

# Indignación nacional e internacional ante masacres de indígenas

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La intensificación de las masacres en el altiplano noroccidental de Guatemala, ha despertado el repudio e indignación de distintos sectores del país, representativos de capas sociales y corrientes ideológicas diferentes. Asimismo, la crueldad de las matanzas en donde han sido asesinados, hombres, mujeres, ancianos y niños, ha horrorizado a la opinión pública; los medios de información —ahora acallados por la situación de estado de sitio que impera en el país—, habían dado cabida a las denuncias y llamados de las organizaciones revolucionarias, populares y democráticas, razón por la que el gobierno de Ríos Montt los acusó de subversivos”.

El periodista Jorge Carpio Nicolle, en editorial del 19 de junio pasado, al referirse al incremento de la violencia en el altiplano indígena, comentó una de las últimas masacres llevadas a cabo en El Quiché, donde murieron 112 personas —hombres, mujeres y niños— y quedaron heridas otras 35; dice el editorialista: *“Las masacres de indígenas, ese exterminio absurdo que enluta a la nación, no parece tener lógica alguna. Sin embargo, debe haber una razón que se esconde detrás de los hechos fríos de esas muertes que hielan la sangre en las venas de la ciudadanía. ¿Por qué recurrir al exterminio e involucrar en él a las mujeres y a los niños? ¿Cuál es el “por qué” de tanta crueldad y de tanta saña?”*

En este mismo sentido, en espacio editorial del 9 de junio, el diario IMPACTO expresó: *“Los habitantes de Guatemala nos hemos mantenido informados de la gran cantidad de masacres realizadas por personas desconocidas, afectando a humildes pobladores de distintas regiones del país. Hombres, mujeres y niños han sido víctimas de este tipo de violencia que demuestra hasta qué punto en Guatemala se ha perdido la noción y el sentido de la vida humana como valor fundamental que demanda la principal protección del Estado y la Sociedad.”*

## DUELO NACIONAL

El Colegio de Maestros de Guatemala, por su parte, declaró el día 25 de junio, fecha en que se conmemora el Día del Maestro, como duelo nacional, suspendiendo todas las celebraciones acostumbradas en años anteriores, y para lo cual emitieron las declaraciones que a continuación publicamos.

“Este 25 de junio no es un día de fiesta, sino de duelo nacional. RAZON: El increíble número de maestros sacrificados durante los últimos años, pues jamás en la historia del país se había descargado sobre nosotros tanta saña y tanto odio inexplicables.

Pero no sólo sobre el Magisterio. Dondequiera que pasemos la mirada nos encontramos con un panorama de destrucción y muerte; miles de niños huérfanos y de madres atribuladas deambulan de oficina y de barranco en barranco, tratando de identificar a sus padres, hermanos o hijos desaparecidos; y en el altiplano del país, el terrorismo destruye y quema viviendas y aniquila comunidades enteras, no respetando ni a los niños ni a las mujeres embarazadas. A todo esto debe agregarse el cada vez galopante desempleo que envuelve en la angustia y el hambre a enormes masas de trabajadores de la ciudad y el campo.

Frente a una situación tan agobiante como ésta, ¿cuál es la actitud de los responsables de mantener la seguridad y la paz nacionales? Hasta ahora esa actitud ha consistido en no enfrentar los problemas fundamentales, sino dar lecciones de moral, y se nos pide que cambiemos nuestras conductas, pero sin que las viejas y carcomidas estructuras sociales se modifiquen. Como si la conducta del hombre se diera aislada y no como respuesta a la realidad objetiva. De ese modo, enfrentando la solución de los problemas sociales por el camino del sub-

jetivismo, se trata de enmascarar las causas reales de una situación que ahora ha hecho crisis.

Por eso, nosotros, en otro sentido y recurriendo a la historia, padre y madre de todos los pueblos, consideramos que la situación que vive Guatemala tiene su causa fundamental en la invasión mercenaria de 1954 que comprometió las riquezas nacionales y derogó la Reforma Agraria, la cual tenía como objetivo acabar con el latifundio, herencia de la colonia y causa de nuestro atraso, y superar la economía de subsistencia de nuestro campesino para crear un mercado interno que emitiera un proceso industrial con nuestros propios recursos.

