

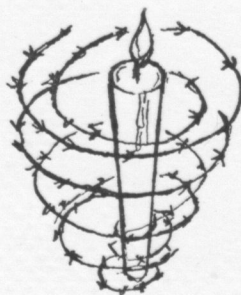
AMNESTY



Journal of the Amnesty movement
an international movement for
freedom of opinion and religion

1962

Number One 2/-



AMNESTY

**An international movement for freedom
of opinion and religion**

The Amnesty movement is composed of peoples of all nationalities, politics, religions and social views who are determined to work together in defence of freedom of the mind.

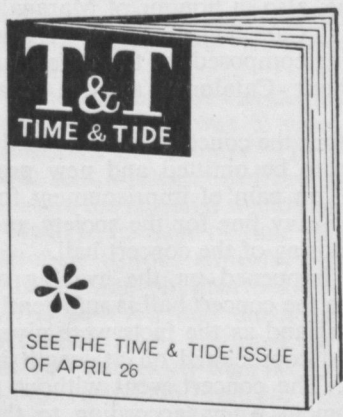
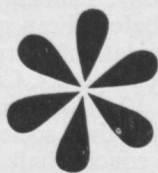
The spread of dictatorship, the tensions that have resulted from the Cold War, and the increasing cleavage between races of different colour, have combined to make state persecution of the individual the gravest social problem of the 1960's.

The principal object of Amnesty is to mobilize public opinion in defence of those men and women who are imprisoned because their ideas are unacceptable to their governments. It has been formed so that there should be some central, international organization capable of concentrating efforts to secure the release of these "Prisoners of Conscience". Essentially an impartial organization as regards religion and politics, it aims at uniting groups in different countries working towards the same end—the freedom and dignity of the human mind.

Editorial

AMNESTY
1 Mitre Court Buildings,
Temple, London E.C.4.
CENTral 7867

*time
and tide
is
concerned*



THE first *Amnesty* Quarterly of 1962 contains a series of reports on the practical work that Amnesty has done this year. Our investigators in Ghana, Czechoslovakia and Portugal give first-hand accounts of their experiences in these countries, where they went to intercede on behalf of prisoners of conscience. Less spectacular, perhaps, but equally important is the work being done by groups of people in this country—Threes—on behalf of named prisoners from East, West and Afro-Asia.

It is encouraging to be able to report some positive results. In the last few weeks four prisoners, whose cases we have publicized and for whose release we have worked, have been set free. They are Christopher Payi, Anderson Ganyilt (both South Africans), Henriette Stahl, a Rumanian, and Dr. Agostino Neto, an Angolan doctor and poet. General amnesties have also been declared in Algeria and Yugoslavia, while all former government political detainees in the Sudan have been released.

The prison walls will not fall at a single blast of a trumpet. But they can be undermined. There is no doubt that the support Amnesty has attracted both in Britain and in other countries is making people—and governments—more aware of how limited freedom is in the modern world.

Amnesty's plans for conferences to study personal freedom in contemporary society are part of our effort to build up informed opinion about conditions under differing régimes. The Quarterly and the *Amnesty News* (sent to members when the Quarterly does not appear) are the link we have with those who support us.

Amnesty has now been in existence for nearly a year. It has set its sights high, but the work crying out to be done to help those who suffer for their convictions demands no less. In forthcoming issues of the Quarterly we hope to be able to record increasing success.

Contents

CATALAN PROTEST	
by A Correspondent	2
"THE ARCHBISHOP IS BUSY WRITING"	
by Sean MacBride	4
PERSONAL FREEDOM IN THE MARXIST COUNTRIES	
Amnesty's Second Conference	7
FREEDOM FROM JUSTICE?	
by Louis Blom-Cooper	8
PORTUGUESE REPORT	
by Neville Vincent	10
A THREE IN HAMPSTEAD	
by Thena Heschel	12
SETTING ABOUT FORMING A THREE	13
THE DAVEZIES TRIAL	
by Audrey Sander	15
AMNESTY'S FIRST CONFERENCE	16

Annual subscription to *AMNESTY* including free copies of the Quarterly, £1 a year.

Catalan Protest

by a correspondent

ON Sunday, June 21st, 1959, at 9.15 a.m., Don Luis de Galinsoga entered the church of Sant Ildefons in the Travessera de Gràcia, Barcelona, where the parish priest was delivering his sermon in Catalan.

Incensed at what he considered an outrage against the official policies aimed at discouraging the use of Catalan he stormed into the sacristy, demanded an explanation of the sacristan and then stalked out of the church repeating to the astonished indignation of the parishioners "Todos los catalanes son una mierda" ("All Catalans are sh*t").

Had Galinsoga been an unrepresentative man the matter might have rested there. But Galinsoga, a strong supporter of the régime, was editor of Barcelona's principal newspaper, *La Vanguardia*, a post he had obtained and held for 20 years through his personal friendship with the Spanish dictator.

As this was the case the incident did not end there. Shortly afterwards thousands of clandestine leaflets circulated in the city with an account of the affair and the subsequent correspondence between Galinsoga and the priest, Fr. Mossèn Narcís Sauer i Vilar. They ended with a call for a boycott of *La Vanguardia*.

Immediately sales began to fall off. As more and different leaflets circulated in the metro, in cinemas, theatres and at the opera, *La Vanguardia's* circulation waned. In the end Franco himself was forced to remove Galinsoga from the editorship. By February, 1960, Galinsoga had left.

