

Submission to the Conservative Party Human Rights Commission (CPHRC)

1. Firstly, PBI congratulates the Conservative Party Human Rights Commission on its inquiry into human rights violations faced by professionals around the world. We welcome the opportunity to present written evidence to the Commission.

2. Peace Brigades International (PBI) is a non-governmental organisation that has provided protective accompaniment to Human Rights Defenders (HRDs) working in areas of conflict since 1981. Our aim is to protect and promote the work of civil society activists who suffer repression for their nonviolent activities in favour of human rights, peace, and social justice.

3. This submission is gathered from PBI's experience supporting and accompanying lawyers and other human rights defenders (herein HRDs) who continue to face exceptional risks due to their work in holding perpetrators of human rights violations to account, and in promoting the rights of vulnerable groups and individuals. The examples used are taken from our current projects operating in Colombia, Mexico, Nepal, and Guatemala. The submission is also compiled with information provided in reports by members of PBI's <u>Alliance for Lawyers at Risk</u>, a network of British lawyers who support lawyers and HRDs under threat with legal expertise, advocacy and training.

4. This submission is divided into four parts: firstly, a section on the situation of human rights violations faced by lawyers; secondly, the situation of journalists in Nepal; thirdly, individual case studies of lawyers and journalists at risk; and finally, policy recommendations for action by the UK Government.

Human Rights Violations faced by lawyers

• Why do lawyers continue to be attacked?

5. Lawyers and other HRDs working on human rights issues continue to be a highly vulnerable group in the countries under examination. They are often subjected to psychological pressures and physical attack by state security forces, political parties, illegal armed groups, and actors linked to economic interests. This section will go on to look at trends and patterns in individual countries, yet first it is worth noting common crosscutting themes that help explain why lawyers are targeted.

6. **Challenging impunity** - Lawyers working on high profile political cases, including massacres, torture, and disappearances carried out by state and non-state actors during periods of internal armed conflict. Many individuals accused of human rights violations remain at large and often hold positions of authority in public offices, the armed forces, or criminal nexuses. Human rights lawyers therefore put themselves at significant personal risk by seeking to bring perpetrators to justice; high profile cases become emblematic and threaten the interests of more extensive power structures.

7. Another common area whereby lawyers suffer a backlash to their work is in **defending the rights of communities regarding the advancement of large-scale economic projects**. High profits at stake

can result in the political and economic forces behind such projects evading or abusing their human rights obligations. As a result, lawyers and their clients can become targets of smear campaigns and violent attempts to silence their activities.

8.**Promoting gender rights and minority rights**. Lawyers working on cases that imply significant change in social mores such as advancing gender rights and LGTB rights can also become vulnerable to attack. This is especially true if lawyers are working in deeply conservative or patriarchal societies or communities, even more so if the lawyer is a woman.

9. Ineffective state protection programmes - Unlike their counterparts in countries with strong democratic and legal traditions, human rights lawyers practicing in countries blighted by a weak judiciary and rule of law often lack the institutional support and guarantees needed to safeguard their professional activities and physical integrity. Even in instances where the state has drawn up a legal protection framework responsible to a government body, effective implementation remains a problem. It is our experience that existing protection mechanisms remain a long way from guaranteeing conditions in which lawyers can carry out their activities without risk.

10. Lack of investigation and prosecution of attacks on lawyers and HRDs. Countries with a record of generalised, entrenched impunity for human rights violations are usually unable or unwilling to identify and prosecute those responsible for specific attacks on lawyers and HRDs. This sends a message to would-be attackers that they can act without fear of punishment, allows a culture of human rights violations to continue, and inspires widespread distrust of the justice system.

11. Lack of implementation of international and regional human rights rulings and recommendations - Another key mechanism for Latin American countries are the protection measures of the Inter-American Human Rights System, in which states are obliged to provide extra safeguards to individuals and groups at extreme risk. However, many of the beneficiaries continue to suffer threats and attacks due to ineffective implementation of the measures.

• What type of human rights violations do lawyers suffer?

