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Political killings by governments

AI has detailed evidence of illegal political killings by government forces or officially sanctioned "death squads" in more than 20 countries since 1980. On 23 March the movement launched a worldwide campaign to expose such killings and mobilize public opinion to stop them.

Blatant examples of these human rights violations have been perpetrated in countries as far apart as the Philippines, Syria and El Salvador. The killings have ranged from massacres of villagers in Guatemala to assassination of targeted Libyans living abroad.

But these are only examples—political killings in which governments must be held accountable are reported from most regions of the world.

In a new 131-page report, *Political Killings by Governments*, published to start the campaign, *AI* notes that hundreds of thousands of people in the past 10 years have been killed by the political authorities in their countries.

In all these cases, the victims were denied any protection from the law and were killed because of their real or suspected beliefs or activities, or their origins. The report refers to the slaughter of uncounted thousands in Uganda and Kampuchea in the 1970s and to more recent patterns of mass liquidation, assassination and attempted official cover-ups in other countries.

Establishing responsibility for political killings has often posed a difficult challenge for the international community, as in India, where the government consistently failed to investigate police killings of suspected opposition activists, or in Lebanon under Israeli occupation, where refugees were massacred at the Sabra and Chatilla camps in 1982.

An introductory section of the new report cites accounts of political killings in the 1970s and 1980s in 27 countries, including Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, the former Central African Empire, Chile, Colombia, Ethiopia, Equatorial Guinea, Iran, Mexico and Namibia.

In some cases, political suspects were taken away in official custody and later

POLITICAL KILLINGS
BY GOVERNMENTS

An Amnesty International Report

Cover of AI's new report . . . available from Amnesty International Publications, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF, UK. Cost £2.50 (including air postage). Money orders or bank drafts payable to Amnesty International.

reported killed in "armed clashes". In others, troops swept through neighbour-hoods or villages cutting a swathe of violent death. In others, plainclothes squads seized the victims at their homes or workplaces.

AP's focus has been on deliberate killings—not people killed accidentally, even under torture, or in violation of government policy; and not those who have died in court-ordered executions (although the movement also works for an end to all those), or those who have been killed in combat.

See supplement on political killings.



Pope John Paul II has endorsed AI's Appeal for a Universal Amnesty for All Prisoners of Conscience. He made his support clear during a private audience with AI Secretary General Thomas Hammarberg and a member of the International Executive Committee, Franca Sciuto, just before he left for his trip to Central America in early March. The photograph above was taken after the audience in the Vatican. In a letter to the Pope, AI said, "We believe Your Holiness" warm encouragement will be a signal to all those who are working—and suffering—in the defence of human dignity throughout the world."

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Republic of Ireland 'Confession' concern in Eamonn Kelly case

AI has expressed concern to the Irish authorities about the case of Eamonn Kelly, who is serving a 12-year prison sentence imposed after his conviction for armed robbery in 1976. At his trial he claimed that he was beaten into making the confession that was the sole basis on which he was convicted.

On 16 November 1982 AI wrote to the then Minister of Justice of the Republic of Ireland, Sean Doherty, expressing concern about the standards applied in the Kelly case regarding the acceptance of confessions in evidence in the face of complaints that they had been made after physical ill-treatment and the use of other oppressive methods.

Eamonn Kelly was convicted of armed robbery in April 1976, along with Bernard McNally and Osgur Breatnach. All three were convicted solely on the

basis of their confessions.

In May 1980 AI sent an observer to the hearing of the appeals by Bernard McNally and Osgur Breatnach in the Court of Criminal Appeal, which acquitted both men on the grounds that their confessions were not admissable as evidence.

Separate appeal

Eamonn Kelly's appeal was heard separately as he had absconded from Ireland and returned only after the successful appeals by his co-accused.

In July 1982 AI sent an observer to the hearing of his appeal in the Supreme Court, which dismissed it on 29 October 1982.

Eamonn Kelly claimed that his confession was not voluntary because:

After his arrest, he did not have access to a solicitor and was held incommunicado for 60 hours. He had been allowed little sleep after arrest. He had made his confession after prolonged questioning.

According to his appeal submission, his written statement was signed "at 5.15 am after eight hours of continuous interrogation which followed upon two days of extensive interrogation"—the previous interrogation sessions having lasted up to 13 hours each.

These facts were not disputed by the authorities.

Eamonn Kelly alleged also that he had been beaten into making the confession. This was denied by the police and was not accepted by the trial court or the appeal courts.

However, in its November 1982 letter to the Minister of Justice, AI said that doubts remained as to whether the police had satisfied their obligation to show that the allegation of ill-treatment was unfounded.

Eamonn Kelly was being held incom-

municado at the time of the alleged illtreatment. His allegation related to a time, April 1976, when ill-treatment of suspects in cases with a political element did occur in police stations in circumstances like those described by him, according to the findings of an AI mission to Ireland in June 1977.

Another fact that justified doubt, AI said, was that the Court of Criminal Appeal had ruled that the confessions of the two co-accused could not be admitted as voluntary.

All three men had been arrested and interrogated in similar circumstances and made similar complaints.

The decision of the trial court, and then both courts of appeal, to accept Eamonn Kelly's confession as voluntary in the face of all these circumstances and in the knowledge that this was the only evidence against him justified concern about the standards employed to ensure fair trial, AI said.

It recalled the recommendations which it had made to the government in its submission of 26 August 1977, following the mission to Ireland, including one that detainees should have access to solicitors of their choice at the earliest time after arrest and before interrogation; and that a detainee should be allowed a medical examination on entering police custody and at regular intervals thereafter by a doctor of his or her choice

AI also recommended the strengthening of safeguards against the use in evidence of statements made as a result of ill-treatment.

On 16 December, after the inauguration of a new government in the Republic of Ireland, AI wrote again to express its concerns to the newly appointed Minister of Justice, Michael Noonan.

His office replied on 25 February, saying that AI had not pointed to any evidence not already taken into account by the courts and that the organization was in effect asking the Minister of Justice "to pronounce that the relevant Courts, including the Supreme Court, were either incompetent or perverse or both in their handling of the case." The official reply went on to say that such a request involved an insult to the judiciary.

Prisoner Releases and Cases

The International Secretariat learned in February of the release of 116 prisoners under adoption or investigation; it took up 60 cases.

Guatemala Executions in cemetery after secret trials

Six men were executed by firing squad in a Guatemala cemetery shortly before dawn on 3 March.

Appeals for commutation of the sentences on the occasion of the Pope's visit to Central America are reported to have been rejected by the Guatemalan Supreme Court on 2 March. Relatives were informed of the court's decision but not of the time set for the executions.

The executions had originally been set for 2 February but were stayed by the authorities. On that occasion four of the condemned men learned of their stay of execution only after they had been taken into the cemetery and 20 minutes before they were to go before a firing squad. Officials were seen to leave the cemetery afterwards carrying empty coffins.

The six men had been sentenced to death, for terrorism and kidnapping, under the provisions of Decree Law 46-82 of July 1982. This law extends the number of offences for which the death penalty can be applied, establishes secret military tribunals to try civilians charged under its provisions and restricts the legal safeguards of those accused of a capital offence.

The six defendants had pleaded not guilty to the charges against them.

Four Guatemalans were executed under the same law in September 1982. After an international outcry about procedures followed in their trials, the Guatemalan Government established an ad hoc appellate system, involving appeals to a newly established special appeal court and final appeals to the Supreme Court. These new procedures applied in the cases of the latest people to be executed.

However, AI considers that the original procedures under which they were tried and convicted did not conform to internationally recognized standards for fair trial. Legal proceedings were held in camera, the defendants were not permitted to defend themselves and did not have defence counsel.

AI initiated wide-ranging appeals on behalf of the six condemned men. On 24 January and 3 March it sent telex messages to the President of Guatemala and the Minister of Foreign Affairs appealing for the death sentences to be commuted on humanitarian grounds. It later urged the United Nations Human Rights Commission to appeal for commutation of the sentences and appealed to the Vatican to intervene in the matter. There were also appeals from AI members around the world.

• AI has learned of the execution by firing squad of five more people in Guatemala under Decree Law 46-82 on 21 March.

Campaign for Prisoners of the Month



Each of the people whose story is told below is a prisoner of conscience. Each has been arrested because of his or her religious or political beliefs, colour, sex, ethnic origin or language. None has used or advocated violence. Their continuing detention is a violation of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. International appeals can help to secure the release of these prisoners or to improve their detention conditions. In the interest of the prisoners, letters to the authorities should be worded carefully and courteously. You should stress that your concern for human rights is not in any way politically partisan. In no circumstances should communications be sent to the prisoner.

Barbara HOGAN, South Africa A postgraduate student who helped organize trade unions for black workers, she is serving a 10year prison sentence imposed in October 1982.

Barbara Hogan, aged 31, was sentenced for treason by the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg on 21 October 1982. She had admitted belonging to the African National Congress (ANC), which was banned by the government in 1960, but had denied committing treason or participating in any way in the use or advocacy of violence.

Before her arrest in September 1981, she had worked for the South African



Institute of Race Relations and had been involved in community work for black people, helping to develop and organize trade unions and to arrange boycotts by the black com-

munity of companies involved in industrial disputes with black trade unions.

None of these activities would have been unlawful if she had not been a member of the ANC. The court ruled, however, that her activities had in effect furthered the aims of the ANC, which the government says is seeking to bring about the violent overthrow of the state.

