TORTURE
Quarterly Journal
on Rehabilitation
of Torture Victims
and Prevention of Torture

Volume 12, Number 2
November 2002
This issue of TORTURE is printed on recycled paper “Cyclus Offset” 70g/m2.
TORTURE perceived as a generalized phenomenon, as a government-, or state-sanctioned practice is a matter of common knowledge. The targeted form of torture which is practiced by authorities today can be seen as the result of the development of the structures of modern states.

In the period after the French Revolution and up through the 19th century there were only sporadic examples of torture being used as a generalized and institutionalized instrument of power. This does not mean that force was not used by the authorities; on the contrary, the administration of justice was often extremely brutal. Social order was maintained through harsh prison sentences, the death penalty, and large-scale deportations, but sentences were imposed on the basis of validly enacted legislation and were not normally imposed arbitrarily. This is not to exaggerate the world of the 19th century: there were pogroms, together with instances of genocide and warfare conducted without the guidelines and conventions that now exist for the protection of prisoners of war and civilian populations. It was not an idyllic world by any means, but in one significant respect it was not as brutal as the world we live in today: torture was not then a government-sanctioned resource, as it is in so many countries today.

The emergence of anarchist movements towards the end of the 19th century, state development in unstable conditions, and the subsequent development of fascist ideologies led to a conflict between the few in power and the many who were determined to resist them. Prerequisites for the systematic use of torture in the 20th century were the invoking of the "security of the state", the subversion of the police force to the service of the ruling elite, and not least the support from a military system which was not subject to independent legal scrutiny.

Extending the definition of political crime, the intensification of interrogation methods, and the development of the so-called "third degree interrogation", a clear indication of torture, became in the inflamed political climate of Europe a practice which subsequently inspired states in other parts of the world.

The most ruthless of Nazi leaders, the head of the entire German police, Heinrich Himmler, gave this description of the criteria used when eliciting confessions from people charged with withholding information: "The Third Degree in this case may be used only against communists, Marxists, Jehovah's Witnesses, saboteurs, terrorists, members of resistance movements, antisocial elements, refractory elements, or Polish or Soviet vagrants. In all other cases, only preliminary authorization is necessary." Himmler's strategy, to isolate and dehumanize sub-groups in society deemed to be the enemies of the State, has been imitated by many subsequent leaders representing authoritarian and repressive regimes.

Attention is given to these historical facts in order to remind us that there is a risk that a parallel development may be taking place since 11 September last year. Western governments are now balancing the need to protect fundamental rights and the need to effectively combat terrorism. The war against terror has been presented as a defence of human rights, but some of the measures taken in response to the terrorist threat have placed in jeopardy those same rights that governments claim to be protecting.

If we begin to torture people suspected of dealing with terrorism and violations of human rights, who will then be the winner? The protection of democracy and human rights is not without cost, and we must be prepared to pay if necessary. It is in times of stress that our ethics and will to defend human rights are truly put to the test. No excuses, neither war, threats of war, internal political instability, nor state of emergency, may justify torture, whichever pseudonym is used for it.

H.M.

Reference
Selected list of publications

received in the IRCT International Documentation Centre


Children's trauma and adjustment reactions to violent and non-violent war experiences / Allwood, Maureen A.; Bell-Dolan, Debra; Husain, Syed Arshad. - In: Child & adolescent psychiatry. - vol. 41, no. 42002-04-00. - p. 450-457.


Friends and caring professionals as important support for survivors of war and torture / Behn, Sebastian; Behn, Benjamin. - In: International journal of mental health; vol. 30, no. 4. - 2002-00-00. - p. 3-18.


Ambiguous loss: working with families of the missing / Boss, Pauline G. - In: Family process; vol. 41, no. 1. - 2002-00-00. - p. 14-17.


Toward an empirical definition of pediatric PTSD: the phenomenology of PTSD symptoms in youth / Carrion, Victor G.; Weems, Carl F.; Ray, Rebecca; Reis, Allan L. - In: Journal of the american academy of child and adolescent psychiatry; vol. 41, no. 2. - 2002-02-. - p. 166-173.


Children exposed to warfare: A longitudinal study / Dyregrov, Arle; Gjestad, Rolf; Raundalen, Magna. - In: Journal of traumatic stress; vol. 15, no. 1. - 2002-02-00. - p. 59-68.


Victimization and PTSD in a Danish national youth probability sample / Elkistr, Ask. - In: Journal of the american academy of child and adolescent psychiatry; vol. 41, no. 2. - 2002-02-00. - p. 174-181.
mean “torture” to a child. Therefore no attempt will be made to differentiate between “torture” and “ill-treatment”.

There are good arguments for considering female genital mutilation as a form of sexual torture of girls and young women. The magnitude of this problem and its terrible effects on the state of health of a girl child or young woman fall outside the scope of this article.

Children at risk
Children who come into conflict with the law, street children
Children who come into conflict with the law are normally poor and disadvantaged. When they are arrested it is, in most cases, for minor offences such as begging, stealing, or working illegally. Many of the children who come into conflict with the law are street children. Globally, around 100 million children live and work in the streets. They work in the informal sector as shoe shine boys, street vendors, and porters, and some are involved in petty crimes, drug trafficking, prostitution, and other criminal activities. The police generally view all street children as criminals. Street children are often beaten, tortured, and sometimes killed.

SEXUAL ABUSE BY THE POLICE; SEXUAL ABUSE IN POLICE CUSTODY
Sexual harassment and abuse of street children is very common. Many cases go unreported and unpunished because the children are too ashamed to tell anyone what has happened. In many countries, children are at risk of abuse and sexual violence by law enforcement personnel, even without an official arrest. There are several reports from Kenya that girls living and working on the streets are asked for sex by the police in order to avoid arrest. And Bulgarian street girls say it is common that the police ask for sex.

“The police want to see and touch our breasts. They usually want oral sex, sometimes more.”

The girls claim that they usually get away in time by yelling and screaming. Another example comes from Guatemala, where policemen entered a house containing six street girls. The girls were abused and raped, and afterwards the police abducted two of them.

Once arrested, children are sometimes kept in cells with adults, despite standards in international law (5). Children confined with adult detainees are in danger of sexual or other physical assault. A report from Guyana stated that a nine-year-old boy, accused of stealing an animal, was held with adult inmates for two months. The boy had been abused repeatedly by adult inmates. In Jamaica, the police picked up a fifteen-year-old girl who ran away from home. The police claimed that she was “in need of protection”. The police cells were filled with grown-up men and the girl was forced to sleep on the concrete floor in the corridor between the cells. During the second night in detention she was beaten and raped by a police officer.

Torture is still widespread in Turkey and girls are particularly at risk. Forms of torture inflicted on girls include electrical shocks to the genitals, being forced to strip naked in front of male guards, beatings targeting the genitals and breasts, and sexual abuse, including rape and threats of rape. There are also reports from Turkey of young boys, as young as six years old, who were sexually abused by the police. Some of these boys received electrical shocks on their genitals, their testicles were squeezed, and they were threatened with rape.

Amnesty International has received numerous reports alleging that children in Bangladesh, both male and female, are sexually abused in custody. A thirteen-year-old boy was admitted to the hospital after being raped by two policemen in Dhaka. He suffered from a bleeding rectum and other injuries. After this incident, the story and the names of the two policemen involved were mentioned in local newspapers. The policemen were suspended. The boy disappeared from the hospital and could not be located. He may have fled because he feared retaliation or because he was threatened by the police.

SEXUAL ABUSE IN PRE-TRIAL CENTRES AND PRISONS
In many countries, the conditions of detention for children in pre-trial centres and prisons are of great concern. Several of these places are known for severe overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and shortage of food and clothing. Children are at risk of deliberate acts of torture, including sexual abuse.

Children sometimes have to share cells with adults at the police stations, but there are also numerous reports of children who are taken into prisons for adults. Children who share cells with adults risk being exposed to the bad habits that adult prisoners might have (smoking, alcohol and substance abuse) and they are at risk of being sexually abused or raped.

“One 18” in Guatemala is known as the adult prison with the most minors. Therefore it is the prison with the most rape. The guards don’t pay any attention. In jail money runs everything.”

In Brazil, children convicted for or suspected of committing a crime suffer many of the same human rights violations as adult detainees. There are several reports of sexual abuse of young detainees. In September 1999, the director of a detention centre for young offenders in Rio de Janeiro was formally charged after being caught in the act of sexually abusing a boy. In another prison, a guard facilitated the abuse of younger boys by older detainees; the guard took pictures of the scenes.

In Turkey, young girls in detention facilities are often subjected to virginity testing by state officers. Virginity tests are degrading, discriminatory, and unsafe, and constitute a violation by State authorities of the bodily integrity, person, and dignity of women.

Children trapped in armed conflict and ethnic clashes
Rape and sexual abuse of women and children are often used to terrorize the civilian population; particularly in conflicts dominated by ethnicity, torture and sexual abuse of children are widespread. During armed conflicts in Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, East Timor, and Kosovo, many women and children have been raped. Sometimes women and girls are abducted to become sexual slaves. During the civil war in Sierra Leone, armed political groups have abducted thousands of girls and women; almost all of them have been raped and forced into sexual slavery. In Afghanistan, during the last two decades of civil war, girls were abducted by local war commanders. They used the girls either for their own sexual purposes or to be sold into prostitution.

In northern Uganda, an armed faction, the Lord’s Resistance Army, is known to have raided villages, forcibly taking away 50-100 children at the time; some of them were used as sexual slaves.
CHILD SOLDIERS
Many children who are affected by armed conflicts become politically active. Around 300,000 persons under the age of 18 are currently being exploited as child soldiers in countries like Afghanistan, Angola, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, and Uganda, among others.12 Most child soldiers get minimal training before being sent to war. Both boys and girls are being used as fighters and to serve a number of roles, such as porters, cooks, combatants, and/or sexual slaves, but girls are particularly at risk of rape, sexual harassment, and abuse.