12. **Death threats and intimidation** are common strategies designed to undermine and impede the work of lawyers. Indirect threats, such as the incongruous presence of armed actors near a private meeting, or unsolicited "check in" calls to a lawyer's office by state agents, have the effect of applying low level psychological pressure. Additionally, death threats – delivered by letter, phone, email, text, graffiti, and in the form of 'symbolic' gifts such as dismembered toys – are used as a means to intimidate lawyers into stopping their activities. In some cases, threats are also directed at family members. The resulting psychological distress and physical insecurity impacts upon the lawyer's ability to work effectively; they are obliged to change routines, limit their movements, and in some cases seek temporary exile domestically and abroad. (See Case Studies 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6)

13. **Stalking, abduction, and physical attack** are a further demonstration of intent, and often follow on from earlier incidents of death threats and verbal intimidation. Physical attacks are used to directly stop the pursuit of specific cases by physically preventing lawyers from undertaking their work due to death, irreparable physical harm or disappearance. The psychological distress caused by these physical aggressions also encourages a climate of fear in which lawyers can be forcibly self-censored, whilst their clients privy to 'sensitive' information can be silenced or dissuaded from reporting criminal activities to the law enforcement agencies. It also sends a chilling message to other human rights practitioners. (See Case Study 2)

14. **Illegal surveillance from state agencies** is a tactic used to terrorise lawyers and to gather sensitive personal or professional information that can later be used against them or their clients. The DAS scandal in Colombia revealed that the state intelligence agency had systematically spied on perceived opponents including human rights lawyers, wiretapping, intercepting emails, ransacking dustbins and taking photographs of victim's children at school. Investigations revealed that some of this information was gathered by bodyguards provided by the state to protect the lawyers. Illegal surveillance can impart a strong sensation of vulnerability, given that all aspects of one's personal, family and collective life have been spied on. (See Case Studies 1, 2 and 5)

15. **Stigmatisation and defamation** Public statements made by state officials and by columnists in the media which make allegations about lawyers and their clients undermine their work and serve to delegitimise the defence of human rights. This stigmatisation spreads throughout general society, resulting in a generalised mistrust of human rights lawyers and their clients. HRDs may censor themselves and their work to prevent harassment. Stigmatisation can mark HRDs as targets for illegal violence and threats on the one hand, and on the other as targets for criminal persecution, in situations where charges are initiated on the basis of claims made in the media or by politicians. The stigmatisation that results from specious charges or prosecutions tends to continue long after the HRDs are released, as their names are rarely cleared. (See Case Study 1)

16. **Criminalisation** The UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders noted that in order to impede the work of lawyers and HRDs, "States increasingly resort to legal actions... Defenders are arrested and prosecuted on false charges. Many others are detained without charge, often without access to a lawyer, medical care or a judicial process, and without being informed of the reason for their arrest".¹ PBI has observed the use of a variety of methods to criminalise HRDs, including the use of prosecutions based on unreliable testimony or specious charges; arbitrary detention; the misuse of legislation such as anti-terrorism laws; and restrictions on their rights to assembly and association. It is common for HRDs to be detained or imprisoned only for charges to be later dismissed. The impact of criminalisation of lawyers and HRDs is wide ranging: wasted time and resources in going through the rigmarole of defending oneself; reputational damage; mistrust of justice system and democratic process; the demoralising impact upon friends, colleagues and the wider movement campaigning for social justice and democracy.

Situation of lawyers in Nepal, Colombia, Guatemala, and Mexico

17. In **Nepal**, Lawyers and other HRDs work in a context of absolute impunity for human rights violations carried during the 'Peoples' War, in which 16,000 were killed, and 3000 disappeared. The vast majority of violations committed since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2006 also remain unsolved and unpunished, including dozens of cases of extrajudicial killings and torture in detention facilities. The rule of law is constantly undermined by political interference from all sides, while non-implementation of court orders to investigative cases and arrest suspects negates any effective delivery of justice. Perpetrators continue to enjoy the protection of political actors, and often receive promotions to high office. The recent proposal to include a blanket amnesty into the Truth and Reconciliation Bill for all conflict-era crimes threatens at a stroke to codify impunity. Lawyers and HRDs in Nepal are often perceived and stigmatised as political actors instead of defenders of universal human rights standards, a label which puts them at considerable risk. According to the Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC) report on the situation of HRDs, between January – October 2011 there were 103 victims of violations, of which 2 cases involved lawyers.