The court accepted that Barbara Hogan was not a member of the ANC's military wing and had not been involved in violent activities. However, after suggesting that her offence was of "rather a technical nature", the judge nevertheless accepted the prosecution's contention that she should be convicted of treason on the grounds that, as an ANC member, she must subscribe to its imputed aim to overthrow the state by violence.

Membership of the ANC has not previously been equated with treason. In the past, only alleged members of its military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, Spear of the Nation, have been charged with treason and convicted. They were all said to have been involved in guerrilla activities involving the use or advocacy of violence and none of them have been adopted as prisoners of conscience by *AI*.

After her arrest, Barbara Hogan was held incommunicado for several months

under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and she has alleged that she was beaten and threatened during interrogation by security police. In October she became unwell and was taken from detention to a district surgeon for medical examination. His report recorded injuries he said he did not believe could have been self-inflicted. He gave a copy of the report to the security police interrogators.

In July 1982 two security police officers were tried for assaulting Barbara Hogan but were acquitted because the magistrate held that her allegations could not be corroborated in the face of their denials.

Please send courteous letters appealing for her release to: Hon. P.W. Botha/Prime Minister of South Africa/Union Buildings/Pretoria/South Africa.

LI Pei-lin, Taiwan

The owner of a bookshop, he is serving an eight-year prison sentence imposed by a military court in 1976 for possession and distribution of books on political theory.

Li Pei-lin, aged 63, was arrested in Taipei, Taiwan, in July 1976, when his book shop was searched and a list of customers seized.

He was tried with seven other people in November 1976. All had been held incommunicado since their arrests in July and August.

Li Pei-lin was convicted under the Statute for the Punishment of Sedition of "using printed matter to make propaganda for the [mainland] Chinese communists". According to a government statement, the charge against him related to the possession and distribution of books on Chinese political theory.

The books concerned are said to have been Japanese-language works about mainland China, a limited number of which had been ordered by Taiwan's governing party, the Kuomintang.

Li Pei-lin is reported to have ordered extra copies and sold them to nongoverning people interested in China.

Of the seven defendants tried with him, six were sentenced to between seven

and 15 years' imprisonment; and the seventh to three years' "reformatory education".

Please send courteous letters appealing for Li Pei-lin's release to: His Excellency, President Chiang Ching-kuo/Office of the President / Chiehshou Hall / Chungking S. Road / Taipei / Taiwan/Republic of China.

Pham van TAM, Viet Nam Former human rights worker, journalist and senator, aged 71, he has been imprisoned without charge or trial for almost five years.

Pham van Tam (also known as Thai Lang Nghiem), a former South Vietnamese senator, was imprisoned several times by the South Vietnamese authorities and was vocal in his opposition to the government of the then-President Nguyen van Thieu. In late 1974 he became Secretary General of the now-defunct Vietnamese League of Human Rights.

He was arrested and detained at the



beginning of 1975 after the authorities alleged that he had been implicated in a plot to topple President Thieu. He was freed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government after it came

to power on 30 April 1975.

In June 1978 he was arrested by police and reportedly accused of "having ideas against the regime" and of constituting "a dangerous element".

He is reported to have been held in solitary confinement for nine months before being transferred to Chi Hoa prison in Ho Chi Minh City. He is still being held there—in cell 6, section FG-and is reported to be in poor health. His wife is reported to have died in March.

AI believes he is being detained because of the non-violent exercise of his right to freedom of expression.

Please send courteous letters appealing for his release to: His Excellency Pham van Dong/Prime Minister/Chutich Hoi dong Bo truong / Hanoi / Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

AI has received a number of reports of political detainees being tortured in Diyarbakir Military Prison in eastern Turkey (about 1,000km from Istanbul). The following torture report comes from a Kurdish lawyer who was held there for eight months, until July 1982. He later left Turkey. He has since been given an extensive medical examination in Sweden and was twice interviewed by AI.

Testimony on torture in Turkey

A Turkish lawyer has given AI a detailed account of ill-treatment and torture which he claims was inflicted on him and other ethnic Kurds while in military custody in Diyarbakir in eastern Turkey.

Huseyin **Yildirim** said that over a six-month period he was beaten all over with sticks and batons, given repeated beatings on the soles of his feet (falaka) and on his hands, and on two occasions tied naked to a wooden cross and subjected to extensive electrical torture.

A doctor who examined him in Sweden—where he has applied for political asylum—stated in a medical report of 2 November 1982 that he "shows signs of external violent injury by a blunt weapon to the head, both upper extremities, the trunk and both lower extremities, and that the injuries may well have occurred as a result of the torture described by [him]".

His imprisonment lasted from October 1981 until July 1982 and he appears to have been detained because he acted as defence lawyer for members of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) on trial in Diyarbakir.

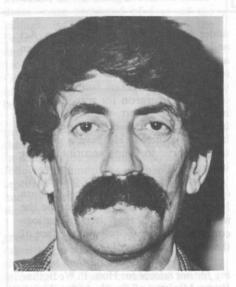
Like many other Kurds against whom the authorities have taken action in the past, he was eventually charged under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code. The article states: "Whoever commits an act intended to put the entire or a part of the territory of the state under the sovereignty of a foreign state or to decrease the independence or to disrupt the union of the state or to separate a part of its territory from the administration of the state, shall be punished by the death penalty."

The following material is based on his account of events, given to AI during two interviews in Sweden:

He was arrested on 11 October 1981 and held in solitary confinement for three days in the Political Branch at Diyarbakir's Police Headquarters, then questioned about the PKK and his relationship with one of his clients, Muzaffer Ayata.

On the fifth day he was taken to an army engineers establishment (Istihkam), where his head was shaved and he was blindfolded. He was then taken to another place, which he later worked out was the Martial Law Command Headquarters.

There he was beaten up and tied to a



Huseyin Yildirim

wooden cross, naked and still blindfold. He was given electric shocks on his ears, tongue and penis; questioned about the PKK; asked why he acted as defence lawyer for PKK members; and told to promise to stop doing so in future. He passed out.

When he came to again he was given falaka by five or six men—he fainted several times and does not know how long this continued. He was again questioned about the PKK and beaten with batons.

At one point people entered the room in which he was being beaten. He pulled off his blindfold and saw that they were army officers. He was hit for removing the blindfold and taken to another room.

He was given no food or drink and kept in a room with three prisoners. He heard people screaming, including women. He was taken for *falaka* at least twice.

By the sixth day his body was painful and he was fainting from time to time. Military doctors examined him twice and said he should be taken to hospital. Instead he was given aspirin.

By the seventh day without food or drink he was lapsing into a semi-coma.

He was returned to Istihkam, where he spent five or six days in bed. About two weeks later he was blindfolded again and told to sign a typed statement. He refused initially, removed his blindfold and read the statement, which included accusations that he had been working for the PKK and had tried to persuade workers in Hilvan to leave their job—although he had been about 1300km

away at the time in question. He later signed the statement, but noted underneath that the material about Hilvan was untrue.

On 6 November 1981 he was taken to court and charged under Article 125.

On 10 November he was taken to Diyarbakir Military Prison. On arrival he was beaten by soldiers with sticks in one room, taken to another room and thrown on an open fire. He suffered minor burns. A large number of men then beat him all over his body with sticks. He fainted several times.

After he had come to on one occasion he was hung upside down from a pulley on the ceiling until he fainted. Then he was hung up by one foot. Then the rope was tied to his penis and he was pulled up until he passed out.

Later he was taken down to a cell and forced to lie for hours in liquid sewage.

The next day he was beaten again and a number of his fingers were broken. By this time his mouth and teeth had been damaged and he could not eat. He was given cigarettes—but fainted when he inhaled cigarette smoke.

The torture continued over the next 10 days, mostly beatings. At one stage he was dragged into a dormitory and told to identify prisoners. All were PKK members except Mehdi Zana (former Mayor of Diyarbakir), Mahmut Sahin and Pasa Uzun.

The next day soldiers beat him again. Five members of PKK's Executive Committee—Mazlum Dogan, Mehmet Hayri Durmus, and Kemal Pir (see footnote); and Muzaffer Ayata and Erkan Uzun—shouted at the soldiers to stop. They were taken away and beaten. Huseyin Yildirim heard their screams until well into the night. They were carried back to their cells unconscious.

On a later occasion Mehmet Hayri Durmus paused outside Huseyin Yildirim's cell: he was knocked down by guards and his fingers were broken.

After one period of being beaten and kicked Huseyin Yildirim was told he was to be hanged. He was taken to a room containing torture equipment. Three army captains and a man in civilian clothes were present. They said they were sorry about the torture but it would not be necessary if he answered their questions.

The man in civilian clothes then began to beat him. He was tied to the cross again and given electric shocks until he fainted. When he came to he was given falaka.

This spell of questioning and torture continued for four days. On the fifth day he was again given electric shocks and hung up by one foot. The man in civilian clothes said he would die.

The torture then ceased for a number of days. He was examined by a doctor who gave him an injection and vitamin pills. Later he was taken to meet three judges, one of whom he had known previously. Afterwards he was tortured for another three days.

Huseyin Yildirim said his treatment improved after April 1982—because of outside interest in his case, he thought.

On 2 July he was again taken to court. This time his release was ordered and he was freed on 14 July, although his trial continued.