INTERNALLY DISPLACED CHILDREN AND REFUGEE CHILDREN
An estimated 20 million children around the world, together with their families, have left their homes during armed conflicts, trying to escape the hunger, abduction, violence, rape, and other gender-based violence that accompanies armed conflicts.23 In the chaos of conflict and escape, many children become separated from their families, which makes them extremely vulnerable to all the misery and violence they fled from in the first place. Internally displaced children in particular are very vulnerable. They do not have an internationally acknowledged refugee-status (6) as they have not fled the country of origin. Although there is a growing attention towards the situation of internally displaced people, they still do not have access to the same humanitarian assistance as refugees, and they are not entitled to international protection based on the international standards for refugees. It is officially the obligation of the State to secure the best interest of a child that is out of its family environment (Children's Convention, Article 20). There are numerous reports of sexual abuse by local armed forces of internally displaced women and children in countries as Sudan, Chechnya, and East Timor.22

PEACEKEEPERS
Peacekeepers fulfil the indispensable and admirable job of protecting civilian populations, and beginning reconstruction in societies devastated by armed conflicts. Their tasks are varied and complex: from military actions to assisting with humanitarian aid. Unfortunately, there is a growing number of reports of rape and other sexual abuses by UN peacekeeper forces and staff. The arrival of peacekeeper troops has also been associated with a rapid rise in child prostitution. Torture, rape, and murder by peacekeepers have been reported in Mozambique, Angola, Cambodia, and Bosnia.4

Sexual violence in schools, State orphanages and other non-penal institutions
SCHOOLS
In many of the low-income countries girls do not have easy access to education. Once in school, girls - more often than boys - may be raped, sexually assaulted, abused, and sexually harassed by their classmates and even by their teachers.3 In the Democratic Republic of the Congo it is not a rare occurrence that school girls are submitted to sexual violence by their teachers.12 In South African schools, rape, assault, and sexual harassment of girls is widespread and committed by both teachers and male students. Girls are raped in toilets, empty classrooms, and hallways. Among those South African rape victims who identified the perpetrator, 37.7% said that their schoolteacher or principal had raped them. There are reports of girls staying away from school because they are afraid of the teacher, who abuses them sexually. Most girls, however, stay at school and remain silent, accepting that sexual violence at school is inevitable.3

In many countries, homosexuality is considered a sin or an illness. The president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, even called homosexuals “less than human”.24 Much of the violence against homosexual adolescents occurs within the child's family, but at school homosexual adolescents are also at risk of sexual abuse, sometimes by their teachers. A homosexual man from Syria, for example, claims that when he was a boy he was held back after school and raped by his teacher, who told him he was a “sin to his world”.23

VIRGINITY TESTING
In some countries, like Turkey and South Africa, girls may be subjected to virginity testing at schools. Virginity testing has recently been reinstated in government medical schools in Turkey. It is allowed to perform this test on girls “known” to be having sex or being engaged in prostitution. The girls who fail the test are to be expelled from school. Girls have reportedly attempted suicide rather than submitting to this abusive examination.3,5,10

STATE ORPHANAGES
Children in some of the world’s orphanages are terribly neglected. They often live under very poor conditions, they are malnourished, ill-treated, and there is a lack of medical care. In some places they also risk sexual abuse, as became clear from two Human Rights Watch studies. Children in a Russian orphanage reported that the director had permitted some of his “friends” to live in the building of the orphanage. At night these friends apparently had access to the girls’ dormitory. It was hard for the girls to turn these men down, because they were the friends of the director.25 From a Chinese orphanage came several reports from girls being sexually harassed by staff. Some of the girls were raped. For girls in orphanages, without family or access to a person of confidence in the “outside world”, it is very hard to bring forward complaints.26

Symptoms/sequelae
Physical consequences of sexual violence and rape
A victim of sexual violence and torture can have injuries all over the body, but especially in the vagina, the mouth, the anus, and the genitalia. In all societies sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), including HIV/AIDS, are among the most common of all infections.27 Health care workers should always consider sexually transmitted diseases after rape.

A complete list and the management of sexually transmitted syndromes fall outside the scope of this article. Common STDs are scabies and pubic lice, bacterial infections as gonorrhea, chlamydia, and syphilis, and viral infections as herpes simplex virus and hepatitis B virus. The symptoms from STDs can vary from no clinical symptoms at all to urethritis, lower genital tract infections, ulcerative lesions of the genitalia, infertility, hepatitis B, and neoplasms.

The most feared and most stigmatising of all sexual transmitted diseases is the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Millions of people worldwide are infected with the AIDS virus, especially in low- and middle-income countries. Infected people normally die, within years, of opportunistic infectious diseases as tuberculosis or certain types of cancer. Survival is shorter for children and for people who have limited access to health care and social support. The physical symptoms of AIDS and the stigma and
isolation that accompany this disease, together with the fear and shame of rape victims, make the physical, psychological, and social consequences of AIDS after rape devastating.

Prisoners are a high-risk group. Many of them are injecting drug users, often with shared, non-sterilized needles and syringes. In addition, male prisoners may have unprotected penetrative sex with other men, and may be tattooed with shared, non-sterilized equipment. The risk for children sharing cells with adults is obvious.

In Malawi it is officially forbidden to lock up children with adults, but prison officers are reportedly being paid to smuggle boys from the juvenile block to the adult block. Once they are there they can be hidden for months, and the man that pays for the child can “rent out the child” to other prisoners, for their sexual needs. Medical reports from two of Malawi’s prisons state that nearly all inmates with peri-anal abscesses are under 18 years old. Almost half of all prisoners who visited the clinic at Zomba Central Prison in Malawi were found to be HIV positive.

In situations of armed conflict, the main perpetrators of sexual abuse and exploitation are armed forces or armed groups. Soldiers, even during peacetime, have STD infection rates two to five times higher than those of civilian populations. The chance of infection is therefore considerable for children who have been raped by soldiers. For example, almost all girls who have escaped the Lord’s Resistance Army in northern Uganda were suffering from STDS.

Unwanted pregnancy is another serious consequence of rape. In addition to possible physical complications, teenage pregnancies and motherhood can cause many psychological and social problems. Several emergency relief workers in East Timor have witnessed how children, born after pro-Indonesian militia raped their mother, were victimized by the rest of the family.

In her study on the impact of armed conflict on children, Graca Machel recommends investigations to follow up on the situation of women raped during armed conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, and to study the circumstances under which the children born after rape and forced impregnation live.

Girls who are desperate to have the pregnancy terminated might choose to have an induced abortion. In many countries, abortion is illegal and may therefore be performed in an unsafe, non-hygienic way. Data on unsafe abortion are scarce, but an estimated 10 to 50% of all women who undergo unsafe abortion need medical care for complications. The most frequent complications are incomplete abortion, sepsis, haemorrhage, and intra-abdominal injury, such as puncturing or tearing of the uterus.

Psychological sequelae

Torture survivors are not a homogeneous group, and sexual violence and torture are often part of more complicated traumas. The socio-political conditions, the disruption of the community, the loss of schooling, dislocation, emigration, religion, cultural background, and family functioning may all influence the coping process of a child. Individual characteristics such as temperament, personality, self-esteem, developmental competence, history of previous trauma, and prior psychopathology can play an important role in how a child copes.

There are several reasons why specific research on the psychological effects of sexual torture and ill-treatment on children is still at an early stage. First of all, the disbelief that torture can be perpetrated against children has led to a slow reaction by the international community. The silence that surrounds rape and sexual violence and the circumstances under which they take place complicates research. Very few data are available on the physical and psychological consequences that ill-treatment and torture might have on the children who are at risk of sexual violence and torture. Children who come into conflict with the law are not very likely to register formal complaints, and often have no access to school or health care. Their suffering generally goes unnoticed. Collecting data in areas of political and ethnic violence is difficult, if not impossible. Most of the time it is too dangerous to do research.

Little is known of the effects of sexual violence on children in schools, State orphanages, and other non-penal institutions.

Psychological impact of trauma in general

While the research on the specific impact of sexual torture and ill-treatment of children is still at an early stage, the impact of severe trauma in general is beginning to be understood, thanks to researchers who studied the reaction of children to war and armed conflict in the Middle East, among refugee populations, and in post conflict situations. Children may react to trauma with depression, sleep disturbances, nightmares, anxiety, fears, learning problems, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (7), and feelings of guilt and self-blame. Elizabeth Protacio-Marcelino describes how children prefer to stay silent, move away, and hide and bury their experiences, while the adult victim often seeks avenues to process his or her individual experiences.

It can be hard for children to grasp the full meaning of death and destruction. There are many examples of people who throughout adulthood were preoccupied with unanswered questions about perpetration or violence against family members.

In the existing literature, “childhood” is normally divided into three different age groups: Pre-school children, school children, and adolescents. The age of the child seems to be very important for the way(s) he or she copes with a traumatic event. Pre-school children are particularly sensitive to trauma because it can be very difficult for them to understand traumatic experiences. They can react with regressive symptoms, they cling to their parents, are afraid to sleep, and frequently have nightmares. There are descriptions of traumatized infants who have symptoms that are similar to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) even before they are able to speak.

School children may react to trauma with concentration problems, learning difficulties, fear, anxiety, and behaviour problems such as aggression, restlessness, isolation, and with PTSD. They often show psychosomatic symptoms as well. Because they are usually, to some extent, able to understand a traumatic event, they have a better chance of coping with it. Adolescents may perform badly at school; their occupational achievements may be compromised. They are also at risk of the physical and mental health problems, and there is a risk of substance abuse and disrupted social and moral development.

Children who are exposed to ethnic or political violence are more likely to develop a variety of difficulties, including mental health problems. Because children are still developing their personalities, the effects of violence and torture may become part of their character. It is known that young South African activists, after being exposed to violence, became perpetrators themselves. Armed conflicts as in Colombia, Cambodia, and Aceh have had an impact on several genera-
tions, which might be one of the reasons why violence constantly recreates itself in a vicious circle. The psychological consequences of children's active participation in hostilities may only become apparent over a long period of time.5

Psychological impact of sexual violence and torture
The psychological sequelae of rape are mostly known from studies of adult women. Sexual torture and ill-treatment can be devastating to a person's self-confidence and identity. Victims may suffer from feelings of fear, shame, guilt, self-blame, anxiety, and depression. They may feel dirty and they want to clean themselves regularly. Some women display fear of men, many suffer from nightmares. They may feel powerless and worthless.54,55

Research on child abuse is mostly based on individual case studies and describes the effect of the abuse in individual cases. One of the few studies carried out with street children shows that sexually abused children often make drawings of themselves without hands—that is as helpless.49 Many of the children feel they have been irreparably damaged; they mistrust men, they feel shame, anger, betrayal, and guilt. They avoid talking about the sexual act, fearing it and perceiving it as dirty. In a study in the Philippines, the self-esteem of children who have been physically and sexually abused has been compared with the self-esteem of children who have not been abused. The preliminary results reveal that the self-esteem of children who were physically abused (and not sexually) differs little from the self-esteem of those who were not physically abused. Children who were sexually abused, however, had a significantly lower self-esteem than those who were not sexually abused.49

The right to reparation
It is hard to assess all the implications that torture may have on children. What consequences will the physical and mental suffering, and the eventual permanent disabilities have on their future? In Basic principles and guidelines on the right to reparation for victims of gross violations of human rights and humanitarian law, Professor van Boven has outlined that reparation is more than financial compensation for material damages. Reparation should include restitution, re-establishment of the situation that existed before the violation, compensation for the material damages suffered, rehabilitation in the form of medical, psychological, and other care and services, as well as restoration of dignity and reputation. Moreover, reparation should incorporate satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition, including verifications of facts and full public disclosure of the truth. Perpetrators should be prosecuted and punished.57

In her preliminary survey on the torture survivor's perception of reparation and the difficulties of obtaining it, Sarah Cullinan concludes that further research is needed if we are to learn more about the torture survivor's perceptions of reparation.