¹A/HRC/13/22, UN General Assembly Human Rights Council, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders,

INSEC attributes impunity as the main reason why HRDs have been threatened, killed, abducted, beaten, and mistreated. The most common perpetrators were Youth wings affiliated to political parties, and illegal armed groups. Lawyers and HRDs are often subjected to psychological pressures by the security forces and political parties to stop pursuing cases, and occasionally such pressure has turned into physical assaults. As a result, some lawyers have declined to sign documents that include perpetrators names in fear of repercussions. Women lawyers and HRDs, particularly those working on rape and domestic violence cases, face the risk of exclusion, disapproval, threats and attack from elements within patriarchal communities where the role of women has been historically marginalised. At a national level, there is a significant lack of protection for HRDs. Nepali NGOs have long been demanding a legal framework for the protection of HRDs, yet the Government is yet to approve a draft bill. According to Mandira Sharma, director of the respected law firm Advocacy Forum, such inactivity is just another way in which the government makes life difficult for those working on human rights." There are no mechanisms that you feel safe to report attacks or threats to. Instead we see strong protection given by the government to those who stand accused of human rights violations."² (See Case Studies 6 and 7)

18. In Colombia, lawyers and HRDs who represent victims of extrajudicial killings, forced disappearance, forced displacement, massacres, sexual violence, and violations of economic, cultural, and social rights continue to be at considerable risk. They often stand against powerful interests, bring cases involving high level political or military officers, or members of illegal armed groups. The Information System on Aggressions against HRDs recorded 145 cases in the first six months of 2011, including 29 murders. This represents 126% increase on the same period in 2010. Paramilitary groups were responsible for 59% of attacks, unknown actors 29%, and state forces 10%. Impunity remains the norm, both for general violations and for specific attacks against lawyers and HRDs which remains at over 90%. The government continues to resist calls to create a specialised unit to systematically investigate and facilitate the prosecution of such crimes. One of the key problems is illustrated by the fact that paramilitary groups, the actor responsible for the majority of attacks against lawyers and HRDs, are still not officially recognised by the government. In spite of a welcome change in tone brought about by the inauguration of President Santos in August 2010, recent statements stigmatising lawyers and the victims they represent are a clear backward step in the government's pledge to support and not stigmatise the defence of human rights. There also continues to be serious criticism about the effectiveness of the National Protection Programme for HRDs were forced to temporarily suspend formal dialogues with government 2011 due to HRDs. the number of killings of defenders and the absence of concrete actions on the part of the government to implement commitments made during the dialogues to improve security and protection. Similarly, some human rights lawyers felt obliged to return their security schemes, part of the IACHR protection measures, due to allegations that the private and state agencies providing the detail spying on them. (See Case Studies 1 and 2)

19. In **Guatemala**, lawyers and other HRDs continue to face significant risk for their work challenging impunity on a wide range of issues including conflict-era crimes against humanity, gender rights violations, and violations of economic, cultural, and social rights of indigenous peoples and other marginalised groups. The Human Rights Defenders Protection Unit (UDEFEGUA) recorded 329 acts of aggression against HRDs in the period January – October 2011. This number has grown incrementally from 59 violations in 2000. Of the 329 attacks, 9 were against legal professionals. Lawyers and HRDs enjoy no guarantees that attacks against them will be investigated and

² http://www.pbi-nepal.org/fileadmin/user_files/projects/nepal/files/Namaste_actual_files/PBI_Nepal_Impunity_Publication_-_May_2011.pdf

prosecuted. The UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of HRDs, has documented impunity for attacks on HRDs at 98%, a fact that contributes significantly to their insecurity. Lawyers and HRDs working to provide access to justice for thousands of victims of the internal armed conflict, face ongoing persecution and high levels of risk. Recent advances in prosecution of such cases, including the conviction of the soldiers for involvement in the Dos Erres massacre and the opening of proceedings against former President Rios Montt for genocide, has prompted a backlash from groups sympathetic to the military and their supporters in political and media circles. AVEMILGUA, the influential association of army war veterans, has taken out three recent adverts in the national press reaffirming the army's status, accusing those bringing charges and human rights defenders of terrorism, and threatening to pick up arms. Lawyers, HRDs and other professionals working on these high profile trials have suffered threats and acts of intimidation and continue to remain at significant risk. (See Case Study 3)

