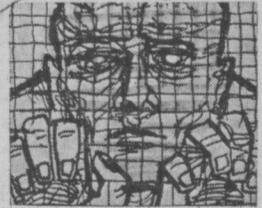


AMNESTY  
IN ACTION  
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# AMNESTY

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## THE FORGOTTEN MEN

### Exiled to Union's Wastelands

BY JAMES CAMERON

IN the twelve years that have passed since the Nationalist Government of South Africa withdrew from the world of tolerance and progress and sought her destiny in the dark neurotic corners of the past, many detestable things have been done within the mediaeval framework of that choice, and while most are notorious, some are not. Indeed it is proper to say that nothing has been done in the name of South African racial law that is not detestable, since *apartheid* creates a prison for the oppressors as well as the oppressed. But although the broad pattern is only too familiar to the rest of the world, some of its aspects are not proclaimed. The Banned People are not famous martyrs. Their despair is among the most solitary things in the world.

In the Union today "banishment" is a specific form of arbitrary and tyrannical legislation. It is, like *apartheid* itself, essentially simple. Under existing law any African articulately opposing Government policies may be summarily taken from the midst of his family and, without trial of any kind, or even warning, be deported to the most remote and desolate parts of the country for an indefinite period, occasionally for the rest of his life. He is literally cast into the wilderness—and this not a figure of speech—in an extreme of poverty and humiliation.

This is one part of the South African scene that has not been greatly publicised. Yet more than a hundred people have been subjected to this barbarous sanction. In no case have they committed any crime capable of prosecution; not one of them has appeared in the courts. Their offence was political opposition and their punishment was oblivion.

This process is completely legal, under Section 5 (1) (b) of the Native Administration Act No. 39 as amended permitting the Minister of Bantu Administration, through the Governor-General, to order the removal of any African "whenever he deems it expedient". Since 1948 he has deemed it expedient 116 times, and 116 people have been arrested and taken in irons deep into the wasteland of the veldt, put into an empty hut with the clothes on their bodies and an allowance of £2 a month on which to support themselves and the families they have left behind.

Sometimes the exiles can get work as labourers on isolated Native Trust farms on the edge of the Kalahari Desert. Some are entirely alone; others live in camps of six together. Four are at Frenchdale (Mafeking area), six at Driefontein (Vryburg), four in Tabaan's location (Sibasa), others at Wesselsvlei (Vryburg), Glen Road (Kuruman), King Willemstown, Pietersburg, Groblersdal, Eshowe, and Gollel.

#### Desperate Poverty

Invariably the deportees are sent many hundreds of miles from their homes. If a man is from the Trankei, he is banished to the Northern Transvaal, where he can do nothing until he learns a new language. Sotho-speaking exiles go to Zululand; Zulus to the Transvaal. They must live in conditions of desperate poverty and near-starvation. The circumstances of their exile make it extremely difficult to trace their records, but it is known that 48 are still in exile, 10 are known to have escaped from the Union, 41 have been released on probation, 11 have died in their huts, and 6 are missing and cannot be traced; they may be alive or dead.

Continued on page 3

### WANTED

£5,000

Appeal for Amnesty '61 needs £5,000 as quickly as possible. The urgency of this appeal to all supporters is due not to any failure in the movement but to its rapid success.

As a non-profit-making organisation its successes will always be measured in human activities rather than in financial terms.

Today it has a number of solid achievements behind it—two public conferences, the launching of a fortnightly newspaper, and the establishment of the Central Office for collecting information concerning Prisoners of Conscience.

Says Mr. Peter Benenson, Joint Director: "The conferences are paid for; *Amnesty* is being sold at a price which covers its production; and up until now the running of the Central Office and other administrative work has been mainly on a voluntary basis. But the work of the organisation is developing rapidly and the Central Office in particular must be expanded quickly if we are to be as efficient as we are sincere. We also need to get National Sections operating overseas as quickly as possible."

The Chairman of the Treasury Group, Mr. Neville Vincent, told *Amnesty*: "The movement will eventually need a good deal more than £5,000. To launch a public appeal before the general public knows anything about us is to risk very disappointing results, so we have decided to postpone our big appeal until the Autumn."

It has also been decided to approach certain organisations representing re-settled refugees who have found asylum in this country and become reasonably well-established.