"How do they [the torture survivors] perceive reparation, and what are their expectations of achieving it; what do they need or want when they follow the route to redress?"58

The knowledge about adult survivors' perception of reparation is very limited; about children's perception we know close to nothing. To understand children's needs, they should be listened to. Unfortunately, because of shame and fear they will not come forward easily. Children should have a chance to tell their story without concerns for the consequences of doing so. In the Tampere declaration on Children, Torture and Other Forms of Violence, the special competence and abilities of children are recognized. Children have the right to be active participants in identifying, preventing, and addressing all forms of violence suffered by them. Considering the circumstances under which sexual abuse of children often takes place, there are many obstacles to overcome before children might come forward, before they receive any form of reparation.

Rehabilitation
Most states have committed themselves to supporting the rehabilitation of children who are victims of violence and torture (Children's Convention, article 39), but in spite of this many victims will never have access to rehabilitation. Admitting that sexual violence has taken place by the hand of a public official is not an easy step for any state, and offering rehabilitation can be very costly. The services that can be offered to victims of sexual violence depend very much on the political and economic situation, and the cultural traditions in the country where the individual victim lives. The interdisciplinary approach with close cooperation of paediatricians, psychiatrists, psychologists, physiotherapists, nurses, social advisors and teachers—as recommended by rehabilitation centres in high income countries—is not feasible in low-income countries without financial support.

When assisting children after sexual violence, every precaution should be taken to minimize the re-traumatization of the child. Cultural attitudes, religion, and traditional beliefs may affect the meaning given to experiences, the symptoms expressed, how children cope with the violent experiences, and how they recover.60

The basic principles of UNICEF to support traumatized children are: to (re-)establish safety, security, and protection, to secure physical well-being, to help the children understand their experiences by giving them more information about the traumatic event(s), to help them deal with their impressions and emotions, and to encourage them to continue normal activities. Achieving these principles would probably mean a major improvement in the living conditions of many of the street-children, the children trapped in armed conflict or ethnic clashes, and for the children in State orphanages or other non-penal institutions who have been sexually abused. Early assistance and support to children after a trauma helps preventing long-term suffering and promotes the developmental progress of the child.34

Demobilization of child soldiers
Children are both witnessing and committing atrocities. Many children from Sierra Leone and northern Uganda have participated in killing, mutilating, and rape; almost all have witnessed such atrocities. Some of the children who were abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army in northern Uganda, to participate in the armed conflict, escaped. Reintegration for those children is very difficult, and many face the social stigma of rape and continue to suffer.5

In February 2000, the UN Secretary-General released the role of the United Nations peacekeeping in disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration. The report calls for a minimum of three year's commitment of staff and resources to children's long-term needs for education, vocational training, and psychological support. Unless children demobilized from armies are given alternatives to soldiering, they risk be-
Reintegration of these children requires long-term support.62

Impunity
Access to justice is one of the main forms of reparation,63 but acts of violence against children are often ignored or covered up.64

The majority of cases of police abuse go undetected and unreported.64 Street children are easy targets because they are young, they have no family members to assist them, and they are unlikely to file formal complaints because they are ignorant of their rights. 5-8 They are rarely, if ever, represented by attorneys, whether charged with criminal or non-criminal offences, and it is therefore no surprise that they do not exercise the right to appeal.

Mechanisms to protect children
All countries except the United States and Somalia have ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Thereby they have agreed on the rights of every human being under the age of 18. However, the rights of many of the world’s children are violated and/or ignored. For those children, the definition of “child” has little or no meaning. An estimated 250 million children are engaged in child labour,65 and around 300,000 persons under the age of 18 are currently being exploited as child soldiers.66 Girls may get married when they are 15 years old.9-12,13,69

Within the United Nations there are several Convention and non-Convention bodies relevant to the protection of children from (sexual) violence: The Committee on the Rights of the Child, the Special Rapporteur on the Question of Torture, the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, its Causes and Consequences, the United Nations Convention against Torture, the Special Rapporteur on the Commission on Human Rights on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the United Nations Population Fund run programmes to address sexual and gender-based violence in refugee camps.70

Despite these different mechanisms, many reports from human rights organizations show that abuse and torture is a daily reality.5-8,71 During the International Conference on Children, Torture and Other Forms of Violence, organized by the World Organisation Against Torture (OMCT), the necessity to strengthen existing mechanisms in order to address violence against children was stressed. It was recommended that the UN Commission on Human Rights appoint a Special Rapporteur on Violence against Children, with the mandate to consider individual complaints and to identify ways to respond more effectively to individual complaints concerning violence against children.59

Conclusion
Children experience sexual abuse and torture under different circumstances all over the world. In most cases, the perpetrators are the people who are supposed to protect the children: the police, the staff of juvenile and criminal correction institutions, soldiers, the staff of orphanages or other non- penal institutions, or sometimes their teachers. Sexual abuse of children is difficult to document because of the taboo of this subject. The barriers are immense for children seeking reparation after having been subjected to sexual abuse: children might not complain out of fear and shame of what has happened, most of the time they are ignorant of their rights, and they might be too traumatized to come forward. When they do come forward with their story they are often not believed. Impunity allows violence perpetrated against children to continue. Recognizing the reality of sexual abuse and torture of children may be the first step towards preventing it. UN staff, State officials, human rights monitors, and the civil society should be alert to recognize situations in which children are at risk, to detect sexual crimes against children, and to identify the victims and perpetrators of these crimes. They should ensure that the rights of children are being respected. Sexual abuse and torture can have serious implications for a child’s physical, psychological, and social wellbeing. As long as these crimes take place, children should be supported in overcoming the consequences. Further research is needed to find ways to provide adequate reparation, rehabilitation, and reintegration to child victims of sexual torture and abuse. Too little is known about children's experiences, about their perspective on obtaining justice, rehabilitation, and reintegration. Children should be consulted; their stories should be taken seriously. Their participation in identifying, preventing, and addressing violence suffered by them should be encouraged and respected. To make that possible, we must reach out to them.

References
58. Ibid, page 77.

Notes
(1) The problem of child victims of torture in general has been discussed by the author in a background paper for the OMCT International Conference on Children, Torture and Other Forms of Violence: Facing the Facts, Forging the Future. Tampere, Finland from 27.11 - 2.12, 2001. The article: The Right to Rehabilitation and Reintegration for Children, Victims of Organised Violence and Torture, August 2001, can be requested at IRCT.
(2) For the definition of “torture” see appendix.
(3) For the definitions of “sexual violence” and “rape”, see appendix.
(4) UNICEF definition of “street children”: Street children are those for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, i.e. uncrowded dwellings, wasteland, etc.) more than their family has become their real home, a situation where there is no protection, supervision, or direction from responsible adults.
(5) Beijing Rules 13.4 and 26 and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights article 10.2.b; ICCPR, adopted and opened for signature, ratification, and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966, entry into force 23 March 1976, in accordance with Article 49.
(7) Criteria for the diagnosis post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) are: 1. Exposure to an extreme event outside the range of normal human experience, 2. Persistent re-experience of the event, 3. Avoidance of stimuli associated with the traumatic experience and numbing of general responsiveness, 4. Persistent symptoms of increased arousal, 5. At least two of the following symptoms: sleeping problems, irritability, angry outbursts, concentration problems, or hyper vigilance.

Appendix
Definition of “torture” from the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, [entry into force 26 June 1987], article 1

“For the purpose of this Convention the term ‘torture’ means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed, or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity.”

Definitions of “sexual violence” and “rape” from UN preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court, November 2000

As the International Criminal Court will mainly deal with crimes of war (article 8) and crimes against humanity (article 7) the two definitions refer to “widespread and systematic”. Those terms have been left out in this article.

Definition of sexual violence:
1. The perpetrator committed an act of a sexual nature against one or more persons or caused such person or persons to engage in an act of a sexual nature by force, or by threat of force or coercion, such as that caused by fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression or abuse of power, against such person or persons or another person, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment or such person's or persons' incapacity to give genuine consent.
2. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the gravity of the conduct.

Definition of rape:
1. The perpetrator invaded the body of a person by conduct resulting in penetration, however slight, of any part of the body of the victim or of the perpetrator with a sexual organ, or of the anal or genital opening of the victim with any object or any other part of the body.
2. The invasion was committed by force, or by threat of force or coercion, such as that caused by fear of violence,
duress, detention, psychological oppression or abuse of power, against such a person or another person, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment, or the invasion was committed against a person incapable of giving genuine consent.*

Definition of “refugee” from the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees


*) It is understood that a person may be incapable of giving genuine consent if affected by natural or age-related incapacity.

Article 1, part 2. Definition of the term “refugee”

A. For the purposes of the present Convention, the term “refugee” shall apply to any person who:

As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.
Selected list of publications
received in the IRCT International Documentation Centre


Clinical predictors of posttraumatic stress disorder after closed head injury in children / Gerrand, Joan P.; Sloomans, Beth ; Vasa, Roma A. ; Grados, Marco ; Chen, Anita ; Rising, William ; Christensen, James R. ; Denclida, Martha B. ; Ernst, Monique. - In: Journal of the american academy of child and adolescent psychiatry ; vol. 41, no. 2. - 2002-02-00. - p. 157-165.


Stun guns for everyone/ Hamilton, Anita. - In: Time ; vol. 159, no. 5. - 2002-02-04. - p. 50.


Post-combat syndromes from the Boer war to the Gulf war: a cluster analysis of their nature and attribution / Hodgins-Vermaas, Robert ; McCartney, Helen ; Everitt, Brian ; Beech, Charlotte ; Pouyer, Denise ; Palmer, Ian ; Hyams, Kenneth ; Wesely, Simon. - In: British Medical Journal ; vol. 324, no. 7333. - 2002-02-09. - p. 1-7. - Available from World Wide Web: http://bmj.com/cgi/content/full/324/7333/321.


Why torture must not be sanctioned by the United States : it undermines our humanity and does not make society safer / Iacopino, Vincent ; Keller, Allen ; Olsenberg, Deborah. - In: Western journal of medicine ; vol. 176, May. - 2002-05-00. - p. 148-149.


