which that law is based.

Those principles are implicit in the idea of a fundamental "humanity", unique in each individual, yet common to all.

Historically, the idea of this humanity has been primarily rooted in the belief in a basic, inalienable freedom; "There can be nothing more dreadful," wrote the philosopher Immanuel Kant, "than that the actions of a man should be subject to the will of another."

Not surprisingly, it is the history of Black Emancipation that most clearly documents the essential character of human freedom. It has always been liberty which distinguished the citizen from the slave, the man from the sub-man. "The slave is not a man," wrote Angela Davis shortly before her arrest in 1970, "for if he were a man, he should certainly be free."

But of all forms of direct and indirect oppression, it is the practice of torture which most relentlessly seeks to disintegrate the fundamental freedom of human personality; firstly, by naked assault and degradation and secondly, by attempts to gain "absolute control" over the victim's will.

"The purpose of torture," argued Sartre" is not only the extortion of confessions, of betrayal: the victim must disgrace himself, by his screams and his submission, like a human animal. In the eyes of everybody and in his own eyes. He who yields under torture is not only to be made to talk, but is also to be marked as sub-human."

Contrary to the belief that torture is only used to prevent the spread of violent insurgence, current evidence points alarmingly to its use as an instrument of social intimidation similar to the interrogations unleashed by the KGB during the Stalinist purges.

Whether it be Iran, Greece, Brazil, Turkey, Vietnam or South Africa, the victim usually finds himself arrested without a warrant, cut off from anyone he knows, denied even minimal legal rights: "The rules aren't made for the police," reply his captors. He is simply seized on suspicion and dragged out of his daily life.

Suddenly without protection he may be forced to strip naked, compelled to urinate over his own body, strapped onto a bench already sticky with the vomit of those who went before. He insists there must be some mistake. He is beaten until a punctured lung forces him to cough blood through his nose and mouth. Through spells of dizziness and nausea he hears himself sworn at and laughed at.

All this before the questioning begins. When Andreas Frangias, a civil engineer, was arrested two years ago in Greece, he found himself surrounded by seven or eight shouting men who beat him repeatedly on his head, chest, stomach and belly. In his testimony to the Appeal Court he recalled the question put to him before his lost consciousness:

"Their stereotype shouted question was, "Tell us why we have brought you here!" and at the same time they threatened me that, if I wanted to leave the place alive and see my wife and daughter again, then I must reply at once to this question."

"But isn't this the only language people like that understand?" asks an urbane man in the cafe.

People like what? People like Henri Alleg — the Algerian editor? People like Pyotr Grigorenko — the Soviet Civil Rights advoctate? People like Marcos de Arruda — the Brazilian geologist? People like Immam Abdullah Haroun — the South African Muslim leader?

"But, of course," says the urbane gentleman, "mistakes occur. The police do their best to protect society from violence and sometimes, in emergencies, they have to use violence."

Unfortunately, this gentleman reads only the newspapers where torture is printed in inverted commas. To him 'torture' is always an exaggeration unless, of course, the circumstances are desperate; then it becomes a necessary evil which the victim brings upon himself.

But torture once tolerated as a 'last resort' becomes epidemic. When, in 1955, M. Willaume, a Senior French Civil Servant sent by the French government to investigate allegation of torture in Algeria, did not unambiguously condemn the use of torture, it should be noted that from that time until the end of the Algerian War in 1962 the use of torture by the authorities was not only endemic in Algeria but spread to Metropolitan France itself.

In its study of current torture practice and training, Amnesty International this year received testimony from a score of nations — in most cases, the torture was alleged to be routine and appeared to be used solely for the systematic silencing and intimidation of political opposition. The evidence points to the establishment of torture as an institution in itself - outside the constitutional political process and completely outside the legal framework.

"Once all our army did was add a touch of colour to national festivals; now it has turned into crops of executioners, holding 4,000 to 5,000 political prisoners at its mercy. A body of fewer than 15,000 men is enforcing a reign of terror over 2½ million people."

This statement emerges from testimony brought out of Uruguay by the noted French religious leader, Georges Casalis. Professor Casalis, of the French Protestant Federation, was one of the four authors of the celebrated document *The Church and the Powers*, published in 1972. During a subsequent visit to eight Latin American nations, he amassed first hand evidence of what he has termed an 'abyss of horror' — often from men and women who have been torture victims themselves.

"In just a few years," he wrote, "a heavy yoke has descended; the streets are constantly patrolled... men disappear without trace, families are divided against themselves.... People grow anxious if someone is half an hour late.... If a father has a meeting he takes two of his children along with him..."

Casalis' report fits all too clearly into the cumulative evidence that an identifiable pattern of repression may now be emerging on a global scale. His findings are, unhappily, merely exemplary.