A partir de entonces, todos los que nos han gobernado, se han dedicado a acentuar nuestra dependencia y a acrecentar la situación de desigualdad social.

Pero Guatemala no es una sola clase; Guatemala es fundamentalmente todo el conjunto de los obreros, los campesinos, los maestros, los estudiantes, las capas medias, los pequeños propietarios que hoy se debaten en medio de la angustia que provoca el desempleo, los bajos salarios, el alto costo de la vida, la falta de tierra, la falta de créditos, la ausencia de mercado, la falta de escuelas, etc.

Por eso nosotros consideramos que la paz social sólo podrá encontrarse si se detiene la matanza y se resuelven las necesidades más inmediatas y perentorias de todo el pueblo. No otro sentido tiene el petitorio que enviáramos al gobierno Central, y que avala nuestro deseo de contribuir a mejorar las condiciones educativas de Guatemala y el nivel social del Maestro, y del cual aún no hemos obtenido respuesta”.

## CONDENA INTERNACIONAL

A nivel internacional también ha trascendido la escalada de masacres, así, la entidad humanitaria de asistencia internacional OXFAM AMERICAN, al referirse a ellas manifestó: *“El ejército guatemalteco ha aterrorizado a la población indígena del país y ha dado muerte a millares de personas y destruido programas destinados a mejorar las condiciones sociales y económicas de los campesinos, también agregó: “la violencia gubernamental no es un esfuerzo para destruir a los guerrilleros, sino un intento para suprimir el movimiento de desarrollo rural”.*

En forma similar el presbítero Juan Vives Suriá, Presidente de la Fundación Latinoamericana por los Derechos Humanos y el Desarrollo Social, con sede en Caracas, Venezuela, dirigió una carta el doce de junio pasado al general Efraín Ríos Montt, de la cual publicamos algunos fragmentos, FUNDALATIN señala:

*“A pesar del silencio programado sobre el drama de Guatemala agudizado en las tres últimas décadas, conocemos y compartimos moralmente el martirio del hermano pueblo humilde y laborioso, que sólo pide con dignidad pan y trabajo en la tierra sagrada que le pertenece.”*

*Con el pretexto de que son delincuentes o comunistas al reclamar sus derechos, se ha sistematizado una política de*

terror y de exterminio contra la gente que piensa y estudia, contra los indígenas que sufren la marginación de siglos, contra los políticos que luchan por la dignidad del hombre, contra un pueblo que sueña la esperanza de vivir, contra una Iglesia que canta y reza al Dios de los pobres sin odiar a los ricos, contra los hermanos que sólo anhelan compartir...

Los enemigos, hermano Efraín, no son las ideas, ni los cantos ni los rezos. Son el hambre, la miseria, la injusticia. También el lujo, la corrupción, el despilfarro. No hay ideas peligrosas cuando se busca la verdad y la justicia. El señor Reagan ha dividido el mundo en blanco y negro y se ha empeñado en hacernos creer que los hombres nos dividimos en buenos

y malos, comunistas y anticomunistas. Y que es necesario quemar brujas y herejes para que pueda haber orden y progreso en el mundo. Muchos han caído en la trampa. Ha sido la más hábil disyuntiva —el mayor chantaje político— para legitimar la injusticia, la explotación y el despojo.”■

Las voces de repudio que se han levantado coinciden en señalar el cese definitivo de las masacres. Tal y como lo expresamos al inicio, la indignación que han despertado las matanzas van más allá del movimiento popular y revolucionario, porque afecta a los distintos sectores sociales del país.

## Sección testimonios

Las matanzas de campesinos indígenas ocurridas en los últimos meses, principalmente en los departamentos de El Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Huehuetenango y Chimaltenango, pone en evidencia la política de exterminio contra el pueblo guatemalteco, intensificada tras el golpe del 23 de marzo.

La magnitud de la represión, que comprende incluso la destrucción de casas, cosechas, plantaciones y bosques, ha obligado a que un alto porcentaje de la población indígena del altiplano noroccidental del país, especialmente de El Quiché, migre a otras zonas vecinas en busca de ayuda y refugio.

Sobrevivientes de algunas de las MASACRES, han hecho llegar a NOTICIAS DE GUATEMALA, los testimonios que reflejan el carácter de bestialidad y el terror que el ejército gubernamental ha sembrado en las poblaciones indígenas en donde ahora se cierne el hambre, no sólo por la quema de cosechas, sino porque este año los campesinos no han podido sembrar debido al terror imperante en el campo.