Once out of detention he immediately took up the defence of his PKK clients who were on trial. The court told him he could not defend them because he himself was on trial.

He was re-detained. He was held for three days, given *falaka* and beaten on the hands.

He was then released and left Turkey on 11 October 1982—a year to the day after being detained.

 Mazlum Dogan died in custody on 21 March 1982. The Turkish authorities say he hanged himself. Huseyin Yildirim AI received reports early in December 1981 that Huseyin Yildirim was being tortured and appeals on his behalf were sent at that time to the Martial Law Commander in Diyarbakir, with copies to Turkish diplomatic representatives in various countries.

On 11 February 1982 the Turkish Ambassador in London informed an AI member who had sent him a copy of her letter to the Martial Law Commander, "that Mr Yildirim was detained on account of his illegal activities directed against the unity of the state and not as a result of his exercising his profession within the framework of the law."

In a letter of 3 March addressed to another AI member a counsellor at the Turkish Embassy in Finland stated that: "... allegations of tortures towards Mr Yildirim are unjustified by the authorities who thoroughly investigated them ..."

In January 1982, after receiving information that Huseyin Yildirim was in a coma, AI again appealed to the Turkish authorities and on 11 February 1982 the Turkish Ambassador in Norway wrote to an AI member that:

"Upon the allegations of torture by the lawyers of the Province of Elazig, the matter has been taken into consideration, and the necessary investigations have been carried out. The results have shown that the alleged torture claims were unfounded and Huseyin Yildirim has been in good health. This situation has also been confirmed by a medical report on 15 December 1981. Upon further allegations of torture Mr Yildirim has been re-examined at the military hospital in Diyarbakir. This was also confirmed by Huseyin Yildirim's own statement."

says he was tortured for 15 days from 6 March 1982.

Kemal Pir and Mehmet Hayri Durmus were reported to have died in custody in September 1982, after having been on hunger-strike in protest against torture and inadequate defence facilities.

AI wrote to the Turkish authorities on 17 September 1982 asking for information concerning these and other alleged deaths, but had received no response by the time of going to press.

Human rights abuses in Zimbabwe

Widespread abuses of human rights are reported to have been perpetrated by government security forces in Matabeleland, the western part of Zimbabwe.

In the course of their operations against former guerrilla fighters belonging to the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), government soldiers are alleged to have assaulted or tortured many civilians and killed others, including women and children.

Hundreds of people are said to have been detained without charge and interned in makeshift detention camps at Tsholotsho, Lupane and Nkayi.

Violence in Matabeleland has increased since early 1982, when many former ZIPRA guerrillas deserted from the national army and took up arms against the government. They appear to have been joined by many other former ZIPRA guerrillas.

These "dissidents", as they were termed by the government, are believed responsible for many fatal attacks on black and white civilians in Matabeleland.

In February 1982 the government announced the discovery of substantial arms caches on farms owned by the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo. ZIPRA constituted ZAPU's military wing during the war for independence.

After the arms discoveries, Prime Minister Mugabe dismissed Joshua Nkomo and other ZAPU leaders from the government. A number of ZAPU members were arrested, including Dumiso Dabengwa and Lookout Masuku, the former leaders of ZIPRA. Both are standing trial in Harare on treason charges.

The government has deployed large numbers of troops in Matabeleland, a large part of which has been placed under dusk to dawn curfew. Those who break the curfew risk being shot on sight. People who assist dissidents in any way, even though as a result of threats, or who do not report their presence to government forces, face prosecution and imprisonment. Soldiers are also empowered to arrest people on suspicion and hold them incommunicado and without charge for up to 30 days.

Allegations by ZAPU

In January and early February 1983 a series of allegations were made against the government security forces by ZAPU members of parliament and by journalists who had visited Matabeleland.

Sydney Malunga said in the House of Assembly on 26 January that he had received many complaints of army brutality and both he and another member of parliament, Edward Ndlovu, alleged that 14 people, including pregnant women and children, had been killed by soldiers several miles east of Bulawayo a few days earlier.

On 2 February, Joshua Nkomo told parliament that he had information about some 400 incidents in which soldiers had used violence against civilians in Matabeleland during one week in January.

He called unsuccessfully for the establishment of a parliamentary commission of inquiry into alleged human rights abuses by the security forces.

The government has denied the allegations by the ZAPU members of parliament but has said that some civilians may have been killed in cross-fire between dissidents and government forces.

Despite the difficulties of attributing responsibility for individual killings and cases of assault, it seems clear that government forces have been responsible for serious abuses of human rights.

Journalists who have been able to visit Matabeleland, or who have talked to displaced villagers who have taken refuge in Bulawayo, have reported numerous allegations against the army. Many of these apparently relate to the activities of the Fifth Brigade, an army unit constituted mostly from former guerrillas of the African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), military wing of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) party of Robert Mugabe.

Government security forces in Matabeleland have been granted immun-

Continued on back page

Libya New threat to liquidate 'enemies' living abroad

The lives of Libyans living abroad are again under threat following an official decision in that country that all Libyans considered "hostile" will be hunted down and liquidated.

A similar decision in 1980 was followed within months by the assassination of 11 Libyans living in other countries and the attempted killing of four others. Nine of the 11 were killed in a two-month period from 21 March to 21 May 1980, following the announcement in February 1980.

The new threat was issued on 17 February 1983 by the General People's Congress held in Tripoli, formalizing decisions said to have been made by "basic people's congresses", local bodies assigned to fix official policy. It said "Every citizen is responsible for the liquidation of the enemies of the people and revolution", and included a warning to states which "shelter and assist" exiles considered hostile to the revolution.

Libyans abroad who were classified as "hostile" and failed to repent would be "pursued by all the sons of the Libyan people with all available means", and would be liquidated, according to the announced decision.

The decision came after repeated urgings by Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar Gaddafi in recent months that the people's congresses should approve the elimination of "enemies abroad".

Colonel Gaddafi said in October 1982 that every Libyan who travels abroad should be responsible for the elimination of such "enemies". In a "Vengeance Day" speech reported by Libyan radio, he was quoted as saying, "Whether you are having treatment or are a tourist or

are visiting or studying, you are part of the Libyan people . . . you are fighting everywhere."

After the 1980 assassinations, six Libyans—all travelling as tourists or students—were convicted of four of the killings, in the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and Greece. The 11 killings in that year ook place in Italy, the UK, the FRG, Greece and Lebanon. The victims included businessmen, a journalist, a lawyer and a student.

The 1980 decision to liquidate opponents came from the Third Congress of the Libyan Revolutionary Committees. In addition to the killings abroad which followed, hundreds of people were reported to have been arrested in Libya and AI received reports that a number died in custody.

The new decision by the people's congresses said, "Every action must be taken to persuade various states not to shelter and assist that misguided group," referring to Libyans considered hostile. "Otherwise," it said, "the Libyan Arab people have the right to behave similarly towards those states . . . and they warn those states against the consequence of continued assistance to that misguided group."

On 11 March 1983 AI issued a news release warning of the renewed threat to Libyans living abroad.



Roland Jahn (above), the prisoner in the Jena "bicycle ride" case (see December

1982 and March 1983 Newsletters) and his imprisoned friend Manfred Hildebrandt were released in the German Democratic Republic in February. They were arrested in September 1982 and sentenced to 22 and 16 months' imprisonment respectively.

Nine other residents of Jena who were arrested in January and whose cases are believed to be connected with the two above, were released from pretrial detention at the same time, on 22 and 23 February.

DEATH PENALTY

AI has learned of 47 people being sentenced to death in 11 countries and of 18 executions in seven countries during February 1983.

South Africa Security police tried after detainee's death

Two security police officers went on trial in the Venda Supreme Court on 2 February charged with the murder of a political detainee.

Captain Muthupphei Ramaligela and Sergeant Phumula Mangaga were alleged to have been responsible for the death on 12 November 1981 of Isaac Tshifhiwa Muofhe, who was in their custody. He was among about 20 people detained in Venda following an attack on a police station in late October 1981.

An inquest into his death was held in July 1982 before the Chief Magistrate of Venda. Medical evidence before the magistrate indicated that the dead man had suffered multiple injuries apparently as a result of a sustained physical assault.

Captain Ramaligela and Sergeant Mangaga claimed at the inquest that he had tried to escape and had had to be forcibly restrained.

Their evidence was dismissed by the presiding magistrate as untrue and full of inconsistencies—and he ruled that they were responsible for Isaac Muofhe's death. He referred the case to the Attorney-General, who subsequently instituted a charge of murder.

After a trial lasting 11 days, the Venda Chief Justice, Judge G.P. van Rhyn, acquitted both security policemen of murder. He said that the court could not be sure that Isaac Muofhe had not resisted his captors because there were no witnesses other than the accused.

Several other people detained at the same time as Isaac Muofhe have alleged torture by Venda security police. They include Simon Farisani, Dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Venda, who was released uncharged after seven months' detention without trial. He has alleged that he was so severely assaulted and tortured with electric shocks that he suffered a heart attack and required intensive treatment in hospital.

No one has been tried or convicted in connection with the attack on the police station.

Viet Nam release

AI has received reports that 20-year-old Le thi Som Mai, whom it had adopted as a prisoner of conscience, has been released from detention in Viet Nam (see November 1982 Newsletter).

