AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
MOVEMENT
FOR FREEDOM OF OPINION
AND RELIGION

ANNUAL REPORT

JUNE 1, 1964 – MAY 31, 1965

PUBLISHED BY
THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
12 CRANE COURT, FLEET STREET,
LONDON, E.C.4

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

is supported entirely by the subscriptions of its members and the donations of its supporters. It is independent and impartial in its endeavour to bring hope and release to all those who are persecuted for their beliefs.

Among those who support AMNESTY's appeal for funds to carry out its work are:

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Great Britain · Roger Baldwin, President of the International League for the Rights of Man, U.S.A. · Pablo Casals, Puerto Rico · Danilo Dolci, Sicily · Professor Erich Fromm, New York and Mexico · Lt.-Gen. Sir Brian Horrocks, Great Britain · J.F. Lalive, Switzerland · Professor Salvador de Madariaga, Spain · Yehudi Menuhin, Great Britain · Professor Gunnar Myrdal, Sweden · Pablo Neruda, Chile · Professor Robert Oppenheimer, U.S.A. · Alan Paton, South Africa · Abbe Dominique Pire, Nobel Prize winner, Belgium · Mr. Walter Reuther, International President of the United Automobile Workers, U.S.A. · Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Gabon · Sean MacBride, S.C., Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists · Professor Z. K. Matthews, South Africa · Philip Noel-Baker, M.P., Nobel Prize winner, Great Britain · Professor Giorgio La Pira, Mayor of Florence, Italy · Professor Julius Stone, Australia.

Funds are held in Britain under the terms of 'The Prisoner of Conscience Trust', of which the trustees are representatives of the principal religious denominations and political parties. Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Birmingham (Anglican); Professor Ritchie Calder (Humanist); Ian Gilmour, M.P. (Conservative) The Rev. Dr. I. Grunfeld (Jewish); Lord Sainsbury (Labour) Dr. Ernest Payne (Baptist); The Most Rev. Archbishop Roberts, S.J. (Roman Catholic); Jeremy Thorpe, M.P. (Liberal).

Donations made to 'The Prisoners of Conscience Fund' by way of covenant rank for recovery of income tax at the standard U.K. rate by the Fund as it is a registered charity.

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

OBJECTS OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

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 mobilise 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 organisation capable of concentrating efforts to secure the release of these 'Prisoners of Conscience', and to secure world-wide recognition of Articles 18 and 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Essentially an impartial organisation 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.

The method by which the AMNESTY movement focuses attention on those imprisoned in violation of Articles 18 and 19 of the Universal Declaration, is that of 'adoption'. Members of the movement in different countries form themselves into Groups willing to adopt these 'Prisoners of Conscience', one from the East, one from the West, and one from the Third World. The Group uses every endeavour to induce the three governments involved to release these 'adopted' prisoners, and in the meantime works to improve their conditions and to relieve any financial distress among their dependents.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT REPORT

1st June, 1964 – 31st May, 1965

INTRODUCTION

This has been a period of important consolidation. During the first three years the movement was carried forward by a surge of initial enthusiasm. Numbers of people all over the world, infected with this enthusiasm, offered their help. It has taken the twin tests of time and hard work to show which offers can be permanently relied on.

During this, the fourth year, a cadre of devoted AMNESTY workers has begun to develop. These are the men and women of greatly differing ages and conditions of life who have come to understand the underlying philosophy and the techniques of the movement. Those who thought that they were joining a mass demonstration in favour of freedom in its widest anarchical sense have dropped away. So have those who saw this movement as a weapon to be added to the armoury of their own particular policital cause.

The core of AMNESTY workers are developing a common and united approach to the many problems of great delicacy which face the movement. 1964 brought to a head the issue of whether or not support should be given to men like Nelson Mandela who, through pressure of events, found themselves constrained to recommend a degree of force in opposition to the South African Nationalist Government. This case was a particularly poignant one since Mandela, like his chief, Albert Luthuli, had previously been committed to the principles of non-violence. The opinion of the entire movement was canvassed on this issue during the summer of 1964; a synthesis of all the written views received was presented to the International Assembly at Canterbury in September. The degree of unanimity both of the letters and of the speeches was remarkable. While the greatest sympathy was expressed for those who find themselves deprived of every form of public protest, the movement recorded that it could not give the name of 'Prisoner of Conscience' to anyone associated with violence, even though as in 'convential warfare' a degree of restraint may be exercised. This was not to preclude espousing the cause of those who felt obliged to indulge in symbolic physical acts such as pulling down flags or even defacing posters, nor to exclude those who had tried to protect themselves when threatened by the indiscriminate use of fire-arms.

The concern shown by the delegates at the Canterbury Assembly to limit and safeguard the use of the term 'Prisoner of Conscience' is evidence of the significance which the term has already achieved. During the last fifty years the world has slowly learned first to recognise and then to respect the position of the 'conscientious objector to military service'. The AMNESTY movement is endeavouring to secure the same degree of immunity against both persecution and prosecution for those with deep objections to other facets of national policy. Governments which are tempted to object that this encourages defiance of the law are slowly beginning to understand that there cannot and never will be a workable system of international law unless states are willing to equate their national systems of law with morality.

One notable recognition of AMNESTY's own term 'Prisoners of Conscience' is the award of 2nd prize at the Berlin Film and T/V Festival to a documentary bearing this title made about the work of the movement by a British independent television company. Another has been the growing publicity each December for the 'Prisoner of Conscience' selected to symbolise the suffering of all those imprisoned during Human Rights Day and the Christmas season which follows. The name of Julieta Gandra, the Portuguese doctor arrested in Angola in 1959, selected at the International Assembly in 1964 became known to literally millions of people all over the world. And the joy at the news of her subsequent release was spontaneous and universal.

Concern with the relationship of law and morality has brought the movement to a position of committed support for all those supra-national and international organisations which express man's recognition of a higher morality than national interest. These organisations are under great pressure in a period of increasing chauvinism. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is proud to be allowed to give them support in whatever way it can. The award of Consultative Status by both the United Nations and the Council of Europe during the year under review provides a channel for this support. It is also heartening recognition of the devoted work of the movement's members.

The equation of law with morality has never been a popular subject among lawyers. A small minority are deeply committed to the concept of a 'higher law' and they, in many countries, have been remarkably active in support of the movement. The pliability of both judges and lawyers throughout history has been notorious; it is no less so today. This explains why contrary to the expectation of some enquiring journalists and diplomats this is by no means predominantly a lawyers' movement. It is made up of two main

strands, those who have a concern for the freedom of man's spirit and those who are outraged at any enforced humiliation of his body.

It is therefore not surprising that the greatest volume of support should come from those areas which are broadly described as 'Protestant', or that several of our principal figures belong to the reforming movement within the Roman Catholic Church, or that so many of the members, not committed to any formal religion, call themselves proudly 'humanist'. It is the vitality of the Sections and Groups in North West Europe which give the movement its dynamism. The growth of AMNESTY in Scandinavia has been a particularly significant feature during the last year.

Difficulties have continued to hamper development in U.S.A. During the year under review almost all those who might have given up time to work for AMNESTY were committed to the struggle for Civil Rights in their own county. However, an article about the movement in the *Reader's Digest* in March, 1965, brought about 700 interested letters. A modification has been introduced into the original 'Threes Scheme' to suit the traditions of individualism in North America. With the noted advances of the cause of Civil Rights by legislation our American supporters now think that the moment is at last propitious for progress.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

This is the first full year that the Secretariat has operated; it was established in November, 1963, in accommodation provided by the British Section. Although its income has slowly increased due to donations and remarkably generous help from Denmark and Ireland, it still depends heavily on Britain's support. For this reason many of its services are shared with the British Section. This makes the dividing line in the office between what is 'International' and what is 'British' sometimes rather fine. Thanks to the extremely friendly relationship between the staff, full-time, part-time and volunteers, difficulties which might have completely disrupted any organisation wedded to 'the rule' have been overcome by generosity of the spirit.

The International Secretariat is conscious that it is often obliged to take decisions rapidly without being able to sound even the Executive, let alone the National Sections and Groups. The urgency of most of our work demands rapid responses. Sometimes these err on the side of caution; occasionally, stands are taken on principles which may not be fully accepted by the movement, but are gradually emerging. One example is the 'Benefit of the Doubt' principle which is applied to give interim 'Prisoner of Conscience' status

to those who have been arrested in countries where there is a system of administrative detention or where the charges of 'espionage' are used loosely to disguise such a system. Later, when more facts are known, it may transpire that the prisoner does not qualify for protection; he may appear on the weight of evidence publicly adduced and available to challenge to be a spy, an assassin or a fraud. For such errors of judgment (and all others) the Secretariat asks indulgence; the Secretariat by the very nature of its role has to walk along a trapeze, balancing sense against sensibility.

INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE

The Executive met three times during the year – at Hamburg in June, 1964; at Canterbury in September, 1964; and in Dublin in March, 1965. At the Annual Assembly the Executive was elected for the year on the previous linguistic pattern, each of the language groupings active in the movement nominating one member – Dutch, English, German, Latin and Scandinavian. Those so nominated were respectively :– Dr. Herman Todts, Sean MacBride, S.C., Dr. Hajo Wandschneider, Maitre Nicolas Jacob and Adv. Bent Knudsen. As before Sean MacBride was asked to act as Chairman. The Assembly in addition asked Peter Benenson, who had previously acted as Secretary to the Executive, to remain an ex officio member as President. His place as Secretary was taken by Martin Enthoven.

It was decided at the Dublin meeting that the amount of business and the expense involved would enable the number of meetings of the Executive to be reduced to two each year. It was suggested that wherever possible the meetings should be held in a national capital where the occasion could be used to focus publicity on the work of the Section and Groups in that country.

INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The setting of Canterbury provided a suitable background for the principal discussion at the 1964 Assembly. Eight hundred years preciously an Archbishop who had challenged the King's right to legislate was murdered in the cathedral. On June 21st, 1964, three American Civil Rights workers went to investigate the burning of a church in Mississippi. Two days later their burned-out car was found in a swamp; all three had been brutally murdered. The Mississippi State Legislature had passed no less than 16 statutes to frustrate the entry of Civil Rights workers into the state.

The Assembly considered a first-hand report given by Anthony Lester who had toured four Southern States during the summer as

AMNESTY'S delegate. Despite the many abuses af the judicial system reported by him, the Assembly accepted his conclusion that the growing strength of the Civil Rights movement together with the gathering momentum of federal legislation would before long ensure equal political rights to the Negroes of these states.

With no dissenting voice and three abstentions the 100 delegates reaffirmed AMNESTY'S fundamental position that only those who neither practised nor advocated violence could be adopted as 'Prisoners of Conscience'. It was, however, decided to give greater emphasis to that part of the movement's aims concerned with improving the conditions of all political prisoners. To this end a resolution was passed instructing the Secretariat to prepare reports on prison conditions in countries where there were numerous prisoners at the rate of three reports a year.

THE PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE LIBRARY

This title includes all the departments of the Secretariat engaged upon cataloguing details of individual prisoners and preparing case-sheets and background papers for Groups.

Throughout the year the Library, housed in the minute basement of 1, Mitre Court Buildings was working under great pressure in almost intolerable physical conditions. It speaks much for the devotion of the paid staff and volunteers that they managed to achieve so much. Shortage of accommodation obliged several volunteers to work at home and others were to be found squatting on the office floor. As this report goes to press it is possible to announce that at long last it has been possible to provide the Library with something approaching enough space, it now has the use of the top floor of 12, Crane Court, Fleet Street.

The volume of newspapers and specialist reviews regularly read and cut has steadily increased. Ten newspapers a day and 100 periodicals a week in different languages are read and all relevant information is cut out and filed under the country concerned. A significant change during the year has been the greater flow of information about prisoners by correspondence. Letters giving details of arrests come from four sources : international organisations, opposition or exiled groups, prisoners' families or friends, and on occasions from prisoners themselves. It is now estimated that something like half of the names catalogued are received from these sources. When the movement was established all information had to be gathered by press cutting.

The flow of correspondence has involved more time being devoted to letter-writing since the first communication rarely contains all the details necessary for the preparation of a case-sheet. The

work of checking and expanding the information about prisoners whose names are culled from the press is handled by what is called the Investigation Bureau. Since this may suggest a large department it is relevant to mention that with the exception of one full-time staff member the Bureau for the rest consists of volunteers. Specialist knowledge of the countries is an indispensable requisite, so is a certain amount of spare time. These qualifications are rarely combined. The movement is grateful to those voluntary workers who have during the year gone to great trouble to learn about conditions in the countries to which they are assisgned.

The Research Bureau is also a grander title than the establishment deserves. Its function is to prepare and revise Background Papers for the guidance of Groups: these papers are designed to give a survey of political and prison conditions together with advice on persons to whom the Groups might appropriately write to bring pressure for release of their adopted prisoner. All those who prepare Background Papers are volunteers. During the year the following papers have been completed:– Hungary, Guinea, India, Nepal, Oman, Iraq, Turkey, Ghana and Nigeria, and the paper on Spain has been revised.

Another important function of the Library is to provide information to journalists and others writing articles or programmes dealing with prisoners or persecution. The weight of these enquiries increases steadily. So does another type of work: that of providing lists of Prisoners of Conscience which can be checked by members of the movement who offer their services for this purpose during their holiday travel.

PUBLICATIONS

The regular publications have now been rationalised to two quarterly bulletins. *Eustomy* continues to carry the principal material issued by the Secretariat together with abbreviated versions of the reports by delegates recently returned from missions. *The Amnesty Bulletin* has grown out of the quarterly bulletin issued during the last two years by the British Section; it now carries news of special interest to those working in Groups in all countries reporting their activities. Both Bulletins are issued simultaneously in February, May, August and November.

Financial considerations generally limit the printed publication of full reports by delegates, but the practice is to issue them in duplicated form to Groups with an adopted prisoner in the country concerned. Anthony Lester's report 'Justice in the American South' was published as a printed booklet. Despite widespread praise for its sober, factual appraisal the general sale was small.

Because of their ephemeral nature the difficulty of finding a market for pamphlets, printing represents an unrequited outlay.

ADOPTION GROUPS

The number of adoption-Groups has increased during the year from 360 to 400. The rate of increase has been limited by a decision to curtail further growth in Britain; the net increase is therefore entirely in other countries where there are now 150 Groups. The figure of 400 Groups represents something near to the maximum which can be dealt with by the present Library staff. While every endeavour will be made to foster new Groups in countries where there are none or few, those Sections with a number of Groups already established are being invited to strengthen their existing structure. Inevitably some Groups fold up and need to be replaced, others require an injection of new membership. The British Section has the advantage of a full-time Secretary who tours the country, visiting each Group once a year. This personal contact is considered vital, and it is hoped that all Sections will try and arrange for the appointment of a Groups Organiser.

The establishment of a Group in Pakistan is a welcome sign of the movement's growth.

Altogether 800 adopted 'Prisoners of Conscience' have been released since the first Group was established in 1962. 1,200 prisoners are under adoption at the present time. The Library has information about a further 2,000 prisoners potentially suitable for adoption, of whom the great majority come from countries in the third, non-committed area of the world.

DELEGATES' MISSIONS

At the International Assembly it was reported that the functioning of the adoption-Group system was jeopardised by an imbalance in the areas from which listed 'Prisoners of Conscience' were drawn. The relative lack of information about the names of prisoners in Communist countries has always been a difficulty. The relative shortage of prisoners in the West has – regrettably – been remedied by the turn of events in Rhodesia and the spate of arrests in Portugal.

The decision to send out delegates on journeys financed by the movement has largely been dictated by the need to increase the stock of prisoners' names in the Communist and Western areas of the world. Efforts to this end have produced a regular flow of information from Portugal and Rhodesia, while at long last some progress has been made in collecting the names of prisoners in Cuba.

Special missions were mounted to deal with particular situations. Anthony Lester spent two months in the Southern States of U.S.A.; Anthony Rhodes went to Rumania and Bent Knudsen to E. Germany in September, 1964, to verify the extent of releases under the Amnesty Decree; Louis Blom-Cooper visited South Africa in December, 1964, to attend two major political trials. Peter Benenson went to enquire into the fate of political prisoners in Haiti, most of whom were found to have been killed.

In addition, members have travelled widely during the year; their reports have been of great assistance, covering Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Spain, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia.

THE KIT SCHEME

To meet developing interest in U.S.A. the Secretariat launched in May, 1965, what is known as 'The Kit Scheme'. This is designed to enable individual supporters to play an active role without having to join a Group. The scheme reproduces in miniature the working of an adoption-Group. The kit consists of a cardboard container which holds a handbook and 36 cards (33 AMNESTY Greeting Cards and three AMNESTY Christmas Cards). The handbook contains guidance on the type of message which should be written on the cards according to the country and the person to whom they are addressed – Head of State, Minister, Prisoner's family or Prisoner. Short political histories of 29 countries are included in the handbook and these will be added to from time to time. Each month the Secretariat sends out to every kit-holder a letter giving details of three topical cases where immediate card-writing is thought likely to influence the result. The idea is to build up the number and distribution of kit-holders so that governments are eventually deluged by an international mail of cards. The scheme is particularly useful in focusing attention on cases where urgent action is required, for instance, immediately after arrest and before the decision to prosecute, or immediately after a death sentence and before execution.

Although designed primarily for use in U.S.A. the kit is suitable for use by an isolated supporter of the movement, and kits have already been dispatched to remote areas of the world. Hopefully the Italian Section has decided to encourage use of the kit and the handbook has already been translated and issued in Italian. This suggests that the scheme might be appropriate for other Latin countries, which by their temperament and tradition are less adapted to Group work.

RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Since the grant of Consultative Status by U.N.O. the movement has been represented in New York by Niels Groth of the Danish Section. The Group in Geneva has undertaken to provide representation at relevant meetings in the Palais des Nations. Both Sean MacBride and Peter Benenson have maintained contact and had several meetings with Dr. John Humphrey, Director of Human Rights Division of U.N.O. They have also met the Secretary-General of the Council of Europe, since the award of Consultative Status, and been in close contact with the staff of the Human Rights Directorate and Commission.

During the year the movement has been in frequent touch with both the International Commission of Jurists and the International League for the Rights of Man. Common attitudes have been established to many contemporary situations and action by all three movements simultaneously has been impressive.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has had the benefit of regular information and encouragement from I.C.F.T.U., the Co-ordinating Secretariat of Student Unions, the World Assembly of Youth and the International Press Institute to name a few of an increasing number of organisations which provide information about the arrest of affiliated members. The World Veterans' Federation's growing interest in Human Rights has been noted with appreciation.

Informal discussions with the International Committee of the Red Cross have continued to be of great value.

Like the Red Cross AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is scrupulous not to align or associate itself with any organisation which has political or denominational objectives. For this reason it has been obliged to publicise its independence of various AMNESTY Committees established in connection with prisoners in a particular country, such as Spain, Portugal and Venezuela. This essential position of independence does not preclude willingness to assist a Prisoner of Conscience whose name is received from any source.

INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATION

This year has seen the start of an effort made by the movement to promote international legislation in favour of human rights. Efforts have been made, publicly and privately, to secure a wider ratification of the European Convention of Human Rights.

Sean MacBride and Peter Benenson took the initiative in convening meetings of interested Non-Governmental Organisations to review the future development of the international protection of

South Australia

There are 2 groups in this branch of the Australian Section, one at the University of Adelaide and one at Wilderness Girls' School, Adelaide. The school group has 73 members and meets every three weeks. In addition to the work carried out on behalf of the three adopted prisoners, the group has been looking into the situation regarding aboriginees in South Australia. The group has organised two fund raising events – a mannequin parade and a folk singing evening – which raised sufficient money for the group to be able to send £30 to the London office. The group at Adelaide University has been well publicised among the students and there has been an increase in the membership over the last year. The group has continued to send money to their adopted prisoner in South Africa.