Among those especially worried and irritated by the whole issue was the Civil Governor of Barcelona, Don Felipe Acedo Colunga, "a tough-talking, tough-acting Army general from Andalusia, never popular with the Catalans" (*The Guardian*, November 7th, 1960). He was determined to find the organizers of the secret

leaflet campaign and take his full vengeance on the hated Catalans. His own downfall, however, was to be the price of this satisfaction.

The occasion arose in May, 1960. The Spanish Government, worried by the hostile attitude of the Catalans started "Operation Catalonia", a campaign of appeasement and flattery which was, however, devoid of the slightest intention of compromising the anti-Catalan principle of the régime.

* * *

Franco and his cabinet visited the city and on May 18th presided at an official act of homage to the Catalan poet Joan Maragall on the occasion of the centenary of his birth. This particular act of homage had a somewhat empty ring as no word of Catalan—the language Maragall used—was spoken, and the poet's own sons, who lived in Barcelona, were not invited.

The following day, Thursday, May 19th, had been fixed, long before Franco's visit had been announced, as the date of a grand concert to be given by the "Orfeo Català", Catalonia's leading choral society, at 10.15 p.m. in the Palan de la Música Catalana, the society's home and Barcelona's main concert hall.

The programme, also in honour of Maragall, was to include his "Cant de la Senyera" (Hymn to the Flag), a song composed for the Orfeo but adopted throughout Catalonia as the local anthem.

A few days before the concert General Acedo ordered the song to be omitted and new programmes printed, on pain of imprisonment for the conductor, a heavy fine for the society and the compulsory closing of the concert hall.

What actually happened on the evening of May 19th, 1960, in the concert hall is sufficiently well known in England as the facts were given by the B.B.C. and commented on at length in the British press. The concert went without a hitch till the moment when, according to the

original programme, "Cant de la Senyera" was to be sung. At this moment the audience cheered for several minutes, completely drowning the voices of the 250 singers and the orchestra of 92 who had already started the next item. When the cheering was over the audience started shouting and calling for the song and finally they began to sing it themselves. "A pitched battle followed in the stalls between 100 plain-clothes policemen, who had been dispersed round the hall, and the audience" (*The Times*, August 5th, 1960).

As a result of this episode Franco decided to cancel his other appointments in Barcelona including the opening of the International Fair at Montjuic Park and the inauguration of a new railway station. He left with "Operation Catalonia" in ruins. A number of arrests were made at the concert, mainly of young men belonging to Catholic youth movements, nearly all of them from well-to-do families. In the days following, more arrests were made, chiefly among the Christian Democrats, including several lawyers and the well-known historian Don Miguel Coll i Alentorn.

* * *

General Acedo was determined to turn these arrests to his own account and ordered the police to treat the prisoners with the utmost severity in order to make them "squeal".

The beatings and torture seem to have had their effect. On Sunday, May 22nd, at 2 a.m., the police visited the home of Dr. Jordi Pujol i Soley on the fifth-floor of 96 Ronda General Mitre, Barcelona. Dr. Pujol, 29 years old, married with two children, was a physician and a member of the Catholic Institute of Social Studies. He was taken off to police headquarters and there charged with being the author of the clandestine leaflets and with insulting Franco in one called "Us presentem el General Franco".

Although no word was said by the press about these facts there was a wave of indignation throughout the country. The Abbot of Montserrat sent a telegram of protest to Franco and *Ecclesia*, the national weekly of Catholic Action in Spain in its issue of June 18th, 1960, devoted a strongly worded editorial denouncing the use of mental and physical torture.

It is believed that under pressure of police torture Dr. Pujol admitted the charges against him and confessed that he passed the texts to be printed to Don Francesc Pizon, owner of the "Studium" press. He was then arrested while the

others with the exception of Dr. Pujol were allowed to go free.

Those who had been tortured then lodged complaints against the police. Though officially denied, these complaints have never been satisfactorily answered.

Dr. Pujol and Sr. Pizon were court-martialled on June 13th, 1960, and there Dr. Pujol retracted the confession he had made under



Dr. Jordi Pujol

torture of having written "Us presentem el General Franco", the insulting leaflet believed to be the main reason for the court-martial. In spite of the lack of conclusive proof that Pujol or Pizon had in fact been responsible for "Us presentem el General Franco" the former was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and *inter alia* suspension from his profession, and the latter to three years and confiscation of his printing works.

In addition both were requested to pay the expenses of their "preventive imprisonment".

We have learned through Amnesty that Sr. Pizon has been released, though Dr. Pujol is still serving his sentence in solitary confinement in Saragossa. Only his wife has been allowed access to him, always in the presence of police agents, and on the condition that the conversation should be carried on in Castilian rather than Catalan, the Pujols' native language.

So great was the revulsion of public opinion in Catalonia over the whole business that on October 22nd, 1960, after nine years as Civil

(continued on page 12)

"The Archbishop is Busy Writing"

by Sean MacBride

Mr. MacBride, formerly Irish Minister for External Affairs, visited Prague for Amnesty in February.

FINE dry snow was falling. The sky was grey. There was a sharp cold wind blowing from the Russian Steppes.

Prague is a beautiful city whose architecture symbolizes the history of Central Europe. The Moravian Empire; the Czech ascendancy in Poland and Hungary; the Holy Roman Empire; the monarchy of Maria Theresa; Metternich and the Hapsburgs; World War I; the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; the Russian Revolution; Munich; World War II; the German Occupation; risings and counter-risings—these were the flashes of history running through my head on the way in from Ruzyně Airport.