She was arrested with a group of young people in February 1982 after trying to leave the country illegally.

Her father, Tran Da Tu, a poet and former broadcaster and journalist, has been held without charge or trial since 1976 and is now in Gia Trung "reeducation" camp, in Kontum province.



amnesty international

campaign for the abolition of torture

Uruguay—Fears for three after 'disappearances'

Fears have been expressed about the safety of three Uruguayans who "disappeared" in Montevideo between 15 and 18 months ago and whose fate and whereabouts are unknown. AI believes they may have been arrested by the Uruguayan security forces and held in unacknowledged detention.

The organization is especially concerned about them because of continuing reports of people being tortured while held in prolonged incommunicado detention by the security forces.

The three are Miguel Angel Mato Fagiani, 28, who worked at a tyre factory; Omar Antonio Paita Cardozo, a former leader of the port workers' trade union; and Félix Ortiz Piazoli, a 47-yearold businessman.

• Miguel Mato, who is married and has a small child, "disappeared" on 29 January 1982 on his way to work at the FUNSA tyre factory in Montevideo.

Extensive inquiries about him have been made to the police and army authorities without result. In May 1982 the Uruguayan authorities informed the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States that they had no record of his detention.

AI knows of no response to a habeas corpus petition presented on his behalf in July 1982.

• Omar Paita "disappeared" on 21 September 1981 and no news of his whereabouts was received until April 1982, when another trade unionist reported that he had seen him and heard his cries -apparently after torture—in a Montevideo military barracks. (This trade unionist was himself briefly detained

A habeas corpus petition and appeals on Omar Paita's behalf to the Ministries of the Interior and Defence have elicited no response.

and claims that he, too, was tortured.)

• Similar petitions and appeals to the same authorities have proved equally fruitless in the case of Félix Ortiz, who is reported to have "disappeared" after being abducted in Montevideo during the first week of September 1981

Between September 1981 and May 1982 armed members of the security forces (uniformed and in plain clothes) arrested a large number of students, trade unionists and members of opposition political parties—as well as relatives or friends of such individuals.

Some reports suggest as many as 1,000 people were arrested. Most were released after interrogation but the whereabouts of many became known only several months after their arrest.

In Uruguay it is common for political detainees to be taken to a secret place of detention after arrest; many are held for months in military barracks and denied access to lawyers or their families.

AI continues to receive reports that during this period of incommunicado detention prisoners are tortured and hooded to prevent them identifying their

In many cases it is believed that detention is officially acknowledged only after a confession has been obtained.

Many of those arrested between September 1981 and May 1982 have been charged with "subversive association" under the Military Penal Code and face prison sentences of up to 18 years. Most are known to have been transferred to military prisons.

Please write courteous letters appealing for an urgent and full investigation into the "disappearances" of Miguel Angel Mato Fagiani, Omar Antonio Paita Cardozo and Félix Ortiz Piazoli to: Exmo. Sr. Presidente de la República/ Tte. General (R) Gregorio Alvarez/Casa de Gobierno / Plaza Independencia / Montevideo/Uruguay.

Swaziland Jail for Jehovah's Witnesses who wouldn't cut hair

At least 13 Jehovah's Witnesses are reported to have been sentenced to terms of up to one year in prison in late 1982 for refusing to cut their hair in accordance with government orders.

After the death in August 1982 of King Sobhuza II, Swaziland's Head of State, the government announced a period of national mourning and, in accordance with tradition, ordered that men and women should cut their hair as a mark of respect for the late king.

A number of Jehovah's Witnesses felt unable to cut their hair because of their religious convictions and were prosecuted as a result. In some cases, those concerned had their hair cut forcibly by the police on the instructions of magistrates, who then sentenced them to terms of imprisonment.

AI has informed the Swaziland Government of its concerns about these events and has urged the Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, to exercise clemency and order the release of the imprisoned Jehovah's Witnesses. The organization noted that their actions had been motivated by conscience and religious belief and not by disrespect to the late king.

Taiwan Long-term POCs out on parole

Six people adopted by AI as prisoners of conscience, who were sentenced to life imprisonment in 1950 on charges of "pro-communist activities", were released on parole in February and March 1983.

They are Wang Ju-shan, aged 60, Wang Wei-ching, 50, Li Kuo-min, 65, Chu Huei-huang, 54, Hsieh Chiu-lin, 58, and Wang Yong-fu, 56.

A seventh prisoner of conscience, Wu Yueh-ming, 62, who was released from detention on medical grounds in April 1982 was formally released on parole on 10 February 1983.

Two other prisoners, about whom AI has little information, were released in

All the released prisoners are reported to be in poor health.

In October 1982 the Defence Minister announced in parliament that the government was reviewing the cases of 22 prisoners detained on charges of sedition for more than 30 years with a view to releasing them on humanitarian grounds (see December 1982 Newsletter).

Spanish inquiry

Two members of AI's International Secretariat gave evidence in Madrid on 4 March before a Spanish Senate Commission of Inquiry set up to investigate the "disappearance" of Spanish nationals in Argentina.

The commission has received information from numerous individuals, international organizations and human rights groups.

Spain is one of a number of European countries whose governments have in recent months taken steps to investigate the cases of their own nationals who are among Argentina's "disappeared".

Relatives and lawyers of French nationals, Italian members of parliament and representatives of German churches were among those to visit Argentina at the end of 1982.

In December the European Parliament voted to send a delegation to Argentina to investigate the country's human rights record—but the Argentine Government has vetoed the proposed visit, describing it as "unjustified and unacceptable".

Abuse of psychiatry in USSR

AI knows of nearly 200 people who have been forcibly confined to Soviet psychiatric hospitals for political reasons in the last eight years—and the real total is probably higher.

Among those confined for months or years, and sometimes punished by the use of powerful drugs, are people who were themselves seized for calling attention to the same treatment of others.

AI has learned of 193 new cases since 1975, when it published a report on Soviet political prisoners which described the abuse of psychiatry and urged an end to it. That report noted some 120 known cases between 1969 and 1975, making over 300 in all between 1969 and the present.

These cases are only those which AI has been able to study in detail. They do not include people confined before 1969, even those who were still held after that time, nor many cases on which the movement does not have enough detail to know whether the people held were prisoners of conscience.

Despite appeals by psychiatrists in the Soviet Union and internationally, recent cases show that psychiatric confinement is still being used to punish criticism and protest. For example:

• Yury **Ternopolsky** was put in a psychiatric hospital in 1981 after arranging to meet a Swedish journalist;



Dr Algirdas Statkevicius

- Dr Algirdas **Statkevicius**, a Lithuanian psychiatrist, was confined in 1980 after joining an unofficial group set up to monitor human rights violations;
- Pastor Vello Salum was confined in 1981 after preaching on the national traditions of the Estonian Church.

Soviet citizens, including psychiatrists, who have tried to expose the abuse have been imprisoned, confined in psychiatric institutions themselves or forced to leave the country.

Soviet and foreign psychiatrists have privately examined a number of people who were held in this way and have found no medical basis for their confinement.

One of those to be examined between periods in confinement is Vladimir **Tsurikov**, a worker from Krasnoyarsk who has been put in psychiatric institutions three times after repeatedly applying to leave the country.

Describing the use of drugs on him in 1980, he wrote: "The triftazin made me writhe, and my legs began to twist about . . . I lost the ability to walk . . . Fainting fits began, recurring very often: I fell and hit my head on the floor and on the brick walls. The pain prevented me sleeping or eating. The sulfazin made my temperature rise . . .".

In special psychiatric hospitals, where the regime is harshest, other inmates have been severely beaten by convicted criminals employed as orderlies.

Soviet law says people may only be forcibly confined if they are dangerous to themselves or others. In the hundreds of cases of people identified by AI as prisoners of conscience there was no evidence to suggest this and no attempt by official psychiatrists to prove it.

 AI issued a news release on such psychiatric confinement in the USSR on 9 March.

Bangladesh torture reports

Allegations of ill-treatment and torture of a number of detainees in army custody have followed widespread arrests and detentions of political activists and students in Bangladesh from 14 February onwards

The detentions followed demonstrations in towns and cities—including the capital, Dhaka (Dacca), and Chittagong—against proposed reforms in the country's educational system and against continued military rule.

According to an official statement, 1,331 "misguided students and miscreants" were arrested on 14 and 15 February, and of those 1,021 were released on 17 February. More releases followed, including those of 27 leading politicians, who were freed on 1 March.

So far the government has failed to name everybody detained in army custody or in regular prisons since 14 February, and the total number remains unknown.

AI is concerned about the allegations of ill-treatment and torture, which are said to have included whippings and electric shocks.

It is concerned also that families were not allowed to visit a number of detainees after they had already been held for some weeks; that in some cases places of detention were not officially disclosed; and that in certain cases the authorities refused to acknowledge that detainees were in military custody.

STOP PRESS: Some 200 people detained after 14 February are reported to have been released on 19 March.

Singapore execution

Anwar Ali Khan, aged 29, who was sentenced to death in August 1978 for drug trafficking, was hanged in Singapore on 4 March 1983. His appeal for clemency had been turned down by the country's President, C.V. Devan Nair, the previous month.

However, an appeal for clemency presented at the same time by his codefendant, Siti Aminah Binti Jaffar, aged 24, was successful: her sentence was commuted to life imprisonment under a presidential pardon. It is reported to be the first time a death sentence for drug trafficking—mandatory since 1975—has been commuted.