"It is taken for granted that the first stage in all interrogations is torture," he wrote. "A science of repressive techniques is developing. Arrests are frequently carried out on Friday evenings so that prisoners are subjected to three days of torture before being handed over to the police. In several recent cases the prisoner never was handed over; he died first."

The accelerating violence is senseless: once developed into a method of operation it is used indiscriminately and the confessions extracted by it are usually fabrications or lies.

Studies conducted in the post-Korean war period proved that latent anxieties can be so intensified by isolation, sensory deprivation, systematic exhaustion and the administration of hallucinogenic chemicals that a 'subject' will begin to exhibit "transient psychotic symptoms" and become highly receptive to suggestions, threats and enticements and submission can be achieved without tell-tale burn marks.

This supposed refinement serves merely to expose what has been described as the "latent Satanism of torture": the passion to possess a human soul.

In a memorandum submitted to the United Kingdom government at the time of an official enquiry into alleged sensory deprivation torture in Northern Ireland, Amnesty International eloquently defined the fundamental character of psychological torture:

"It is because we regard the deliberate destruction of a man's ability to control his own mind with revulsion that we reserve a special place in our catalogue of moral crimes for techniques of thought control and brainwashing. Any interrogation procedure which has the purpose or effect of causing a malfunction or breakdown of a man's mental processes constitutes as grave an assault on the inherent dignity of the human person as more traditional techniques of physical torture."

Whether a man "goes out of his mind" from the pain of needles under his fingernails or from an electronically induced delirium, the final effect remains that of an unbearable sense of loss, not only of control but ultimately of identity. He becomes, in Sartre's words, "detached from his real self". Perhaps nowhere has the suffering of this collapse been

more graphically conveyed outside of literary masterpieces such as Kafka's *The Trial* or Shakespeare's *King Lear* than in Paulo Schilling's *Theory and Practice of Torture in Brazil*. In his description of the experience of electrical torture, he wrote:

'The torturer's abundant imagination determines where the shocks will be applied to the victim's body. The simplest way is to stick the contacts between the fingers or toes and then turn the crank. The electrical discharge causes a sensation which is difficult to describe; a physical and psychological commotion filled with electric sparks which, together with convulsive shaking and loss of muscular control, gives the victim a sense of loss, of unavoidable attraction for that turbulating electric trituration.

"The shock causes a stimulation in the muscle identical to the stimulation of the nerve fibres...causing disorderly, uncontrollable movements similar to epileptic convulsions.