# Comment

**ERIC BAKER reports from AMNESTY Paris Conference**

## THE PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICS

Any movement whose purpose is basically one of education is dependent on facts. Facts are its raw material, and their dissemination is its *raison d'être*. So it is with Appeal for Amnesty '61. If we are successfully to educate world opinion to the point where it is an ever-present restraint on repressive tendencies, it must have facts at its disposal and the means of disseminating them.

What are the facts we need? There are thousands of them and each one is a human being, a prisoner of conscience behind bars because of his political views or religious beliefs. What the world wants to know is who these people are, where they are, and why they are there. It also wants to know when others are sent to join them—and again why.

We have already set in motion our plans for collecting this information and sharing it with the world. We have established a Central Office for Collecting Information about Prisoners of Conscience and the Librarian has amassed factual detail of over two hundred cases. We have launched this fortnightly newspaper whose contents will include the publication of facts concerning new arrests and new imprisonments. So far so good, but this is only a small beginning of a very big task.

Take the Central Office, for instance. It must become not only an unimpeachable and impartial source of information but a highly efficient one. Newspaper correspondents and others must be able to have recourse to it to find facts. This entails the preparation of statistical digests and summaries with detailed references should they be required. The Central Office is the cornerstone of the whole organisation, because that is where the facts will be sifted and stored for the use of Groups of Three (see page 4 story), for the use of journalists and for publication in the cause of Amnesty.

But while this newspaper can and must support itself, the Central Office upon which it and the whole movement depend for their facts cannot do so. Hence the very modest appeal for £5,000, which will surely commend itself to every human being who today enjoys freedom of belief.

THE Paris Conference on religious persecution was planned to bring home to the conscience of the world the fact that the intolerance which breeds persecution is to be found west as well as east of the Iron Curtain, and in the countries of both Europe and Asia. It was also planned to emphasise that there were men and women everywhere opposed to such persecution.

So it was appropriate that a Protestant spoke of the persecution of Catholics and a Catholic spoke of the persecution of Protestants. So, too, Père Faidherbe's speech was not only a moment of historic importance in that the representative of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris condemned the persecution of Protestants by Catholics. It was also a moment of some sadness, as it came after the Conference had heard, in the accounts of the lives of three ecclesiastics, how the Catholic Church was suffering, not only under Communist governments but under governments which, formally at least, are bound by the very laws of charity, mercy and justice which the Church itself teaches. There are priests imprisoned not only in Czechoslovakia and Hungary but in Portugal and San Domingo as well.

Of the former, Archbishop Beran of Prague is the best-known example. Father Lange, who spoke of him in Paris, emphasised that the Archbishop was not and had no intention of being a political figure, although he had always been a popular one.

This popularity had come at first from his appreciation, based on personal experience, of the difficulties facing young students, especially

those from homes as poor as his own. It was increased by his imprisonment by the Nazis. Until the war he had stood aside from politics but, once his country was invaded, he made no secret of his dislike of Nazism, publicly attacking both its methods and its ideology. As a result, he spent the last years of the war in Dachau.

When he returned, he was immediately raised to the Archbishopric of Prague, with the support even of the Communist Party. This approval was, however, quickly reversed when, after 1948, he vigorously withstood the attempt of the Communist government to take control of the affairs of the Church. In the course of his sermon of June 18, 1949, he said: "I do not know how many more occasions I shall be able to speak to you." That was, in fact, the last time that he was seen in public.

### Police Surveillance

Next day he was ordered to keep to his palace under police surveillance and nine months later he was removed to an unknown destination. Since then there has been no certain information about his whereabouts, his state of health or whether, in fact, he is alive at all. The only official reference has been the comment by the Czechoslovak Prime Minister that he was neither in prison nor under surveillance. M. Siroly said simply that the Archbishop "is no longer officiating".

Archbishop Beran disappeared by administrative order. Elsewhere, although the conflict between the Catholic Church and Communist

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governments has continued, it has at least had some semblance of legality. Of the twelve Catholic monks, priests and laymen, for instance, who were recently accused in Hungary of plotting to overthrow the government, eleven were tried in public. Only one, Father Istvan Tabody, who received the longest sentence, was tried in secret.