AI has cabled the President expressing concern at the execution of Anwar Khan. Earlier it had cabled him to welcome the commutation of Siti Jaffar's death sentence and to urge clemency for Anwar Khan and all other prisoners on death row in Singapore.

Zimbabwe violence

Continued from page 5

ity in advance from civil or criminal prosecution for any acts committed "in good faith" in the cause of preserving internal security. This immunity is granted under the Emergency Powers (Security Forces Indemnity) Regulations, which were introduced by the government in July 1982.

AI believes that the Zimbabwe Government should take immediate action to ensure that no further abuses of human rights by the army occur, and that an impartial commission of inquiry should be established without delay into alleged torture and killing of civilians by soldiers. The organization also recommends that the government should withdraw indemnity regulations and prosecute before the courts any members of the security forces allegedly responsible for torture or killings of civilians.

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amnesty international supplement

Political killings by governments take place in different parts of the world and in countries of widely differing ideologies. They range from individual assassinations to the wholesale slaughter of mass opposition movements or entire ethnic groups. The scale of the crime is sometimes not known to the international community before it has reached proportions that will damage a whole society for generations to come. Detailed information on such political killings appears in a new AI report, Political killings by governments, published on 23 March 1983, part of the world-wide campaign AI has launched to expose these killings and mobilize public opinion to stop them.

Political killings by governments

Hundreds of thousands of people in the past 10 years have been killed by the political authorities in their countries. The killings continue. Day after day AI receives reports of deliberate political killings by the army and the police, by other regular security forces, by special units created to function outside normal supervision, by "death squads" sanctioned by the authorities, by government assassins.

The killings take place outside any legal or judicial process; the victims are denied any protection from the law. Many are abducted, illegally detained, or tortured before they are killed.

Sometimes the killings are ordered at the highest level of government: in other cases the government deliberately does not investigate killings or take measures to prevent further deaths.

Governments often try to cover up the fact that they have committed political killings. They deny that the killings have taken place, they attribute them to opposition forces, or they try to pass them off as the result of armed encounters with government forces or of attempts by the victims to escape from custody.

The pattern of killings is often accompanied by the suspension of constitutional rights, intimidation of witnesses and relatives of victims, suppression of evidence and a weakening of the independence of the judiciary.

These political killings are crimes for which governments and their



This woman has just recognized her husband among the dead after the massacre of striking coffee plantation workers at El Porvenir, El Salvador, in early 1980. Over 100 were reportedly killed by soldiers supported by tanks and helicopters.

agents are responsible under national and international law. Their accountability is not diminished because opposition groups commit similar abhorrent acts. Nor does the difficulty of proving who is ultimately answerable for them lessen the government's responsibility to investigate unlawful killings and take steps to prevent them.

Who gave the orders?

It is often hard to get to know about political killings by governments. The killers usually wish to conceal or distort the facts: the identities of the victims, how they were killed and by whom.

Eye-witness accounts may be difficult to obtain: sometimes the only witnesses were the killers themselves. Sometimes surviving witnesses are themselves at risk. Sometimes the killing itself is hidden and relatives may learn of it only months or years later, if at all.

There are two sides to investigation of reports of politically motivated killings: determining what happened and who was responsible.

Discovering what happened includes identifying the victim and finding out about his or her background in order to help establish motives for the killing.

The circumstances of the death must be established and the state of the body determined—whether there were signs of torture or mutilation or marks from handcuffs. Medical and forensic evidence is important.

At the same time, it is important to identify the killers and to check on links between this and other killings.

However, even where it is possible to identify the immediate killers, assessing ultimate government responsibility poses great problems.

In some cases there may be direct evidence of government complicity in a pattern of killings. Such direct evidence includes official calls for the elimination

of certain categories of political opponent; testimony from defectors from the government who had previously been involved in policy-making or operations; a government practice of labelling killings by government agents as "judicial" executions.

Often, however, the government will deny any responsibility, remain silent or give false explanations. In these cases, assessments have to be made on the basis of circumstantial evidence.

More important investigative work is done by domestic human rights organizations, often under difficult circumstances and at great personal risk to the individuals concerned.

Establishing the facts and proving government responsibility in such cases is often difficult and may invite reprisals.

Often the vital investigative work is done by local human rights groups. They have collected first-hand accounts, identified equipment and even vehicles used in abductions by plainclothes agents, and exposed contradictions in official versions of events.

In some cases a courageous lawyer will take up a case and try to secure redress through the courts. In other situations, relatives of the dead or "disappeared" may launch a collective appeal demanding a proper investigation into the fate of their loved ones.

Official cover-up

The facts about political killings by governments are often hidden or distorted by those responsible. The official cover-up may take many forms: concealing the fact of the killing, for example by making prisoners "disappear"; blaming killings on opposition forces or independent armed groups; or passing off unlawful killings of defenceless individuals as the result of armed encounters or escape attempts.

One means of covering up political killings by governments is to conceal the identity of the perpetrators, claiming that the killings were the work of clandestine groups over whom the government has no control.

The following testimony by a **Salvadorian** refugee was given to an *AI* mission which visited refugee camps in Honduras in August 1981:

"Thirty heavily armed men wearing army combat vests, but masked with hoods lettered 'death squad' came to my village and seized and killed a number of campesinos [peasants]. They went then to the neighbouring village of Santa Helena, seized Romilia Hernández, aged

21, raped and then decapitated her. Her relatives buried her head; the rest of her body was burned by her murderers. The head had been left in front of her relatives' house. The members of the 'death squad' were evacuated that day by a Salvadorian army helicopter."

In the **Philippines**, the authorities have commonly responded to allegations of human rights violations by claiming that they are the result of armed conflict, particularly with the New People's Army (NPA), the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines. People reported to have "disappeared" are described as having "gone underground". Those killed by military personnel are said to have been killed in combat.

An AI delegation which visited the Philippines in November 1981 was presented with details about a number of cases in which the authorities asserted that the victims had been killed in encounters with members of the NPA.

Such was the explanation given by Captain Montano, commander of the 431st Philippine Constabulary (PC) Company, for the killing of two men at Catalunan Grande, Davao.

At a commission set up to investigate the killings witnesses testified that the two victims had been taken from their homes by PC soldiers and that one of

appeal case



The graves of Teodoro Aligado and Epifanio Simbajon, arrested without warrant by members of the Philippines Constabulary on 25 June 1981 in Barrio Lourdes, Pagadian City, Zamboanga del Sur province. They were detained on suspicion of being members of the New People's Army, the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The two were removed from Pagadian City Jail on 29 June for further interrogation—later that day they were shot dead.

Police officers alleged that they had been killed while trying to escape, but friends and relatives of the dead men have disputed the official version of events.

After a local investigation into the case it was referred to the Minister of National Defence in August 1981. No further action on the case is known to have been taken by the authorities.

Appeal cases

Eight appeal cases are cited in this supplement. Please send courteous letters to the appropriate authorities, expressing concern about the cases described and urging the governments in question to set up full and independent inquiries into them, with the results being made public.

In the case of Libya, urge that the program of "physical liquidation" of "enemies of the revolution" be ended immediately; letters may also express concern about assassination attempts on Libyans living abroad in 1980.

them had been severely beaten in front of his family. The autopsy reports showed that both had several gunshot and stab wounds and that one of them had been strangled. The commission's findings gave no support to Captain Montano's allegations that the victim had died in an encounter.

In India, in December 1980 the Minister of State for Home Affairs informed the lower house of the Indian parliament that 216 "Naxalites"—members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—had been shot dead by police in Andhra Pradesh state since 1968. He added that the shootings were "a sequel to armed attacks launched by Naxalites on police".

Eye-witness accounts obtained by AI and other investigating bodies indicate that a number of the victims had been arrested and, in some cases, tortured before being shot.

Creating a cover-up can involve fabrication of evidence. For example, in Colombia, there have been a number of unexplained killings by official forces in rural "militarized" zones, where the army has for some years had violent clashes with guerrillas.

On the morning of 26 April 1981 an army patrol entered the ranch of Ramón Cardona in Albania, Caqueta, dragged him and two others from the house and took them into the nearby hills.

Screams were heard. The next day the three men were found dead, their bodies bearing signs of severe torture. According to reports of the incident, neighbours were ordered to transfer the bodies to a clearing, where soldiers placed a small quantity of food, an empty army knapsack and a camouflage shirt by the bodies.

The soldiers then told local people and army officers who arrived to view the bodies that the supplies were evidence that the men had been guerrillas.

An army press bulletin subsequently declared that the men had ambushed an army patrol and been killed in an exchange of fire.







Apprehension shows on the face of Vinicio Bazzaglia, aged 24, after his arrest by officers of El Salvador's National Guard. Within hours he was dead—his body, bearing marks of torture, found on a road outside San Salvador.

The body of a man arrested with him, 22-year-old Manuel Alfredo Velásquez Toledo, was found on the same road a week later, also marked by torture. appeal case

The arrest of the two young men on 3 October 1980 was photographed by a bystander, who saw the National Guard officers tie their thumbs together behind their backs (second picture) and then turn them over to armed men in plain clothes who drove them off in a Toyota pick-up (third picture).

The photographs were shown to

the Director of the National Guard, Colonel Vides Casanova, who acknowledged that the abduction was carried out by members of the National Guard and that the vehicle that appeared in the photographs was one of several such vehicles used by the National Guard.