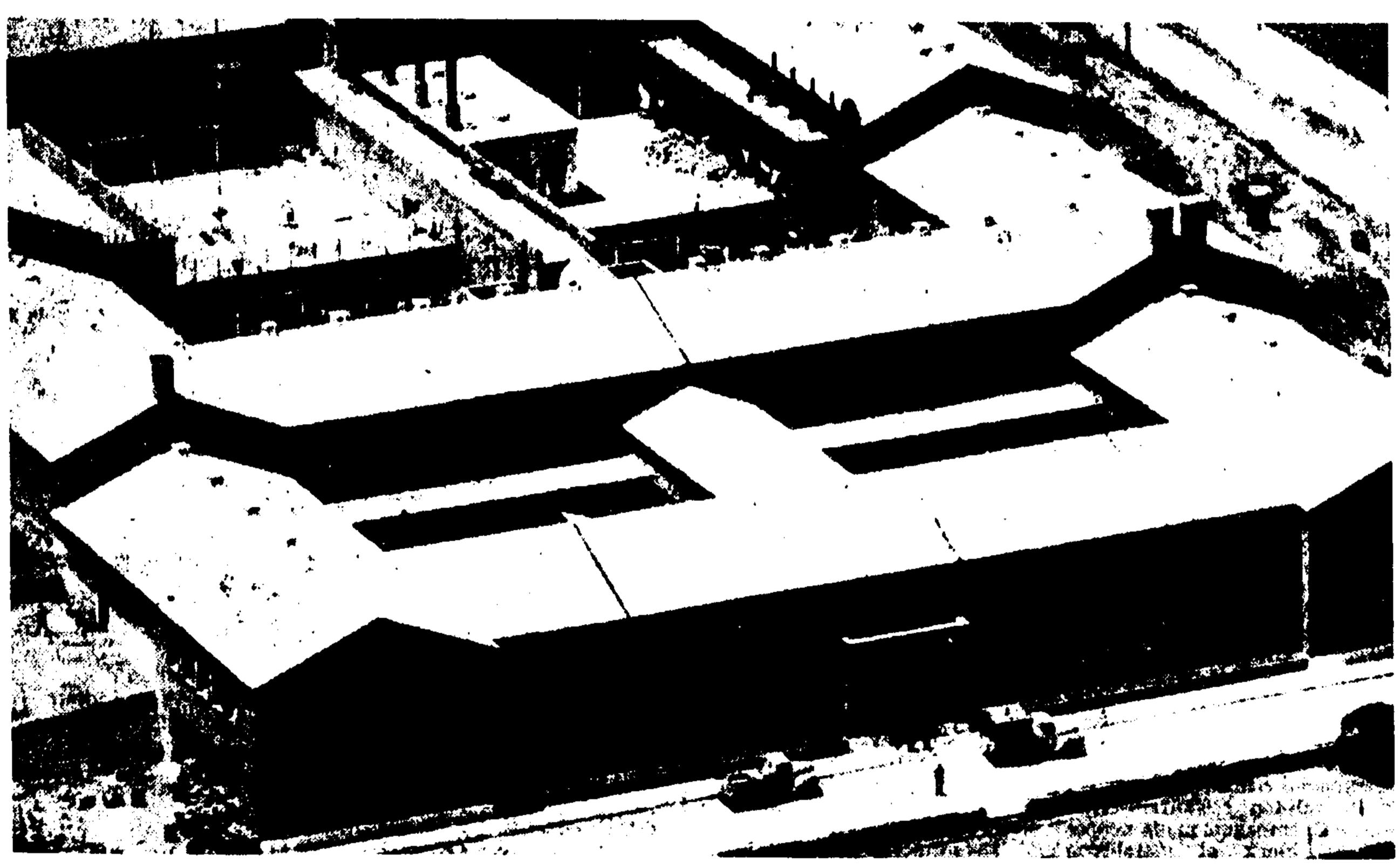
"The tortured victim shouts with all his might, grasping for a footing, somewhere to stand in the midst of that chaos of convulsions, shaking and sparks. He cannot loose himself or turn his attention away from that desperate sensation. For him in that moment any other form of combined torture—paddling,for example — would be a relief, for it would allow him to divert his attention, touch ground and his own body which feels like it is escaping his grasp. Pain saves him, beatings comes to his rescue. He tries to cause himself pain by beating his head repeatedly on the ground. But generally he is tied, hanging on the 'parrot's perch" and not even that resource is available to him."

In a letter smuggled out of a Greek prison two years ago, a victim of the Greek repression tried to account for torture such as this which he and his comrades suffered:

"The headhunters have locked us up in this narrow place in order to make us shrink, like those hideous human scalps which are their trophies."

It is in this utter diminishment of humanity that torture reveals its final moral blasphemy — the secret repudiation not only of human freedom, but of humanity itself.

Jean-Pierre Clavel is one of the contributors to Amnesty International's Report on Torture, 1973



Popularly known as "the island of the devil", Yioura detention camp held the Junta's political victims until a campaign in the late 1960's, led by the International Red Cross, forced the Greek government to transfer the inmates to other exile centres in the countryside.

# torture in a conservative dictatorship

### Margaret Papandreou

One reads the statements of victims of the Greek regime over the past six years, and it becomes a litany, voice after voice, in the courtroom, abroad after an escape, in smuggled handwritten documents from prison.... "I went under horrible tortures. For more details I invite you to the Military Headquarters." ... "Our lives were hell there." ... "My client retracts his confession and deposition which were made under torture." ... "I was taken back for more and had three or four more falanga sessions until I passed out on the floor." ... "When someone gave the word, the machine was switched on and I started to feel excruciating pain."

And from the other side, the barbarian side, the laughs, the insults, the arrogance, the contempt. "Behind me is the government, behind the government is NATO, behind NATO is the US. You can't fight us, we are Americans." "..."Take it to the UN if you like. You might as well fart on my bollocks."... "You can then go and tell everyone we tortured you. We want everyone to know. We want them to tremble, we want them to know that here in ESA we torture."

The Greek government is a government by torture. It is and has been an administrative policy from the very beginning. There are torture chambers in every corner of Greece — in Crete, in Agrinio, in Patras, Thessaloniki, Kavala, Komotini, as well as key centres in Athens and Piraeus. The techniques are quite standard by now, starting with the initial torture of falanga, where the soles of the feet are beaten with a stick or pipe. This is generally accompanied by additional beating by five or six men, banging of the head on a bench or wall, hits on the sternum. Other types of physical torture are burning with a cigarette or hot iron; hanging, often from handcuffed hands behind the back; sexually oriented tortures, including

jamming of objects up the vagina; chemical agents (detergent in the victim's eyes, or chlorine for drinks); and electroshock. Nonphysical methods include noise, nakedness, hearing others being tortured, bright lights over a long period of time, and writing of declarations of support for the junta, the latter a complete robbing of a man's self-respect and dignity.