Las cartas que publicamos a continuación, en forma textual, constituyen un llamado de atención a todos los pueblos del mundo, para que alcen su voz de denuncia y se sumen a la condena general en contra de la política de genocidio llevada a cabo por el gobierno de Ríos Montt. Es urgente detener las masacres.

### GUANTAJAU Y SUNUNIL

“Le escribimos saludándolo y deseando que con la ayuda de Dios esté bien y gozando de salud al lado de su familia. Queremos que nos ayuden pues hemos sufrido una tragedia grande en nuestras aldeas que son Guantajau y Sununil del municipio de Sacapulas en El Quiché. Estamos sufriendo pues nos vinieron a invadir nuestras aldeas los hombres armados. Eran muchos, decían que nosotros somos guerrilleros, pero no tenemos arma, sólo estamos trabajando nuestra tierra y queremos vivir en nuestra aldea, no queremos irnos. Nosotros hombres la mayoría salimos corriendo y estamos en el monte, y las mujeres con sus muchachitos y los ancianos salen a otras partes y llegaron los hombres y mataron a 21, de todas las familias mataron a más que alguno. Nosotros no pudimos regresar a en-

terrarnos, sólo oímos que mucho tiempo dispararon y se quedaron allí comiendo nuestras gallinas y coches y quemaron como la mitad de las casas.

Nosotros lo que queremos es estar en nuestra aldea pero nos da miedo por los hombres armados que llegan a matar y botar las casas. No tenemos casa ni ropa, ni azadones y no podemos trabajar de puro miedo. Tal vez pensamos que escribiendo en todos los lados todo lo que nos hacen les da miedo a ellos, a la ira de Dios a esos malvados y ya no vengán a matar chiquitos y mujeres.

Esto fue el 16 de mayo”.

### XENAXECUL Y LAS MAJADAS

Somos sobrevivientes de la aldea de Xenaxecul y Las Majadas del municipio

de Aguacatán, departamento de Huehuetenango. Queremos decir que el 16 de mayo llegaron hombres desconocidos a nuestra aldea. Los hombres iban armados y gritaban. También cantaban mientras quemaban las casas y las trojes. Queremos sangre decían.

Nosotros nos juimos al monte a escondernos, nos quemaron 47 casas y 60 animalitos carneros y bestias. Ahora nos quedamos en el puro aire, todas las sábanas, chamarras, caites y la ropa fueron quemados. Hasta sin bestias para el trabajo nos quedamos. Ojalá Uds. se vengán a nuestros pueblos y nos ayuden para que no sigan los hombres con uniforme y armas grandes quemando nuestras viviendas y chamarras. Ese día llevaron dos de la aldea, que estaban enfermos y no pudieron salir corriendo, se los llevaron y allí mismo los mataron después.

T E S T I M O N Y

Presented to the Subcommittee on International Development  
Institutions and Finance Committee on Banking and Urban  
Affairs of the House of Representatives of the United States  
of America. August 5, 1982

Copied and sent to you by CDHG, Human Rights Commission of  
Guatemala.

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My name is Angela Berryman. I submit this testimony on behalf of  
the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) which engages in programs to  
promote peace and development, inspired by the values of the Religious  
Society of Friends. Neither the AFSC nor any individual can speak for all  
members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers).

From 1968 to 1970 I worked in Guatemala (in the department of Huehuetenango)  
and from 1976 to 1980 I was a Central America representative for the American  
Friends Service Committee, living in Guatemala City and traveling widely  
throughout the country.

On July 16, 17, 18, in connection with my present work relating to  
Central American refugees, I traveled to the border area of the state of  
Chiapas, Mexico, near Ciudad Cuahatemoc, to visit Guatemalans who have fled  
their country and are now refugees. There are approximately 10,000 refugees  
in that area and I was able to visit six areas with a total of about 2,000  
refugees. In three days I interviewed about 25 people in depth and I would  
like to share with you what I heard.