Philosophical perspectives on the crisis of war rape

Robin May Schott, PhD, Associate Research Professor*

Introduction: War rape

Since the attempted genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the demand to understand the existence of evil – the destruction of human beings by other human beings1 – has become a challenge to the present and no longer merely a reflection on past wrongs and responsibilities. How is it possible for human beings to have the capacity not only of killing other people, but also of experiencing this killing as nothing extraordinary?2

It has been documented that among the atrocities committed during the civil war in the former Yugoslavia was war rape – committed against civilian women. These rapes have been committed with a political purpose, to ensure that women and their families will flee and never return,3 and thus war rape has been an instrument of “ethnic cleansing”. Men have also been raped, and are thus arguably “feminized” by the enemy. Both parties to the conflict have used rape as a weapon of war, although the largest number of reported victims have been Bosnian Muslims.4 Beverly Allen, in her book Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, has described this form of rape as “genocidal rape”, since it is a crime aimed at the systematic annihilation of another people and their culture by rape, death, and pregnancy.5 (1) The violence of war rape is experienced through the degradation of a girl or woman and of those affected by her suffering. A 54-year-old woman, who was raped in her home in the municipality of Kljuc, said afterwards, “They denigrated me, which will bear hard upon my body and soul as long as I live.”6 Survivors of war rape suffer from multiple traumas – genital trauma, psychological trauma, physical trauma from severe burns, amputations, infected incisions, and the damage done to their throats due to having repeatedly been forced to swallow vast amounts of urine and sperm.7

The violence of war rape is also enacted through the possibility of pregnancy, a key point in Allen’s claim that these war rapes should be viewed as genocidal. A 39-year-old Croatian woman from the town of Prijedor, who was raped by a reserve captain of the “Serbian Army”, was told that “I needed to give birth to a Serb” – that I would then be different.8 Women are often convinced that the offspring they bear as a result of war rape are also the enemy, leading many survivors to attempt third-trimester abortions, or to commit suicide, or to remove themselves from any contact with the infant after birth.9 In the view of the Helsinki Watch, the forcible impregnation of women constitutes an abuse separate from the rape and should be denounced as such.10

Documenting sexual abuse, including rape, is difficult because of women’s reluctance to report rape, as a consequence both of fear of retribution to themselves and their families, and of shame, lack of trust, and fear of awakening bad memories.11,12 “What happened to me, happened to many, but the women keep it secret. It is shameful. Thus, the mother conceals it if it happened to her daughter, so she can marry, and if it happened to an older woman, she wants to protect her marriage. It is a huge embarrassment, you know.”13 It is an additional emotional hardship to subject women to interviews about rape, and there have been reports of attempted suicide by women after they have been interviewed by the media and by delegations.14

Rape and sexual abuse constitute not only violations of international human rights standards and humanitarian law, but can be a constituent crime against humanity. The United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia convicted three Bosnian Serb soldiers of raping and torturing women and girls and marked for the first time that rape was identified as a crime against humanity. (2)

On the role of philosophical reflection

Although there is a long tradition in philosophy that reflects on the nature of good and evil, there is a much smaller range of philosophers who reflect on particular phenomena of good and evil. Here Hannah Arendt is a notable exception, in her studies The Origins of Totalitarianism15 and Eichmann in Jerusalem.16 And an even narrower range of philosophers have taken up the question of evil in the form of sexual violence. Feminist philosophers are beginning to demarcate a path here, notably Claudia Card in her essays Rape Terrorism in The unnatural lottery: character and moral luck17 and Rape as a weapon of war18 For a feminist philosopher and “bystander” to war rapes, one of the most compelling questions in the present age is how to understand the evil enacted by war rape, and in what ways understanding such violence might contribute to its reduction. In what follows I consider three different strategies, though not all proposed by philosophers, for interpreting the phenomena of evil. Though none of these strategies address particularly the violence of war rape, it is fruitful to consider this application:

1. The structuralist anthropologist Mary Douglas, in Purity and Danger,20 offers a groundbreaking analysis of purity and pollution that can be applied to interpreting cultural perceptions of evil. Although Douglas does not use the term evil, Julia Kristeva adopts this analysis of pollution to explain the cultural identification of women with radi-
Both Douglas' and Kristeva's account are particularly useful for their focus on the symbolics of the body.

2. The psychological analysis offered by Ervin Staub, in *The Roots of Evil*, probes the practice of evil in terms of a continuum of destruction. The radical evil of destroying other human beings through torture or systematic annihilation becomes possible because individuals have acclimatized themselves first to committing lesser forms of evil. Bystanders have a crucial role to play in either acquiescing to or protesting against acts of destruction.

3. Hannah Arendt's analysis of evil focuses on the failure of judgment. The closing sentence of *Eichmann in Jerusalem* introduces the infamous phrase the "banality of evil", meant to focus on the thoughtlessness out of which evil can occur. According to Arendt, in the face of the collapse of moral standards in civil society, the only defence against evil can be found in individual imagination and judgment.

None of these analyses focus on the problem of evil as it is manifested in war rape. Nonetheless, they can be useful interpretive tools in answering the following questions: Why does political violence take the form of sexual violence? How does a situation move from "normality" to massive war rape, where young women are raped by their former high school teachers, and female medical workers are raped by doctors who were formerly their colleagues? What role do bystanders play in accelerating or diminishing violence? Does the existence of war rape place the demand of changing the cultural symbolics of the body?

**Pollution and moral evil**

Many of the examples of war rape cited in the Helsinki Watch report refer to violations of taboos – neighbours rape the women next door and young men rape women old enough to be their mothers. One 54-year-old women reported that she pleaded with the Serbian soldiers who were raping her on the cold concrete floor, "Children, don't. I could be your mother."

In the face of this trespassing of prohibitions that constituted the order of daily life in the former Yugoslavia, one is tempted to seek an explanation of war rape in terms of prohibitions and their violations. From this perspective, the analysis offered by the structuralist anthropologist Mary Douglas in *Purity and Danger* seems compelling. Douglas takes as her central focus questions not of moral evil, but systems of purity and pollution. Pollution, including our ordinary sense of revulsion at dirt where it doesn't belong, points to disorder, to matter out of place. Beliefs about punishing transgressions and purifying serve to impose a unified system on an inherently untidy experience. Dirt, or pollution, is never an isolated event but is an effect of a systematic classification of matter.

Douglas not only takes up the analysis of the relation between outside/inside – that which is outside the border of a system is itself necessary for the maintenance of a given symbolic order – but she explicitly addresses the question of bodily pollution and of the symbolics of the body. She notes that:

"The body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries, which are threatened or precarious. The body is a complex structure. The functions of its different parts and their relation afford a source of symbols for other complex structures. We cannot possibly interpret rituals concerning excreta, breast milk, saliva and the rest unless we are prepared to see in the body a symbol of society, and to see the powers and dangers credited to social structure reproduced in small on the human body."

According to Douglas, sexual pollution, by which each sex endangers the other through contact with sexual fluids, does not express actual relations between the sexes, but mirrors designs of hierarchy or symmetry in the larger social system.

Douglas' analysis is principally concerned with patterns of pollution and rituals of purity that protect or cleanse one from contact with pollution (e.g. in cases of adultery). One could speculate about the culturally induced psychological beliefs about sexual pollution that may be entwined with war rape. A raped woman most surely feels herself polluted by the enemy seed, and perhaps seeks purification through abortion or severance of contact with an infant at birth, and through the effort to forget. And perhaps men who rape are motivated by beliefs in women's sexual pollution that originate with prohibitions and the incitement to transgress such prohibitions (e.g. through widespread publicity of pornography). The breakdown of social order that takes place during civil war, in this view, could result in a determination to transgress prior prohibitions.

But an analysis of war rape in terms of pollution and danger would not address the moral dimension at stake: the known violation and destruction of human persons. Douglas herself views the relation between patterns of purity and pollution and moral codes as rather complex. Beliefs about pollution can be used to uphold moral codes, to marshal public opinion on the side of right when the moral code itself is not strong enough to accomplish this task. Alternatively, purification rituals can provide the ground for breaking with the moral code, to make possible surviving that which is not morally permissible.

If Douglas is right in suggesting that the powers and dangers attributed to the social structure at large are reproduced in small on the body, and that danger of pollution through certain sexual relations expresses relations of symmetry or hierarchy between parts of a society, one may also have a clue as to why the violent break-down of a social order is mirrored in the violent transgression of sexual relations. If, on this structuralist hypothesis, the body is mirroring the social system, then the danger attributed to one member of the social system (e.g. one ethnic group) that appears to threaten this system may be reflected by threatening human bodies through torture, mutilation, and killing. And if sexual danger represents relations of asymmetry between different members of the body politic (e.g. hierarchies between ethnic groups, between urban and rural populations), then a violent upheaval against these relations in the social system may explode into a violation of prohibitions concerning sexual danger. Hence, the sexual violence of war rape may spiral into genocidal rape, the attempt to annihilate one member of the body politic. And if sexual relations are a symbol for social conflicts, then these conflicts will never be resolved by the physical violence done to women in war rape, but will relentlessly continue on other paths of destruction. They represent a moral, psychological, and social defect and humiliation.

But why are sexual relations so vulnerable to being used to represent the maintenance or breakdown of social systems?
In part to answer this question, Julia Kristeva modifies Douglas' analysis of pollution in *Powers of Horror*. Kristeva identifies the concept of pollution or defilement with evil. "Let us posit that defilement is an objective evil undergone by the subject."31 Kristeva collapses here the distinction between morality and pollution beliefs that Douglas distinguishes from. Kristeva also significantly modifies Douglas' treatment of the body as representative of the symbolic system. Her starting point is the social and symbolic importance of women, and particularly the mother. The ritualization of defilement is accompanied by a view of the feminine as synonymous with a radical evil to be suppressed.32 Therefore, Kristeva's treatment of the body is informed by the primary status she sees accorded to women, and mothers, as symbols of evil. Ultimately, both language and culture maintain an order among their discrete elements "by repressing maternal authority and the corporeal mapping that abuts against them".33

Her focus on the primacy of the mother in the symbolic of the body may be used to explain why the breakdown of a system of social relations takes the form of sexual violence. Genocidal rape aims at the destruction of maternal authority both practically and symbolically (through the killing of women after they are raped or the impregnation of women by the enemy - thus endangering the possibility of reproduction of particular ethnic groups).

In other words, both Douglas' and Kristeva's analyses make at least one crucial contribution to the understanding of war rape: they focus on the symbolization of the body, and the symbolization of sexual relations, as primary for understanding a cultural order. Kristeva's view that the mother is the primary figure of abjection and evil is one possible answer to the question, why social violence is expressed in the particularly cruel forms of war rape. But neither Douglas nor Kristeva offers tools to answer the questions: Why does the eruption of violent acts take place? What is the nature of threats that come from inside or outside the system? At what point do such threats bring about violent eruptions? How can responses of bystanders resist such eruptions?

**Learning evil by doing**

In order to understand the process whereby relatively ordinary people can become directly or indirectly responsible for awful human destruction (as in the case of Eichmann), some psychologists have focused on processes whereby individuals, as members of a group, progress along a continuum of destruction.34 Ervin Staub writes, "Evil that arises out of ordinary thinking and is committed by ordinary people is the norm, not the exception ... Great evil arises out of ordinary psychological processes that evolve, usually with a progression along the continuum of destruction."35 By the concept of continuum, Staub underlines his theory about the practical element of morality - people learn by doing - either by acts of good or acts of evil. Small acts of helping a child on the street, a friend, or relatives, can lead a bystander to become a rescuer. And by a similar process, people become capable of committing great acts of evil by first committing smaller acts of evil. When one begins to harm others, it becomes difficult to shift course, in part because one's image of oneself and of others shifts through these acts. One minimizes suffering for those harmed, and justifies their suffering by their evil nature or by higher ideals.36 Staub proposes that there are a number of psychological developments that occur along this continuum of destruction: compartmentalization, that enables individuals to act on goals that conflict with other important values; the exclusion of moral values in order to maintain personal integration, while allowing for destructive behaviour. These processes are linked with two other psychological developments: a reversal of morality and a relinquishing of feelings of responsibility for the welfare of victims.37 As the destruction process continues, harming victims becomes accepted as "normal" behaviour. Once the process of destruction begins, it is more difficult to stop it (the "completion" tendency: the closer one is to achieving a goal, as in the carrying out of genocide, the harder it is to give up). In addition to social and political factors, there are other cultural factors that contribute to the possibility of evil as evidenced in genocide: cultural values of obedience to authority, values of aggression, monolithic instead of pluralistic cultures, and external pressure to conform, which can diminish internal resistance.