However, I had not come on a sentimental historical visit. My task was to ascertain how many prisoners Amnesty had to think of in Czechoslovakia and what could be done to improve their lot. Nevertheless, these historical flashbacks did make one realize that throughout several centuries human liberty was constantly at a premium in Central Europe. These were not cheerful thoughts on an Amnesty mission.

* * *

I found officials and members of the Government courteous and practical men. At first they were suspicious and somewhat resentful at the nature of my enquiries. Their initial reactions were that the case of Archbishop Beran and questions relating to political and religious prisoners were matters of domestic policy which were nobody else's business.

I explained that the very *raison d'être* of Amnesty was to poke its nose into the domestic affairs of Governments, wherever there were prisoners of conscience; that whether it be in South Africa, Portugal, Ghana or Czechoslovakia, governments regarded us as interfering busybodies who should really be in some concentration camp somewhere and not allowed

to bother autocratic governments. This evoked rather faint smiles; but to be included in the same basket as certain other countries was not quite comfortable.

On the more serious plane I urged that much could be done to ease world tension and misunderstandings by not only behaving humanely, but by letting it be known that political and religious prisoners are properly treated—or, better still, by granting an amnesty to all such prisoners. I pointed out that the mere fact that a government kept people in prison because of their political or religious views was, in itself, a sign of instability and a clear indication that the government concerned had not the support of its own population and was afraid of criticism. Czechoslovakia, with its long European tradition and cultural links, had earned an unenviable reputation on this score. Another argument which I used, and in which I believe firmly, is that governments frequently, as a result of some political crisis, resort to arbitrary measures and fail to make a re-assessment, thus continuing to use arbitrary measures long after the need for them has ceased. It is often much easier for a Government to imprison people than to release them.

Dr. Jiri Hajek, the Deputy Foreign Minister, with whom I discussed these matters soon after my arrival, did not concede the validity of my arguments. But I sensed that inwardly he was to some degree impressed by this reasoning. He is an informed and intelligent man. He was good enough to discuss these matters at some length and through his good offices I met the officials in charge of Church-State relations and officials of the Department of Justice.

Initially, all my requests to visit Archbishop Beran were refused. Various reasons were advanced. He was not in prison but merely lived in a disused monastery and it would disturb him. He was really a free man and was well cared for

by some good nuns. He was busy writing. I explained somewhat persistently that if all this were true there was no reason not to let him receive visitors. I made it clear that a person who is incommunicado, whether in a prison dungeon or disused monastery, could not be said to be a free man.

However, before leaving, I was informed that the authorities were now prepared to reconsider allowing some independent observer to visit the Archbishop but that it would be some time before a decision was reached. I regarded this as an advance. I learned, also, that two other Catholic Bishops were incarcerated in the same disused monastery, Most Rev. Dr. Hjold and Most Rev. Dr. Skoupni.

* * *

As to other religious or political prisoners, the attitude of the Czechoslovak authorities was simple: "We have released all the political and religious prisoners since 1960 and the only persons who have been imprisoned since are people who have been charged, tried and convicted of specific criminal offences." Is this true or untrue? I was unable to find out the answer from any independent source.

It is true that a great many have been released from prison since 1960. It is also true that many of those released from prison are circumscribed in their movements; they are not allowed to leave a given village. This is certainly so in the case of Bishop Vojtassak and of an Auxilliary Bishop who had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

I suspect, from experience in such matters, but without proof, that many of those who are alleged to have been convicted of criminal offences were in reality political or religious prisoners. This is a question of definition which involves a searching enquiry into each individual case.

As to allegations of forced labour in uranium mines, this was categorically denied. The official answer is that miners receive very high wages and that many prefer to work as miners than in factories or in the fields, but that everybody is free to work elsewhere and that because of full employment they can always get employment anywhere. Is this true or untrue? I do not know. A full fact-finding mission would be required to determine this issue.

I met the heads of the Institute of Law and had lengthy discussions with them as to the
(continued on page 7)

1841 • 1962

The Jewish Chronicle

The Organ of  British Jewry

For over 120 years in the fight
for freedom of opinion
and religion

32 Funnival Street, London, E.C.4

Every Friday price ninepence

History and its Making

The African Nations and World Solidarity

MAMADOU DIA 25s

Independence for Africa

GWENDOLEN CARTER 15s

The Politics of Inequality: South Africa since 1948

GWENDOLEN CARTER 42s

The Politics of Western Defence

FRED MULLEY 30s

Prosperity through Competition

LUDWIG ERHARD 25s

Latin America Today— and Tomorrow

TAD SZULC 35s

The Rise of the Meritocracy

MICHAEL YOUNG 15s

Arms and Arms Control

Edited by ERNST LEFEVER 42s

Government and Politics in the Twentieth Century

GWENDOLEN CARTER *and* J. HERZ 18s

The 'Great Revolutions' series is planned to give a picture of the world's history by analysing the revolutionary upheavals in the cause of freedom which have changed the world we live in.