These people are mainly Indians from the department of Huehuetenango,  
coming from areas such as Jacaltenango, Nenton, and Santa Ana Huista. There  
are also some people from the department of Quiche. It would seem that most  
of those who flee to Mexico live close to the border, although according to



some estimates (for example, by the Catholic bishops of Guatemala), as many as one million Guatemalans have been uprooted by the violence. Some of the people I interviewed had been in Mexico for months and some were recent arrivals. All who spoke were fearful of reprisals by the Guatemalan Army, so I cannot reveal their names or the names of specific villages from which they fled.

Based on what I heard from the refugees I would like to emphasize two main points:

1. It is the Guatemalan army itself which is causing the people to flee Guatemala, through its campaign of violence and terror in the countryside.
2. For the people in the countryside there has been no improvement since the March 23, 1982 coup, and the violence against them has probably increased.

#### Behavior of the Guatemalan Army

It was a unanimous conviction, based on experience among all the refugees I spoke to, that it is the Guatemalan army which is directly responsible for the violence which the Indian people are suffering. Usually those who attack the people are in uniform, although sometimes they are not.

For example, I talked with a group of ten women who are all now widows as a result of an army attack in January. One woman said:

"We don't know why the army arrived in our village. We were eating when they arrived; it was about two in the afternoon. They rounded us up in the schoolyard. All of the wives in the village were there, since all of the men were out working. It was Sunday....The army asked us where they were and we told them that they were in such-and-such a place; we were then ordered to go to tell them to come and join in the meeting. When they arrived, the army tied them up. Then they took them away from the schoolyard, and the next thing we saw were the vultures..already busy eating their remains."

Another woman added:

"The army killed our husbands with a knife to the stomach. We found them, later on, by following the vultures. When they came in they took many things: toftillas, cookies, everything. If there were tape recorders, radios, anything they saw that they liked, they took it. They wore army uniforms in two colors. They were what we call 'tigers' (special forces)."

Further testimonies I heard:

"My home was burned to ashes. We were in town then, and left to come here. If we had been still at home when the army came, we'd be ashes by now....We were not involved in any political affairs to cause us to be singled out."

One leader from another area said:

"We left Guatemala suddenly because in our community there was a massacre of 14 people. In the same area there was another massacre of eight people. The military army is doing these massacres. They were burning the houses. We couldn't even leave our houses to work, and we were in need of food."

"The army says it is burning our houses and massacring our people because it is we who are the guerrillas. We live near the highway...and the guerrillas block the road. The army claims that we are the ones who block the road. They order us to remove the obstructions. When we finish, they put a sentence on us: if the highway is blocked once more they will kill us. For this reason we are unable to live in our land."

People told me of seeing the soldiers dressed in civilian clothes. Sometimes they carry out killings in civilian clothes to put the blame on guerrillas. Sometimes they pretend to be guerrillas and ask the people how they might help. Later they come back and kill those who might have seemed willing to cooperate.

Several people spoke of the new civil militias. One leader said:

"....The army has ordered us to participate in civil militias in order to fight the guerrillas. We are not able to do this...Because of this also we have left. These civil militias are something new. It's a way of controlling the people...They said it is all right for us to return to Guatemala, present ourselves to them, and enlist ourselves in their programs by giving them our personal data such as our addresses, a photograph, and they're going to give us a card in order that we can be identified as Guatemalans and legal in our homes."

"After this they are going to make individuals responsible for controlling their communities in groups of 20-30 people in every neighborhood. But all of this is a failure. It's a failure because the guerrillas would arrive, and we would have to fight them with only a machete or a long stick...We were very worried about this because

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the army says if we don't go back, to do this, they are going to burn our houses, or that they will put other families in them that are now without shelter.

"Now the army is requiring every family to be identified with its card and its photograph. The army says that it is going to give each family a flag to put above its home so when a helicopter or warplane comes to bomb, this flag will be the signal that the family is in agreement with the army. We have seen that other people who have identified themselves, and already have their flags, but who are near where an attack is made, have been bombed by the army anyway."

The testimonies give good insight into how the civil militias, which have been described in the American press, function: people are forced to take sides, and even those who want to stay out of the conflict are sent out by the army as a kind of "cannon fodder."

Over and over I heard people insist that they had not been doing anything wrong. One man said:

"...We are here....only because of the massacres by the army - it's the government. If we ask them why, they are going to tell us it's because we are the guerrillas, but we don't know who the guerrillas are. If we were guerrillas, then they'd be finding us with arms, or attacking them back. But no, we're sleeping in our houses ...and they come....They arrive, take the people out and kill them.