20. In Mexico, lawyers and HRDs fighting impunity in cases of state sponsored violence and abuses committed by non-state actors serving political or economic interests continue to be threatened, harassed, and criminalised. Impunity in cases of attacks and harassment of HRDs is the most important obstacle to prevention and non-repetition of human rights violations. The UN Human Rights office in Mexico documented that 91% of attacks on HRDs go unpunished and expressed concern about the "lack of or poor progress in revealing the authors [...] of these aggressions."³ The judicial system continues to be plagued by inefficiency, corruption, political interference, and an overwhelming sense of impunity. In her 2011 report on Mexico, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Independence of Judges and Lawyers concluded, "legal professionals are unable to act freely or fully independently because they are faced with threats, intimidation, harassment and other forms of undue pressure."⁴ According to data by the National Human Rights Commission, during the first 3 years of the current Mexican administration, complaints of abuses by the military increased tenfold. However, due to the subordination of judges and prosecutors to the Executive and the limited rights of the victim under military jurisdiction, the investigation, trial and sanction of these abuses remain minimal. As a result of years of lobbying from Mexican civil society, a dialogue to establish a government-led protection mechanism for HRDs was initiated in June 2010. However, due to disagreements this has now been suspended. Additionally, there is ongoing concern about the lack of implementation of the IACHR protection measures granted to a number of lawyers and HRDs at serious risk, as many of the recipients continue to face regular intimidation, harassment and violence. (See Case Studies 4 and 5)

Human Rights Violations of Journalists in Nepal

21. A new era of press freedom and safety was the hope after Nepal became a federal democratic republic in 2008. In the years since however, the situation has only become worse. Political instability and lawlessness have politicised crime, and local journalists who report on such issues find themselves targeted. Political interference means that reporters are threatened for publishing stories, not publishing stories, naming individuals, and even for not giving enough prominence to rallies. Journalists also face violence from criminal and armed groups, especially in the Terai, and there are many cases where journalists have been seriously threatened for reporting on increased criminal activities across the open border with India. As a consequence, self-censorship is common as journalists are reluctant to publish anything that is likely to incur threats to their security. There is also a rising trend of arson against newspapers and media houses in Nepal and in an effort to kerb human rights reporting journalists are systematically threatened, beaten and even killed. Many

³ http://www.fidh.org/MEXICO-2010-2011

⁴ <u>http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/17session/A.HRC.17.30.Add.3_en.pdf</u> Article 51

reporters who used to wear press IDs around their necks, or photographers who wore green vests, have now stopped doing so. According to the Informal Sector Service Centre's (INSEC) 2011 report media workers reporting on human rights are the most vulnerable group in Nepal, comprising almost half of all attacks on HRDs in 2011. With no fear of prosecution, the perpetrators of these crimes enjoy impunity; since the 2006 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, no individual has been prosecuted for any serious violation against journalists. The country currently ranks at number seven on the Committee to Protect Journalists' (CPJ) 2011 world 'Impunity Index'¹ whilst Freedom House's 2011 edition of 'Freedom of the Press' rated Nepal's media at 'partly free', just two points short of 'not free' status². (See Case Study 7)

Annex: Case Studies

1) Case Study: CAJAR (Colombia)

The José AlvearRestrepo Lawyers' Collective (CCAJAR) is recognised nationally and internationally for representing emblematic cases of human rights violations in Colombia, both within the Colombian justice system as well as before the Inter-American System of Human Rights.Over more than 30 years, the work of CCAJAR's lawyers has resulted in landmark decisions that have improved access to justice for many victims of the country's long-running conflict.The price has been a life under

constant threat. Serious security incidents include smear campaigns, statements made by government and military officials linking CCAJAR's lawyers to insurgent organisations, and death squads publicly identifying them as "military targets". CAJAR were one of the principal victims of illegal state espionage and aggression exposed during the 2008 DAS scandal, during which time a female CAJAR lawyer had a dismembered,



bloodied doll sent to her as a threat against her children. Even though DAS is due to be dismantled and replaced, CAJAR lawyers continue to denounce incidents of illegal surveillance including wiretapping and interception of emails. As recently as October 2011, high level state officials including President Santos accused the collective of unscrupulously co-opting clients with the aim of profiting off the state.