Staub also underlines the crucial role of bystanders, either in passively participating with the commission of evil acts, as was typical of so many Germans during Hitler's rule (those who saw the benefits of Hitler's rule, such as increased production, reduced unemployment, and moral and political unification of Germany),38 or in active resistance. Where active resistance to Hitler's orders took place (e.g. Bulgaria and Denmark), the attempt to eradicate the Jewish population was much less successful.

Staub's inquiry into the roots of evil takes as its focal point the Holocaust, but considers other examples of genocides and mass killings: e.g. the Turkish genocide of the Armenians, the genocide in Cambodia, the mass killing in Argentina. By a curious omission, he does not consider war rape in his discussion. This is a regrettable omission, since there is documentation of systematic and widespread rape of Belgian, Jewish, Polish, and Soviet women by the Nazi army (as well as of German women by the Soviet army, Italian women by Moroccan mercenaries in the French Army, and Korean and Chinese women by Japanese soldiers during World War II).39 Nonetheless, one can speculate about the usefulness of Staub's concept of a continuum of destruction in an analysis of war rape. His theory that larger acts of evil grow from smaller acts of evil may be corroborated by reports that some soldiers raped women in Bosnia-Herzegovina because they were ordered to it by officers and promised monetary rewards, or because their own families were threatened. One act, such as taking the house that belongs to another family, could lead to more brutal acts. Moreover, the widespread incidence of gang rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina could be one means by which soldiers overcome their individual resistance through pressure to conform to group behaviour, which supports a perverted sexuality and a perverted nationalism.40 And such external conformity may lead to internal transformations, which seek to integrate one's actions by excluding moral considerations from the justification of one's behaviour. Moreover, since war rape was clearly a part of ethnic cleansing, the ability of male soldiers, police officers, camp guards, teachers, and doctors to commit rape could be linked to the desire to complete the project of annihilating the "enemy". And if there are no signs of resistance (e.g. from other officers or soldiers), there is little to stop the process of destruction from acceleration.

What Staub's analysis of practical morality contributes is an attention to the process of evil acts - how people become capable of committing great evil. Staub focuses on the processes by which moral values become gradually degraded.
or excluded from an individual's self-concept. He does not, however, raise questions of sexual violence, and he alludes to the "desire for sex" as an extraneous motive in the commission of harm. Such an analysis implies that rape, if it occurs, is an act of sexual desire - instead of viewing rape as an act of violence, as it has been defined by feminists over the last two decades. In other words, Staub's discussion of evil does not face questions that are explicit in war rape: why does destructive behaviour take the form of sexual violence, in which women's bodies and psyches are violated?

Moreover, Staub remains committed to a fundamentally psychological analysis of evil. Although he does not deny political purposes, he speaks of them as a means of channelling psychological needs. Such an approach would imply that the mass use of war rape for the purposes of ethnic cleansing is rooted in psychological needs, e.g. the need to express anger and revenge for acts committed against Serbs in World War II, the need to express feelings of ethnic superiority, and of rage against women. But such an analysis fails to address how these motives themselves are effects of political or military institutions or other symbolic systems.

The banality of evil

Hannah Arendt is one of the few philosophers of the 20th century who has seriously considered the problem of evil in the context of the political affairs of the world—e.g. in her major study, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, and in *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. Her book on Eichmann, as well as the final work before she died, focused on the problem of judgment. Judgment seemed to her the crucial issue in the trial of the man who facilitated the mass destruction of the Jews, faced both with the need to arrive at a moral judgment of Eichmann, at a historical judgment of the events contributing to the Final Solution, and at Eichmann's own evident failure of judgment. In her book on the Eichmann trial, she sought the lesson of "this long course in human wickedness" and found it in the "fearsome, word-and-thought-defying banality of evil". By this phrase she did not mean to minimize or trivialize evil, to treat it as an everyday affair of no import. Rather, her point was to show that the greatest wickedness in human history—beyond the scope of comprehension—could occur because of the failure of judgment amongst individuals responsible for these acts. When the legal order is no longer that of a civilized country, but where law becomes the enactment of Hitler's command "Thou shalt kill", when there is no guidance but one's own judgment, then it is judgment to which we must turn to tell right from wrong:

"Those few who were still able to tell right from wrong went really only by their own judgments, and they did so freely; there were no rules to be abided by, under which the particular cases with which they were confronted could be subsumed. They had to decide each instance as it arose, because no rules existed for the unprecedented."

But the ability to retain judgment was obviously the exception, and Eichmann did not share in this exception. Arendt repeats the question of Judge Landau at the trial of Eichmann, whether the accused had a conscience. Her answer is yes: he did on one occasion ship twenty thousand Jews and five thousand Gypsies from the Rhineland not to Riga or Minsk, where they would have been immediately shot, but to Lodz where no preparations for extermination were yet being made. But three weeks later he agreed to ship fifty thousand Jews to Riga and Minsk. Thus, "yes, he had a conscience, and his conscience functioned in the expected way for about four weeks, whereupon it began to function the other way around." The "other way around" meant that he claimed to live by Kant's moral precept—i.e. to live by duty, to obey the law—but by obedience to duty, he meant not obedience to a universal moral law; rather, it was obedience to the words and laws of the Führer. And this led Eichmann to diligently seek personal advancement while carrying out the Final Solution because he "never realized what he was doing". He lacked imagination, he was thoughtless. "That such remoteness from reality and such thoughtlessness can wreak more havoc than all the evil instincts taken together which, perhaps, are inherent in man—that was, in fact, the lesson one could learn in Jerusalem."

The diagnosis of "failure of judgment" seems a compelling one in the case of Eichmann, since his responsibility in carrying out the Final Solution was primarily in terms of decisions. In deciding to follow all orders from his superiors, he abdicated responsibility for making any further decisions himself. The context of decision-making, as Arendt also stresses in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, was one of de-personalization and objectification. Arendt gives the following example of the "objective" attitude typical of the S.S.: Eichmann's defence lawyer claimed during the trial that the accused was innocent of charges bearing on his responsibility for "the collection of skeletons, sterilizations, killings by gas, and similar medical matters". When challenged by the judge, the lawyer proceeded to defend his description: "It was indeed a medical matter, since it was prepared by physicians; it was a matter of killing, and killing, too, is a medical matter." But Eichmann's insulation from contact with "normal" knowledge of murder, helped by what Arendt calls rigid "language rules", was not a foolproof shield against reality. Thus, Eichmann reported that when he saw the preparation for the gas chambers at Treblinka, he thought it was monstrous. "I am not so tough as to be able to endure something of this sort without any reaction...If today I am shown a gaping wound, I can't possibly look at it." And when he saw the Jews entering mobile gas vans in Kulm, and heard the shrieking, he was very upset. He saw the corpses being thrown into an open ditch, "as though they were still alive, so smooth were their limbs. They were hurled into the ditch, and I can still see a civilian extracting the teeth with tooth pliers. And then I was off—jumped into my car and did not open my mouth any more." So on the few occasions where Eichmann was forced to face the horror of the Final Solution, he felt sick and horrified. But generally, Arendt notes, he was not forced to see much because it was easy to avoid the killing installations.

Can Arendt's analysis of the failure of judgment apply to the cruelty committed during war rape? Can one also say, as she does in reference to Eichmann and his contemporaries, that war rape was committed by people whose judgment failed them when there were no other guideposts to follow? Do those who commit war rape reveal their inability to achieve impartiality their failure to take the viewpoints of others into account in order to achieve what Kant called "enlarged thought"?

There is of course some sense in which this conclusion seems warranted. Had a Serbian soldier who was raping a Bosnian Muslim woman, old enough to be his mother, sought to take her viewpoint into account, it is hard to imagine that he could have raped her. Aggression in war requires an ability
to dehumanize those who are defined as enemies. This dehumanization is explicitly trained—from drill songs in the American army that dehumanized the Vietcong during the Vietnam War, to training sessions in killing where Serbian soldiers trained other young men to wrestle pigs, pin them to the ground with their heads held back and then cut their throats.53

Yet there is one crucial difference between the form of evil in war rape and that of the Final Solution. In the latter, genocide was carried out in response to orders and by means of the gas chambers (in addition, of course, to the massive numbers of deaths that occurred in the camps because of cold, starvation, over-work, and cruelty).54-55 But what specifically characterizes war rape is that a man uses his own body as a weapon of war: his hands, his mouth, his genitals are used to inflict pain, injury, degradation, and often death. The distancing from seeing the actual results of evil that characterized Eichmann's crime is not present in the example of rape. Of course, one might argue that the leaders who instigated the programme of war rape as part of the "ethnic cleansing" did feel such distance.

In this context, to speak of the evil of war rape as a failure of judgment would be grossly inadequate to describe this crime. It is not enough to ask: Why did soldiers follow orders to rape? But rather, how is it possible to radically alter one's physical comportment so that relations of ordinary cordiality in peacetime can be turned into sexual violence? Arendt's focus on judgment cannot address the specific corporeal aggression involved in the act of war rape.

Arendt develops her views on judgment through an interpretation of Kant's *Critique of Judgment*. She argues that although Kant never really wrote a political philosophy, one can surmise the political philosophy he would have written through his focus on human plurality and sociability in the third *Critique*. In her *Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy*, she turns to Kant's notion of impartiality, of taking the viewpoint of the other, and thus moves in a space that is potentially public, open to consciousness (as Catherine MacKinnon has argued61); the abjection and fascination with death and with the birth-giving scene that in Kristeva's view forms "the other facet of religious, moral, and ideological codes on which rest the sleep of individuals and the breathing spells of societies."62

The literature on abjection suggests that Arendt's account of enlarged thinking stipulates that through the imagination I can simulate a moral dialogue with all concerned. Thus she attributes to imagination: 1) an interest in and respect for another's point of view; 2) an ability to seek a viable "truce" between differing standpoints. But this view assumes a normative account of imagination that may be far from its manifest motivations. As Kristeva notes in *Powers of Horror*, imagination may express instead a fascination of horror through voyeurism, rather than a respectful donning of another's position.60 In the context of war rape, the normative activity of the imagination described by Arendt is lacking; one has not trained oneself properly to go visiting. But Arendt's account cannot deal with the facets of the imagination that resist this socializing norm and allow sexual violence: the erotization of violence that takes place through pornography (as Catherine MacKinnon has argued61); the abjection and fascination with death and with the birth-giving scene that in Kristeva's view forms "the other facet of religious, moral, and ideological codes on which rest the sleep of individuals and the breathing spells of societies."62 The literature on abjection suggests that Arendt's account of imagination in terms of sociability is too thin, when sociability entails destruction.