Tasmania

Mrs. B. E. G. Rolls, 194, Waterworks Road, Hobart.

A member of the group in Hobart was interviewed on television about the work of AMNESTY and there is the possibility of a fuller programme sometime in the future. Two letters were published, in *The Mercury* and *The Australian* about Guinean prisoners at the time of the Guinean Dancers' tour of Australia. An article about AMNESTY has appeared in *The Mercury*. During Magna Carta week, an AMNESTY poster was displayed at the public library. Mrs. Rolls gave a talk about AMNESTY to the students at Collegiate School. There is the possibility that a group will be formed at Hobart University during the coming year.

Victoria

Mrs. Clare Wositzky, Driffield Crescent, Sassafras, Victoria.

There are 11 groups in the Victorian Section, of which 3 are at the University of Melbourne, with a membership of a hundred. In addition there are about a hundred members who give financial support and receive copies of publications. The year has also meant closer contact with other organisations and particularly in activities such as Human Rights Day, the sale of Christmas cards and the Annual Conference.

For the first time this year, the Section produced its own Christmas card. 130 dozen were sold and this is sufficiently encouraging to enable the Section to continue this arrangement in the future. Two conferences have been held, one on 'Democracy in the Latin American Countries' and one on 'Emergent Africa'. Both meetings were well attended. An inter-denominational church service with four ministers participating, was held to commemorate Human Rights Day. Mrs. Ruth Benjamin who is a member and has herself suffered persecution, lit the AMNESTY candle on behalf of Julieta Gandra.

The general amnesties in Egypt, East Germany and Rumania and the suspension of the 90 day detention clause in South Africa, accounted for 14 releases. A further 9 were released in other countries. A total of £170 has been sent to prisoners' families, mainly in South Africa but also in Greece and Rumania. Several letters of thanks have been received from the wives of South African prisoners.

A sub-committee which has been looking into the question of infringement of human rights of the Australian Aborigines has just completed its report after four months of study.

Western Australia

Interest in the group at the University of Western Australia which faded with the departure of Bob Grinley, the group's founder, has been revived with the appointment of Bob Pearce as the AMNESTY Officer. The greatest difficulty at present being encountered is the large turnover of students which creates a lack of continuity. However, attempts are being made to stimulate interest in AMNESTY, both within and outside the University, and the AMNESTY Officer has accepted several invitations to address local organisations. It is hoped that this will ultimately lead to the formation of groups throughout the whole of Western Australia.

BELGIUM

Dr. Herman Todts, Van Notenstraat 18, Deurne-Z-Antwerpen.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has been in existence in Belgium since 1962. It was officially inaugurated with the holding of the first International Assembly of the movement at the Chateau de Male, near Bruges, in September 1962.

In spite of difficulties, the movement has spread since then, particularly in the Flemish parts of Belgium.

The reason for this is not difficult to find: the Belgian League for the Rights of Man, which is fairly strong in the Walloon country, and in Brussels, is almost non-existent in the Flemish parts of the country. Accordingly, it has been possible to gain the support of two or three hundred people who are sympathetic to the movement.

This may not appear to be a very large number, after four years of activity. Nevertheless, it can be affirmed that press, television and radio are eager to publicise the Section's activities.

Opportunity for publicity occurs frequently. Investigators' reports published by AMNESTY provide the Belgian section with opportunity to edit hand outs for the press. The newspapers publish these, at the same time acknowledging their source. This means that the movement is well-known in Belgium. For instance: after

the meeting of the International Executive in Dublin in March, 1965, certain academic bodies in Belgium invited the Belgian section to give a talk on the aims of the movement. In other words, seeing that the initiative did not come from the Belgian section, even a meeting at Dublin can have repercussions at national level.

In addition, there have been meetings and conferences this year at Gand, Brussels, Louvain and Anvers.

From the publicity point of view then, there is reason for satisfaction at the progress made. It should also be mentioned that since last year, members of the Belgian section receive almost every month stencilled information about AMNESTY activities.

Nevertheless, there are grounds for concern in one department : no headway can be recorded with Threes Groups in Belgium. The war of words declared on governments which are indifferent to human rights does not attract the participation that might be expected. Yet the Belgian section is convinced that the spread of the movement depends upon the activity of the Threes Groups.

If perseverance is a virtue, the leaders of the Belgian section are looking for new and effective means to deal with this problem.

BRITAIN

12, Crane Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

To merit the 'International' of our title it is growth overseas that is vital, and to stimulate this we have actually had to restrain our own enthusiasm for prisoner-adopting a little this past twelve months, and at the same time have made a manful contribution, in the form of salaries, to the expense that the International Secretariat is bearing, in order to reach the global proportion we are after.

THE THREES GROUPS

As will be expected from what has already been written, the number of Groups shows only a limited increase from last year's total. Yet this does not mean that the situation has been static, in fact, 23 new Groups have been started but about the same number have finished activities. A few of the latter had never really succeeded in getting off the ground; in other cases the live wire who had started the Group left the district or could no longer be active, and like a machine with the generator removed the wheels just ran down to a full stop. It was even possible to exercise a little selectiveness in where new Groups were to start and, as a result, we have not this year had to act upon the ephemeral enthusiasm of an odd individual, but have been able to consider what subsequent quality was likely to be.

During the past twelve months new Groups have been formed at Newcastle University; Middlesbrough; The Mount School, York; Liverpool; Hereford; Hampton Grammar School; Denstone College; Cambridge; Colwyn Bay; Thaxted; Norwich University; Doncaster; Maidstone; Colston Girls' School, Bristol; Broxbourne; Society of Friends, Brighton; Corby Grammar School; Dundee University; Haywards Heath; King's Norton Grammar School, Birmingham; The Rookery, Oxford; Richmond and Twickenham Humanist Group; Stevenage.

On 30th April, there were 212 Groups of Three making a total of 650 prisoners under adoption.

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

This was a major occasion. The music of Yehudi and Hepzibah Menuhin, the message of Isaiah to the captive, read by The Rt. Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, the holiness of Human Rights from the Bishop of Chichester, all addressed to an assembly of nearly two thousand in St. Paul's Cathedral. A message of support for the occasion was sent from the Prime Minister, who had earlier undertaken to read the Lesson but was prevented from attending by his North American trip. Most satisfying was the sight of the 1963 prisoner Heinz Brandt, lighting the candle in honour of the 1964 prisoner, Dr. Julieta Gandra. On the following evening the whole of the ceremony was broadcast by the B.B.C.

The most encouraging feature about the commemoration of this day though, was the large number of Groups which arranged a ceremony in their own neighbourhood. From Edinburgh to Exeter, in Shrewsbury and Sheffield, Liverpool and Lincoln, services or meetings were held and well reported by the local Press. Corby Grammar School Group spent all Human Rights night in a barbed-wire compound in the town square – a dramatic gesture that put the Group and the occasion right in front of the public eye.

UNIVERSITY GROUPS

The University Groups held their annual conference this year in Oxford, during November.

THE LONDON THREES GROUPS

When Mrs. Marian Sander, already well-known in connection with last year's Art Sale, generously lent her flat for the occasion. Nearly sixty people attended and discussion was wide-ranging and lively.

PUBLICITY

A good deal came from the St. Paul's ceremony. But the most spectacular came just fourteen days later, on Christmas Eve, when

Independent Television put on a half hour programme about those spending Christmas in prison for their beliefs. Much of the material came from the AMNESTY files and quite a lot of enquiries subsequently arrived at Head Office. Haro, the well-known illustrator, produced a new poster for use by Groups, the Hampstead Group promoted the display of fifty posters in the London Underground, and a series of advertisements in newspapers have also kept the name of AMNESTY in the public eye.

MEMBERSHIP

As was hoped, the increased publicity has resulted in a number of new members. Unfortunately, this has to to be balanced against the number of members who have not renewed their subscription – through neglect rather than a conscious decision, we hope.

STAFF

Full-time workers in the British Section are three, Marlys Deeds, Albert Lodge and Peter White who is a general help. Mrs. Eileen Speller assists part-time in the Threes Department. We are dependent on a number of part-time volunteers, Mrs. Marna Glyn who runs the membership section, Paul Ronchetti and Mrs. Shelagh Levy who are prepared to help with anything. Visitors to Crane Court sometimes get the impression that there are more staff than this but this is because the International Secretariat, with the Library attached, shares the same offices, and there is much coming and going.

In addition to the volunteers named here, there are others who come in from time to time and shoulder the tedium of addressing and filling envelopes, and other monotonous tasks. We are eagerly grateful to all of them; for sure, we could not manage without them.

CANADA

There are 4 groups in the Canadian Section – in Montreal, Toronto, Waterloo and Edberg. The group at York University, Toronto, has run into the temporary difficulty that many university groups encounter, that a number of the members of the group have now graduated and left the university and others are so busy with their studies and with other activities that they find it hard to devote much time to the work of the group. This means that the group has virtually ceased to be active and they have returned their prisoners to the International Secretariat. Two members, however, are still interested and they are endeavouring to revive the group during the next few months. They are hoping to contact a number

of people who have shown interest in AMNESTY as a result of reading the article in the *Reader's Digest*.

The Montreal group has 10 members and it is intended that the group should meet at least once a month in future. Two of the group's prisoners have been released, in Spain and South Africa. The South African is said to be in very bad health and it is unlikely that he will work again. He has been sent financial help by the group.

The group in Edberg, Alberta, has 14 members and a great many letters have been written on behalf of the adopted prisoners. Replies have been received from all three countries where the prisoners are in gaol; Cuba, Nigeria and Portugal and it is thought that the Cuban prisoner is now getting improved conditions.

A member of the group was tragically killed in an air crash earlier this year which was a great blow to all the members. The money raised by the group from a sale of radio equipment was also lost in the plane crash but it is intended that the group hold another similar sale.