2) Case Study: Judith Maldonado (Colombia)

Judith Maldonado is a senior member of the Luis Carlos Perez Lawyers Collective. The collective was established in 2001, to provide legal support and capacity building to grassroots organisations and



displaced communities. CCALCP were one of the main organisations to denounce the scandalous phenomenon of "falsos positivos", whereby over two thousand ordinary citizens were abducted, murdered and later presented as killed in combat by the Colombian army. CCALCP have also helped the Bari Indigenous people achieve the suspension of illegal oil drilling on their land. Their work denouncing human rights violations of powerful actors has led to a number of chilling reprisals. The collective

have been the target of death threats by email and telephone, as well as illegal surveillance. In

another incident, Judith's apartment was raided by individuals who stole sensitive case files and computer drives. More recently, while leaving her office, Judith was physically assaulted, insulted and threatened with death by two assailants on a motorbike. There have been no advances in any of these investigations. In 2011, Judith won the Shalom human rights award in Germany.

3) Case Study: Edgar Pérez (Guatemala)

41 year old Edgar Pérez is one of the leading human rights lawyers in Guatemala. Since 1997 he has given legal advice and representation to families seeking justice for the thousands of victims of Guatemala's 36 year long internal armed conflict. Against a background of entrenched impunity and political violence, Edgar has achieved some remarkable victories, including in 2009 the first successful case condemning forced disappearance, and last year the conviction of four soldiers for their role in the notorious 1982 *Dos Erres* massacre in which more than 250 villagers were murdered in cold blood by a specialist army unit. He is currently litigating in the first ever case of genocide to

be heard in a Latin American courtroom, against former President Efrain Rios Montt and two of his leading military commanders. Due to his efforts to hold the Guatemalan state accountable for grave human rights violations, Edgar has suffered multiple attacks including intimidating phone calls, blackmail attempts, and death threats. On one occasion he discovered that the breaks on his car had been tampered with. Edgar's security situation continues to remain precarious in spite of support he receives from international human rights organisations and governments.



4) CaseStudy: Alba Cruz (Mexico)

Alba Cruz is a leading lawyer and human rights defender in Oaxaca. She has represented victims of human rights violations in the context of social and political unrest in Oaxaca State in of 2006-2007. As a result of her work, the Mexican Supreme Court published a report in 2009 identifying the state governor, and other state officials, as responsible for the grave human rights violations that took place. Due to the nature of the cases that she represents, Alba has been subjected to a pattern of



serious threats and intimidation. "Since 2006 I have been harassed at home and in the office with telephone calls, death threats and tampering with my car..., they want me to stop, to keep still". In 2010, she was stopped by a man as she was leaving her office who grabbed her hand and said "calm down, you fool, it would be so easy to take you away". These treats continued into 2011, and on 25th March she received another death threat via text message, which read "Adios Mama, soon or quickly". In spite of her evident ongoing risk, the check in patrols of the Federal Preventative Police, part of an Inter-American Court Order to increase her security, ceased in 2011 without warning.

5) Case Study: Tlachinollan Human Rights Centre (Mexico)

Since 1994, the lawyers of the Tlachinollan Human Rights Centre advised and represented numerous individual victims as well as indigenous communities in the state of Guerrero. Tlachinollan's most emblematic cases include those of Inés Fernández Ortega and Valentina Rosendo Cantú, indigenous women raped by Mexican soldiers in 2002. The lawyers claim the assaults to be acts of torture, falling within a wider counter insurgency strategy to intimidate members of the public. In May 2010

IACtHR found Mexico guilty of violating the women's rights and ordered improvements in investigation procedures of rape cases and a revision of the application of military justice. In 2009, security concerns obliged the Centre to close one of its regional offices for over two years. Tlachinollan have denounced incidents of their staff being harassed, threatened, and photographed at work by members of the army, in spite of being recognised as individuals at risk by the Mexican Government. None of the attacks have been satisfactorily investigated. Accepting the 2010 Robert F. Kennedy human rights prize, Director Abel Berrera said, *"In 1994, in a small hotel room, virtually imprisoned by fear and frustrated by so much inequality, Tlachinollan arose, as an instrument at the service of indigenous peoples. We began documenting the suffering of the people, listening to the voices of tortured indigenous, victims of arbitrary detention, and family members of those killed. When we began to unite our voices with those of the people suffering, the response came back quickly. To our ears came threatening voices. They told us, "We are going to kill you." Despite this, we stay loyal to the call of the people and work alongside them to defend their rights."*