Benhabib argues that although Arendt's conception of politics is unintelligible without a "strongly grounded normative position in universalistic human rights, equality, and respect",63 there is a lacuna in her thinking, since one finds no attempt at normative justification. Arendt's analysis in *The Human Condition*, continues Benhabib, is a form of anthropological universalism that presupposes, but does not justify, an attitude of respect for the other. Although I agree with Benhabib's diagnosis of the normative presuppositions at work in Arendt's writings, I differ with her about the urgency of normative justification. It is true, as Benhabib notes, that the moral attitude of enlarged thought seems to be missing when we most need it—in the face of National Socialism and totalitarianism, as analysed by Arendt; in the face of massive war rape, as noted here. But the philosophical task of sustaining viable conceptions of morality cannot be fulfilled through procedures of justifying universalist norms. The task, it seems to me, is to understand the breakdown of practical morality, how people's values become transformed so they are able to commit acts that are contrary to what they themselves initially believed to be right. When faced with corpses dumped in a pit, Eichmann felt sick. And I find it plausible that the doctors who raped women they had worked cordially with for ten years also might have felt an initial nausea at their acts. It may be the case that procedures of normative justification can provide individuals with moral and psychological supports in the face of social breakdown. But in this "enlarged thinking" should be a moral proposal; but when faced with its brutal transgression, then one can no longer expect enlarged thinking from the person who is violated.

But there remain a number of puzzles in Arendt's notion of enlarged thinking. Is it a form of reconciling conflicting points of view? And how in the face of conflict is right and wrong to be apportioned? Not only does Arendt's view have difficulty in settling the question of conflict (and the necessity of commitment in the face of conflict), but she also assumes that a desire for unity and consistency is the basis for a principled moral standpoint. As Seyla Benhabib notes, however, consistent viewpoints can be quite compatible with the deeds of the likes of Eichmann, while "enlarged thinking" may in fact lead to moral conflict and alienation.59

Arendt's account of enlarged thinking stipulates that through the imagination I can simulate a moral dialogue with all concerned. Thus she attributes to imagination: 1) an interest in and respect for another's point of view; 2) an ability to seek a viable "truce" between differing standpoints. But this view assumes a normative account of imagination that may be far from its manifest motivations. As Kristeva notes in *Powers of Horror*, imagination may express instead a fascination of horror through voyeurism, rather than a respectful donning of another's position.60 In the context of war rape, the normative activity of the imagination described by Arendt is lacking; one has not trained oneself properly to go visiting. But Arendt's account cannot deal with the facets of the imagination that resist this socializing norm and allow sexual violence: the erotization of violence that takes place through pornography (as Catherine MacKinnon has argued61); the abjection and fascination with death and with the birth-giving scene that in Kristeva's view forms "the other facet of religious, moral, and ideological codes on which rest the sleep of individuals and the breathing spells of societies."62 The literature on abjection suggests that Arendt's account of imagination in terms of sociability is too thin, when sociability entails destruction.

Benhabib argues that although Arendt's conception of politics is unintelligible without a "strongly grounded normative position in universalistic human rights, equality, and respect",63 there is a lacuna in her thinking, since one finds no attempt at normative justification. Arendt's analysis in *The Human Condition*, continues Benhabib, is a form of anthropological universalism that presupposes, but does not justify, an attitude of respect for the other. Although I agree with Benhabib's diagnosis of the normative presuppositions at work in Arendt's writings, I differ with her about the urgency of normative justification. It is true, as Benhabib notes, that the moral attitude of enlarged thought seems to be missing when we most need it—in the face of National Socialism and totalitarianism, as analysed by Arendt; in the face of massive war rape, as noted here. But the philosophical task of sustaining viable conceptions of morality cannot be fulfilled through procedures of justifying universalist norms. The task, it seems to me, is to understand the breakdown of practical morality, how people's values become transformed so they are able to commit acts that are contrary to what they themselves initially believed to be right. When faced with corpses dumped in a pit, Eichmann felt sick. And I find it plausible that the doctors who raped women they had worked cordially with for ten years also might have felt an initial nausea at their acts. It may be the case that procedures of normative justification can provide individuals with moral and psychological supports in the face of social breakdown. But in this
case, the value of justification is not in the theorizing alone, but in the role of theory in strengthening an individual's resistance to moral dissolution - i.e. in its practical benefits. There may be other tools as well that can similarly strengthen individual resistance to wrongdoing (as in Staub's proposal of the habit of helping others). And it may well be that for some individuals, universalist justification of norms may co-exist with wrongdoing (e.g. as evidenced by the massive support for Hitler amongst academics and religious leaders in Germany). Faced with acts of mass scale evil in the contemporary world, the task faced by philosophers is less one of justification of norms than of diagnosing the conditions for moral breakdown and the possibility of altering these conditions.

Arendt's theory of enlarged thinking ultimately prioritizes the spectator over the actor. And there are some good reasons for such a choice: for example, the old argument in philosophy that only the spectator can see the whole, whereas the actor's view is partial by definition. Or the view that there is something else involved in action than what is consciously willed by the actor, and therefore the actor's perspective should not be privileged. Or, as Arendt also emphasizes, the view that spectators are always involved with other spectators, and that the spectator's viewpoint is thus an achievement of plurality. All of these features point to what Arendt considered most crucial in human affairs: sociality, communicability, and publicity. And indeed the role of the spectator is crucial in adjudicating the course of history. Certainly the presence of Western journalists and investigative groups during the civil war in the former Yugoslavia has contributed to an increased public outrage against war rape, in contrast to the history of silent indifference towards it. The publicity brought about through spectators or bystanders has contributed to legal changes, in which for the first time a United Nations tribunal has issued indictments for rape as a war crime. As Ervin Staub has noted, the role of bystanders in protesting or acquiescing to violence is a crucial factor in the future development of events. But in defining the witness to events as the spectator, as Kant and Arendt do, as opposed to the bystander, as Staub does, one misses one crucial factor: the bystander can also "stand in", i.e. provide a moral conscience in a context where that is lacking (e.g. the success of Amnesty International in attaining the release of political prisoners), or "stand back", i.e. remain passive (e.g. the passivity of German bystanders in the face of increasing persecution of the Jews). The spectator in Kant's and Arendt's notion of enlarged thinking does not have a practical function, but a predictive one. In other words, enlarged thinking is premised on a disengagement from crises that is inimical to moral intervention.

Toward a philosophical analysis of war rape
In evaluating the interpretation of evil in these theories and their relevance to an analysis of war rape, certain contributions and lacunae have become apparent:

1) As indicated in Douglas' and Kristeva's analyses, it is crucial to understand the sexual symbolization of bodies in cultural, linguistic, and social systems. If moral reflection is to deal adequately with the crises of sexual violence, it must include an understanding of the symbols of the body as a central moral concern. Otherwise moral thinking shows itself to be incapable of addressing the corporeality of evil - of how bodily comportment and sensibilities are radically transformed through the infliction/suffering of violence. Moreover, it is crucial to examine the symbolic meaning of the mother's body in a particular cultural context, since this is the site of vulnerability in war rape.

2) Reflections on sexual violence need to account for the processes of the breakdown of moral codes and the transformation of values, as Staub makes evident. An investigation into the processes of moral breakdown entails a differentiated analysis of the context and circumstances of war rape, as Libby Tata Arcel argues: one must focus on different historical cases of war rape, differences between the motives of leaders and of the civilian population, differences amongst individual men, and so forth. 

3) Furthermore, reflections on sexual violence need to diagnose the conditions of moral breakdown, as Arendt sought to do in reference to the genocide of the Jews during Hitler's rule. But one must go beyond the implicitly normative account of imagination found in Arendt's writing to inquire into the role of voyeurism and the fascination with horror - as in rapists' fascination with the humiliation and degradation of their victims. Moreover, a diagnosis of moral breakdown must deal with how to sustain moral reflection in the face of conflicting points of view. Arendt's notion of enlarged thinking deals neither with radical conflicts amongst perspectives, nor with the necessity of commitment in the face of conflict.

In terms of the change that is demanded, three related questions emerge:

1. How is it possible to change the symbolization of the sexed body, the mother's body, so as to reduce the threat of violence? (3)

2. How can moral reflection focus on the practice of morality, the doing of good and evil, so as to encourage the former rather than the latter? (4)

3. How can one develop a perspectivist theory of morals, which acknowledges conflicts of point of view, without resorting to "impartiality" or universalist norms?

The problematic status of universals remains on the agenda for theoretical and political debate. I would argue that universalist claims may have crucial strategic value. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1948 is a vital document for the protection of individuals, while one must note that subsequent declarations about children's and women's rights point to lacunae in the formulation of universal human rights. Nonetheless, my claim is that what is at stake in moral crises is not the strength or weakness of universal norms. I disagree with the claim that rape in war time can be avoided by a soldier's understanding the universal right to be secure in one's person and free from torture (Articles 3 and 5 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights). Rather, what is required is the soldier's acknowledgement of wrongdoing in the particularity of his physical transgression. In other words, it is necessary to move away from a cognitive account of morality, if cognition implies a rational recognition of norms. Instead, it is crucial to incorporate the bodily element of judgment, which places a demand to revise and expand the concept of cognition.

The kind of moral theory that emerges from reflections on war rape will be multifaceted. As Michele le Douuff writes, it would be based on the recognition of the "necessarily in-
complete character of all theorization". And it would be based on multi-disciplinary work that can take account of the differential contexts in which war rape occurs. Feminist philosophical inquiries into war rape seek to contribute to an analysis of this horror. And by implication they embroil philosophy in an enquiry into war and violence that has hitherto occupied only a point of peripheral vision in that discipline.

References
5. Allen, pp. 75, 90.
12. Allen, p. 94.
31. Kristeva, p. 69.
32. Kristeva, p. 70.
33. Kristeva, p. 72.
34. Staub, p. 17.
35. Staub, p. 126.
36. Staub, p. 82.
37. Staub, p.83.
40. Arcel, p. 199.
41. Arcel, p.196.
44. Arendt. Eichmann in Jerusalem, p. 150.
56. Arendt, Lectures, p. 43.
57. Arendt, Lectures, p.44.
58. Arendt, Lectures, p.44.
59. Benhabib, pp. 190-91.
60. Kristeva, p. 46.
63. Benhabib, p. 194.

Notes
(1) Note that the Helsinki Watch report addresses this question more precisely: "Rape can also be one of the crimes used as a means of carrying out genocide, although rape does not by itself constitute genocide, even when committed on a mass basis." p. 21.
(2) Feminist theorists have begun to debate whether the courts' judgment, with its emphasis that rape violated women's consent, implies that rape can be considered a crime against women.13
(3) Claudia Card makes one proposal in Rape as a Weapon of War.
(4) Note that Benhabib calls for amongst other factors, the "motivational habits of civic courage and civic virtue", p. 193
Selected list of publications

received in the IRCT International Documentation Centre


European network launching children's rights and preventing violence / Jensen, Sandra [ed.]; OMEGA Health Care Center. - Graz [Austria]: OMEGA, 2002-00-00. - 70 p.: ill.