The African Revolution

JAMES CAMERON 18s

The Arab Revival

FRANCESCO GABRIELI 18s

The Chinese Revolution

TIBOR MENDE 18s

The New Class

MILOVAN DJILAS 21s

Anatomy of a Moral

MILOVAN DJILAS 25s

Imre Nagy on Communism

IMRE NAGY 30s

Revolt of the Mind

TAMAS ACZEL *and* TIBOR MERAY 35s

Thirteen Days that Shook the Kremlin

TIBOR MERAY 21s

Sun Yat-Sen and Communism

SHAO CHUAN LENG
and NORMAN PALMER 30s

China and Her Shadow

TIBOR MENDE 35s

Asia in the European Age

MICHAEL EDWARDES 35s

A History of India

MICHAEL EDWARDES 45s

The Revolutions of Ancient Rome

F. R. COWELL 18s

The Revolutions of Latin America

J. HALCRO FERGUSON 18s

Thames and Hudson



Personal Freedom in the Marxist Countries

THE second conference in the series "Personal Freedom in Contemporary Society" will be held on June 16th and 17th. It will discuss "Personal Freedom in the Marxist Countries", and it is hoped that representatives from the Lawyers' and Writers' Unions in each of these nations will attend.

The series is an attempt to define freedom of opinion, religion and expression under different circumstances. The particular purpose of this conference is to consider changes that have taken place in the Communist countries since the 20th Party Congress of 1956; to try to make a factual analysis of the varying ranges of freedom to be found in these countries and of their legal codes, and to consider basic freedoms in the context of Marxist ideology.

The Saturday sessions will deal with *Freedom of Expression*; the Sunday ones with *Freedom of the Accused*.

To obtain comparable factual information, experts are being asked to provide papers which will be composited into a symposium to be circulated beforehand to those attending the conference.

Final details will be announced in the June *Amnesty News*, but anyone interested in coming may like to note the following in their diaries:

Saturday, June 16th, 2.15-5.45 p.m., Royal Hotel, Woburn Place.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION.

Sunday, June 17th, 11 a.m.-4 p.m., Bailey's Hotel, Gloucester Road.

FREEDOM OF THE ACCUSED.

Tickets will be available at 5s. per head for one session and 7s. 6d. for two.

(Please do not apply for tickets yet)

"The Archbishop is Busy Writing"

(continued from page 5)

application of the Rule of Law in Czechoslovakia since the new Constitution of 1960. They answered my questions freely and impressed me with their earnest desire to give practical effect to the various guarantees contained in the new Constitution. No one, they assured me, could be imprisoned without trial. No one could be detained for more than 48 hours without a judicial warrant. Everyone charged with an offence must be brought to trial within two months. Everyone charged is entitled to the services of a lawyer of his own choosing.

Of course, as always, these constitutional guarantees must, in the final analysis, depend on their practical application. Without contact with the political opponents of the Government in Czechoslovakia it would be impossible to assess the extent to which the new Constitution does assure the liberties it enunciates. I did, however, form the view that the new Constitution is taken seriously and regarded as ushering in a new era by the lawyers whom I met. Even if its impact

is only one which results from a contrast of the situation which existed from 1948 to 1960, it is having some influence in the evolutionary process.

The overall feeling I had in retracing my steps back to Ruzyne Airport at the end of the week was that many of the things I had said to officials I had met had made some impact. It remains to be seen if any results follow. Will an independent observer be allowed to see Archbishop Beran and other political detainees? It will be a slow process; the Czechs are a slow-moving, cautious people; were it not that it is a Communist-run State, I would say a conservative people!

The snow was still falling when I left Ruzyne Airport. The next day, I learned that the Deputy Prime Minister Rudolf Barak, a member of the Politburo, had been arrested and was about to be tried on a number of charges. He was a strong man in the political hierarchy. What does this portend? A move towards the Rule of Law? Or a move back from it? In the darkness and the grey shadows that results from censorship of the press and from a long authoritarian tradition evaluations are hard to make.

Freedom from Justice?

by Louis Blom-Cooper

Mr. Blom-Cooper, a London Barrister and the first of AMNESTY'S investigators visited Ghana in January.

"FREEDOM AND JUSTICE" is Ghana's motto, proudly proclaimed from the triumphal arch in Black Star Square, Accra; for its political prisoners it would read more appositely as "Freedom from Justice".

In company with many sovereign states, both past and present, the Ghana Government, within months of savouring the sweet smell of independence, had used the device of locking up its political opponents without the encumbrance of judicial process. The unsuccessful challenge in the courts in July 1961 of the constitutionality of the Preventive Detention Act, 1958 now leaves the Nkrumah Government with the unfettered sanction of shutting away any of its detractors, for up to five years (a power which Dr. Nkrumah has just announced will be extended, possibly up to 20 years), without so much even as an independent review of their detention. And the powers of that draconian legislation have been increasingly put to ample use. The number of political detainees is estimated at around 200; some sources say that there are as many as a thousand, but the Government, while failing to provide precise details, denies that it has been at any time more than 300.

Major fraud

Ghanaians have cause to feel that their Government has perpetrated upon them a major fraud. When in 1960 the last relic of allegiance to the British Crown was being removed with the new Republican Constitution Ghanaians were promised the protection of their human rights. Article 13 of the Constitution demanded of every President on taking office a solemn

declaration of fundamental principles, among which was his adherence to the principle that freedom and justice should be honoured and maintained.

The Supreme Court has held that the President's solemn declaration to uphold the fundamental freedoms could not result in any Act of the Ghana Parliament being declared unconstitutional. Whatever the lawyers and politicians may say of the Supreme Court's ruling there can be no doubt about the intention of the framers of the constitution as reflected in official statements.

President's Statement

Dr. Nkrumah, then Prime Minister, himself in a nationwide broadcast on March 6th, 1960, said: "The Constitution is based firmly on the Rule of Law and leaves no scope for arbitrary action. . . This is underlined by the requirement which is contained in the proposals, that a new President must declare his adherence to certain fundamental principles which recognize . . . the right of every citizen to . . . freedom from unjust interference with his property and his basic rights as a citizen." The Government White Paper of the following day echoed these fine words saying "the proposed constitution for Ghana is based upon freedom and justice and it is therefore desirable that these principles should be elaborated and protected".