In addition to the groups, there are already 10 members who have been sent 'kits' and it is expected that there will be requests for a great many more 'kits' from those members who are not able to take part in the work of the groups.

DENMARK

Bent Østergaard, Hyttevaenget 10, Brøndby Strand.

The Danish Section was officially founded at a meeting held on 9th May, 1964, but by this time there were already 11 groups working in Denmark. Since the foundation the number of members has grown to 430 and the number of groups to 30. A number of other people who are not members have made donations and since 12th December all contributions to the Danish Section have been eligible for tax relief.

The groups are spread out over the whole country. Adopted prisoners have been released from countries such as: Spain, Portugal, East Germany, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Rhodesia, South Africa, Pakistan, Mexico and the United Arab Republic. Contributions have been sent to prisoners or their families in Portugal, Spain, Mexico, East Germany, South Africa and Rhodesia.

During his visit to Copenhagen on 16th June, 1964, Kruschev was sent a letter by the Section containing a detailed description of AMNESTY, a mention of the status of the Jews in the U.S.S.R. and an appeal on behalf of 7 prisoners of conscience. The letter was written in Russian and copies were sent to the world press. No reply was received.

About 1,600 Christmas cards were sold last December and a list was prepared of the 11 most difficult cases under adoption by the Danish groups to whom members could send their cards. Although no replies were received to these cards, some members received replies from prisoners mentioned on the list provided by the London office and a number of these members are now in regular correspondence with the prisoners. About 1,500 sheets of AMNESTY seals have also been sold.

Delegates have travelled to East Germany, the U.S.S.R. and Spain, and several times to Portugal, at their own expense, with the exception of the trip to East Germany which was financed by the German Section. These trips have produced a lot of valuable material both for the London office and for the Danish Section.

In addition to the relief sent to adopted prisoners and their families, money has been sent to families in South Africa where the father is in prison. The group in Aarhus has collected money from a number of sources, including schools and commercial organisations, to send to the families of restrictees in Rhodesia. At the moment money is being sent to about 25 families but it is hoped that this number will be increased.

During the financial year (1/4/64 to 31/3/65), in addition to the subscription sent to the London office, the Danish Section has paid for the printing of the report by Anthony Lester entitled 'Justice in the American South'.

On 29th December a large meeting of the Danish Section was held in co-operation with W.F.U.N.A. and the World Association of Federalists and was addressed by one of the members of the London office. A number of members have spoken to other organisations about the work of AMNESTY and this has brought in many new members and supporters.

Information about the work of AMNESTY has been sent to about 1,200 people, in the course of the year, and AMNESTY has been given considerable coverage in the press. The Section has been in close contact with the other Scandinavian Sections, both by correspondence and by personal contact. Ideas and advice have been exchanged and publications have been translated from English into one of the Scandinavian languages.

FAROE ISLANDS

Roland Thomsen, Jonas Broncksgötá 32 A, Tórshavn.

There are at present 6 members in the Faroe Islands Section. Last Christmas the group sent cards to 15 prisoners in different countries and a reply was received from a recently released prisoner in Western Germany.

An article by Roland Thomsen has appeared in four newspapers and Mr. Thomsen has also given a broadcast about the work of AMNESTY and there is the possibility of another broadcast being arranged during the coming year.

The group has corresponded with the Norwegian Section concerning the booklet that is being prepared about AMNESTY for use throughout the Scandinavian countries. The annual meeting will be held in August and about 80 people have been invited. It is hoped that the meeting will receive some publicity and that this will result in an increase in the number of supporters.

FINLAND

Pär Stenbäck, Postbox 10652, Helsinki 10.

At the present time there are no groups in Finland as the group in Hamina has had to be disbanded. There is hope, however, that a new group will be formed and for the time being the three prisoners that were adopted by the group are being looked after by individual members. This is not really satisfactory, as the individuals have virtually no contact with one another but it seems to work as long as there is a central agent to supervise.

So far no group has been formed in Helsinki but two quite influential people have promised to try and start a group in the autumn. In all there are about ten people who are interested and who have promised some kind of support, including one member of parliament who has been very helpful in suggesting contacts, although unable to take any direct role himself owing to his position. Some of these contacts belong to the Swedish Students' Liberal Association and it is hoped that a lecture will be given there about the work of AMNESTY. An article about AMNESTY, written for the *Ylioppilaslehti*, the Finnish student newspaper, was not accepted and no reason was given. This was disappointing.

There are only two supporters outside Helsinki, but one, a schoolgirl in Kuusankoski, plans to start a group among her classmates when school starts again in the autumn.

Bruce Laird who founded the Finnish Section will be leaving Finland at the end of the summer but it is hoped that a sufficient number of contacts have now been made to ensure that the Section will continue their work after he has left. It must, however, be said that Finnish people do not understand the AMNESTY idea easily. They are unwilling to accept that it is a non-political organisation. Their history and geographical situation partly account for this but, on the other hand, it is precisely for these reasons that AMNESTY should exist in this country.

FRANCE

Guy Perrais, 90, Boulevard de Courcelles, Paris XVIIe.

The French Section which was officially founded on 24th November, 1964, has adopted the title 'Association Pour les Libertés et Droits de l'Esprit' (A.L.E.D.E.) in an attempt to avoid the confusion that arises by people assuming that AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is yet another AMNESTY organisation many of which abound in France already or else a movement in favour of Algeria being governed by France.

The Section is constituted in the following way :–

(a) The Presidency – has statutory attributes, including international relations concerning prisoners. The treasury is attached to the Presidency.

(b) The General Secretariat – this covers research, contacts and general group work.

(c) The Steering Committee – completes the prisoners' case sheets and examines difficult cases. The above activities are determined by an Administrative Council which meets three times a year.

One of the first tasks was recruiting members. A number of personalities, especially religious, were sent a circular. The results were meagre but there were a few encouraging replies. Letters were also sent to youth organisations, whatever the colour or doctrine, an article was published on the work of AMNESTY by Pax Christi, the Catholic movement for Peace, and the article which appeared in the *Reader's Digest* brought in a number of enquiries.

In February, Maitre Nicolas Jacob, the President of the Section, went to Portugal to investigate the student arrests. His report was distributed to international organisations, to the authorities and to the press and also at a meeting of 4,000 people organised by the Union Nationale des Etudiants Francais.

The Section, having already intervened on behalf of the Moroccan Opposition Party, continues to follow the situation there with particular interest. Contacts have been maintained in Morocco and a letter was written to the King on the occasion of the amnesty. The situation in Algeria is being followed with concern and members are apprehensive for those French nationals who have disappeared in the last few years.

The French Section was represented at an international conference in Nice at the end of May this year, organised by the Association for the Development of World Law, on the theme

'The United Nations and the World To-day'. The Section is planning to hold an international conference in the near future on the theme 'The Rights of Man and the Laws of Development'.

There are at present 2 groups in France but, as mentioned earlier, the groups have experienced difficulty in recruiting new members, partly due to the confusion over the title of 'AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'. As both these groups are made up of professional people, their work sometimes prevents them from attending meetings. As well as this the French tend to take less and less part in collective activities. Nevertheless, contacts have been made and the customary letters written and though there are many difficulties to be overcome, the Section's hopes are high for the future.

GERMANY

Miss Carola Stern, 5 Köln, Am Rinkenpfuhl 57.

The greatest achievement of the German Section during the last 12 months consisted in publicising the work of AMNESTY in a number of newspapers and magazines. Articles by collaborators or about AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL have been published in :–

the Information Bulletin of Conscientious Objectors (Mitteilungsblatt der Kriegsdienstverweigerer *Zivil*),
Westfälische Rundschau (three articles and readers' letters),
Neue Bildpost (two articles and readers' letters),
Freie Presse (one article),
Vorgänge (Humanistische Union) – (a reprint of our booklet on the work of AMNESTY),
Die Zeit (one article, to be published shortly),
the German edition of *Reader's Digest*.

Moreover, a member of the German Section, Herr Karl-Heinz Kammertöns, on his own initiative has sent out a leaflet.

As a consequence of this publicity in the press, about 60 enquiries were received and a standard letter was sent out in reply. The result of this action was that a number of donations were received and several new groups were formed.

During the period covered by this report *eight* new groups have been set up; *two* groups have closed down. The work of the latter, it appears, never really started. On the whole it has been found that it is better to close down groups which find the work impossible than to carry them along for the sake of prestige. The groups which now exist in the Federal Republic and West Berlin – altogether 19 – work well in the light of experience. The representatives of the groups in Cologne and Bonn and the neighbouring area meet regularly every eight weeks in order to exchange their experiences – an arrangement which has proved very useful.

For Christmas, 1964, the German Section, for the first time, sold their own Christmas card. The Section will continue this action in 1965, but intend, following the example of UNICEF, to enclose with all cards a sheet of paper, explaining the aims of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL and giving the address of the German Section.

Owing to the donations the bank account of the German Section has increased to DM 500. Among such donations there were many small contributions from friends of AMNESTY of quite modest means.

IRELAND

Mrs. Karin O'Donovan, 31, Oaklands Drive, Rathgar, Dublin, 6.

In the Irish Section's third year of existence it had twenty working Groups for THREE. While this is only a small increase on the eighteen Groups in June, 1964, it was in fact the deliberate policy of the Irish Section to strengthen existing Groups rather than to form new Groups. Three meetings during the year dealt especially with the problems of Groups work; one of these was addressed on conditions in Spain by a member of War Resisters' International. Two of the Irish Section's adopted prisoners died during the last year; work on behalf of one prisoner was discontinued when it became apparent that he was not a prisoner of conscience. As against this, 24 of the Section's adopted prisoners were released; quite a number of these releases must be attributed to the major amnesties declared in East Germany and Rumania, although prisoners were also released in Egypt, Ghana, Hungary, India, Mexico, South Africa and the U.S.S.R.

