



AMNESTY

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An international movement for freedom
of opinion and religion

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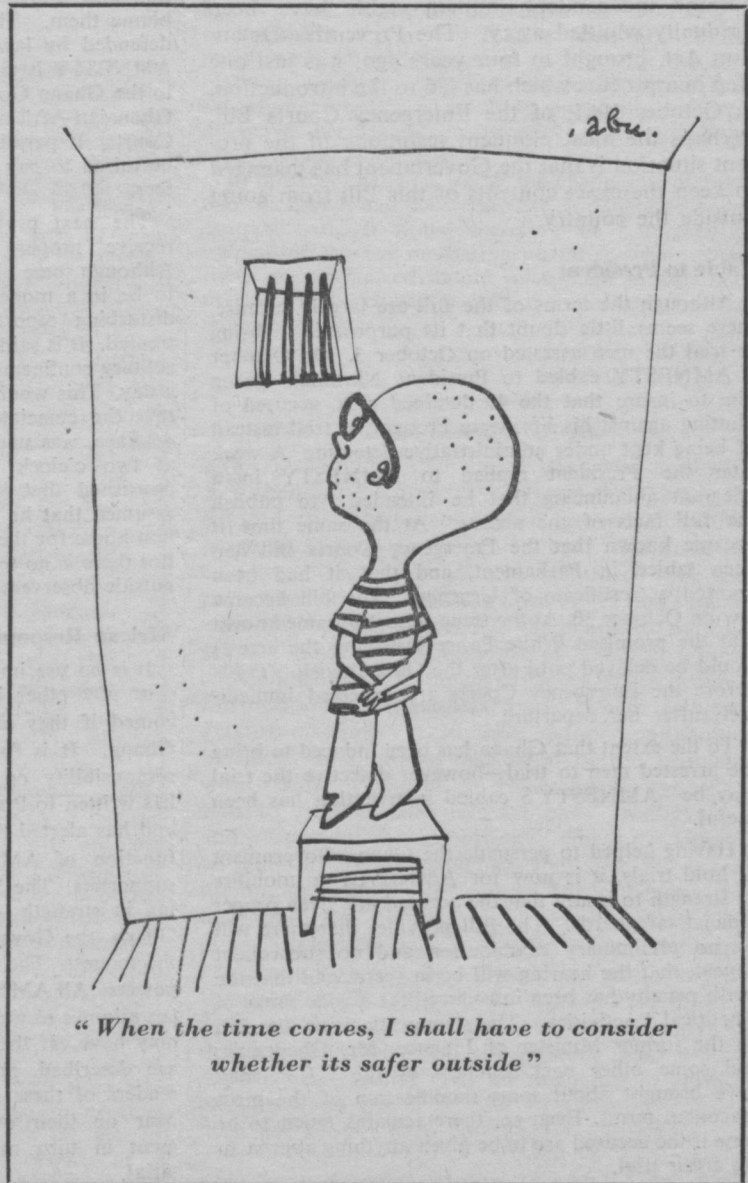
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ACTION TAKEN ON GHANA ARRESTS

THERE is nothing specially original in expressing concern over the recent trend of events in Ghana. Spokesmen of all British parties, and newspapers throughout the West, have taken President Nkrumah severely to task. Since Ghana became independent, human rights have been gradually whittled away. The Preventive Detention Act, brought in four years ago, was just one step in a process which has led to the introduction, in October 1961, of the Emergency Courts Bill. Perhaps the most eloquent testimony of the present situation is that the Government has managed to keep the exact contents of this Bill from going outside the country.

Cable to President

Although the terms of the Bill are largely surmise, there seems little doubt that its purpose is to bring to trial the men arrested on October 3. On October 4 AMNESTY cabled to President Nkrumah asking him to insure that the 49 detained men, accused of plotting against his life, were brought to trial instead of being kept under administrative detention. A week later the President replied to AMNESTY in a telegram announcing that he intended "to publish the full facts of the arrests." At the same time it became known that the Emergency Courts Bill had been tabled in Parliament, and that it had been granted a Certificate of Urgency. The bill became law on October 30. At the same time it became known that the promised White Paper justifying the arrests would be delayed until after the Queen's visit. Trials before the Emergency Courts are expected immediately after her departure.

To the extent that Ghana has been induced to bring the arrested men to trial—however defective the trial may be—AMNESTY'S cabled intervention has been useful.