To the simpler and unsophisticated Ghanaian, a Ministry of Education pamphlet, *Ghana as a Republic, Your Questions answered*, made the matter clear beyond peradventure.

Q. Are there any safeguards in the Constitution against oppression?

A. The rights of the people are firmly entrenched in the Constitution and in particular in Article 14 (in the final constitution, Article 13).

A cynical disregard for human rights has thus been perpetrated by the Ghana Government. President Nkrumah, when officially opening the new Law School and an important conference on legal education in Africa, in only one passage of a long speech alluded to civil liberties, and then only to point to their subservience to the State. Law, he said, did not operate in a vacuum. "Its importance must be related to the overall importance of the people, that is to say, the State."

Visiting

If preventive detention has, for another 2½ years at least until it expires in July, 1963, to be accepted as part of this emergent African "socialist" state, its operation is giving cause for grave disquiet. News of arrests since the White Paper was published in December, percolate only spasmodically through to the wider community, prison visiting of detainees is irregular and arbitrary, prison conditions applied to all prisoners, tolerable for the criminal classes, are much more oppressive to highly literate Ghanaians and the detainees hopes of seeing the outside world only in the distant future are all contributing, not unjustly, to Ghana's reputation as an incipient African dictatorship.

Since October when Dr. Danquah, the only lawyer fearless enough to thrust writs of habeas corpus before the noses of Ghanaian Ministers, was detained, no detention has been gazetted, although clearly there have been arrests. No doubt the Government finds it can safely dispense with the niceties of compliance with constitutional formalities.

Worst interpretation

These reflections constitute the worst interpretation to be put upon the known facts of civil liberties in Ghana. There have undoubtedly been conspiracies to commit violence, which the Government thought were a more serious threat to peace and order than was really the case. It was clearly wrong however to circumvent the judicial process, but the desire to by-pass the courts was largely brought about by the opposition leaders irresponsibly proclaiming, as a result of one or two minor successes in the courts, that the judges were pro-opposition.

Panic Tactics

This claim was and is far from the truth, as the constitutional decision of the Supreme Court itself demonstrates. The Government had thus been driven into panic tactics.

What, however, makes the Government action over civil liberties more sinister is the manner in which it is employed. Along with violent agitators there has been detained many whose only crime was to be anti-government; there are hints that even members of the Government's own Convention People's Party have been detained. How did it come about that several market women, who fed the Takoradi strikers, were detained without trial? It is claimed as justification that these women were receiving, via the opposition United Party, vast funds provided by sources bent on overthrowing the Nkrumah régime. Without any proper review procedure these women languish in gaol without redress and like all their detainees without compensation for their families.

Worse still is the manner in which detainees find their liberties destroyed. The police in Ghana carry out their duties on the whole with a minimum of officiousness; there are very few allegations of police misconduct. There is even a suggestion that they act in such a way as to give prospective detainees the chance to make a dash for the Togo border. It is through informants in the dominant Convention People's Party that the Government decides to make an arrest.

In such a situation the field for blackmail is wide open. Many of those who are in fear of being detained suffer as miserable an existence as those who are safely locked away.

Fascism

Can all this be explained in terms of an African State emerging from Colonial rule, which at best misguided its pupils and at worst taught Ghanaians some of the more undemocratic methods of government? It can, but it does not detract from the unpleasant and sad fact that Ghana, upon whose future so many British hopes were pinned, is a nascent fascist state. Must it go through this phase before that rare plant, democracy, has a hope of taking root? The answer must be a depressing affirmative, but there are real fears that once on the slippery slope away from democratic rule there is no turning back, without much violence and upheaval.

Portuguese Report

by Neville Vincent

Mr. Vincent, joint secretary of Amnesty, visited Portugal in February.

FEW people who visit Lisbon will deny that it is among the most beautiful capitals of Europe. Its seven hills, the medieval fort of St. George, and the eighteenth-century city centre, built on the gridiron plan by Pombal after the great earthquake of 1755, are set off magnificently by the broad sweep of the Tagus dotted with sailing barges.

When I arrived there it was difficult to believe that such a beautiful capital could be the scene of a great deal of misery. I had gone to intercede with the authorities over five doctors who were imprisoned for their political beliefs and I did in fact find that, wherever I made inquiries for them, there was an atmosphere of fear and tension.

I started off my inquiries at the office of a man to whom I had a letter of introduction and who I thought might be able to help me with news of Dr. Julietta Gandra. This woman was a well-known physician in Luanda, the capital of Angola, until she was sentenced to a year's imprisonment because of her opposition to the régime. She has in fact served her year but has also done another three in the Caxias Fortress in Lisbon because she is considered "a bad security risk".

When I entered the office of the man I was to make contact with, I realized he was extremely busy and offered to telephone him later. He looked at me as though I had just made a bad joke, and assured me that he had not used the telephone in connection with matters such as we meant to talk about since 1945. I had received my first object lesson in security. I fixed a later appointment with him there and then and when I met him again he told me that fear of the P.I.D.E., the secret police, was so great that he did not dare use the telephone for things he did not want them to hear.

While I had been provided with a list of private people to see by friends in London, one

of the main purposes of my visit was to see people in official positions in the hope of getting some relief for the five doctors who were my special concern. In the event I failed, for one reason or another, to make contact with the Ministers of Justice, the Interior and External Affairs. Pressure of other engagements, I was told, or, in the case of the Minister of External Affairs, his absence from Lisbon, prevented me from seeing any of them.