A very disturbing development was the sentence of death passed on Ako Adjei and his companions in Ghana. Immediate appeals by individuals and organisations in Ireland were followed by the decision of AMNESTY's international secretariat to send a spokesman to plead with Dr. Nkrumah. Because of lack of funds at international AMNESTY level no spokesman had in fact been sent by the time Mr. Adjei's sentence was commuted. But by then the Irish Section had started an emergency fund (initially of £75) of its own, to be used in cases where a man's life is at stake and it is felt that a personal, on-the-spot appeal may serve a useful purpose. It is the Irish Section's hope that other national sections will also set up emergency funds, which should preferably be in the hands of the international secretariat for immediate availability in any case of need.

The Irish Section sent an observer to two of the international executive meetings held during the year and also played host to the international executive at its meeting in Dublin in March, 1965.

Here it was possible to establish the right of national sections not directly represented on the international executive to receive copies of the agendas and minutes of these meetings. The close co-operation which thus existed between the Irish Section on the one hand and AMNESTY's other national sections and its international secretariat on the other hand had several useful results. One of these was the money raised by the Irish Section from among its members and from outside individuals and bodies for the journey of an AMNESTY delegate to Rumania. Another was the considerable help given by the German Section when Peter Herrmann, one of the Irish Section's recently released prisoners from East Germany, came to Dublin to address the Irish Section's annual general meeting. Not only AMNESTY members but the Irish public generally, but directly and through press, radio and television, benefited from Peter Herrmann's thought-provoking report of his experiences.

Publicity throughout the year was excellent, particularly in connection with Human Rights Day and with Christmas (when the Section published a list of twelve prisoners of conscience to whom Christmas cards should be sent; one of these prisoners, since released, received over 160 cards) and at the time of the international executive meeting in Dublin. Committee members of the Irish Section also spoke on AMNESTY's work at several meetings specially arranged by other organisations. The problem of fund-raising was eased by special efforts made by individual members of the Irish Section as well as by very heartening support from Irish business firms. The sale of Irish-designed and -printed Christmas cards was continued with profit, and a new design is planned for Christmas, 1965. In addition to payment for material, such as *Eustomy*, received from the international secretariat, the Irish Section has been able to contribute a total of about £400 (including £50 due for 1963/64, over £100 for the journey of a delegate to Rumania, and £30 to the Prisoner of Conscience Fund) to AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL during the year. The Section's membership is now over 200, to which must be added the affiliated Workers' Union of Ireland with 30,000 members.

ISRAEL

Mrs. Neta Eran, Beth Hakerem, Hechaluzstreet 56, Jerusalem; and Mrs. Bella Ravdin, P.O. Box 6116, Haifa.

Report of the Jerusalem Branch

The total number of members is at present 17, some of the members taking an active part in the work and others being subscribing members. Three meetings have been held during the past year, and

at one of these Justice Haim Cohn gave an account of the Conference of the League for Human Rights held in Geneva earlier this year.

One of the main fund-raising activities has been the selling of specially designed greeting cards for the Jewish New Year. These were printed in three languages. Interviews have been given to reporters of four widely-read newspapers and articles have been written by members of the Group for three other publications, one of which is a quarterly of a very high level.

Justice Cohn gave a lecture on Human Rights Day at Beth Hillel Students' House, Jerusalem, on the theme 'In what way does Israel protect human rights?'. The lecture was followed by a discussion. Justice Cohn also gave an address over the radio.

During the year eight prisoners have been adopted, of which two, one in Turkey and one in the United States, have been released. In addition, attempts have been made to get in contact with an ex-prisoner in Rumania but without success.

Report of the Haifa Branch

There are three active Groups and during the year three of the adopted prisoners have been released, one in Spain, one in India and one in East Germany. A Christmas parcel was sent to the family of the East German prisoner.

Mrs. Ravdin spoke to the 8th class at a secondary school on Human Rights Day (within the framework of their English class) on the work of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. As a result of the talk, a group was formed at the school but the group had later to be disbanded as the students left to do their military service.

In January, a piano recital was arranged by Mrs. Ravdin, which received favourable reports in the press. This resulted in a number of new members joining and it also raised £15 which was sent to the London Office. Altogether over the year, £93 has been raised by the Haifa branch.

There have been articles published in three daily newspapers and one article was translated for publication in a Polish newspaper. In addition to letters sent to the authorities in Portugal concerning Dr. Gandra, a telegram was sent when the notice was received from the International Secretariat that Dr. Gandra's health was rapidly deteriorating.

This year the Christmas card will be designed by a well-known graphic artist.

ITALY

Mrs. Annina Armstrong, Vico Paraso N13 int. 4, Bogliasco (Genova).

The eight groups which make up the Italian Section continue to

work on behalf of prisoners in 14 different countries. Contact has been made in Rhodesia and South Africa and the groups with prisoners from these countries have been able to send relief to the families of the prisoners.

Various attempts have been made to give publicity to AMNESTY and at one point 2,000 personalities in the academic and political field were sent a printed letter, setting out the aims and activities of the AMNESTY movement with reference to the work of the Italian groups. Italian television interviewed Peter Benenson in London and this appeared briefly as a news item. Negotiations are going ahead for a full-length programme about AMNESTY to appear on television and it is hoped that this will be transmitted during the coming year.

During a visit to Italy in May, Peter Benenson addressed a meeting of the members and he was able to introduce the 'Card Scheme' which had recently been developed in London. This immediately attracted a considerable amount of interest and the 'Kit' has now been translated by Mrs. Annina Armstrong for use by Italian members. It was decided that the Haro cards should be printed in Italy, as it was too expensive to have them sent out from England. It is too early to say to what extent the 'Card Scheme' will attract new members but there seems to be no reason why it should not become one of the most widespread activities of the Italian Section.

NETHERLANDS

Drs. Cornelis van der Vlies, Statenweg 123c, Rotterdam-4.

After the Amsterdam committee was dissolved, it was agreed between two members of the committee and Drs. van der Vlies, that Dr. van der Vlies should form a group in Rotterdam. It was decided that branches should not be formed in other cities until a group had been firmly established in Rotterdam. Past experience had taught the Dutch Section not to create enthusiasm unless the ensuing enquiries could be coped with. The Rotterdam group tried to stick to this policy but it soon became clear that one such local group would not inspire enough confidence to persuade many people to join. Outside circumstances forced a change in policy.

The article in the Dutch edition of the *Reader's Digest* resulted in some 30 enquiries to the London Office and a handful of letters to Rotterdam. As a result there is now the possibility of groups being formed in the Hague, Haarlem, Eindhoven and Groningen.

It is quite possible that the 'Card Scheme', which will certainly catch on in this country among some of those who wrote to London, will provide the nucleus for one or two more groups. It is a pity that just at this time the work was slowed down during two valu-

able months due to the illness of the Rotterdam Secretary. This shows that the group is still vulnerable inasmuch as there is a need for further members to relieve the existing members of some of the work. The future success of the AMNESTY movement in the Netherlands depends very much on the availability of sufficient guidance from a national secretariat. At present there are not enough collaborators to cope with the work but attempts to encourage more people to join, are continuing.

The group looks forward to the International Assembly at Scheveningen which it sees as a chance for further development and a generous gesture by the movement, but at the same time is naturally anxious that it should be able to cope with the extra work which will result from the meeting.

NEW ZEALAND

Stanley Roberts, 4, Kereru Bend, Tawa.

Two AMNESTY members in New Zealand began to campaign in June, 1964, and now, a year later, a group has been formed in Wellington. At a meeting held on July 8th, 1965, at the Victoria University of Wellington, 15 people attended, with five apologies for absence. A sum of £16 was collected at the meeting, most of which had already been spent in publicity, advertising, and buying pamphlets. About half of the members are either Staff or Students at the University, and there is one Member of Parliament. Many promises of support have already been received from a number of interested people, so there is hope that a second group may be formed, perhaps next year. Three section leaders have been appointed, one to each prisoner, and each of these is immediately writing to his contacts to gain further information. Further contacts are to be made with the various Churches, Trade Unions, other Universities, etc. A second meeting has been set down, for August, and it is hoped to hold them at regular monthly intervals.

NORWAY

Arne Christensen, Oscarsgt. 50, Oslo 2.

The Norwegian Section of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL was founded on Human Rights Day, December 10th, 1964. Representatives from five local groups attended the meeting. Laws and regulations were decided upon and an Executive Committee was elected as follows :–

Mr. Arne H. Christensen (Chairman),
Mrs. Tove Rognlien,
Mr. Otto Falkenberg,
Mr. Carl Thiis.

The office of Mr. Arne H. Christensen, Oscarsgt. 50, Oslo 2, is serving as Secretariat for the Norwegian Section.

The executive committee has considered it of vital importance as from the very beginning to try to make the movement known in Norway. This has mainly been done by having publicity-folders printed in the local language, by using AMNESTY stationery in all correspondence with authorities and prospective supporters and – last but not least – by supplying the press, the news agencies, radio and TV with material about the work of AMNESTY – locally and internationally. Thus quite a lot of interviews with group members and articles about the movement have appeared in the daily newspapers in Oslo as well as in the districts. A 'box' of about two-thirds of a page was prepared by the chairman about the work of AMNESTY in Norway to appear in the Norwegian edition of *Reader's Digest* together with the translated article about AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL which originally appeared in the American edition. In Norway the article appeared in the June issue.

The committee has established good contact with different humanitarian organisations, such as the Red Cross, the Norwegian Agency for International Development, the Refugees' Council, etc., and has been in regular touch with the Danish Section – both by correspondence and by personal calls.

The committee took special steps on behalf of Dr. Julieta Gandra. Several visits were made to the Portuguese Ambassador in Oslo and cables were sent to Dr. Salazar.

In connection with the official visit of Marshal Tito to Oslo, an appeal was put forward to him asking him to intervene in favour of a group of anti-militarists in Yugoslavia who had been sentenced to several years' imprisonment. The letter was delivered personally by the Yugoslavian Ambassador to Marshal Tito, but no answer has been received so far.