Having helped to persuade the Ghana Government to hold trials, it is now for AMNESTY to mobilise its strength to insure that the accused are given proper judicial safeguards. The Bill provides that there will be no preliminary examination and no subsequent appeal, that the hearing will be in secret and that the death penalty has been introduced for a wide range of "political" activities. The strong attack on the Bill by the former Minister of Finance, Mr. Gbedemah, and some other back-benchers of the C.C.P. may have brought about some modification of the most draconian terms. Even so, there remains much to be done if the accused are to be given anything approaching a fair trial.

The first problem is to insure that the accused have proper legal representation. But almost all the leading lawyers in this type of case have been arrested. It seems that there are not available Ghanaian lawyers prepared to take the risk of clashing with the Prosecution and under present circumstances it is hard to blame them. This means that the accused must be defended by lawyers from Nigeria or Sierra Leone. AMNESTY is arranging for an approach to be made to the Ghana Government asking permission for non-Ghanaian African lawyers to appear in the Emergency Courts. If permission is granted, funds may have to be raised to pay for the lawyers' travel expenses and fees.

The next problem is to insure that the accused receive proper treatment in prison and camp. Although some of those recently arrested are supposed to be in a model prison near Accra, there are some disturbing reports about the way they are being treated. It is said that some of them have been put in solitary confinement, and are only being fed one meal a day. This would seem to be borne out by the report that the emaciated body of one man, a long-term detainee, was unexpectedly dumped outside his home at two o'clock one morning. He was so undernourished that it looked as if the authorities had assumed that he was about to die, and had brought him home for the purpose. Fortunately, he recovered. But there is no telling who has died in prison because outside observers are not allowed in.

African Responsibility

It is no use imagining that well-intentioned Britons—or any other breed of White Man—will be welcomed if they arrive to observe and investigate in Ghana. It is for the African countries to take this responsibility on themselves. Although AMNESTY has written to President Nkrumah about the situation, and has alerted the International Red Cross, the real function of AMNESTY is to mobilise its African supporters. The Monrovia Group of Powers is growing in strength. If it decided to send observers to Ghana, the Government would find it hard to refuse the request. The next job is to spur on the Monrovia powers. All AMNESTY supporters are asked to spare ten minutes to write a letter to any African friend they may have. If the realities of the situation in Ghana are described, and the request made urgently, the readers of these letters may bring their influence to bear on their own Government—and the Government in turn may stimulate the Monrovia Secretariat.

DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

AN AUSTRALIAN VIEWPOINT . . .

THE present wave of civil discontent in Britain, however excellent its goal, is inspired, I think, not by Gandhi but by the successful gimmicks of modern publicity campaigns and commercial advertising. It is the technique of "selling" something to the mass by means of quick impact on the unthinking mind, rather than by persuasive argument to the reason.

Dictates of Caste

Thinking men have long agreed that all men should act according to their conscience. When Gandhi stressed this point we must remember that he was addressing an audience to whom the idea was largely novel—a society long accustomed to accept the dictates of caste rather than of conscience. So all men should act according to their conscience, but if their conscience causes them to violate the laws of their community, and if that community is a democratic society, then it is only just that they should expect to be penalised for the laws which they break. For a law which is not enforced is not a law at all. . . .

The majority in the United States have endorsed their Government in its racial integration laws, but a dedicated minority in the south have not. These

Since AMNESTY first asked for the views of its supporters on the question of civil disobedience, and particularly following Abu Abraham's article on the subject in a recent issue of the journal, several of our readers have joined in this topical and important debate. On this page we publish excerpts from two such letters, one from an Australian and one from a Londoner.

people are as convinced that they are right and the majority wrong as was ever any man with absolute convictions. Many have accepted the principles of democracy and bowed to the will of the majority. Others have not, and feel it "contrary to their manhood to obey a law repugnant to their conscience", for to many segregation is based on a religious conviction connected with the negroes being the sons of Ham! A democracy recognises the right of these people to hold unorthodox beliefs, and even to practise them provided they do not break any laws of the land. If these people organise themselves and indulge in massive non-violent non-co-operative demonstrations, all over the south, with the aim of thwarting the majority, are they, as citizens of a democracy, justified in using these means? I think not.