Group therapy for victims of torture and organized violence

Mahmud Sehwail, MD, PhD, Consultant Psychiatrist, Director* & Khader Rasras, Clinical Psychologist, Technical Operations Manager*

Key words: Torture, organized violence, open group therapy, existential psychology, torture "syndrome".

Introduction
In December 1999, a cognitive behaviour therapy (CBT) group was started, formulated as a treatment model. Seven patients willingly participated in the group after having received information about it. All of them were victims of traumatic events, most of them had been exposed to multiple traumas and shared similar, but not identical experiences. There were differences in intensity, duration, frequency, and uniqueness of their experiences. They were mainly victims of torture in Israeli prisons, or they had been traumatized by Israeli soldiers or settlers. A psychotherapist and a co-therapist conducted the group for sessions of 90 minutes. At the very first meeting, group members began by discussing typical problems such as "financial difficulties" — especially those who had failed to obtain a job or had failed to keep their employment. Soon the enthusiasm for this topic faded out, as if they realized that this was not the main objective of the meeting. However, this was a good way of breaking the ice.

Material
Group participation
The main criterion for inclusion in the group was evidence of being a victim of torture or organized violence and retaining a certain level of cognitive function. The criteria for exclusion, as mentioned in Yalom's work, aimed at serving the therapeutic outcome in the group. Some patients were excluded from participating in the group because of clinical consequences. They presented florid psychotic symptoms and obvious personality disorders, mainly of the borderline type, organic disorders, or suicidal tendencies. All participants in the six-month treatment course were male. They ranged between 25-52 years of age, with an average age of 37. Nine were married, three were engaged, and one was single. Most of them were from the Ramallah district, two were from Jerusalem, and one was from the Hebron district. All presented sufficient symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) to warrant the diagnosis. Three patients with manifest psychotic symptoms were in remission during the treatment course, four showed co-existing depressive symptoms, and two presented the after-effects of torture "syndrome". Most had multiple traumas. Ten had been prisoners, and two were victims of organized violence. One had witnessed his parents being shot dead during the Intifada and had been injured himself. Another had lost his eye in a clash between Palestinian children and Israeli soldiers, as he coincidentally was passing by.

Their attendance rate was irregular, ranging from 30% to 90% (a 53% average). The dropout rate was high. Five out of 13 patients did not show up after the first or second meeting: One was transferred to Jordan, another was stopped by his family and two simply did not attend more than three sessions. One got preoccupied establishing his own business.

Structuring of a group
FIRST MEETING
Everybody shared the same feelings and seemed to agree that being outside the prison is not as easy as they once thought. Some of them appeared guilty, hiding what they have said or done, trying to correct errors and to put things in order again. They started becoming very nice towards each other — some of them were even sweet and tender. We realized at this moment that we should take the opportunity to sum up the discussion.

THE FOLLOWING SESSIONS
The following sessions, which showed similarities in relation to the function of the group, continued for six consecutive months on a weekly basis. The group functioned as an open group in terms of permitting newcomers. It was also balanced between the here-and-now approach, in order to deal with the pressing issues in their lives, and working through their bitter near or far past experiences. We have taken several things into consideration in order to prevent collapse and guarantee the continuity of the group. For example, we allowed participants the privilege to maintain their individual sessions in parallel with their group sessions. We also explained to them that their participation in the group does not oblige them to disclose everything, including matters which they consider "top secret". We were very flexible and careful not to push any member into an unwanted speech or any unfavourable topic. At the end we can say that it was so difficult — and therapists were frequently not at ease during and after the sessions — due to the following factors: 1) the sensitivity of the issue as a whole, 2) the fact that the traumatic stress in their lives in particular and in the life of Palestinians in general is continuing, and not a post-traumatic stress indeed, 3) the high level of suspicion gives reasonable justification for the extra caution or even paranoia at times.

* Treatment & Rehabilitation Center for Victims of Torture (TRC)
P.O. Box 468
Ramallah, West Bank
Palestinian Authority

TORTURE Volume 12, Number 2 2002 55
We realized that victims of human rights abuses in this region were very forthcoming and open. They managed to disclose humiliation, the dehumanization, the brutality, and the terror inflicted by the Israeli interrogators, while others only disclosed their experiences to a certain level. They refrained from going into details that would probably render them guilty or anxious.

They often explained their feelings of helplessness or inescapable anxiety in the prison cells, facing the non-stop, unpredictable, and systematic torture. They talked about the humiliation, the dehumanization, the brutality, and the thought of endless suffering they had been through - sometimes in controlled pain and sometimes resentfully. The way they were trying to contain their pain was amazing. As a coping mechanism it was rather suppressive, or even repressive. They thought it shameful to admit the level of suffering and oppression they had been through, and even if they did, who would appreciate it and help doing something about it?

We realized that victims of human rights abuses in this region do not feel encouraged to talk about their traumas. This is not only due to cultural barriers, but also because they perceive the damage in their lives as irreversible. Instead they tend to focus on their temporary problems. But we managed, more or less, to end this resistance and make them focus on the conflict. We used cognitive restructuring, behaviour repertoire analysis, and session-generated material, based on Foa's work, in order to help them to change their mistaken beliefs about themselves and the world around them, and to teach them how to identify, evaluate, and modify their thoughts, thereby increasing their sense of reality and their ability to cope.

Outcome

Among the eight members who participated in the sessions for a longer period of time, all reported that they had benefited from the treatment and that they had managed to work on some of their problems. In terms of the "not improved", "partially improved", or "much improved" categories included in our evaluation forms and monitoring sheets, four members considered themselves "much improved" in terms of the goals they had initially hoped to achieve by joining the group. The other four members included in the evaluation reported that they improved partially. In the case of the "much approved" group, one is about to get married, is more confident, more optimistic, and less phobic. One managed to salvage his marriage, is now working regularly and has improved in terms of his interpersonal relationship. A third finds his self-image much improved, he resumed work, and his social life and general function are acceptable. The fourth joined a local university, is doing well in his studies and has managed to adjust himself to work and school, and to dedicate some time to leisure and recreation.

Among the four members of the partially improved group, one with previous psychotic symptoms has remained well controlled. He managed to handle the death of his son, who died during the group therapy course. The second person is getting on well at work, although he is less satisfied than he expected to be. The third person is better at living his life and making plans for himself - although he is convinced that life must be much better somewhere else than here. He is struggling to obtain a visa to the USA. The fourth person managed to start his own business and to become financially independent and more dedicated to his family, although he still feels upset and even deceived in relation to the ongoing situation of the Palestinians. However, at a certain point in time all participants managed to talk about their trauma in some detail.

Discussion on the treatment model

Purpose of the Group Therapy Approach

Research on the cost effectiveness of group therapy for victims of torture and/or organized violence is very scarce, although several authors have advocated it. In a preliminary study, Ford and Mills show that trauma-focused group therapy may be most beneficial when structured to emphasize participants' psychosocial competence in dealing with trauma memories and PTSD symptoms. However, group therapy practice has gained sufficient credibility in different settings and can be applied with relative confidence. The work of Irvin Yalom gave more weight to this issue, as well as Gerald Corey's, which demonstrated different clinical settings where group therapy proved to be effective. It can be used for either therapeutic or educational purposes, or for a combination of the two. Some groups deal primarily with helping people make fundamental changes in their ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving. Other groups, with an educational focus, teach members specific coping skills.

Oriented towards cognitive behaviour therapy, we helped patients to understand the nature of their behaviour and cognition, as well as that of the others in the group. For example, they feel the pain and live their life through it, but do not dare to speak about it. They live in conflict and frustration, but hardly understand why. They justify their sleepless nights and night terror in terms of the unhappy present, and sometimes work hard not to acknowledge the encapsulated trauma in themselves. The work of Al-krinawi et al. showed that in non-western countries, somatic complaints are much more common than non-somatic emotional responses as a way of presenting psychological distress. The group members often list a variety of somatic complaints and feel less inhibited in talking about such matters. Apparently they do not associate these complaints to traumatic experiences. Therefore, we thought that cognitive behaviour therapy may help bring them into a rational conceptualization of the function of their mental and bodily conditions. Al-krinawi et al. emphasized the cultural inclination towards Cognitive Therapy. In several situations we are in fact dealing with an existential frame of reference.

Cultural considerations

Group Therapy is not an easy process to handle. Extra care should be taken when dealing with patients suffering from Continuing Traumatic Stress Disorder, as they are particularly sensitive and vulnerable. Among our cases, group therapy provided less security than individual therapy. A reason for this may be that our community is small and everybody knows almost everybody else, and because the sources of danger are still close by. The conservative nature of our society may also play an important role.

We have observed that our patients were more likely to accept educational and/or counselling assistance than to work on a trauma-focused approach. The irregular rate of attendance among them was also an obstacle to certain stages of therapy and to maintaining continuity of the therapy.
Finally, the shared cultural belief system is likely to have influenced the flow of speech, since they all consider themselves as heroes - and heroes do not cry out their sorrow!

We have noticed that in our culture the cognitive behaviour therapy seems to be a more effective method than the trauma-focused (psycho-dynamic) group approach. The members of the group were not ready to explore traumatic events. Some members talked about their trauma, but they did not attend the following sessions, perhaps because of shame. We also noticed that shame is a central symptom of torture survivors, which may increase the need for cognitive restructuring.

**Conclusion**

We have realized that for our purposes, cognitive behaviour therapy and/or a trauma-focused approach may be more applicable, more effective, and more useful than classical psychodynamic or psychoanalytic approaches. We found that in our culture, disclosure is hard to achieve, especially in a small community like ours, and that CBT can be promoted more smoothly.

However, as our findings are based on a small sample, further research and investigation is necessary. CBT may be recommended as an effective treatment method, taking certain precautions. It may provide an excellent opportunity to empower participants and to equip them with healthy coping mechanisms. It may even broaden their horizon and give them more hope for the future. However, this type of therapy should be repeated in a reorganized and better prepared study.

**References**


The above article is based on a paper presented at the 4th International Congress for Group Therapy, Jerusalem, 20-25 August 2000.
Selected list of publications

received in the IRCT International Documentation Centre

Psychological trauma of the civil war in Sri Lanka / Jong, Kaz de; Molhern, Maureen; Ford, Nathan; Simpson, Isabel; Swan, Alison; Kam, Saskia van der. - In: Lancet; vol. 359, no. 9316. - 2002-04-27. - p. 1517-1518: ill.


Gender, coping and the perception of pain / Keogh, Edmund; Herdenfeld, Malin. - In: Pain; vol. 97, no. 3. - 2002-06-00. - p. 195-201: ill.

Multidisciplinary rehabilitation teams: the nurse's role / Kneafsey, Rosie; Long, Andrew F. - In: British journal of therapy and rehabilitation; vol. 9, no. 2. - 2002-01-00. - p. 24-29: ill.