During the period mentioned, £80 has been remitted to the Secretariat in London, in addition to the financial support given to the prisoners. If the committee succeeds in realising an idea with which it has been working for some time, the chances are that the Secretariat will receive another £70 by the end of the year.

In the period comprising this report, 13 groups have been active in Norway representing a total of about 100 group members. 53 prisoners of conscience were adopted in the same period, of which 11 have been released, according to reliable information received.

As regards supporting members, the total number is estimated to be about 250.

SWEDEN

Mrs. Ingrid Lilja, Bergsgränd 6, Stockholm NO.

On 24th October a proper Swedish national Section was founded and a Board appointed. Two small groups had, however, by then already been in existence for some time.

The Section has now somewhat over 300 paying members, whereof about a third are engaged in active work. Thirteen groups have been formed: seven in Stockholm and vicinity, two in Gothenburg, two in Uppsala and two in smaller towns. An increase is expected in the Autumn and it is hoped that some new groups will be formed. A keen interest in the movement has manifested itself and letters of enquiries have continually been coming in.

As for the group work of adopting prisoners, the general experience is that a good deal of patience and perseverance as well as imagination is needed. Enquiries or letters of appeal to embassies, governments and institutions are not readily answered – if at all. Some groups, however, have been quite ingenious in finding ways and means of establishing contacts and getting information.

The group leaders have met a couple of times to discuss common problems. A gathering of interested persons from Stockholm and the neighbourhood was addressed by the Chairman, Mr. Hans Göran Franck, on March 26th. On this occasion two new groups were formed.

A folder with information about the AMNESTY movement has been printed.

There has been fairly good publicity both on TV and on the wireless, as well as in the press. Thus, some important actions undertaken by the board have been well reported. Of these may be mentioned an appeal to the Prime Minister of Poland to stop further law proceedings against the Polish author Melchior Wankowics. The verdict of the Court of Justice was annulled. Another case was a letter of appeal to the Prime Minister of Greece for the liberation of 120 Greek political prisoners, many of whom had been in prison for more than ten years. Still another initiative concerns Chief Albert Luthuli in South Africa. A letter by three Swedish Nobel Prize Winners was forwarded by the Swedish Section of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL to all now living Nobel Prize Winners in the whole world with the request that they participate in a representation to the Prime Minister Verwoerd for the liberation of Luthuli. This plea was subsequently signed by 97 Nobel Prize Winners. The greater part of them took the opportunity to express their sympathy for Luthuli and their strong disapproval of the way in which he was treated. Copies of these letters and a

list of all the signatures were handed over to the South African Legation in Stockholm along with the letter of appeal. A copy was also dispatched to Dr. Verwoerd in Pretoria. In June an answer in the negative was received, stating that as the work of Luthuli was of a subversive nature and dangerous to law and order the communication from all those distinguished Nobel Prize Winners 'can carry no weight'.

The work for the abolition of the death penalty for political offences committed in peace-time has been successful, inasmuch as the Foreign Minister of Sweden in a speech to the UN General Assembly in January gave full support to the recommendations of AMNESTY.

The Swedish Section on several occasions appealed to the Portuguese Government for the liberation of Dr. Julieta Gandra. Many of the big newspapers published the special appeal by the International Secretariat in May for her medical care, including a photograph of her, as was also the case in a TV programme.

WEST PAKISTAN

Sajjad Ali, P.O. Box 994, Lahore.

This group, the first AMNESTY group to be formed in Asia, adopted its prisoners in April of this year. The group, though small, is organising a membership 'drive' using literature sent from the London office and it is hoped that this will encourage many new members to join. The group is at present working on behalf of prisoners in China, Iran and Portugal.

SWITZERLAND

Lothar Belck, 12a, Chemin de Gilly, 1212, Grand Lancy, Geneva.

After the discontinuation of the Group in Lausanne, there is now only one Group of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL in Switzerland, viz. at Geneva. It has a mailing list of approximately 11 members and supporters who, in line with the international character of the city, represent about half a dozen different nationalities.

Formal meetings are held every six weeks, with English as the business language but occasional lapses into French and German. The group has established correspondence contact with two of their three prisoners. Unfortunately, the group has not managed, as yet, to get publicity in the local press. This is due primarily to the fact that to date the Swiss themselves have shown much less interest in supporting the work of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL than is felt desirable.

During the past year, the membership has more than doubled, and the group looks forward to seeing this trend continue during

the forthcoming year. In particular, the group hopes to enlist the support of a larger number of Swiss nationals, and to watch the sprouting of new Groups in other parts of Switzerland.

U.S.A.

There is at present one group in the United States at Missoula. Montana, working on behalf of prisoners in Iraq, Czechoslovakia and Rhodesia. The group was formed at the beginning of the year and the membership has increased rapidly since then, both among the local townspeople and among the students and staff of Montana State University.

As a result of the article on AMNESTY which appeared in the *Saturday Review* and the *Reader's Digest*, there are now 50 individual members taking part in the 'Card Scheme' which is described elsewhere in the Annual Report. As the 'Card Scheme' obviously appeals to a great many people who are too busy or too isolated to form groups, it is expected that many more 'kits' will be wanted during the coming year. To help with the organisation of this, it is hoped that an office will be established in New York or possibly Washington. A meeting of interested members in Washington and New York is planned for the first week in November when the idea of establishing an office will be discussed more fully.

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WAYS OF HELPING

By becoming a subscribing member for £2 a year (or the equivalent in foreign currency) you receive all literature and reports.
For £1 a year you receive a copy of the Annual Report.

By joining an existing Group, or forming a new Group.

By volunteering to help in the London Office, or doing translating and typing at home.

By offering to do research into individual cases or for background papers.

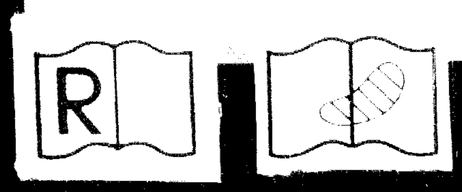
By contacting the Secretary of your National Section if you live outside Britain. Where the address is not given in the Annual Report, as in the case of some individual Groups, write to the London office.

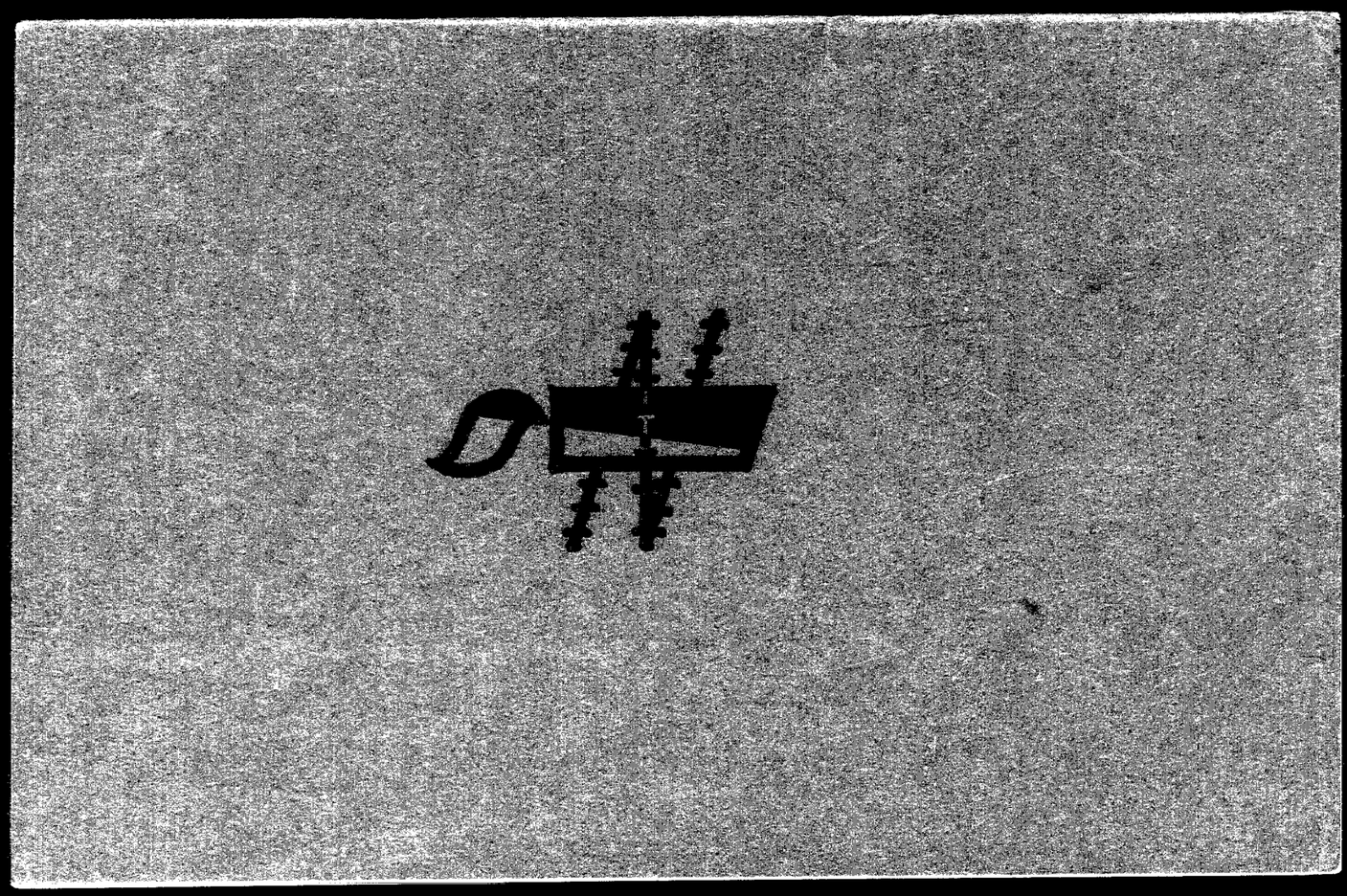
By getting your local paper, magazine or journal to publish something about the work of Amnesty International.