Of course democracy—like forbearance, tolerance and altruism—is only possible in proportion to the degree of civilised enlightenment in the members of the community. Unless this enlightenment is present in the majority it will soon be wrecked on the rocks of tyranny, a fact we are realising daily with the emergence of the new nations. And enlightened and civilised men are won over to a cause, not by blows over the head, nor by "impact" advertising, nor by passive lumps of humanity obstructing their progress in the streets, but by the persuasive force and weight of intelligent argument. That is what Mr. Nehru meant when he said "There is no room for this sort of thing in a democracy." In a true democracy it is entirely unnecessary, when all the means of intelligent discourse, persuasion, compromise and negotiations are open and guaranteed.

In this fast changing world, the champions of freedom of speech and conscience are in danger of being outnumbered. It would therefore be a tragedy if citizens of the few remaining countries where these rights are guaranteed should value them so little that they would, by choice, by-pass them in favour of the methods of slavery.

MARY L. SPICER,
AUSTRALIA.

. . . AND ONE FROM LONDON

HOW should a democracy deal with civil disobedience? Three ways suggest themselves. In a "western" democracy, a civil disobedience campaign should be accompanied by a disinterested campaign (i.e., by those not identified with the particular "cause") on the lines of "I don't agree with him but shall defend to the death his right to say so," amplified in the sense of "respect honest conviction even if technical breaches of law occur." Furthermore, each political party (where opinion-making machinery exists in a democracy) should be asked to initiate a discussion of the problem with a view to getting the government's executive arm to differentiate between clear hooliganism and purposeful demonstrations. The latter should be taken up as the challenges they are; but taken up not in ordinary law-courts but rather on the lines of C.O. tribunals. In "new" democracies much preventive action can be taken: the educated minority can be subjected to gentle indoctrination on the subject of "agreeing to differ" even if passive resistance is involved. Finally, in democracies-to-be could not someone make a bold gesture and legalise civil disobedience in certain circumstances under a new constitution? Or at least not subject it to common penalties?

IAN S. MENZIES,
LONDON.

AMNESTY LOOKS AHEAD . . .

1961 MARKS the centenary year of the liberation of the American slaves and of the Russian serfs. The original intention of APPEAL FOR AMNESTY 1961 was to mark this centenary by arousing public opinion all over the world to

protest against the new form of slavery so prevalent in the world today—servitude of the mind.

The growing tension of the cold war on the one hand, the rise of one-party states and dictatorships on the other, have reduced—and are steadily reducing—the areas of free expression of opinion. The increasing efficiency of frontier controls makes it ever more difficult for those who are persecuted to reach asylum elsewhere.

PERSECUTION 1961

Peter Beneson's Penguin Special was published on October 26. Have you read it? It contains nine case studies of persecution, brutality and intolerance in the divided world of the mid-century. In its epilogue it describes the origins and purpose of the AMNESTY movement.

Copies (2s. 6d., or 3s. post free) can be obtained from "Amnesty," 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.4. A number of supporters are buying copies to send round to friends. This is one way of helping "Amnesty" — all royalties on the book go to the movement. And each additional reader may turn out to be another "Amnesty" supporter.

Common Action

When APPEAL FOR AMNESTY 1961 was launched, Peter Beneson wrote: "... if the feelings of disgust all over the world could be united into common action, something effective could be done." Judging by the response to the Appeal—and the extraordinarily wide-spread publicity it has received—many people all over the world agree that it is time something was done to defend freedom of opinion and religion against hostile governments.

What is the practical action they can take? This question has

been carefully considered by the group of lawyers and writers who first mooted the idea of the 1961 Appeal. They believe that what is more important than anything else at the present time is the building up of the Prisoner of Conscience Library—aiming eventually to provide a complete dossier of every prisoner of conscience throughout the world. There must be no more 'forgotten prisoners.' From now on no Government should be allowed to shut away and liquidate human beings without some organisation being there to take note—and to organise protests.

Build up Library

The proposal to concentrate on building up the Library was ratified at the last meeting of AMNESTY organisers from Europe, held in London on October 8th. It was agreed that every effort must be made to establish this Library on a sound financial basis. This means not only must there be funds to subscribe to foreign newspapers, but also for salaries to pay those who write the letters which follow up individual arrests.