"For example, some of the catechists were having church meetings. The army would kill them for just being in a meeting. They say that the Church itself is guerrilla. They say that the Bible is against the government. Then how can we even have the Bible in our hands? We cannot, because the government claims it is subversive, even while we believe it is our salvation. At some future time it might be our salvation. Right now it would be our death. And so, this is why we left."

#### Situation since the coup

So far I have said little about how things have been, specifically since the March coup. The people we talked to were unanimous in saying that the violence is as bad now or worse than before the coup. From their viewpoint it is the same army which is attacking them. Here are some testimonies:

"On June 21, 1982, helicopters of the Army flew down into this border area and soldiers came out and began burning the villages. The people who were bathing in the river saw the smoke and fled in fear, many of them wearing nothing more than bathing suits or underwear...."

(On this occasion Guatemalan soldiers pursued the people into Mexican territory.)

Here is another testimony:

"On the 21st of June we saw the helicopters come to our village. And as we well know by now, when helicopters come they come for one reason only: to massacre our families....This was the first time they came to our village to bother us...Since we had news of things going on all over the country we fled....They were killing many people just up the road from us. They would gather the people together and take them out, one by one, and kill them. After they killed them, they sliced them up with machetes as if they were animals. This did not happen to many people in our area, and all of us in our group were able to escape this fate.

"First they came in helicopters and gathered the people together. Then, one by one they took them away and killed them. As for my own family, they killed seven. And after they killed the people they chopped them up and picked at them with machetes. In some cases, they first tortured them, cut them up with machetes, put gasoline on them, and then burned them alive.

"And as for killing the children, they don't use firearms. They carry guns, but they don't use them on children; they kill them with their hands. They use their machetes sometimes. What my uncle saw when he saw them kill my seven relatives: he saw them grab the children by their feet and smash their heads against a post, or take a rope, tie it around the child and three pull it in one direction, three in another....This is how they kill the people. For this reason, we came here. They poured gasoline over the bodies, and burned them.

"....We know that those who kill our people are the Guatemalan army because they come in helicopters, they don't come walking, they are those that they call kaibiles, Guatemalan special forces.

"....We could see Guatemala and our homes burning, from here in Mexico. When they finished burning our homes, they got together five of our animals, loaded down with cargo they had stolen from us. As I had a store, I had food and other things. They took or burned everything."

Another testimony:

"When the soldiers went through my town the first time, they killed four men. They tied their arms behind their backs; they took them away, we don't know where, or what was done with them.

"The second time the army came was the 23rd of June, 1982. They passed by, dropping bombs in a nearby village that we could feel

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and hear. The people in my village could hear the bombs, and so we fled. We don't know what kind of bombs they were. That was the day they started burning the houses. It was one o'clock in the afternoon. And in this way the people were left without anything, without food, without clothing, without houses... ...After this, when we went back to see our houses, there was nothing. Because we had nothing left, we came here to Mexico to look for a place we could stay.

"....In another village nearby, the army came at five o'clock in the morning and started to gather the people together. Altogether they killed 16 people, shooting them. First they beat them up. They then killed them. That was the first of May, 1982."

I might remind you that these incidents took place in a relatively small area near the Mexican border, but they are typical of what has been happening almost everywhere in the Indian highlands. We were told that the first large group of refugees came into that border area of Mexico in December, 1981, when the army was mounting a concerted attack on the whole region. With the coup in March, some of the people thought they could return to Guatemala. Perhaps half went back, especially because planting season was beginning. However, all those who had been in Mexico have now returned there and more have sought refuge. Whole villages have fled. One camp swelled from 800 to 1200 refugees in the month before my visit.

One of the many recently-arrived refugees I spoke with said:

"Things have not improved since Rios Montt is in power. Rios Montt says on the radio that Guatemala is at peace, that the refugees can return from Mexico, but how can we return to our homes when we have no homes to return to?

"And Rios Montt says there is peace!

"The situation in Guatemala is no better under Rios Montt than it was before. People continue to come here, beaten by the army. About five days ago, for example, one man arrived who saw the army beat three people severely with their rifle butts and leave them for dead."

I believe my own experience in Guatemala helps me understand why there has been no improvement in the observance of human rights since the recent military coup.