By offering to speak to local organisations about Amnesty International. (Speakers' notes provided.)

By making a donation to The Prisoners of Conscience Fund.

By encouraging local organisations in Britain to affiliate for £3 a year and national organisations for £5 a year.





AFR 46/001/1966

ORIGINAL BOX 1

PRISON CONDITIONS

IN

RHODESIA

A FACTUAL REPORT

compiled by

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

PRISON CONDITIONS IN RHODESIA

Conditions for
Political Prisoners
and Restrictees

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August 1966

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

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By joining an existing Group, or forming a new Group.

By volunteering to help in the London office, or doing translating and typing at home.

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Duplicated by Derrick P. Faux at 4 Brunswick Square, Gloucester for the publishers, Amnesty International. August 1966

FOREWORD

by Robert Swann

General Secretary of the International Secretariat
Amnesty International

THREE COUNTRIES with different ideologies — one a 'people's democracy', another 'a bastion of Western civilisation', the third the personal fief of an old-fashioned dictator — what have they got in common? They all practise political imprisonment.

In publishing these reports on prison conditions and political imprisonment in Rhodesia, East Germany and Paraguay, Amnesty International does not seek to make invidious comparisons between the different ideologies but merely to draw attention to what happens when the basic principle of imprisonment for political 'offences' is accepted. Last year delegates speaking in the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations went out of their way to praise the impartiality of Amnesty's reports on South Africa, Portugal and Rumania and to say that they were some of the most useful reports submitted by non-Governmental organisations. Once again we have sought above all to be factual and objective. In every case we have sought the co-operation of the Government concerned to explain and defend its policies or to give more information about conditions of imprisonment. Readers must judge for themselves whether the degree of co-operation we have received betokens an easy or a troubled conscience.

What strikes one very forcibly in reading these reports is the similarity which in practice underlies the attitude to political dissent of regimes which are theoretically totally opposed. Within the premises of 'socialist legality' the harshness of sentences in East Germany depends very largely on the general political climate. The general trend towards less severe sanctions against dissenters was, for example, interrupted at the time the Berlin Wall was being built. In Rhodesia individual civil servants very often attempt to enforce regulations humanely but at least as long as Mr Lardner-Burke continues as Minister of Justice we are likely to see an ever-extending range of political opinion treated as 'unacceptable'. The announced intention of introducing a 'suppression of Communism act' marks the increasing tendency towards the 'South-African-ization' of the present regime in Rhodesia.

In both countries individual judges and officials may be honestly trying to administer the law or prison regulations as humanely

as possible. Their ability to do so depends to a large extent on the degree to which outside pressure can restrain those who advocate ever harsher and more repressive measures. The moral conscience of the world is still a force which can have practical and positive results even within a regime which purports to be uninterested in outside reactions.

The case of Paraguay is rather different. The regime is less 'sophisticated' and there is less concern for legal and ideological justification. Yet Mr Marreco's report at least gives ground for very moderate optimism. Here again outside influence and contacts have played a part in securing a modicum of rights for those who do not support President Stroessner.

In Copenhagen in September the General Assembly of Amnesty International will again select three countries about which Reports on political imprisonment and prison conditions will be prepared. Amnesty International is a non-governmental organisation dependent on the support of individuals who care about human rights and do not believe that to work for 'prisoners of conscience' in foreign countries is to 'interfere'. It is no longer question of striving to establish the concept of 'One World', it is now an inescapable fact. Violence, torture, the infringement of human rights are like bacteria which pay no attention to national frontiers. "No man is an island, entire of itself.... Any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee."

RHODESIA

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IN THE EARLY DAYS of white settlement, Southern Rhodesia was a British Protectorate controlled by the British South Africa Company; in 1898, the first Legislative Council was established and in 1923, responsible government was granted. Britain, however, reserved the right to veto or amend laws passed by the Legislature; this right has never been exercised. In 1961, when the new constitution was decided, African progression towards majority rule was guaranteed in certain entrenched clauses, which were unalterable except with British agreement; Britain also retained theoretical power to legislate for Rhodesia.[1]

In 1962, the Rhodesian Front came into power under the leadership of Mr Winston Field, who was then succeeded by the present Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith. In 1963, the Central African Federation — a political and economic union of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland — broke up and the two northern countries were granted independence soon after (as Zambia and Malawi). During 1964 and 1965, Ian Smith made repeated requests to the British Government for Rhodesian independence on a parallel with that attained by black African states. These demands were categorically refused on the ground that independence could only be granted to a country with majority rule. On 11 November, 1965, Ian Smith therefore made a unilateral declaration of independence despite British opposition and announced that Rhodesia was henceforth to be an independent sovereign state, over which Britain had no legal authority. This declaration (UDI) was ratified by the Rhodesian Assembly in a revised constitution which omitted the entrenched clauses laid down in 1961, and stated that constitutional change could be effected with a two thirds majority of the Assembly; it also provided for an Officer Administering the Government to take over those powers formerly held by the Governor, and this Officer would be appointed by the Rhodesian Government without recourse to the Queen. Since November, the Government which was in office prior to UDI has continued to legislate for Rhodesia.

The British Government reacted to Mr Smith's declaration by stating that it was an illegal act, that the subsequent Government was therefore a 'rebel' Government, and no action taken by it or by its individual Ministers could legally be valid. Economic sanctions were imposed on all trade with Rhodesia, and are still in force. At the time of writing, the legality of the present regime is being tested in law in a case before the courts brought

1. See Dr Claire Palley's historical analysis of the colony's development, The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia 1888-1965, (OUP) 1966.

by Mr Leo Baron and Mr Daniel Madzibumuto. Mr Baron is a Bulawayo attorney who has consistently defended African nationalist leaders charged under security legislation, and Mr Madzibumuto is a prominent member of the People's Caretaker Council. Both were served with detention orders after UDI, and their case rests on the contention that since the Government itself has been declared illegal, no detention order signed by either the Minister of Law and Order in that Government or the Officer Administering the Government can be valid.

Shortly before UDI, on 5 November, the Governor was prevailed upon to declare a general state of emergency throughout Rhodesia; this is still in effect and may be prolonged indefinitely by the Legislative Assembly. The whole of the country is therefore subject to Emergency Regulations which, in addition to the censorship, preventive detention and police power of arbitrary arrest described in this report, provide the police with extensive powers to curtail freedom of movement and expression.[1] Such powers could only be considered necessary in a country where deep-rooted opposition to the Government existed and certainly the evidence collected for this report makes it clear that police powers granted under the Emergency, rather than any political acquiesence, is the root cause of the relative peace in Rhodesia since UDI. Moreover, censorship of all news has meant that those incidents since November where crops have been burnt, cattle killed or trains stoned have not been reported.

The population of Rhodesia was, in 1963, estimated to be 4,013,000; of these 3,789,200 were non-white. But until 1962, no African had been elected to the Legislature, although a system

1. Some extracts from the Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1966, will indicate the extent of police powers under the Emergency. "The Commissioner of Police may issue orders for the removal of the public or any section of the public out of or to any particular area or portion of an area, in the interests of public safety or the termination of the state of emergency" (4). "A protecting authority (the police) may by order prohibit -
   (a) the posting of any notice; or
   (b) the possession, sale, distribution or dissemination of any newspaper, magazine, periodical, bill, placard, poster, pamphlet, circular or other written matter" (7).
"A protecting authority may by order prohibit all gatherings..." (15).
"A protecting authority may issue orders for ... the periods and hours during which persons or specified classes of persons may or may not be in the streets or public places" or a particular area (20).
"Any person ... who causes or permits to be heard in public a broadcast of any speech, statement, utterance, poem or song or of any extract therefrom which is likely to (a) endanger public safety; or ... interfere with public order ... whether the broadcast was made from outside or inside Rhodesia, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding £500 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 2 years or to both ..." (33).

of common roll franchise had been practised. This was due not to any law specifically barring African representation, but to the level of income and the educational qualifications required. Successive franchise amendments in 1914, 1951 and 1957 had so raised the qualifications for voting that in 1958 only 1,000 Africans could vote out of an electorate of 65,000. The 1961 constitution lowered the necessary qualifications to such an extent that 15 African members were elected to seats in the Legislature, but even at these elections, only 15,106 of the 103,032 enfranchised voters were African.

Basic human rights, similar to those laid down in the United Nations Convention of Human Rights, are stated in the Rhodesian constitution, but in practice these are limited in two important ways. Firstly, the protection afforded to an individual against racially or politically discriminatory legislation in the constitution itself is qualified in that it may be over-ridden on grounds of public safety, interest or order. Secondly, the constitution does not alter laws which were on the statute book before 1961; this means that the three main pieces of security legislation — the Emergency Powers Act (1960), the Unlawful Organisations Act (1959) and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (1960) — are unaffected.[1]

Under the Emergency Powers Act, the Governor is empowered to declare a state of emergency at any time when it appears to him that "any action has been taken or is immediately threatened by any persons ... of such nature ... as to be likely to endanger the public safety (or) ... disturb or interfere with public order." He may also make such regulations as appear to him to be necessary. The Unlawful Organisations Act enables the Governor to prohibit any organisation which he considers to endanger the public safety. Moreover, under the Act, a person is presumed "until and unless the contrary is proved" to be a member of an unlawful organisation if he attends a meeting or is found to possess any books, documents or insignia of the organisation. Under this law, all African political parties, with the exception of the official parliamentary opposition, have been banned during the past seven years.[2]

The third and most far-reaching security measure is the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, which imposes considerable limits

1. A full discussion of this is available in an article by Leo Baron, "Southern Rhodesia and the Rule of Law", Journal of the International Commission of Jurists, Vol.VI, No.2.

2. African National Congress - banned 1959; National Democratic Party - banned 1961; Zimbabwe African People's Union - banned 1962; Zimbabwe African National Union and People's Caretaker Council - banned 1964.

on any form of African nationalist political activity (Appendix L gives details of some of its provisions).