Some of the prisoners Amnesty has helped

It is almost impossible to prove that the AMNESTY Movement has been responsible for the release of a particular Prisoner of Conscience. No Government is ever likely to admit that it amnestied a prisoner simply because a protest was received. And, indeed, in many cases it is not a message of protest which affects the Government's decision; it is the steady volume of adverse Press and radio publicity reported on by its Ambassadors, abroad. Nonetheless, there are specific cases where a Prisoner of Conscience has been released remarkably quickly after a protest from AMNESTY; one such is Dr. Manuel Tavaréz, now leader of the opposition in San Domingo. And within a week of AMNESTY telegraphing President Nkrumah about the 49 men detained on 3rd October, he sent a cable in reply undertaking to "publish the full facts of the arrests."

Other significant developments during the period since the Appeal was launched, have been:—

The release of the remaining 17 I.R.A. detainees from Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast;

The announcement in Spain on 2nd October of an Amnesty in favour of all those who have served more than 20 years in jail, and a reduction by one-fifth in sentences ranging from 2 to 30 years.

It is impossible to show any great change in conditions East of the Iron Curtain. But a feature to be remarked upon is the sensitivity of the East German Government, which has now banned the export of local newspapers, presumably in an attempt to stop publicity being given to the arrest of political and religious opponents.

... AND LOOKS TO YOU

Money is needed, too, to pay for all the letters seeking information about prisoners, and to prepare articles for papers and magazines keen to publicise the extent of persecution. Funds are also required to send out investigators to make on-the-spot inquiries, to report on the most effective way of bringing pressure to bear on the release of prisoners, and to provide financial relief for their dependents.

It is essential, too, that the THREES (groups who adopt three prisoners) now being formed all over Britain, should be encouraged and properly serviced.

The cost of building up the Library and organising an effective central office is estimated to cost

£10,000 a year. As from 1962, in order to concentrate funds, this journal will only be issued quarterly. Those who have subscribed will, of course, receive it without extra charge. Others will be able to buy it at a fixed price.

Supporters of Amnesty

Since it started, the work of AMNESTY has so developed that it surely must go on. But it cannot do so without a regular income. In order to provide this income, supporters are being asked to join the movement as members.

For a (minimum) subscription of £1 per year, they will be entitled to receive the quarterly journal, attend meetings and conferences, get help from the Central Office in running a THREE and make use of the Library.

AMNESTY supporters are also asked to rally once each year on Human Rights Day—December 10—to commemorate the signature of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to call for effective machinery to guarantee these rights.

A CARD WITH A DIFFERENCE

"THERE IS NO BOOK SO BAD THAT IT HASN'T SOME GOOD IN IT." That—in case you did not know—is the translation of one of the six quotations on "Amnesty's" Christmas Card. The text comes from Cervantes, author of "Don Quixote."

Why not send all your friends the card with a difference this year? This card has some point to it—six pointed quotations in six languages, attractively set in red and black. And it is cheap, too. Only 6d. each, 6s. 9d. per dozen, or £1 per three dozen (post free).

And please send a few to prisoners. Each box of twelve has a list of prisoners' names and addresses. Remember "The FORGOTTEN PRISONERS" this Christmas and HELP AMNESTY.

All cards (including samples) can be obtained from AMNESTY CHRISTMAS CARD Dept., 153, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

To: AMNESTY

(An international movement for freedom of opinion and religion).

1, Mitre Court Buildings,
Temple,
London, E.C.4.

*I wish to join the AMNESTY Movement (minimum annual subscription £1) and I enclose cheque/ P.O. for £ s. d.

*I am sending the names and addresses of the following people who I think would like to hear more about the AMNESTY Movement.

1.
.....

2.
.....

3.
.....

My name is

Address

* Delete if inapplicable.

Five Years after the uprising, many Hungarians still in Jail

by Paul Ignotus

FIVE years ago the Hungarian people rose. About the character of their rising there was no misunderstanding at that moment. All, even approximately objective foreign observers on the spot, including Polish and Chinese communists, and the then correspondent of the London *Daily Worker* in Budapest, agreed that it was the common people who rose, spontaneously, led by writers and young scholars, mainly Communists, Socialists and in any case progressive minded.

Sought Friendship

The backbone of the rising was the undergraduates and industrial workers. What they all, and indeed the whole nation, demanded was personal and national freedom, democratic elections, neutrality and independence. The coalition government that led the country under the Premiership of Imre Nagy sought friendship with the Soviet Union no less than with the western democracies of N.A.T.O. and the non-committed world. On November 4th Russian tanks nipped this attempt of Hungarian Socialist Democracy in the bud and by the spring of 1957 the

Revolutionary forces of Hungary were annihilated.