As far as AI is aware, no satisfactory investigation was ever carried out into the killings of these two men.

Although the state of siege in force in Colombia for most of the past 34 years was lifted on 20 June 1982, reports of killings of peasants by army counterguerrilla units in rural areas, particularly Central Colombia, have continued since then.

Sometimes political killings by governments are announced by the authorities as executions.

In Ethiopia, it was announced on 24 November 1974 that 60 prominent political prisoners had been executed the previous night by firing-squad. They included the Head of State Brigadier General Aman Andom, relatives of the deposed Emperor Haile Selassie, and senior officials and military officers of the former Imperial government. The former head of state had in fact been killed in a gun battle with an opposing faction of the military government, and the 59 political detainees were shot without trial.

'Disappeared' victims

Many political killings by governments have been concealed because the victims have "disappeared" after being taken into custody: the authorities have tried to hide both the fact of the killing and their own responsibility. Sometimes the victims of "disappearance" are later discovered in prison, or released; sometimes it is learned that they have been killed.

"Disappearances" and political killings by governments are frequently connected. Often victims of extrajudicial execution are abducted before being killed: the "disappearance" disguises the killing.

Since the March 1976 military coup the Argentine armed forces have killed many real or imagined opponents of the military government as part of a "war" against subversion. It is impossible to know the precise number of victims. This is partly because of the secrecy surrounding the "war" against subversion and partly because most of these killings have been linked to the practice of "disappearances" carried out by the armed forces after the coup. Most of these "disappearances" occurred between 1976 and 1978.

Typically, the victims were taken from their houses at night by men who identified themselves as agents of the police or armed forces. A few were subsequently released or acknowledged as official detainees. Usually the victims were taken to secret camps run by the armed forces or police, where almost all are believed to have been tortured. The majority of these "disappeared" people have never been seen again.

Hundreds of people—including a number of "disappeared" individuals are believed to have been buried in unmarked graves discovered recently in

AI defines political killings by governments — also termed "extrajudicial executions" — as "unlawful and deliberate killings of persons by reason of their real or imputed political beliefs or activities, religion, other conscientiously held beliefs, ethnic origin, sex, colour or language, carried out by order of a government or with its complicity".

at least nine cemeteries in the Buenos Aires area. Investigations carried out since October 1982 have revealed that up to four hundred bodies may have been buried in unmarked graves in the Gran Bourg cemetery alone.

In Guatemala, many victims of "disappearances" have been killed—only extremely rarely has a "disappeared" person later been found in custody or reappeared alive.

It has, however, often been difficult to verify the fact that an individual who has "disappeared" has died. Bodies have been recovered from secret graveyards in such a state of decomposition that identification was impossible. Corpses have been found at roadsides far from where abductions took place, mutilated beyond recognition.

The practice of leaving bodies in public places appears to be intended to terrorize potential opposition.

In Guinea, President Sekou Touré's government has failed to account for approximately 2,900 prisoners who "disappeared" after being arrested for political reasons between 1969 and 1976. Many are believed to have died as a result of torture, execution, deliberate starvation or inhuman prison conditions.

In Afghanistan, thousands of people "disappeared" after the People's Democratic People (PDP) government came to power following a military coup in April 1978. The precise number of "disappearances" and killings is not known.

In December 1979 the new government of President Babrak Karmal took power and declared a general amnesty. During an AI mission to Kabul in February 1980 delegates met relatives of some of the thousands of prisoners who were known to have been arrested but

who had not been released under the general amnesty. The Karmal government has said that all those not released in December 1979 had been killed before it came to power. Government officials told AI that they had a list of 4,584 people who had been killed, but that they believed the number of killings and "disappearances" was actually higher.

Since December 1979 AI has received reports of killings of civilians in areas of armed conflict in Afghanistan. The reports have alleged killings by both government forces and insurgents. Detailed and precise accounts have been difficult to obtain

The killings

Political killings by governments have been committed in most, if not all, of the regions of the world. The cases in this report show that they are not confined to any one political system or ideology. Further examples are given here of political killings since 1980 believed to have been carried out by official forces or others linked to the government. The circumstances of the killings and the nature of government involvement vary from country to country. Some governments have been shown to be responsible by their wilful failure to investigate adequately or to prevent further killings.

The victims-individuals and entire families—have come from all walks of life and from many political persuasions and religious faiths. Politicians, government officials, judges, lawyers, military officers, trade unionists, journalists, teachers, students and schoolchildren, religious workers and peasants: all have lost their lives. In some cases well-known political figures have been publicly assassinated; in others whole villages have been wiped out,



Elena Holmberg . . . abducted and then found dead in the River Luján in Buenos Aires. A niece of a former President of Argentina, General Alejandro Lanusse, she was abducted in December 1978, some months after her return from Paris, where she had been Press Officer in the Argentine Embassy.

In the course of her work there she is believed to have come into conflict with a group of officers based in the Embassy and formerly with the

appeal case

Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada (ESMA), Navy Mechanics School, in Buenos Aires. Witnesses have testified that after the 1976 coup ESMA was used as a secret detention centre.

Elena Holmberg's return to Argentina is reported to have been at the request of senior naval officers in the capital.

Shortly before she was abducted she reportedly confided some of her concerns about the navy's activities both in Argentina and abroad to relatives and friends. She is said to have possessed tapes of conversations between the navy chief, Admiral Emilio Massera, and exile groups.

The then Minister of the Interior promised her brother, Enrique Holmberg, that her death would be investigated-but the findings were never made public. The family believes that this was due to pressure from senior military officers.

However, in September 1982 a federal judge ordered the investigation to be reopened. One of the key witnesses in this investigation was a former diplomat, Gregorio Dupont. On 30 September his brother, Marcelo Dupont, "disappeared"-and was found murdered in a Buenos Aires suburb seven days later.

and the news has not reached the outside world for weeks or months. Often, the victims belonged to the political opposition—often they were simply members of a particular ethnic group or lived in an area targeted for security operations.

In El Salvador, thousands of people have been killed by the security forces since the military coup of October 1979. The victims have included not only people suspected of opposition to the authorities, but thousands of unarmed peasant farmers living in areas targeted for military operations in the government's counter-guerrilla campaign. People monitoring government abuses, such as journalists and human rights workers, as well as church activists, community workers, political militants and trade unionists, have been arrested and killed. Patients have been abducted from hospital beds by security forces and killed.

Testimonies received daily by AI implicate all branches of the Salvadorian security services in the killings. In addition to the regular armed forces El Salvador also relies on special security forces such as the National Guard. which combines police and military functions, the National Police and the Treasury Police. All these units have repeatedly been named in reports of pol-

So has a nominally civilian paramilitary unit called ORDEN (now renamed Frente Democrático Nacionalista, Democratic Nationalist Front), established in 1967 to carry out a clandestine "counter-terror" campaign against government opponents.

New "civil defence brigades" set up under military control are also reported to have carried out killings in rural areas.

Recently the Atlactl Brigade, one of the special new units trained by US military advisers, has been blamed repeatedly for killings of unarmed peasants.

Villagers killed in Iran APPEAL CASE

Fifty-one villagers are reported to have been killed by Revolutionary Guards in the village of Dehgaz in the Caspian region between June and September 1981. Those killed were allegedly sympathizers of the opposition People's Mujahideen Organization of Iran.

A report from one of the surviving villagers said that the victims' bodies were buried in surrounding forests, in fields or in the courtyards of their homes because the Revolutionary Guards had prevented their burial in the village cemetery.

The corpse of one of the victims, Sadollah Mallah, a teacher, was said to have been exhumed and thrown in front of his father's house. A nail is reported to have been hammered into his skull after he had refused to cooperate with the Revolutionary Guards.

AI has received the names of 24 of the villagers reported to have been killed.

The Salvadorian authorities continue to maintain that any abuses were perpetrated by security or armed forces personnel exceeding their authority. They have also on several occasions stated that officers or troops implicated in these abuses have been removed from duty, or assigned to non-combatant positions.

The authorities have also claimed that atrocities in rural areas were perpetrated by independent extremist groups or "death squads" out of government control. Other reports, however, have indicated that the so-called "death squads" are made up of members of ORDEN or other off-duty or plain-clothes security personnel acting in cooperation with the regular armed forces.

In Libya, the Third Congress of the Libyan Revolutionary Committees issued a declaration in February 1980 calling for the "physical liquidation" of enemies of the 1969 revolution living abroad. Since then at least 14 Libyan citizens have been killed or wounded in assassination attempts outside Libya.

In **Uganda**, the widespread unlawful killings of the eight-year military government of President Idi Amin ended only with the overthrow of the regime in 1979.

In the aftermath of the armed conflict, a high level of criminal violence continued, with many unexplained but possibly politically motivated murders.

Opponents and supporters of the government and members of the security forces were killed under the successive governments of Yusuf Lule, Godfrey Binaisa, and the Military Commission.

Former President Milton Obote returned to power after elections in 1980. Instability continued, and early 1981 saw a series of guerrilla attacks. Many civilians—particularly alleged political opponents—were arrested by the army and there were reports of torture and killings in military custody. Unarmed civilians are also reported to have been killed by security forces operating against guerrillas in the countryside.