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Large scale violence from the government and from right-wing death squads dates from the mid-1960s when many thousands of people were killed as part of a counter-insurgency campaign. Even after the guerrillas were temporarily defeated around 1970, the repression continued at the rate of several hundred victims a year. After the 1976 earthquake there was an upsurge of organizing among the poor, beginning in the labor movement and extending to other groups, especially the peasants. By 1978 the level of repressive violence was increasing rapidly. I recall the mass killing of over 100 Indians at Panzos in May 1978. This ushered in the government of Romeo Lucas Garcia and the reign of terror increased. From this time on many people I knew were increasingly in danger and a number of them were killed.

In March 1980, Nehemias Cumez, the director of Vivienda Popular, a development project which the American Friends Service Committee had co-funded and with which I had worked, was kidnapped in the town of Comalapa and never reappeared. In July, Anastasio Sotz, who had been one of Cumez' assistants, was taken off a bus in the same town by the army, which was systematically checking the identification papers of all the passengers against a list which they carried, and he was never seen again. At that point Comalapa, which had been peaceful, came under siege by the military.

I could go on at length. What I wish to say is that I have seen the violence of the Guatemalan regime close up.

By the time I left Guatemala in mid-1980, the army was engaging in systematic repression against all people and groups whom they considered to be in opposition in any way. From all the information I have both from written materials and from talking with people who have been to Guatemala since that time, the level of repression has constantly increased. It would seem that in general the army (and police) have moved from a policy of seeking to identify and pick up opposition leaders or potential leaders, to one of wholesale attack on villages in the countryside, especially beginning in 1981.

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In order to make the case that the situation has changed since the March 23 coup, some seek to place all the blame for the previous violence on former president Romeo Lucas Garcia. However, the violence, from my experience and interviews, comes from the army as an institution and not from the individual who happens to occupy the presidency. The army sees its number one task as defeating the opposition, and it is convinced that large numbers of people, especially the Indian population, support the opposition, and so must be dissuaded from doing so or eliminated. However, its policy of repression since 1975 has, in fact, served largely to radicalize the rural population. In looking at Guatemala it is important to examine not what Rios Montt or others in the government say, but what the army does.

By many reports, the level of violence in Guatemala City and some of the larger towns dropped off right after the coup. This seems to have been designed largely to change Guatemala's tarnished international image (and thereby make the government appear eligible for United States military aid) and to soothe the middle classes who were becoming alarmed at the level of violence and disgusted at army and police behavior.

(Parenthetically, I would state that even this policy was not consistent, as exemplified in the "kidnapping" of Dr. Juan José Hurtado, which turned out to be an "arrest." Dr. Hurtado was our family pediatrician, and I can testify that he was the most respected pediatrician in Guatemala and certainly not involved in any political activity.)

It is my opinion that the lessening of urban repression will probably be short-lived. In any case, it should be borne in mind that the majority of Guatemalans are rural and it is those people who have been the chief object of the violence. All indications are that this violence has not diminished, but

In my opinion, President Rios Montt could have reversed this trend only if he had:

- put a stop to army repression against the civilian population,
- begun proceedings to bring those responsible for violence to civilians to justice,
- proposed serious reforms (e.g., land reform) to begin addressing Guatemala's real problems of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and under-development.

As we know, he has done none of these things:

- the violence has not diminished and seems to have increased,
- there is every reason to believe that no one will be brought to justice for the many thousands of deaths, and, in fact, this seems to be one of the effects of the June amnesty (I am aware that government spokesmen have denied this, but they can only disprove my assertion by beginning some kind of proceedings),
- there is no hint of serious reform in Rios Montt's Fourteen Points or in anything he has done.

Instead, Rios Montt has made moral exhortations to the people of Guatemala and has promised an attack on corruption. It is true that graft among members of the Lucas government had reached scandalous levels, and it is no doubt a positive step to cancel some of the projects which could have offered further opportunities for corruption. However, the whole question of corruption is simply irrelevant to the Indians who are being attacked and murdered and are seeing their homes destroyed and their crops and fields burned.

From my own recent experience and from all the information I have seen, I am convinced that since the March 23, 1982, coup the Guatemalan government and army continue to engage in widespread and systematic violations of basic human rights--in particular the right to life.