One would think that the time passed since has been sufficient for the Soviet-imposed rulers of Hungary to consolidate their régime firmly enough to dispense with acts of vindictiveness. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Surely there were moments when some acts of partial amnesty could make us hope for the pacification of minds.

Long List

Some time after the judicial murder of Imre Nagy and his three associates, many of those who had been deported together with him were released, and so were other prominent Hungarians known for their part played in the events of 1956, such as the authors Tibor Déry and Gyula Háý. But the list of those still kept in prison is alarmingly long and the Hungarian government refuses to publish particulars about it.

There are Professor István Bibó, legal historian, the man whose main sin has been to seek sincere understanding with Soviet Russia in the spirit of good will without subservience; Professor György Adám, economist; Professor Ferenc Mérei, educationalist and psychologist; also Gyula Obersovszky, former co-editor of the journal

"Truth"; Sándor Rác, former president of the Budapest Workers' Council—all kept in jail, as far as we know, with life sentences.

Furthermore, János Kiszely, former leader of the Trades Union of the Borsod-Miskolc district; István Márkus, sociologist; Gábor Tánczos, a former leader of the Petöfi Circle of young progressive intellectuals; Pál Lócsei, journalist; György Litván, schoolmaster and historian; László Kardos, former director of the People's Colleges (previously alleged to have committed suicide in prison); Sándor Fekete, historian and journalist (whose reported release has unfortunately been denied). As far as I know, all these men are still in prison.

Arrests Secret

Occasionally reports of trials are published but in most cases the arrests are kept secret. I do know, however, that the arrests are continuing. Only recently, after the trial of Father Istvan Tabody and others in June, a number of undergraduates in the cities of Budapest and Sopron were rounded-up. And not only were the young people arrested but also their relatives, such as Madame Klimpko, wife of a Professor of Surgery, and Madame Karg.

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Junius Scales: A Plea for Clemency

JUNIUS SCALES, originally arrested for active membership of the Communist Party between 1946-54, was brought to trial in 1955. In 1957, while between trials, he left the Communist Party. In 1958 he was convicted and sentenced to six years, the longest Smith Act term ever given an American Communist. Early this month, because of repeated delays, he began to serve his six-year term—for membership of a party that he left four years ago. Recently, a number of prominent Americans combined to file a Memorandum with the Federal Court in North Carolina, supporting a reduction of sentence. Among the signatories are Reinhold Niebuhr, the distinguished theologian; Norman Thomas, several times Socialist Presidential candidate; Ernest Angell, president of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Roger Baldwin, President of the International League for the Rights of Man.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, appearing *pro se*, file this memorandum in support of the petition for reduction of sentence and suspension thereof which we have been advised will be submitted to this honourable Court. We have been advised that Junius Scales has been sentenced to six years' imprisonment for membership in the Communist Party under Section 7 of the Smith Act for having been a member of the Communist Party during 1946-54, down to the date of his indictment on November 18, 1954. The United States Supreme Court's opinion should not be interpreted as meaning that mere membership in the Communist Party was a sufficient ground for criminal prosecution. The majority opinion asserted, however, that the evidence in the Scales case, though it did not indicate in any way that he engaged in any illegal activity, established that he was an "active" member of the Communist Party during the period in question and had knowledge of the purported illegal intentions of the Party.

Regardless of our views on the basic merits of the opinion upholding the membership clause in the Smith Act, and regardless of any analysis of the Court's evaluation of the evidentiary presentation, we submit that this conviction is unique in American history and should not have resulted in the sentence imposed which we consider to be grossly excessive.

Mr. Justice Douglas has pointed out in his dissent the dangers of this decision to the First Amendment right of freedom of association in the United States. More importantly, however, he has pointed out, as did Mr. Justice Black, that it would be impossible for anyone, much less one untrained in the law, to anticipate the Court's

interpretation of the membership clause. For these reasons and in view of the facts herein set forth we respectfully urge that the six-year sentence imposed upon Scales be substantially reduced and that the remaining sentence be suspended and that he be released upon parole.

Junius Scales left the Communist Party over four years ago in February 1957. His resignation did not constitute any attempt to get the government to end his prosecution. He was one of the many Communists who left the Party in revulsion against the revelations of Khrushchev at the Twentieth Party Congress and against the brutal Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution.