6) Case Study: Advocacy Forum, Nepal

Established in 2001, Advocacy Forum (AF) is the leading human rights organisation in Nepal. AF provides free legal assistance to victims of torture, forced disappearances, and extrajudicial killings, and lobbies internationally to promote accountability. Many of the cases taken up by AF are against high-ranking political and military officials and AF lawyers routinely face threats and intimidation as a consequence of their work. As AF's Director Mandira Sharma, explains: "When an organisation is following up on individual cases, they can be targeted. We are targeted. Whether it is institutionally

or personally, people do pressurise us." For example, as a result of filing a torture case at the District Court in 2009 which involved the Deputy Superintendent of Police in Kathmandu Headquarters, the acting AF lawyer received numerous threats from police officials. One of these threats explicitly stated that the lawyer could be 'gunned down at any point'. In January 2011, the case was referred to the



Mediation Center and AF is currently appealing this decision. As a result of this appeal however, AF expects an increase in intimidation and threats when the hearing is held.

7) Case Study: BK Oli, Journalist (Nepal)

B K Oli is a journalist and editor of The Bardiya Times and also currently serving as the coordinator for civil society in Bardiya district, on the border with Uttar Pradesh, India. Owing to his involvement with civil society and his reporting of criminal activities and rape cases, he has received both direct and indirect threats from the alleged perpetrators and criminal groups. In June 2011, armed group cadres placed two socket bombs outside his house as a result of his article on the murder of his predecessor as coordinator of civil society, Govinda Pandey. In 2009 GovindaPandey was allegedly shot dead by members of an unidentified armed group at his house for reporting on the volatile security issues across the border. Police have still not fully investigated Govinda's murder. In December 2011, a group of criminals publicly threatened to cut off B.K Oli's limbs and vandalise his newspaper office after he reported an incident of goods smuggling. The group continue to issue indirect threats demanding him not to publish articles on their activities. As a result, he has exercised self-censorship and remains absent from participating in the activities of civil society.

Recommendations on Policy Actions for HM Government:

The following recommendations are all applicable within the framework of the UK's commitment to implement the EU Guidelines on HRDs and its foreign policy of promoting the rule of law

- Develop and maintain relationships of trust with lawyers and HRDs at risk including by holding bilateral and multilateral meetings; making regular office visits and field visits. Ensure that contacts are nurtured beyond the 'usual suspects' – i.e. those with easiest access to embassies
- Continue to monitor and raise emblematic cases of violations in ongoing human rights dialogue with third countries and in multilateral forums. Establish benchmarks for international government aid to be withheld in credible cases of gross human rights violations and breaches of international humanitarian law.
- Promote respect for rule of law and the work of lawyers and HRDs by making public statements, hosting and attending events and conferences, and developing an effective media strategy to increase awareness
- Provide financial support and technical expertise to host governments to increase capacity to investigate and punish human rights violations. Ensure that prosecutors working on human rights cases are allocated sufficient resources so that they have a manageable caseload.
- Support the creation of specialist units to investigate and prosecute attacks on HRDs and Lawyers in a systematic rather than sporadic manner
- End impunity for gender-motivated crimes in order to create a safer environment for WHRDs and lawyers to operate.
- Monitor and provide technical support to encourage the adoption and full implementation of:

 international human rights standards including the United Nations Basic Principles on the Role of Lawyers;
 recommendations made by UN Special Procedures;
 relevant commitments made during the Universal Periodic Review (UPR);
 regional court rulings.
- Offer technical assistance in the form of human rights training to local police and army and closely monitor the performance of units who have received UK training
- Provide technical and logistical support to strengthen the capacity and effectiveness of national human rights institutions and human rights ombudsmen
- Ensure that the members of diplomatic missions are fully aware of the need to systematically implement the EU Guidelines on Human Rights Defenders and have undertaken specific training or preparation on how to implement them