I was, however, received by Cardinal Cerejeira, the head of the Portuguese hierarchy and a close friend of Dr. Salazar, with whom he co-operated in the founding of the present Portuguese régime. I was able to ask him about the fate of the African Vicar-General of the Angolan diocese of Luanda, who was arrested and brought to Lisbon during the recent African insurrection in that territory. His Eminence pointed out that a priest could exercise his ministry wherever he went and that the nine excited clergy had as many opportunities to carry out their duties in Portugal as they had had in Angola. Cardinal Cerejeira insisted throughout my talk with him that Church and State were two separate entities in Portugal, and that he did not have control over politics. When I talked with him about the case of the Bishop of Oporto, a severe critic of the régime, who has recently been given duties outside Portugal, His Eminence repeated that he had no control over the bishop's appointment, but would convey to Dr. Salazar the anxieties of the outside world regarding the treatment of prisoners in Portugal.

Having got very little encouragement from either Church or State I returned to private individuals to whom I had introductions, in the hope of getting information on the doctors whom I was trying to help.

I sought information from one diplomat who had had contact with one of the doctors in question. The scarcely credible caution that I had

witnessed in the office of my first acquaintance was repeated at one of the embassies I visited. Before starting our conversation my host unplugged the telephone, a precaution against the secret police being able to take a record of our words.

A similar precaution against possible police action was taken by a lawyer whom I visited in my search for information. Before leaving we arranged that if either of us were later questioned about the conversation we should not disclose the real purpose of my visit, but say that it was merely a social call, during which I passed a friendly message from a mutual barrister friend in London.

As a result of my inquiries, I was able to visit some of the prisoners' families. I found the wife of one, together with her family of four, living in one room in the utmost poverty. Her pleasure at realizing that an outside organization like Amnesty was working on behalf of her husband and other prisoners, made the whole trip seem worthwhile.

In addition I made fruitless attempts to see the prisoners themselves. There was no reason, I was told, why I should not visit Dr. Gandra and her companions in Caxias. The process of getting the permission of various authorities was

a lengthy business. In fact permission had not arrived before it was time for me to leave Portugal.

I left Lisbon then, without seeing Dr. Gandra, Dr. Neto or any of their companions, Dr. Maria Luiza Costa Dias Soares, another woman doctor from Mozambique, Dr. Agostino Neto,* true distinguished African physician and poet, or Dr. Orlando Ramos, a cancer specialist who was arrested in July, 1960, tortured and kept in prison ever since.

As I left Lisbon, however, I learnt the news that Dr. Noshir Wadia had, after many representations from his friends in his native India, been allowed to go free. Arrested on his plane at Lisbon airport at the time of the Indian invasion of Goa, he had been finally allowed to go free after having been a political hostage for two months.

At the end of February it seems as though the P.I.D.E. were working on the principle of last in first out.

*** At the beginning of April it was learned that Agostino Neto had been released. Nevertheless, Dr. Neto is confined to Portugal and is not at present allowed to return to his practice in Angola.**



PENGUIN SPECIALS

PENGUIN SPECIALS

This series examines the problems of our time which so often involve a conflict between policy and conscience.

Current specials include

PERSECUTION 1961 Peter Benenson 2s 6d Nine case studies by one of the joint directors of Appeal for Amnesty.

GUILTY LAND Patrick van Rensburg 3s 6d The personal statement of an Afrikaner whose eyes were opened to the evil of racialism.

BERLIN, HOSTAGE FOR THE WEST John Mander 2s 6d The author of *The Eagle and the Bear* places this intractable problem in historical perspective.

And this April, two books examining **BRITAIN IN THE SIXTIES**

COMMUNICATIONS Raymond Williams 3s 6d A critical approach to mass media is suggested by the author of *Culture and Society*.

EDUCATION FOR TOMORROW John Vaizey 2s 6d What education could mean to the ordinary person during the next few years.

A Three in Hampstead

by Thena Heschel

THE Hampstead Threes Group was a case of spontaneous generation. Six supporters of Amnesty in the Hampstead area wrote individually to Mitre Court. We were put in touch with one another and a group had been formed.

At our first meeting last October we decided that we would have to increase our numbers and get in some money before we could start to think about our prisoners. At the beginning of December we had a public meeting at which we enlisted some twenty more supporters and collected our first funds.

With this support behind us we asked for our three prisoners. The library which houses details of prisoners of conscience in all parts of the world, allotted us Anderson Ganyile, a young Pondo leader in trouble with the South African nationalists for his opposition to apartheid and his connection with African nationalist movements; Mgr. Vojtass, an elderly Czech priest imprisoned by the Communists; and Francisco Miguel, a Portuguese trade unionist who has been in prison for some years for his activities.

Progress so far has been patchy. We have not yet been able to make contact with Mgr. Vojtass at all and so have been able to do nothing for him. We got information about Miguel but have so far not succeeded in tracing his family and have had to be content with sending £3 10s. to the family of a colleague of his whom we learnt were in financial difficulties.

Nevertheless, before we could renew our efforts to get help to our prisoners we heard that Miguel had escaped from his prison in Lisbon. Anderson Ganyile too is now free. His case, which was presented in the Amnesty fortnightly last December, was won and he allowed to go free after evidence that he was unlawfully arrested by the South Africans on British High Commission territory.