But anxiety that the hold of the Catholic Church on the people's loyalties might be greater than their own is not confined to Communist governments. Both in Portuguese Angola and in San Domingo during the Trujillo regime, the hierarchy has been subjected to intense pressure designed either to subdue or to disrupt it. In Angola, the Salazar government has attacked Protestants and Catholics equally. Not only have most European missionaries been expelled—often forcibly—within the last few months but, as long ago as 1958, the government was viewing with displeasure the efforts of Rev. Pinto de Andrade, African Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Luanda, to assist the families of arrested Angolan nationalists. In July 1960, he was arrested, transferred to Portugal and imprisoned there. In November he was exiled to San Tome. Four months later he was returned to Portugal and, although not imprisoned again, was put under police surveillance and ordered not to return to Angola. Two other Africans, Mgr. Neves and R. P. Nafaniento of the Archbishop's staff, have also been imprisoned, deported and finally put under surveillance,

while R. P. Franklin, who had accompanied the Archbishop to Rome, was refused permission to return to Angola.

In San Domingo the Trujillo regime carried its campaign against the Church to a further stage of violence. When the bishops ordered a pastoral letter to be read in all churches calling on the government to respect the rights of men and to have thought for the distress which the many arrests were causing to thousands of Dominican families, the government's first reaction was to launch a press campaign against the hierarchy. Then began violence against a number of the clergy. Father Alejandro Bello was seriously manhandled and led through the streets of Ciudad Trujillo with his arms bound to his sides. Today he has disappeared, as has another priest, Father Perdomo, while two others have been expelled from the Republic and a fifth imprisoned without adequate trial. In the light of this experience Mgr. Kelly, who had himself been attacked by crowds, declared: "After what I have seen in the Dominican Repub-

lic, it is easy for me to understand what the concentration camps of Germany were like."

After these statements, the Conference had no time to consider the difficulties which both Protestant and Catholic Churches face in Asia and Africa. The Conference did make it clear, however, by turning its attention to the difficulties which face those who wish to practise other religions, that Appeal for Amnesty 1961 was not only concerned as a movement with the plight of those whose Christian beliefs happen to be unacceptable to the government under which they live.

Dr. Pham of Viet Nam spoke of Abbot Pen Huan, who had been arrested by the Chinese Communists and accused of open opposition to the government's policy of collectivisation and of having forbidden Buddhists to read Communist publications. At the same time Dr. Pham gave an account of what happened to a number of Buddhist Communities during the Chinese occupation of Tibet. At the Monastery of Gyuto, near Lhasa, for instance, 300 monks had been imprisoned. They were later sent to a camp, organised into work parties and ordered to build a dam on the Kyi-Chu.

One of the last speakers was Maitre Sportiche, representing the Chief Rabbi of France. He expressed sympathy on behalf of the Jewish community, for all those who had suffered for their beliefs, wherever they were. The goal should be universal religious liberty, since all were the children of God.

Next Issue

GEORGE MIKES

writes on

"Religious Conspiracy  
Trials in Hungary"

## CAMERON ON SOUTH AFRICA'S EXILES

*Continued from page 1*

The living conditions of the banished men have been adequately described—in the arid semi-desert, with the nearest store 15 miles away, the nearest bus-stop 30 miles away and the nearest town 60 miles away; without medical facilities or post-office, and almost no opportunity for work. Every one of their needs must be supplied, somehow, out of the £2 a month allowance.

Clearly, however, the greater anguish is the knowledge of family left without provision, and frequently destitute. I was myself in South Africa when a banishment order was served on Elizabeth Mefekeng, who is a mother of 11 children. She was President of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, and the

Minister alleged she had "associated with Communists overseas"—though he could find no grounds for charging her in court. Her banishment would have been a savage and disastrous punishment on her large family. Mrs. Mefekeng evaded the order, and fled to Basutoland, where she still is.

Every legal expedient has naturally been explored to investigate the orders, or to have them set aside. Yet the deportees are banished without trial of any kind; they may not even be notified that their deportation is pending. The law stipulates that "it shall be sufficient to leave a copy of the order with some inmate of his place of residence, or to fix a copy thereof in a conspicuous place to his last known place of

residence, and it shall be deemed that the order has been brought to his notice."

Should he ask to be furnished with the reasons for his banishment, the Minister need give "only such information as in his opinion can be disclosed without detriment to the public interest"—which may be none whatever.

This brutal and indefensible process continues. Now that the powers of the Governor-General have been inherited by the President of the Republic, they are likely to increase. South Africa, persecuting those who have committed no crime, who have broken no law, who have been charged with no offence, adds one more quartering to her insignia of shame.