Shame and posttraumatic stress disorder / Leskela, Jennie; Dieperink, Michael; Thuras, Paul. - In: Journal of traumatic stress; vol. 15, no. 3. - 2002-06-00. - p. 223-226: ill.

Detention of asylum seekers in Australia / Loffi, Bebe. - In: The lancet; vol. 359, no. 9308. - 2002-03-02. - p. 792-793.

Evidence of torture in the mid west region of Nepal / Lykke, Jacob; Timilsena, Mukti Nath. - In: Danish medical bulletin; vol. 49, no. 2. - 2002-05-00. - p. 159-162.


Doctors and torture after sept 11 / Roggl, Georg; Roggl, Hannelore. - In: Lancet; vol. 359, no. 9315. - 2002-06-20. - p. 1440. - see IRCT015215 for original article.


Eye movement desensitization and reprocessing, EMDR: information processing in the treatment of trauma / Shapiro, Francine; Maxfield, Louise. - In: Journal of clinical psychology; vol. 58, no. 8. - 2002-08-00. - p. 933-946.


The impact of torture on post-traumatic stress symptoms in war-affected Tamil refugees and immigrants / Silove, Derrick; Steel, Zachary; McGorry, Patrick; Miles, Vanessa; Drobnj, Juliette. - In: Comprehensive psychiatry; vol. 43, no. 1. - 2002-02-02. - p. 49-55.


58 TORTURE Volume 12, Number 2 2002
NEWS FROM CAT AND CPT

News from CPT

The CPT are visiting the following countries during 2002:

Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ireland, Latvia, Netherlands, Romania, "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", and Ukraine.

News from CAT

At the 29th session of the UN Committee against Torture, which is to be held on 11-22 November 2002, the following state parties' reports are to be considered by the Committee:

Venezuela, Spain, Egypt, Estonia and Cyprus.

The UN has re-elected the following experts:

From                      Name

Egypt                     Sayed Kassem El.Masry
Denmark                   Ole Vedel Rasmussen
The Russian Federation    Alexander Maximovich Yakolev
China                     Mengjia Yu

And from Spain Mr. Fernando Mariño Menendez has been elected.

BOOK REVIEWS

A useful human rights companion


It is traditional that scientific institutions on special occasions honour a prominent figure by publishing an homage volume. The Raoul Wallenberg Institute Human Rights Library has now published the book International human rights monitoring mechanisms, an extensive 980-page collection of essays in honour of Jakob Th. Möller. For many years the Icelandic lawyer Jakob Möller was in charge of the complaints sector of the United Nations Human Rights Secretariat. During his long career, Möller earned the respect and confidence of his international clientele; colleagues, contacts, and experts from the legal world, who now pay their tribute through articles and essays in this "Festschrift".

According to Göran Melander, Chairman of the Board of the Raoul Wallenberg Institute, this collection is intended to serve as a thematic textbook on the institutions and procedures devoted to the international implementation of human rights and to the international monitoring of state performance. Although the extensive material, comprising 68 articles, is not composed thematically, it is possible to find procedures on submitting complaints, reporting- and monitoring mechanisms, as well as well-developed, educational discussions.

The Committee members: (from the left) OleVedel Rasmussen (Denmark), Alexander M.Yakolev (Russian Federation), Andreas Maronnnmatis (Cyprus), Fernando Mariño Menendez (Spain), Felice Gaer (United States of America), Peter Thomas Burns (Canada), Sayed El-Masry (Egypt), Mengjia Yu (China), CAT Secretary Carmen Rueda, and Alejandro Gonzales Poblete (Chile). Absent: Guguill Camara (Senegal).
In the first chapter the author also relates the peculiar coping mechanisms of the above-mentioned population from both a positive and a negative perspective.

In the following chapters the Dutch psychologist describes the particular style which the Bhutanese torture survivors use to express the clinical consequences of torture. There is a particular emphasis on the relationship between somatic or medical complaints and the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder.

Van Ommeren also reports on the processes of translation, cultural validation, and standardization of several psychometric instruments aimed at the clinical diagnosis and epidemiological characterization of the post-traumatic phenomena in Bhutanese refugees. Among these, the reader will find the following: the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (CIDI), the Symptom Check List – 90, the Bradford Somatic Inventory, the Structured Interview for Disorders of Extreme Stress, the CAGE alcohol use questionnaire, the Social Provisions Scale, and a social network scale.

The work is based on the Translation Monitoring Form, an original contribution of van Ommeren and his co-workers to the systematic cross-cultural adaptation of psychometric instruments, which is based on the comprehensibility, acceptability, relevance, and completeness of the items proposed in a psychometric instrument.

After elaborating on the adaptation process the Dutch researcher describes the subsequent application of the specific modules of the CIDI: phobias, affective generalized anxiety, persistent pain, post-traumatic stress, and dissociative disorders.

The first section of the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire was used to assess traumatic events before the age of 13, and 5 questions on parental loss were used to operationalize early separation. The Social Provision Scale, the Semi-structured Interview for Survivors of Torture, and the Peritraumatic Dissociative Experiences Questionnaire were also applied.

In this part of the study, which can be described as the core of the book, van Ommeren and his co-workers try to answer four questions regarding the experience of torture: Is torture associated with demographic/early life experiences, what are the most likely consequences of torture in terms of the current international psychiatric taxonomy, what are the demographic correlates of psychiatric disorders among torture survivors, and which factors are associated with the occurrence of post-traumatic stress disorder?

In another major part of this book, the researchers provide answers to several controversies in the field of treatment and rehabilitation of torture survivors, based on lucid methodology and strong evidence.

Among the more remarkable findings of the Dutch/Nepalese research group is the fact that male sex was identified as a predictor of reporting a history of torture. Furthermore, refugees in intact marriages were less likely to have anxiety disorders as a consequence of torture.

They also identified six main factors related to PTSD symptoms: less education, a previous history of psychiatric disorder, distress during the torture, dissociation during torture, perceived impact of torture and imprisonment on life, and current perceived social support.

In chapter 7 the author describes an episode in a refugee camp in Nepal, where – as a consequence of rumours and the ulterior development of fear of possession – an extended group of adolescents in the camp developed somatoform symptoms of acute anxiety and dissociation. After comparing with a control group, they arrived at the conclusion that traditional – supernatural – belief, trauma, early loss, and recent loss were determinants of medically unexplained symptoms in this population.

As the reader can infer from this brief synthesis, the author and his co-workers have made an extensive and exhaustive search for new paradigms in the field of transcultural psychiatric phenomena as well as drawing a reasonable conclusion from previously contradictory or incomplete data.

This book is aimed at specialists in the area of treatment, rehabilitation, and research of torture survivors and refugees, and may be used as a basis for further research.

Armando Báez, MD, MSc, Psychiatrist
Community Psychiatric Center Mellegade
Rigshospitalet, Neurocenter
DK-2200 Copenhagen N
Denmark
Selected list of publications
received in the IRCT International Documentation Centre


Anxiety after severe pediatric closed head injury / Vasa, Roma A.; Gerring, Joan P.; Grados, Marco; Slomine, Beth; Christensen, James R.; Rising, William; Denckla, Martha B.; Riddle, Mark A. - In: Journal of the american academy of child and adolescent psychiatry ; vol. 41, no. 2. - 2002-02-00. - p. 148-156.


Spiritual beliefs may affect outcome of bereavement: prospective study / Walsh, Kiri; King, Michael; Jones, Louise; Tookman, Adrian; Blizard, Robert. - In: British Medical Journal ; vol. 324, no. 7353. - 2002-06-29. - p. 1551-1556 : tables. - http://bmj.com/cgi/content/full/324/7353/1551.


TORTURE Volume 12, Number 2 2002

62
INDEX VOLUME 12, 2002

A
An act of force: male rape victims ................................. 19
Arce!, Libby Tata: Torture, cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of women: psychological consequences ................................. 5
Arce!, Libby Tata: The tortured body as part of the psychotherapeutic dialogue ................................. 25
Arce!, Libby Tata: Sexual torture: still a hidden problem 3

B
Blaauw, Margriet: Sexual torture of children: an ignored and concealed crime ........................................... 37

BOOK REVIEWS
British Medical Association. The medical profession and human rights: handbook for a changing agenda ........................................... 29
Van Ommeren MH. Impact of torture: psychiatric epidemiology among Bhutanese refugees in Nepal ................................. 60
Conroy J. Unspeakable acts, ordinary people: the dynamics of torture ........................................... 60

C-D
DE JURE, DECLARATIONS, ETC.
The Tampere Declaration ........................................... 30

DOCUMENTATION AND BACKGROUND
An act of force: male rape victims ........................................... 19
Torture, cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of women: psychological consequences ................................. 5
The tortured body as part of the psychotherapeutic dialogue ........................................... 25
Group therapy for victims of torture and organized violence ........................................... 55
Philosophical perspectives on the crisis of war rape ........................................... 47

E
EDITORIAL
Sexual torture: still a hidden problem ........................................... 3
The risk of recurrence ........................................... 35

F-G
Group therapy for victims of torture and organized violence ........................................... 55

H
Hardy, Carole: An act of force: male rape victims ........................................... 19

I-M
Marcussen, Henrik: The risk of recurrence ........................................... 35

N
NEWS FROM CAT AND CPT
News from CPT / News from CAT ........................................... 59

O-P
Philosophical perspectives on the crisis of war rape ........................................... 47

Q-S
Schott, Robin May: Philosophical perspectives on the crisis of war rape ........................................... 47
Sehwail, Mahmud & Khader Rasras: Group therapy for victims of torture and organized violence ........................................... 55
Sexual torture of children: an ignored and concealed crime ........................................... 37

T
The tortured body as part of the psychotherapeutic dialogue ........................................... 25
Torture, cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of women: psychological consequences ........................................... 5
Moratorium

As the readers have probably noticed, the publication of issues 1 and 2 2002 have been delayed until the second half of 2002. These two issues will also be the last issues of Torture to be published this year. The reason for this deviation from the ordinary publication schedule of four annual issues is that the publisher is undertaking an evaluation of the journal with a view to improving the contents and focus of the journal. It has therefore been necessary to introduce a moratorium for the remainder of 2002 in order to have time to decide upon and implement the necessary changes.

The IRCT is a private non-profit foundation, that was created in 1985 by The Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims (RCT), Copenhagen.

The objectives of the foundation is on an international basis to promote the provision of specialized treatment and rehabilitation services for victims of torture and to contribute to the prevention of torture globally.

To further these goals the IRCT seeks on an international basis

- to develop and maintain an advocacy programme that accumulates, processes, and disseminates information about torture as well as the consequences and the rehabilitation of torture
- to operate a documentation centre about torture and related topics
- to establish international funding for rehabilitation services and programmes for the prevention of torture
- to promote education and training of relevant professions in the medical as well as social, legal, and ethical aspects of torture
- to encourage the establishment and maintenance of rehabilitation services
- to establish and expand institutional relations in the international effort to abolish the practice of torture, and
- to support all other activities that may contribute to the prevention of torture.