The names of the torturers number in the hundreds. All seem to have been given some training in techniques of torture, based on the fact of similarity of techniques throughout Greece, and with the minium proviso that the techniques used leave no long-lasting physical signs. Thus the popularity of falanga, which, except in the case of a broken bone that doesn't set properly, is exceedingly painful, but leaves no visible marks. There is growing evidence, however, that the electroshock, initially administered by doctors at the 401 Military hospital, has been taken over by a group of young soldiers who have their own chambers in ESA and when other techniques fail, the victim is turned over to them for the ultimate method.

And the torture continues. Six lawyers, four of whom defended students in a trial arising out of recent rebellions, have been held for over six weeks incommunicado in ESA, Military Security Headquarters. They managed to get out a plea for help to Amnesty International in which they described inhuman tortures. Three men sent there by three organizations involved in human rights were not permitted to see them, nor get information on the charges, nor see anyone of authority in the junta regime. At this moment as we meet here, they, or others who have succeeded them, are being tortured. We bear a particularly heavy responsibility for this in Greece. (April, 1973).

Margaret Papandreou is the author of Nightmare in Athens, 1970.

### Vera Silva Araujo Magalhaes (continued from page 3)

ent voltages of electric shocks, water was forced into her mouth and nose and she was beaten with a truncheon and whip all over the body, including her genital area.

Miss Magalhaes later reported that since she was very weak the attending doctor advised that the session be shortened and the torturers followed this order. She was then transferred to the infirmary and then to the military hospital.

In the military hospital, according to Miss Magalhaes' sworn statement, she received no medical care. Instead the doctors ad-

ministered sedatives which weakened her psychologically. In general, she reported, medical practitioners attached to the military headquarters are in attendance only to control the amount of torture to which a patient may be submitted or to prescribe sedatives to aid in interrogation.

Dental treatment consisted solely of pulling out teeth to avoid further decay. There were rats and mice in the cells and infirmaries. She only saw her family three times in three months because, she said, the authorities wished to prevent them from seeing her physical condition.

Miss Magalhaes was first brought before a judge in the military tribunal after a month and a half of detention — her trial was already underway. Her case is exceptional: generally in Brazil the detained person is not brought before a judge until he has served approximately one year's detention.

The case against her was dismissed and she was released on the 15th June, 1970, more than three months after her arrest. She now lives in exile, confined to a wheelchair, her body paralysed from the waist down.

## Pyotr Grigorenko (continued from page 3)

While awaiting trial in a prison in Tashkent in June 1969 Grigorenko began a hunger strike in protest against his treatment. He was force-fed and deliberately beaten on his wounded leg. He wrote in his prison diary: "I long to die, calculating that my death will serve to expose this tyranny." But this captors frequently told him: "You are utterly at our mercy, even after death."

His physical pains were compounded by psychological pressures: his sick wife and disabled son were deprived of their pensions, he was allowed no contact with them at all or with his defence counsel before the trial and his complaints were totally ignored.

"Only now have I realised the special horror of the fate which overtook those unfortunate people who perished by the million in the torture chambers of Stalin's
regime," Grigorenko wrote. "It wasn't
the physical suffering — that's bearable.
But they deprived people of any hope
whatsoever; they reiterated to them the
omnipotence of their tyranny, the absence of any way out. And that is unbearable."

In the psychiatric hospital to which Grigorenko was sent, he has been confined to a cell of six square meters containing two people: himself and a cellmate who stabbed his own wife to death and is in a constant state of delirium.

There is room to take only two steps. Despite the acute pains in his crippled leg, he is allotted only two hours exercise each day, the rest of the time being spent in his locked cell.

Every six months he is brought before a commission and questioned on a simple question and answer basis designed, according to Grigorenko, to reveal the inconsistency of his views and to prove that he is mad.

"When will you renounce your convictions?" he is asked.

Grigorenko is reported to have replied: "Principles are not like gloves, they are not easy to change."

### Desmond Francis (continued from page 3)

"All this took place in a centre office to hide screams," reported Francis who, on the fifth day of this interrogation tried to commit suicide by plunging a broken bottle into his chest. The police prevented this attempt and renewed their efforts to break him.

While still in Rhodesia, Francis was burnt repeatedly with a hot iron on the thigh and lighted matches held against his body. His pubic hair was singed off in this manner. To relieve the pain he was given two aspirins and placed in solitary confinement.

On the 18th of January, 1968, he was taken by car to South Africa. "I pleaded not to be sent to South Africa," stated

Francis in a subsequent affidavit. "I was told I would be a mental wreck by the time I reached Robben Island."