In Iran, in addition to the large number of officially announced executions which have taken place since the revolution of February 1979 (more than 4,500 by the end of March 1983), AI has received many reports of executions which have not been announced and may not have been preceded by a trial. In other cases it is clear from the circumstances of the killings that no legal proceedings took place.

Because of the difficulty of obtaining reliable and detailed information from all parts of Iran, it is often not possible to know whether a death is the result of a judicial decision or could be described as an extrajudicial execution.

Sometimes prisoners who have previously been sentenced to a term of imprisonment have been executed—but it is not known whether this is the result of arbitrary decision, or whether new legal proceedings have taken place.



Libyan assassinated in London . . . police activity around the body of Mahmoud Abdul Salam Nafi', shot dead in the doorway of the Arab Legal Centre on 25 April 1980.

The two Libyan gunmen who shot him were captured, tried for murder, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. At their trial they said that their victim had been sentenced to death by a revolutionary commit-

Some months after the 1979 revolution, fighting broke out between government forces and members of the Turkoman ethnic group. Four Turkoman leaders were arrested and imprisoned in Evin Prison, Tehran, from where they were kidnapped and killed.

The then President of Iran, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, sent two missions to discover how the Turkoman leaders had died and the findings of both missions were that they had been kidnapped and killed by the Revolutionary Guards.

Members of the Baha'i religion have been killed in circumstances suggesting official involvement. AI knows of no case in which anyone has been prosecuted in connection with such a killing.

Kurds have also been killed in circumstances which suggest strongly that extrajudicial executions have taken place. One report described the killing of 18 workers on 14 September 1981 at a bricklaying factory near the village of Saroughamish. According to the report Revolutionary Guards arrested the workers, put them against a wall and machinegunned them.

In Chad, there have been reports of killings of civilians and soldiers no longer in combat by forces loyal to Hissein Habré (who was sworn in as President on 21 October 1982) after they occupied the capital, N'Djamena, in June 1982 and moved on to consolidate Habré's control of the country. Eye-witness accounts have described defeated soldiers of the opposing Forces armées tchadiennes, Chadian Armed Forces, and some of their civilian collaborators, being killed by the pro-Habré forces, the

appeal case

tee and they had taken it upon themselves to execute the sentences.

At least 14 Libyans have been killed or wounded in assassination attempts outside their country since February 1980 when the Third Congress of the Libyan Revolutionary Committees issued a declaration calling for the "physical liquidation" of enemies of the 1969 revolution living abroad.

The Libyan leader, Colonel Gaddafi, has explicitly sanctioned the international assassination campaign against his opponents in a number of official statements and press interviews.

On 17 February 1983 the General People's Congress (the body assigned to ratify official policy in Libya), adopted a resolution calling for the renewal of the assassination campaign of Libyans abroad, who were classified as "hostile". The resolution stated that "every citizen is responsible for the liquidation of the enemies of the people and revolution"; it included a warning to states which "shelter and assist" exiles considered hostile to the revolution.

Forces armées du nord, Armed Forces of the North. For example, Karhyom Ningayo, the Prefect of Moundou, was shot in front of his family by soldiers of the Forces armées du nord while he was trying to escape from the town in early September 1982.

In Namibia, South African military forces are in conflict with nationalist guerrillas belonging to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Church leaders and others have reported that civilians have been killed by South African soldiers because they were thought to support or sympathize with SWAPO.

In **Bolivia**, following the July 1980 military coup, *AI* received reports that security forces were involved in numerous "disappearances" and political killings.

In the mining areas of Huanuni, Catavi and Siglo Veinte, where strikes against the coup had been organized, troops used tanks and heavy weapons to put down resistance to the military take-over.

In early August troops are reported to have killed a group of miners and peasants in the mining district of Caracoles, in the department of Oruro, and to have removed the bodies of the dead before they could be identified. A large number of people were subsequently reported missing.

In Chile, during the first few months after the 1973 military coup thousands of people were reported to have been summarily executed; between 1973 and

1977 hundreds—mainly political activists, trade unionists and peasants—"disappeared" after being arrested by the security forces. The "disappearances" and killings which took place between 1973 and 1977 remain officially unexplained.

Since 1977, a number of alleged members of banned political parties and organizations, such as the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), Movement of the Revolutionary Left, have died in the custody of the Chilean secret police, the Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI), in circumstances which indicate that they may have died after torture, or may have been deliberately killed by other methods. A number of other killings have been described officially as the result of "confrontations" with members of the security forces, such as the CNI. Some victims were reportedly abducted by members of the security forces before being killed.

In some instances of alleged "confrontations" and deaths in custody, official investigations have been started, but reports indicate that once the CNI or other security forces have been implicated the investigation has been passed from the civilian courts to the military courts. Military courts have consistently failed to bring those responsible to justice.

In Mexico, there have been reports of a number of killings in which regular army units have been involved or some other official link is known or suspected. On 25 July 1982, for example, a military detachment entered Coacoyult in the municipality of Ajuchitlán, Guerrero, and took 13 peasants away with them. Of the 13, five were later found dead.

In East Timor, which has been occupied by Indonesia since December 1975, there have been numberous reports of people being executed after surrendering to, or being captured by, Indonesian armed forces. In September 1981 as many as 500 people, among them noncombatant women and children, were alleged to have been killed after capture by Indonesian forces in Lacluta in the district of Viqueque. An Indonesian official has stated publicly that between 60 and 70 people were killed in the incident, including women and children. He asserted that the victims died in armed combat after refusing repeated calls to surrender. AI is not at present able to assess the conflicting accounts of what happened at Lacluta.

In the Republic of Korea (South Korea), at least 40 people were killed when army paratroopers dispersed a peaceful student demonstration in Kwangju on 18 May 1980. AI has received reports and eye-witness accounts alleging that paratroopers clubbed people on the head indiscriminately and bayoneted them; that many of the dead were shot in the face, and that others were stabbed to death.

Guatemala: more than 300 killed in village appeal case

On 17 July 1982 Guatemalan soldiers are reported to have entered the Indian village of San Francisco, Nentón, Huehuetenango, and to have killed over 300 people, mostly women and children.

AI has the names and ages of 302 people who are said to have died in the massacre—almost the total population of the village. Ninety-one of those reportedly killed were under the age of 12; 39 were under five and the youngest was aged one month, 20 days. Several witnesses said that the killings had been carried out by the army.

One witness, whose wife and nine children were killed, said some 600 soldiers had arrived just before noon and had put all the women and children together in a chapel and a house—the men were put into a wooden building known as the *juzgado* (court-house). The soldiers had begun to kill the people at around 3 pm, he said.

Another witness said: "We saw one little boy of about seven crying as a soldier pulled him along and then ripped open his stomach with a knife.
. . . I didn't want to save myself. . . . My family was all dead. I wanted to die. There were three old men with us. They grabbed them by the chins and cut their throats with machetes. But the machetes were blunt and they cried out."

At least 1,200 civilians are reported to have died in disturbances in the following nine days; the South Korean authorities said that 144 civilians, 22 soldiers and four police officers died.

Tens of thousands of Guatemalans have been killed for political reasons under successive governments since 1966. They have been killed by regular military and police units, both on and



The body of a dead Guatemalan student lies on the ground . . . he was killed by armed men in an attack on the University of San Carlos on 4 July 1980. Government officials have denounced the university as a "centre of subversion" and staff and students have been killed. Between March and September 1980 at least 27 staff members were shot. The deaths continued in 1981 and 1982; for example, the acting Dean of the Faculty of Law and six professors of law were killed between 27 February and 7 May 1981.

off duty, in uniform and in plain clothes; by official security guards assigned to government functionaries; by private security guards often led by former police or military personnel; and by "death squads"—armed groups, often made up of off-duty military and security personnel, which AI believes are linked to the government.

The victims have come from all sectors of Guatemalan society: peasants and Indians, trade unionists, church activists, political leaders, journalists and members of the legal profession.

Many individual victims have been assassinated because they were prominent in groups suspected of opposition to the government or in groups that the government feared might provide a focus for opposition.

Others have been killed because they belonged to such organizations or have been shot during public activities such as non-violent demonstrations.

Peasants have been massacred in areas where guerrillas were believed to be active, apparently to prevent the guerrillas gaining supplies and support, and to intimidate the population.

On numerous occasions AI has called attention to extrajudicial executions in Guatemala through public statements, and appeals and submissions to the Guatemalan Government. In 1981 it issued a report on political killings in Guatemala which concluded that officials at the highest level had been involved in orchestrating a centralized program of illegal actions.

In June 1982 General Efrain Rios Montt became President following a military coup which took place in March 1982. Immediately after the coup, killings by "death squads" in urban areas appear to have decreased. But in succeeding weeks persistent reports were

received of massacres by the regular armed forces and newly formed militias of peasants in rural areas.

Guatemalan security services have continued to attempt to control opposition, both violent and non-violent, through widespread killings whose victims included large numbers of rural non-combatants, including entire families, as well as people suspected of sympathy with violent or non-violent opposition groups. Information available to AI, including Guatemalan and international press reports and testimonies of witnesses, have repeatedly inplicated the regular army and civilian army auxiliaries organized as "civil defence" units under the Rios Montt government in these killings.