We can claim no credit for this but at least we

have been able to help Ganyile's successor on our list. In place of Ganyile the Amnesty library gave us Mr. P. K. K. Quaidoo, the former Ghanaian Minister of Commerce and Industry, who was disgraced and imprisoned by President Nkrumah last autumn.

With the Quaidoo family particularly in mind we set about fund raising in earnest in the New Year and after a "Bring and Buy" sale we were able to send some money to Mrs. Quaidoo in Ghana.

Our activities so far and the results we have achieved are not startling. That is in one way no disadvantage—it proves that a Threes group does not need to have legal knowledge or international connections to start working. But we feel that fund-raising, while not to be scorned, should not be the only *raison d'être* for a group. We have considered various other activities—getting publicity for Amnesty and the cases of our prisoners in particular by giving talks to schools and other civic groups. We would be interested in hearing the experiences of other groups in the next issue of *Amnesty Quarterly* and we hope that the mooted "Conference of Three" will be held before very long.

Catalan Protest

(continued from page 3)

Governor of Barcelona, General Acedo was removed from his post.

Meanwhile in Saragossa prison Dr. Pujol remains the symbol and the silent voice of Catalonia—a progressive, democratically-minded, peace-loving and law-abiding country which has now become a collective "prisoner of conscience".

Setting about forming a Three

THENA HESCHEL has described how, in Hampstead, her Three was formed by a few individuals being put in touch with each other through Amnesty Central Office. There are, of course, other ways in which Threes can be formed—by a local organization, a school, a family (or a group of families) or students taking on responsibility for working for the release of three prisoners and helping their dependants. Each of these ways are typical of how Threes already working “in the field” have been formed.

Although the major work of Threes is activity on behalf of their prisoners, they can also help the movement by raising funds for Amnesty and, through local publicity and education, by building up informed and sympathetic opinion in support of Amnesty’s concern with freedom of opinion and religion.

There are no hard and fast rules about starting—much must depend on local initiative and self-made contacts—but, apart from supplying the names of prisoners, central office is always prepared to advise and help where it can. The only thing insisted upon is that everyone accepts the impartial and humanitarian purposes of the movement, and that the group as a whole is prepared to sponsor a prisoner from the East, West and an Afro-Asian country equally.

Helping the Prisoner

Central office can supply the name of a prisoner, but not always the address of the prison. Where this is not known, the group should write to the Embassy concerned in this country, and if there is no response write direct to the Minister of Justice or Prime Minister of the country where he is held. Supplementary information and help can sometimes be obtained from specialist organizations in that part of the world or from individuals.

It is usually possible to write discreetly direct to the prisoner—although whether he gets the letter is a different matter. It is helpful, therefore, if possible also to get in touch with relatives or friends, who can sometimes find ways of passing news on.

When sufficient information has been collected the group should try to take direct action for the prisoner’s release. In the first place, a further letter should be written to the Embassy and a copy sent to the Prime Minister of the country, asking for the case to be reviewed, or the prisoner to be released if possible (or, at least, for him to be allowed to leave the country if he wishes).

Replies received from such appeals should be sent to Central Office for consideration before taking the matter further, and, where possible, dependants should be consulted about the most effective way of bringing pressure to secure the prisoner’s release.

Helping the Dependants

Where dependants are difficult to trace, a letter to our own Embassy or to a newspaper that has reported the arrest may help. Holiday trips can also sometimes be turned to good account by making inquiries on the spot, *but this should never be done without consulting Central Office first.*

Money or food parcels can usually be sent to dependants, who are often nearly destitute. Some Threes have already arranged sherry parties, coffee parties, jumble sales or special collections to raise money for prisoners’ families. The families that have received help in this way have found it very welcome.

Even where financial help is not needed, an occasional letter and Christmas card, letting people know that the group is pursuing its efforts for the prisoner’s release, will be appreciated.

THE SPECTATOR

*has long interested itself in the causes for which Amnesty works,
Unfair and unjust treatment by the State—
whether the State be the
Soviet Union, the Union of South Africa, Spain or Great Britain—
has always been under attack by the Spectator.
(It was the Spectator which ran the campaign—
eventually successful—
for the release of the three Bahraini prisoners
unjustly imprisoned on St. Helena.)
The Spectator wishes Amnesty well in its work,
and its readers may be sure that the paper will continue
to expose injustice wherever it may occur.*

Every Friday

Ninepence

THE SPECTATOR · 99 GOWER STREET · LONDON W.C.1.

The Davezies Trial

by Audrey Sander

This account was written by the young London barrister and supporter of Amnesty who went over to Paris to join the defence team at the trial in January.

IN October, 1958, the French Government by decree authorized military tribunals to try, in effect, any cases which were related to the Algerian revolt. Although no state of emergency existed civilians could be tried for such offences by these military courts. The verdict was by a two-thirds majority of the members of the tribunal consisting of a magistrate, two civil assessors and six military officers. The voting was secret, no reasons for the decision were given and there was no appeal except on points of procedure. As a disciplinary machine for the army such a tribunal was understandable, but the October 1958 decree gave such a tribunal of the French army the power to sentence to death or long terms of imprisonment those whom the French army was employed to fight.

Even if the actual conduct of a trial of this nature was irreproachable—as it was in the Davezies case—it is hardly surprising that the defendants regarded trials by these tribunals as just another way of suppressing the Front de Libération Nationale, the Algerian rebel organization.