For the next 13 months, he was held in solitary confinement in Pretoria Central Africa where, he said: "I was beaten all over with fists and an inch-thick cane; one blow broke my right cheek-bone. I was then handcuffed and blindfolded with a wet cloth. I had to sit with a stick under my knees and over my arms. Electric terminals were applied to my ears and the current was turned on. This was a terrible experience. My whole body shook and my head seemed full of vibrations. My teeth chattered so that my tongue was cut to ribbons."

It took over two weeks to extract a state-

ment from Francis. The torture was kept up by rotating shifts of police using every conceivable method. Eventually he signed a statement — with a rough canvas tool bag over his head and his nerves shattered by the fire-crackers the police were throwing at him. A week later, Francis was finally granted medical attention. He had been vomiting and excreting blood almost without stop. The prison doctor's diagnosis was bleeding piles.

He was released unexpectedly without a trial 475 days after his arrest and granted an exit visa to Zambia. Speaking of the others who remain in detention, he said: "We are confined to a silent concrete grave, a living death, painful and complete."

# the victim

### George Mangakis

I have experienced the fate of a victim. I have seen the torturer's face at close quarters. It was in a worse condition that my own bleeding, livid face. The torturer's face was distorted by a kind of twitching that had nothing human about it. He was in such a state of tension that he had an expression very similar to those we see on Chinese masks; I am not exaggerating. It is not an easy thing to torture people. It requires inner participation. In this situation, I turned out to be the lucky one. I was humiliated. I did not humiliate others. I was simply bearing a profoundly unhappy humanity in my aching entrails. Whereas the men who humiliate you must first humiliate the notion of humanity within themselves. Never mind if they strut around in their uniforms, swollen with the knowledge that they can control the suffering, sleeplessness, hunger and despair of their fellow human being, intoxicated with the power in their hands. Their intoxication is nothing other than the degradation of humanity. The ultimate degradation. They have had to pay very dearly for my torments. I wasn't the one in the worse position. I was simply a man who moaned because he was in great pain. I prefer that. At this moment I am deprived of the joy of seeing children going to school or playing in the parks. Whereas they have to look their own children in the face.

George Mangakis: Letter to Europeans, 1971

# medical and psychological aspects

Pain is a signal that the body is being damaged or destroyed. To stay alive is undoubtedly one of our basic drives although death may eventually be counted as a merciful release. But few people can view with equanimity the prospect of living as a damaged body or mind. A 'mind' needs a complete 'body' for complete self expression. It needs intact genitalia for fulfillment of social ambitions such as marriage, for expression of sexual drives; intact hands for constructive and aggressive instincts; vision, speech and hearing for relating to other body/minds. A healthy body is seen as 'good', a disfigured one is 'bad' and therefore the victim sees himself as becoming regarded as a 'bad' person, a 'mind' to be shunned and therefore condemned like the wandering Jew to the continuous torture of eternal

The most senseless of all tortures is physical trauma to the brain. If a man's skull struck, the brain may be shaken up (concussed), bruised (contused) or torn (lacerated). Brain cells die, blood vessels get torn, cerebral haemorrhage and further destruction of brain tissue occurs. Some brain cells, if damaged, recover: but dead cells are never replaced. To damage the organ of a healthy mind can serve no purpose, further no cause. Like picking the wings off a butterfly or the burning of the ancient library of Alexandria it produces an irreparable loss. Death, coma or a mindless 'vegetable' is a result with no suffering for the victim; but to be left aware that one's mind is damaged or distorted, deficient in its memory, its intellectual skills or its control is a terrible sentence. A profound depression often ensues; one may be subject to convul-

sions, or outbursts of rage, unable to work or to adjust to society.

Interrogation methods employing sensory deprivation techniques also have traumatic effects. Anxiety, hypochondria and hysteria are the most frequent in clinical situations; phobias, depressions, emotional fatigue and the obsessive-compulsive reactions are rarer. In addition to its subjective results, anxiety can lead to stomach, heart and genito-urinary symptoms as well as tremors and sleep disturbance.

The induction of convulsions by passing an electric shock through the brain is, like the use of sensory deprivation, a perverted application of medical practice. Therapy using electrical shock in this way (Electro-convulsant therapy) is widely used for alleviating depressive illnesses.

Even in medical use when it is given twice a week, it may induce mild confusion and memory impairment for a short period. When repeated many times in a day it causes such cerebral disturbance as to render men demented and incontinent and is analogous to a severe head injury.