## AMNESTY '61 IN ACTION

# Volunteers seek freedom for 'Threes'

THE wide response of the general public to the first announcement of Amnesty '61 is already being harnessed to secure freedom and asylum for prisoners of conscience throughout the world. To organise and channel offers of help from individuals and groups, Amnesty has launched a new kind of positive charity—the Groups of Three.

The idea of Threes stems from the basic principle of Amnesty: that freedom knows no frontiers. Anyone who writes to Amnesty to ask "Can I adopt a prisoner?" is asked to take on the case not of one prisoner but three: one from each side of the Iron or Bamboo Curtain and one from the new territories of Africa, Asia or Latin America. In this way the movement preserves its non-political and non-denominational ideal.

Threes are organised and administered in each country from a Threes Centre. The first of these centres to be formed is in London. The Convenor is Mrs. Margaret Archer, who runs the centre from her home at 122 Finchley Lane, N.W.4. (Telephone: SUNnyhill 1128).

Mrs. Archer is an ex-teacher and wife of barrister—author Peter Archer. In the very short time since the British Threes Centre came into existence Margaret Archer has received enquiries from all parts of the country. "I'm currently dealing with 60 or 70," she announced in a brief interval between Amnesty work and chores. "I'm getting enthusiastic letters from everywhere from Inverness to Torquay, and already Threes groups are under way and working for their prisoners."

### Objects of Groups

What exactly does a Threes group do? Briefly, the objects are:

To secure the release of the three selected prisoners, if possible to continue living in their own country, if not to find asylum abroad;

To arrange immigration and transport where asylum is required;

To help support the prisoner and his family until they have found

employment, once asylum has been obtained;

To aid and encourage the prisoner's dependants.

At the same time, Threes groups work to establish the main themes of Amnesty '61: bringing attention to the widespread persecution in the world today; setting an example in mutual tolerance and the reduction of enmity; and proving that people of different views and background can work together for a common cause.

Anyone can form a Three, but mostly the groups fall into one of three categories: local, professional, or organisational. They are informal bodies linking neighbours or members of the same profession, club, trade union branch, society or congregation, in a common effort on behalf of the three prisoners. As soon as a group is formed, the Threes Centre will supply the names and details of three prisoners, to-

gether with some useful advice on how to go about working for their release.

While Threes groups are encouraged to use their initiative, advice is freely available from the Threes Centre, and this is most important when it comes to planning the strategy of appeals to foreign governments. Expert national advisers work in liaison with Threes who have prisoners in the countries they know.

### What to do

Among suggested lines of approach for a new Three are:

Try to contact the prisoner's close relatives: they may be the only persons who can communicate with the prisoner;

Write to the editor of a leading newspaper in the country concerned;

Use the local press to keep your district informed of the campaign you are carrying out;

Consult with the prisoner's relatives on the most effective way of bringing pressure to secure the prisoner's release;

Try to raise money or send gifts to prisoner's dependants who are in need;

If you do secure the release of a prisoner, write to the Threes Centre for the name and details of another from the same part of the world.

The establishment of the first Threes Centre and of its chain of Threes groups throughout Britain marks a major step forward in the Amnesty '61 campaign. Through Threes groups in all parts of the world, people in every walk of life have the opportunity to take positive action for the freedom of prisoners of conscience.

**Volunteer Envelope Addressers and Packers required for this paper each Wednesday evening at 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, E.C.4. Please telephone CEN 7867**

## New Travel Service

Amnesty '61 has started making travel arrangements for people seeking asylum abroad. A married couple with a six-month old child will shortly be leaving Antwerp for Mexico under this scheme.

In order to operate a cheap and efficient international travel service, Amnesty '61 has set up a separate travel handling department called ODYSSEY, which in turn appointed a network of travel agents throughout the world. This network will provide tickets on all passenger routes by air, sea and land at the minimum regulated charges and offers excellent personal service.

Amnesty '61 supporters who wish to avail themselves of this travel network are encouraged to do so. They should inform the appropriate travel agent in their own country that they are applying for tickets through Odyssey. The address of the London agent is Convoys, 6 Bouverie Street, E.C.4. (Tel. FLEet Street 4060).

A complete list of agents throughout the world will be supplied on application to Appeal for Amnesty '61, 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.4.