In Syria, since 1980 there have been several reported incidents of killings by the security forces. On 27 July 1980 hundreds of prisoners-most of them believed to have been members of the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood-were reported to have been killed in Palmyra (Tadmur) desert prison by the Saray al Difa', Special Defence Units, a special military force under the command of President Assad's brother, Rifa'at Assad. On the night of 23 April 1981 Syrian security forces reportedly sealed off parts of the town of Hama, carried out house-to-house searches, dragged people from their homes, lined them up in the streets and shot them. AI received the names of over 100 of those reported killed.

On 2 February 1982 violent clashes between security forces and Muslim Brotherhood fighters, following the discovery of a hidden cache of arms, developed into a near-insurrection in the town of Hama.

Syrian troops and security forces encircled the town and bombarded it from the air and the ground. A news blackout was imposed by the authorities but in early March, after the fighting had ended, reports of massacres and atrocities began to reach the outside world. Most reports indicated that at the start of the fighting government officials and their families in Hama were systematically sought out and killed by the rebels. Later, however, massacres were reported to have been committed by government forces, partly through aerial bombardment but also by troops on the ground as they regained control of the

Unofficial estimates put the killings by security forces at over 10,000, but AI was not able to make its own assessment of the number killed.

In the aftermath of the Israeli invasion into the Lebanon, hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in the refugee camps of Chatilla and Sabra in West Beirut were massacred between 16 and 18 September 1982, by armed Lebanese militia members. The Israeli armed forces were in military control of the area at the time.

An Israeli judicial commission was later established to determine whether the Israeli authorities had any responsibility for the killings. Headed by the Chief Justice of the Israeli Supreme Court, the commission met in open and closed sessions and took evidence from front-line commanders and highranking military officers and cabinet officials, including the Army Chief of Staff, the Minister of Defence and the Prime Minister.

The commission reported in February 1982. It concluded that Israeli forces had "absolutely no direct responsibility" for the massacres but that Israeli officials, because of things that were well known to all", should have foreseen that the danger of a massacre existed if the militia members entered the camps without preventive measures being taken. The commission concluded also that Israeli officials did not take "energetic and immediate" actions to restrain the Lebanese militiamen or to put a stop to their actions.

The commission recommended that measures be taken against certain named officials, including the Israeli Minister of Defence.

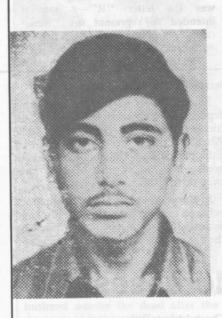
The Lebanese President, Amin Gemayel, also initiated an inquiry, whose proceedings have been secret.

AI had called on the United Nations to establish an impartial and international inquiry, and had called on the Lebanese and Israeli authorities to cooperate with such an investigation.

In its news release of 23 March launching the campaign against political killings by governments, AI cited the September Beirut massacre as an example of the difficulty in some situations of establishing governmental responsibility for political killings.

In Iraq, several political suspects in custody were allegedly poisoned in 1980 shortly before they were released. Two of the cases involved Iraqis who were examined by doctors in the United Kingdom after they had left Iraq. Both were found to be suffering from thallium poisoning. (Thallium is a heavy metal used commercially in rat poison.) One of the two died; the other was said to have recovered.

Well over 20 Yugoslav political emigres have been assassinated since the early 1970s, including two in 1980, and emigre circles have frequently alleged that Yugoslav state security service (SDS) agents were responsible. The findings of courts outside Yugoslavia have in several cases supported such allegations.



Student leader Peddi Shankar, aged 23, was shot dead in an alleged "encounter" with the police on 2 November 1980 in Moinbinpetta village, Sironcha Taluka, Chandrapur district, Maharashtra state.

It was claimed to be the first such "encounter" in Maharashtra and the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights (CPDR), of Bombay, sent a fact-finding body to inquire into the incident. Villagers testified to the committee that Peddi

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Shankar was shot in the back in broad daylight from a distance of some 50 feet by a squad from the State Reserve Police of Maharashtra, and that neither he nor his four companions (who escaped) had fired a shot. In its findings the committee concluded that the "encounter" was "nothing short of a cold-blooded murder"

Peddi Shankar was active in the Radical Students Union, and is reported to have been closely involved in labour issues in Bellampally area. He had helped to organize tribal people and poor farmers from the region during disputes involving land confiscation.

Numerous similar "encounters" with the police are reported to have occurred in India. Since the inception of the Naxalite movement-the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—in the late 1960s hundreds of alleged Naxalites have been killed during what the police described as "armed encounters", or while "resisting arrest" or "attempting to escape from custody".

Eye-witness accounts and investigations by civil liberties groups have provided evidence that in many of these cases the victims died after being detained-and in some cases tortured-by the police.

Mass liquidation

Several governments in the past two decades have decided on the whole-sale liquidation of political opposition. The death toll in these purges has run into the tens and hundreds of thousands, sometimes in a matter of months.

At least 500,000 people were killed in **Indonesia** in the nine months between October 1965 and June 1966, according to the head of the government security agency.

The waves of killings were initiated by the army and followed an alleged coup attempt in September 1965, after which the army leadership called for the destruction of the communist party (PKI), which they blamed for the alleged coup attempt. The armed forces Chief of Staff, General Nasution, was reported to have told an army staff conference that "all of their (PKI) followers and sympathizers should be eliminated".

In Kampuchea, under Khmer Rouge rule (1975-1979), at least 300,000 people were killed in a series of purges directed at "counter-revolutionaries" and other "undesirable elements"

In Uganda, at least 100,000 and possibly as many as half a million people were killed by the security forces during the eight years of President Idi Amin's rule (1971-1979). The victims included members of particular ethnic groups, religious leaders, judges, lawyers, students, intellectuals and foreign nationals.

In Ethiopia, thousands of people were unlawfully and deliberately killed by the security forces after the Provisional Military Government assumed power in 1974—particularly during the government's "Red Terror" campaign in 1977 and 1978. Between November 1977 and about February 1978, an estimated 5,000 political opponents of the government



The Chilean artist Hugo Eduardo Riveros Gómez, 29, found dead on the outskirts of Santiago on 8 July 1981—his hands had been tied behind his back and he had been stabbed three times.

A piece of cardboard had been left on his chest; written in blood on it was the letter "R"—a symbol intended to represent the "Resistance", a name used by left-wing opponents of the government.

The day before, three men had

were killed in Addis Ababa alone.

Since 1980 AI has been investigating reports of the killing of a number of political prisoners in prisons in Addis Ababa, Eritrea, and other parts of Ethiopia, and of killings of civilians in areas of armed conflict. Details have been difficult to obtain.

In **Burundi**, at least 80,000 people are believed to have been killed in May and June 1972 after a rebellion inspired by the numerically larger Hutu ethnic group

appeal case

blindfolded him and dragged him out of his home. He had been under surveillance by men in plain clothes for several days beforehand. He had recognized one of the men as a CNI agent who had reportedly tortured him in October 1980, when he had been detained incommunicado for more than a fortnight.

After that spell of detention he was charged, on 5 November 1980, with belonging to a banned organization. In March 1981 he was released on bail. At the end of June the prosecution recommended that he be sentenced to 541 days' relegación, internal exile. He was murdered about a week later.

His wife's request for an investigating judge to be appointed to inquire into the killing was refused by the Santiago Appeals Court in July 1981. Proceedings were in fact initiated by the 18th Criminal Court—but it closed the case without having found anyone responsible for Hugo Riveros' death.

AI believes that the "Resistance" symbol left on his body was put there to mislead investigations and that there are grounds to believe that the security forces were involved in Hugo Riveros' death: for example, the fact that he had been under surveillance and the way he was abducted are consistent with methods used by the CNI.

against the dominant Tutsi group.

The army, assisted by the para-military youth movement of the ruling party, began killing anyone believed to be connected with the uprising, as well as any other Hutu leaders or potential leaders.

In the capital and in the provinces Hutu were loaded into jeeps and lorries, clubbed to death and buried in mass graves. There were also a number of killings arising from personal disputes, and a number of Tutsi were killed as well.

Appeal case addresses

Eight appeal cases are cited in this supplement. Please send courteous letters to the appropriate authorities, expressing concern about the cases described and urging the governments in question to set up full and independent inquiries into them, with the results being made public.

In the case of **Libya**, urge that the program of "physical liquidation" of "enemies of the revolution" be ended immediately; letters may also express concern about assassination attempts on Libyans living abroad in 1980.

The addresses are:

Argentina: Excelentísimo Sr. Presidente de la República Argentina / General Reynaldo Bignone / Casa Rosada / Balcarce 50 / Buenos Aires C.F. / Argentina.

Chile: General de Brigada Aérea (j) / Enrique Montero Marx / Ministro del Interior / Palacio la Moneda / Santiago / Chile.

El Salvador: S.E. don Alvaro Magaña/ Presidente de la República de El Salvador / Casa Presidencial / San Salvador/El Salvador. Guatemala: General José Efraín Ríos Montt / Presidente de la República y Comandante en Jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas/Palacio Nacional/Guatemala City/Guatemala.

India: Her Excellency Mrs Indira Gandhi/Prime Minister of India/Office of the Prime Minister/New Delhi/India. Iran: Ayatollah Khomeini/Tehran/Iran.

Libya: Muhammad Al Zarouq Rajab/ Secretary-General / General People's Congress / Tripoli / Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The Philippines: President Ferdinand E. Marcos/Malacanang Palace/Manila/The Philippines.