Psychiatric cases encountered after the use of electrical torture in Algeria included instances of localised or generalised cenesthopathies in which "the patients felt 'pins and needles' throughout their bodies; their hands seemed to be torn off, their heads seemed to be bursting and their tongues felt as if they were being swallowed;" I instances of apathy, aboulia and electricity phobia were also evident, the former two in patients who were "inert" and the latter in patients who feared touching a switch, turning on the radio or using the telephone.

Just as severe damage to our physical system may leave a scar, so may mental stress have long term sequelae. If during the process of torture, our psychological

defences are eroded and the mental systems with which we cope with stress become so overloaded that they are destroyed, we may find on return to our normal environment that we no longer have an adequate system for coping with any life problems. A survey of psychiatric casualties of World War I revealed that almost all were unable to return to normal life after discharge from the Army and were unable to work in their former capacity, if at all. Their minds became preoccupied with grief or bitterness over their misfortunes, or a permanent state of anxiety arose.

Distressing dreams and memories can occur many years after the severe stress, being re-awakened by another severe stress, and similarly a pattern of behaviour (such as a state of abject terror) acquired during torture, may suddenly reappear.

Within this context of breakdown through manipulated stress, physical abuse is also employed. The function of beatings,

burnings, gaggings, finger irons and needles is clearly exhausting, demoralising and disorienting. In his study of the results of tortures of this order, Franz Fanon reported cases of agitated nervous depressions, patients who were sad and depressed, who shunned contact and were liable to show signs of very violent agitation without obvious cause. Perhaps the most serious problems were encountered in patients who, after torture, exhibited a phobia against all forms of physical contact with other people. Nurses who came near the patient and tried to touch him, to take his hand, for example, were at once pushed stiffly away. It was not possible to carry out artificial feeding or even to administer medicine.<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps cases such as this that best reveal the meaning of Jean Amery's statement: "Torture is the most terrible event remaining in man's memory."

- 1. F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* Penguin, 1970, Chapter 5.
- 2. Ibid.

#### REPORT ON THE BODY OF LUIS CARLOS BATALLA

In June, 1972, the Camara de Representantes (House of Representatives) in Montevideo, Uruguay, passed a formal motion which stated that Luis Carlos Batalla, aged 32, had died as a result of the "ill-treatment he was subjected to during his imprisonment."

Batalla, an active member of the Christian Democratic Party and the Frente Amplia (Broad Front) was arrested on the 21st of May, 1972, in the company of his two young daughters. Nothing was heard of him until 9 a.m. of the morning of the 25th of May when two soldiers came to the homes of his wife and sister and told them that he had suffered a heart attack. One hour later, both Batalla's father and his brother (respected citizens of Treinta y Tres) were informed that he had actually died as a result of the heart attack and that his body was at the local cemetery. The guardian of the cemetery reiterated that the victim had died of an attack — despite his youth and the complete lack of any history of heart trouble.

The death certificate signed after an autopsy reported that Batalla had died of a serious loss of blood brought about by a ruptured liver:

DEATH CERTIFICATE SIGNED BY JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, RAMON W. LUCAS

Testimony A1, No. 145 — Batalla Luis Carlos

In Treinta y Tres on the 25th day of May 1972 at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, I, Ramon W. Lucas, civil state officer of the 1st section of the department of Treinta y Tres, gave audience to Ruben Traverso, 24 years of age, a bachelor and a clerk, inhabitant of this town, and Isidro Nieto, 38 years old, married and clerk, inhabitant of this town, who made a statement to the effect that at nine o'clock in this town Luis Carlos Batalla, of the masculine sex, born in this section and 32 years of age, married and a bricklayer, died of extreme anaemia due to a rupture of the liver as certified in a certificate signed by doctors Walter Buscasso and Raul Artiga which has been consigned to the archives.

One month after Batalla's funeral, in the Uruguayan House of Representatives, Deputy Daniel Sosa Dias, provided an accurate description of the victim's last moments of life: "Intense and localised pain in the area of the haemorrhage (i.e. in the right hypochondrium) is a symptom of the ruptured liver. Batalla would surely have experienced pain once the ruptured liver began to haemorrhage and this would have also caused serious vomiting — both of which would have been very serious for the tissue of the peritonitis and which would have caused immense pain. He must have complained.