Father Davezies' trial was opened by the

The cease-fire and the release of the Algerian Nationalist leader, Ben Bella, make the prospects for the release of those still in captivity seem bright. Unfortunately, the terms of the amnesty announced by the French Government cover only those imprisoned for acts committed in Algeria. Those who, like Father Davezies, are suffering for what they did and said in metropolitan France, are still condemned to serve their full sentence—unless the pressure of world opinion causes the Government to extend the scope of the amnesty.

Commissaire du Gouvernement, who outlined the prosecution case—that this 38-year-old French worker priest had given aid and encouragement to the F.L.N. and had helped F.L.N. members over the Pyrenees out of and into France. He had undermined the authority and the security of the state, it was claimed.

Father Davezies opened his case by explaining his actions and motives to the court. He described how in 1956, while a worker priest in Paris, he had discovered what was happening in Algeria. A friend showed him a letter from a Jesuit conscripted there. The writer had heard one night what he thought were a jackal's howls. Next morning he discovered they had come from a 14-year-old boy who was being tortured with electric shocks. Davezies was appalled by his discovery of the army's widespread use of brutality and tortured with electric shocks. Davezies was appalled by his discovery of the army's widespread use of brutality and torture in attempting to stamp out the Algerian independence movement.

Was such a movement justified? As the European minority owned about nine-tenths of the fertile land this left the Algerians, almost nine-tenths of the population, what remained. They therefore lived in conditions of abject poverty; they were treated as second-class citizens. Such a denial of basic human rights justified their fight for independence. Davezies felt he was not supporting a struggle against France but against a brutal colonialism and imperialism.

The defence called more than thirty witnesses whose widely different political and religious views added weight to their support of Davezies. The possibility of subsequent plastic bomb attacks by the O.A.S. did not

Amnesty's First Conference

"PERSONAL Freedom in the Emergent Countries" was the subject of the first of a series of Amnesty conferences which was held in the Niblett Hall Temple, on the last Saturday in January.

An audience of about 100 heard Anthony Allott, Reader in African Law at London University start the morning session with an address on the principles of personal freedom. Questions and a general discussion followed before lunch.

In the afternoon Louis Blom-Cooper gave his first-hand experiences as Amnesty's observer in Ghana, which he had visited a few weeks before. After he had finished his report on the Ghanaian political and judicial scene, his arguments were successively attacked and upheld by various members of the audience including a number of West Africans putting

forward their views for and against Nkrumahism. Peter Kilner, a former *Times* correspondent in the Sudan, talked of personal liberties in the Sudan under the régime of General Abboud. This again sparked off a very vehement debate on the conflicting needs of an emergent country to have a strong government yet to preserve personal freedom.

The meeting, which was attended by representatives of the Ghana High Commission and the Sudanese Embassy, was subsequently reported in Sunday papers on January 28th.

This conference will be followed by one on "Personal Freedoms in the Marxist Countries" of which details appear elsewhere in this issue. In the autumn there are plans to complete the series with a third conference on freedom in the Western countries.

(continued from previous page)

make it easier for people to commit themselves in court.

Priests and scientists with whom Davezies had worked, many in court for the first time, spoke about Davezies as they knew him—a Christian first, who could not bear to see people suffering, generous almost to a fault, not one who made decisions lightly. Three Algerians with whom Davezies had been in prison during the year he awaited his trial, added that it was only due to the action of men like Davezies that any hope of an early resumption of friendly Franco-Algerian relations was left.

Other witnesses claimed that the torturing and brutality of Algerians justified Father Davezies' action. It was no answer to say that the Algerians had tortured too—this in reply to a question by the President. M. Paul Teitgen, who resigned from the police in Algeria because of its brutal methods, said that he had personally signed 24,000 warrants for the arrests of Algerians and that during one year 3,014 Algerians had simply disappeared.

Thirty-two witnesses in all explained to the tribunal that a man of Davezies' beliefs and temperament could not have acted differently in the situation.

"When Robert Davezies came into contact with the Algerian problem he took action as a Christian. He did not, like most people, turn a blind eye to the French Government's policy in Algeria and by doing nothing implicitly give it his support . . ." In these words, Pasteur Jacques Beaumont, one of the defence witnesses, explained why Davezies took the action which eventually led to this trial.

After deliberating for two hours, the tribunal announced baldly; charge proved; no extenuating circumstances (the entire defence was dismissed); punishment, three years' imprisonment.

But this relatively moderate sentence was evidence of the changing political climate. The witness who said that once peace in Algeria is completely restored, Robert Davezies will be regarded as a hero who risked his own liberty in trying to secure the liberty of others, may well be right.

ways of helping AMNESTY

- 1 At the present time the most urgent need is for funds. Any individual over the age of 14 can become a member by paying the minimum subscription of £1 a year. Local organizations can affiliate for £2 a year and national organizations for £5 a year. Join yourself and try and get a local organization with which you may be connected to affiliate.
- 2 Take the initiative in forming a group of Three or write to the central office asking for others in your area who may be interested. Three families joined together make the basis for a good group, but local organizations may also be interested in "adopting" three prisoners and their families.
- 3 Get your local paper, magazine or journal to publish something about the Amnesty movement.
- 4 Offer to speak to local organizations about the work of Amnesty. (Speakers' notes provided.)
- 5 Offer to help the Librarian by taking over responsibility for following up cases from a particular country. (This is only practicable for those who live in the London Area.)

All communications should be addressed to:

AMNESTY

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

Tel: CEN. 7867

Printed in Great Britain for AMNESTY, 1 Mitre Court Buildings, London EC4
by HEADLEY BROTHERS LTD, 109 Kingsway, London WC2 and Ashford, Kent