A number of others are now in the same position as Scales. They have been convicted in lower courts, and their sentences have been waiting upon disposition of the Scales case by the Supreme Court.

We believe that this is not the way to handle the problem of the ex-Communist. There is no point of view which can find solace in the fact that we have greeted with jail sentences men who have sincerely and honestly broken with communism.

We believe that the men were tragically wrong when they were active members of the Communist Party. Yet, we have every reason to respect their sincerity in breaking with the Party and we wish to welcome them to the democratic community, not to send them to jail.

The Refugees

Are you haunted by the hunted,
pitied, hated refugees?

Or at ease
in your retreat
while the bloody wire fences
herd and hinder half humanity?

Listen to the Babylonian theme,
to its variations through the years:
can you hear the Auschwitz millions scream,
feel, perhaps, a Hindu's riot fears?
Would you even recognise the dirge
of a homeless Palestinian wog?
Dare you count how many minds submerge
in a vast and empty tundra's fog?

Now you say you care.
A pity.
You're ten thousand years too late
and ten thousand years of hate
now sap your city.

IAN S. MENZIES.

Spain announces Amnesty

IT was announced earlier this month that the Spanish Government had granted a special amnesty on the occasion of General Franco's 25th anniversary as chief of state. The pardon, which applies both to political and ordinary prisoners, was decided at a Cabinet meeting at Burgos on 2nd October, and it applies to the following groups of prisoners.

1. Prisoners who have served up to 20 years or longer have a full pardon.
2. Prisoners serving not more than two years have their sentence reduced by half.
3. Prisoners serving more than two years have a remission of a fifth of the total sentence.

By the same act, the Decree of 9th October, 1945, has been revived for six months, dating from 12th October, 1961. The 1945 Decree granted a total amnesty for offences of military rebellion against the security of the State, or of public order committed up to 1st April, 1939. This amnesty applied also to persons living in exile.

In a later issue, *Amnesty* hopes to discuss more fully the history and implications of the Spanish Amnesty system.

Young Bulgarians defy the Party

EVEN after 15 years of Communist propaganda, many young Bulgarians still insist on getting married in church. Latest of the frequent complaints about this appeared in the journal *Narodna Mladezh* on September 15.

Nor do these young people leave it at that. The Trnovo Communist journal *Borba*, published on August 28 a scathing attack on a young Communist called Maria Boshanova of Alekovo, who at the request of a friend, another Komsomol member, had taken the friend's child to another village to have it secretly baptised "because she was afraid of the Komsomol if it became known."

On September 12, *Borba* pub-

lished the sequel to the Maria Boshanova affair. The Committee of the Komsomol group in Alekovo, it said, had confirmed the facts entirely. "The necessary measures were taken at once; Maria Boshanova has been expelled from the Komsomol, and her shameful deed has been denounced throughout the countryside." Expulsion from the Komsomol automatically entails discrimination against the victims as regards higher education and the choice of jobs.

Borba did not say what happened to the priest in the case. But another, Petko Parvanov Gajdarov, according to the *Vidin Cherveno Zname* of August 19, was jailed for eight years—three years for "illegal clerical activity" and five for "misleading the naive."

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Defence and Aid

Fund for South

Africa

THE Defence and Aid Fund is the successor to the Treason Trial Defence Fund, which was founded by Christian Action the day after the arrest of the Treason Trial accused in South Africa.

The aims of the Fund are to provide means of assisting and defending those in Southern Africa who are victims of unjust legislation or oppressive and arbitrary procedures; to support, sustain and comfort their families and dependants; to rehabilitate the accused if and whenever possible; and to help to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake.

Major Trials

The Fund has been obliged by limited resources to restrict its aid to the major trials under Apartheid laws (besides the Treason Trial); it has been able to give help to other victims of Apartheid only when the public conscience has been shocked to open its purse strings sufficiently to make that aid possible—for example Sharpeville. There are still a large number of people in prison in consequence of the shootings last March besides many others on various charges. The most important trial now taking place is of the organisers of the demonstrations which were timed to coincide with the establishment of the Republic.

NOTE: *The Defence and Aid Fund is controlled by a Board of Management, although it continues to be administered by Christian Action. Lord Longford is Chairman, Canon Collins Vice Chairman and the thirteen other members include Lady Violet Bonham Carter, James Callaghan, M.P., Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., Lord Hemingford, Bishop Ambrose Reeves and Michael Scott.*