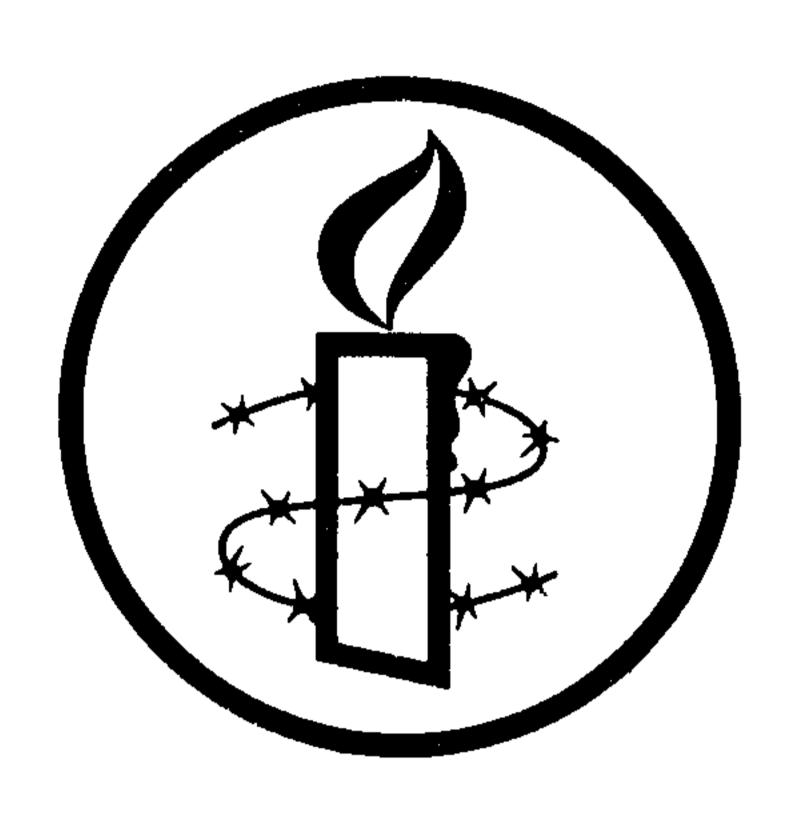
"According to the gravity of the rupture there are four grades of haemorrhage: massive, serious, minor and self-dissipating. Only in the first instance, will death be almost instant. In the other cases, there are painful symptoms or a great loss of blood which brings about a serious anaemia, which in itself is easily detected: paleness, sweating, general illness. Death, if it does occur, can be a matter of hours or days."



"Sometimes, when we hear these reports about torture, we become frightened — as if the whole thing was unthinkable, as if we were the victims of a collective hallucination.

But in actual fact, it is not the proof that is lacking, but the courage to believe the reports."

from the writings of the Mediterranean Resistance Fighters, World War Two, cited by Carola Stern.



# amnesty international

Amnesty International is a world-wide Human Rights movement which is independent of any government, political faction or religious creed. It acts on behalf of men and women who are imprisoned for their beliefs, colour, ethnic origin or religion, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence.

Amnesty International was founded in 1961, the inspiration of an English barrister, Peter Benenson. He had involved himself in the trials of political prisoners in the courts of many countries but realised that he alone could help only a fraction of the many thousands of innocent persons being persecuted for their religious or political beliefs. He launched an appeal to organise practical help. Within a month he had over a thousand offers of support to collect information on cases, to publicise them and approach governments. Within two months, representatives from five countries had established the beginnings of an international movement.

Today Amnesty remains the only organisation of its kind, with Groups in 36 countries, members in a further 58 countries and a total membership of over 30,000. Through them, it mobilises public opinion, works for the release of prisoners, protects their families from hardship, and seeks improved international standards in the treatment of prisoners and detainees.

Individuals who wish to participate in the work of Amnesty International can do so by becoming members of the organisation, thereby adding their voice to those who are concerned with the observance of basic human rights. They can also become members of local adoption groups or form new groups, small working units which take responsibility for the release of three prisoners (one from the East, one from the West, and one from a non-aligned nation). There are now 1200 such adoption groups throughout the world. In addition, these groups form the basis of Amnesty's financial support — Amnesty is a self-supporting organisation funded almost entirely by its National Sections, local groups and individual members.

Amnesty acts with complete impartiality and has consultative status with the United Nations, the Council of Europe, and the Organisation of American States. It also is recognised by the Organisation of African Unity. It opposes the use of torture and the death penalty in all cases and works toward the world-wide implementation of the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In order to seem a charitable, philanthropic organisation Amnesty International stresses... that it has nothing in common with politics or party affiliation. But this camouflage falls apart when one so much as peeps into the 'Holy of Holies' and acquaints oneself with the men who stand behind the lofty words...

Amnesty International was 'created' when the imperialist circles began to resort to more refined methods of anti-Soviet propaganda... they are not at all interested

either in the racist (apartheid) regime in

South Africa or in the bloody war of the

US against the Vietnamese people...

Pravda Ukrainy, early 1971.

Amnesty International is an organisation of the New Left; it lacks objectivity and has never made accusations against happenings in the Socialist countries.

Indonesian Army newspaper Angkatan Bersenjata, May 1972.

The famous Amnesty International is an instrument of Communist terrorism which from London aids guerrillas throughout the world. Amnesty promotes campaigns around the world for Amnesty terrorist criminals, through means of lies and defamations of democratic governments. The organisation has conducted a systematic campaign against Brazil, inventing tortures, assassinations and acts of violence, in order to promote communist objectives.

O Cruzeiro, September 1972

In the pages of the Western press, from the anonymous emigre journal 'Possev' to the American International Herald Tribune, the most wild and far-fetched tales are systematically being spread about healthy people allegedly being confined in psychiatric hospitals in the Soviet Union. Especially zealous is the notorious 'Amnesty International.'

IZVESTIA October 24th 1971.

# "Keeping the balance of nuisance . . . "

Keep out Amnesty. That this imperialist body now feels it its duty to prescribe the manner in which our present government should treat political detainees not only amounts to a wanton interference in the internal affairs of Ghana, but also proves that Kofi Abrefa Busia is pulling strings somewhere within the framework of Amnesty International. We cannot ignore the fact that he has at his dispersal millions of sterling and dollars provided for him for the purpose of overthrowing the NRC (National Revolutionary Council). Imperialists offer advice and services only when their selfish ends.

#### release

The first goal of Amnesty International is the release of all prisoners of conscience wherever they may be held. When news of an arrest reaches Amnesty's Research Department the cases are investigated and if the prisoners satisfy the conditions for adoption, they and their families are taken up by one of Amnesty's working groups. The relevant governments are then faced with an insistent, continuous and informed appeal urging a reconsideration of the case and the release of the prisoner.

Of all those adopted since the founding of Amnesty, over 5,000 prisoners of conscience have been released. Even in those many cases when the organisation fails in its efforts to persuade a government to release an adopted prisoner, the work on his behalf reminds the prisoner that he is not alone and adds to the growing international pressure for the respect of basic human rights.

As well as the long-term adoption of prisoners and their families, three of Amnesty's critical cases are specially selected each month for a postcard campaign in which over 20,000 people participate. Since the beginning of this campaign in 1965, massive appeals have been launched on behalf of more than 250 persons. Of these, at least 115 prisoners in 40 different countries have been released or had their sentences reduced.

#### relief

A major concern of Amnesty International is the relief and assistance provided to the families of adopted prisoners and to the prisoners themselves. Special medical supplies are sent to ailing prisoners, books are supplied for students whose arrest interrupts their education, funds for food, clothing and schooling are raised for the victims' families and in some circumstances, aid is provided to help prisoners re-establish themselves after their release.

Recently, systematic relief totalling more than £85,000 each year has been channelled to Brazil, Greece, Paraguay, Portugal, South Africa, Rhodesia, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Indonesia and other countries. On some occasions assistance has also been provided for legal aid but this is usually covered through means other than the general relief effort.



"We could always tell when international protests were taking place... the food rations increased and the beatings inside the prisons got less... letters from abroad were translated and passed around from cell to cell... but when the letters stopped, the dirty food and the repression started again."

Jean-Pierre Debris and Andre Menras, released from Chi Hoa Prison, Saigon, 1972.

#### protection

Apart from the release of prisoners and the relief of hardship, Amnesty International is concerned to protect civil and human rights of all those caught in the vise of political conflict. In particular, Amnesty seeks the universal implementation of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and maintains a constant check on all violations.

In order to ascertain observance of international legal standards in political cases and to make diplomatic representations on behalf of adopted prisoners, Amnesty undertakes a great number of official missions each year to observe and report on critical trials and gather on-the-spot information about prisoners of conscience.

Amnesty's growing index of released prisoners confirms that this life-saving operation does work. Amnesty is now recognised as an independent, effective organ of international intervention with a record of sustained initiatives in the defence of Human Rights.

The work of Amnesty International includes the preparation of frequent reports on its investigations of crisis situations. Those available include:

Report of an Enquiry into Allegations of Ill-Treatment in Northern Ireland, Report on Allegations of Torture in Brazil, Political Prisoners in South Vietnam, Political Imprisonment in Spain and back issues of The Chronicle of Current Events (USSR)

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If you think that torture, used as official policy, went out with the Dark Ages, you are wrong. Torture is still a political weapon used by many governments of varying ideological persuasions for the systematic reduction of individuals expressing "undesirable" political opinions. The victims are usually arrested without being charged and often subjected to the most inhumane treatment

If you want torture stopped, support Amnesty's Campaign for the Abolition of Torture.

Amnesty International is a movement fighting for the world-wide defense of human rights.

## Amnesty International

Write or call British Amnesty 55 Theobald's Rd. London WC1. 01-242 1871.