Up to the present time, action has rarely been taken against European opponents of the Government under existing legislation. But recently, the Minister for Law and Order, Mr Lardner-Burke, announced his intention of introducing new legislation — presumably on the South African model — under which individuals suspected of "communist" activity or beliefs could be named and action taken against them. It is thought probable that this will affect European critics of the Rhodesian Front, as well as Africans.

The official African opposition party, which sits in the Assembly, is the United People's Party, but its policies are regarded as ultra moderate by much articulate African opinion, and nationalist political beliefs find expression in the two banned parties — the People's Caretaker Council, successor to the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo, and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole. ZAPU was the successor of the African National Congress and, after it was banned, the National Democratic Party, but after it was itself banned in 1963, ZANU was formed as a rival party by former prominent ZAPU members in Dar es Salaam. Both parties have the same basic political objective of African majority rule, on a basis of universal suffrage.

The ZANU/PCC split has, however, led to intense rivalry between members of the two parties, and this has frequently found expression in intimidation and physical violence; meetings have been broken up, supporters of one group have attacked supporters of the other, and this has resulted in injury and loss of life. These disturbances have considerably strengthened the Government's stand in demanding support from its white electorate for increasingly stringent security measures against nationalist leaders, and is now a considerable factor in the extreme reluctance of the white community to make any concessions to African political advancement.

INTRODUCTION

THIS REPORT has been prepared with the purpose of presenting a brief, factual outline of the measures used by recent Rhodesian Governments to remove African nationalists from the community, and of the conditions provided for these people during their Restriction*, imprisonment or detention. As any form of restriction affects not only the life of the man concerned, but also that of his family, evidence has been collected to show the results of political restriction on the families and the assistance available for them in theory and in practice. In view of recent and repeated allegations that members of the British South African Police use violent methods when investigating political cases, the report will also examine the nature of the allegations and any official action taken to disprove them.

Sources Material has been drawn, firstly, from published sources — relevant legislation, Prison Regulations, annual reports of Government departments, Hansard, and the press — and, secondly, from interviews during the early months of 1966 in Rhodesia with lawyers, churchmen, welfare workers, and former prisoners, Restrictees and detainees. Although Amnesty International wrote to both the Rhodesian Government in Salisbury and to African nationalist leaders in Lusaka, informing them that the report was being prepared and asking for their assistance, we received replies from neither. Most individuals who gave information from their own experience did so on the specific condition that their names should not be used, and it has therefore been decided to name sources only when they are official statements or published material.

Until the Emergency Regulations prevented them, many people visited the three Restriction areas and are therefore able to describe the conditions as they were at least until May 1965 when the Emergency was declared in Nuanetsi, and access to Gonakudzingwa was controlled. There are also former Restrictees now living freely in the community. Information about the prisons has been harder to get and the picture given here is very far from complete. There are several reasons for this. Sentences under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, which is the most comprehensive security measure, have usually been for a number of years and as the Act has been on the statute

*The word restriction in this section is used in two senses: (1) to refer to the process of restriction under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, and (2) to refer to the general curtailment of physical liberty entailed in imprisonment and detention as well as restriction. In this Introduction, where the first meaning is intended, the word is capitalised - thus: Restriction.

book for only six years, relatively few of those convicted under it have yet been released, while many of those who have completed sentences are now detained or restricted. Information about Rhodesian prisons has always been difficult to obtain; official organisations concerned with prisoners' welfare are reluctant to discuss conditions,[1] and Section 188 of the Prison Regulations specifically forbids the divulgence of "any information concerning the administration of prisons and the condition and treatment and affairs of prisoners" by a Prison Officer or official visitor, with a penalty of imprisonment for a year or a £100 fine. Under the Emergency Regulations, a similar penalty is laid down for publishing any document written by a person in detention, and not passed by the police (39(3)). As no-one detained in prison under the present Emergency has yet been released, very little can be known about these conditions.

A further obstacle in the way of researches inside Rhodesia since U.D.I. is the absence of impartial information. As many Rhodesians, Europeans and Africans, see themselves as being in a virtual state of war, statements by both members of the Government and nationalist leaders are often partisan to the point of distortion. Censorship of the press has been in effect since the Emergency was declared on 5 November and statements thought likely to "cause alarm and despondency" are cut from the newspapers. Moreover, under the Emergency Regulations, the publication of information "concerning any Restricted person, detained person, Restricted place or place of detention" can, by itself, constitute an offence (Section 34(c)). As a result of this and --- even more --- of the long absence of social contact between African and European, most whites are completely ignorant of the effects of security measures on the African population.

Many prominent Africans who, though not in Restriction, are known to be sympathetic to African nationalism, have been under police surveillance since U.D.I., and feel that their present liberty is strictly conditional. One church leader has been called by the CID for questioning about his activities an average of once a fortnight since November. Another professional man, whose offices back on to a Government block, has been presented by the police with lists of recent visitors and asked what was discussed during the meetings. A third man, who says police often follow him during the course of his normal business round the city, claims that when he recently went on a three-day business trip to a neighbouring country, he was accompanied throughout by a man who he assumed was a member of the police. As unemployment among Africans increases, the fear of informers grows, and it is widely believed that certain telephones are tapped. It was therefore understandable that some informed and responsible Africans were reluctant to give information to Amnesty International for fear that it would be traced back to them.

1. A Rhodesian M.P., Mr Grey, told the Assembly in 1964 how difficult he had found it to discover anything about prison conditions. He said that the attitude of bodies concerned with prison welfare, like the Prisoners Aid Society, had been: "We have been so intimidated in the past by the Prisons Department that we are desperately afraid that if you start interfering in this question of prisons we will have the small privileges we have taken away from us; in other words, we will not be able to carry out our work at all." (Hansard, 25 March 1964)

Forms of Restriction

At the present time, the Rhodesian Government is empowered to use four different methods of physical restriction. Under normal, statutory legislation, those committing offences under the security laws are tried in court and sentenced to periods of imprisonment, while those who have committed no offence for which they could be brought to court, can be Restricted under Sections 50 and 51 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. Under the Emergency Regulations, two forms of detention without trial exist: detention for the duration of the Emergency or until revoked by the Minister, in terms of Section 21 of the Regulations, and detention by the Police for a period of up to 30 days in terms of Section 24. Under the Emergency Regulations, detention camps have been established inside the Restriction areas, and all restrictees have been served with additional orders confining them to a particular camp; thus, under the Emergency, Restriction as defined in the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act in practice no longer exists,[1] and all restrictees are also detained persons.

For the purpose of this report, Restriction, imprisonment and detention have been treated as separate entities, but since most Restrictees remained in the Restriction areas after the Declaration of Emergency, although subject to additional orders confining them to detention camps, their conditions have been discussed in the section on Restriction. The section on Detention will therefore limit itself only to conditions for those

1. There is one exception to this statement - Mr Daniel Madzibumuto. Mr Madzibumuto was restricted at Gonakudzingwa before the national State of Emergency, but under the Emergency Regulations he was served with a detention order confining him to Gwelo Prison. He contested this order in court on the grounds that it had been signed by the Minister of Law and Order who had no power to do so since the whole Government had become an illegal one at the seizure of Independence. Judgement was initially suspended, but in the interim the court ordered that Mr Madzibumuto should return to his condition of restriction prior to the detention order. He therefore returned to Gonakudzingwa where, as the only restrictee who was not subject to a detention order confining him to a camp, he had the sole freedom of the complete restriction area, except for the 2 camps inside which detained restrictees were held.

detained under the Emergency Regulations in prisons and police stations.

Numbers It is not possible to give any total figure for those at present in prison and the different forms of detention. Official figures relating to particular categories of prisoner have been published, but these do not give a complete picture. The only group for which relatively final figures do exist are those people in the restriction areas; this is partly because it has always been possible either to visit or to communicate, however indirectly, with restrictees, and partly because, by law, every Restriction order signed by the Minister must be published in the official Gazette. During 1965, the largest number of people in restriction was on 2 August, when the total was 618, while by 1 November the number had dropped to 231. In March 1966, there were 84 people at Wha Wha (71 men, 10 women --- one aged over seventy --- and 3 children) and 18 at Sikombela, while in late April the total in the two camps at Gonakudzingwa was 325. Thus at the present time the probable total of people held under detention in the three Restriction areas is between 400 and 450. There are no figures for people serving sentences under the security legislation, but under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act alone, several thousand people have been sentenced since 1960; in 1961, 419 Africans were convicted and in 1962 the number rose to 555. One European has been convicted under the Act. Figures for detentions under the Emergency Regulations have also proved unobtainable, although isolated numbers are known --- for example, in Gwelo Prison on 20 April there were 33 detainees and in Khami Prison in June their number was over 170. During the 1959 Emergency, 530 people were detained and during the Highfields and Harari Emergencies in 1964, the total was something over 1,400.

Legal Defence in Political Trials The vast majority of Africans who appear in court charged with offences under security legislation have no legal defence although convictions and sentences in political trials have been reduced in cases where the accused have been represented by lawyers rather than having to conduct their own defences. Some lawyers refuse to accept political cases, but the prime reason for lack of legal advice is shortage of money. In 1965, the Legal Aid and Welfare Fund reporting on the situation said:

> "There are some provisions for legal aid in Southern Rhodesia, but these are far from satisfactory, particularly at the level of the Magistrate's courts. In many cases the accused is not able to conduct his own defence adequately. Despite this,

> ordinary Magistrates now have increased powers permitting them to impose sentences of up to three years' imprisonment on each count under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. This legislation, introducing mandatory sentences, led to the ... case of an eighteen-year-old African first offender being sentenced to nine years' imprisonment for intimidating people into going to the airport to meet Lord Gardiner and Mr Bottomley."

Although this report separates the different categories of "prisoner of conscience" in Rhodesia and deals with them according to the legislation under which they are held, it should be remembered that for many Africans, these are not completely different types of restriction, but become an almost continuous process. The case of an African political leader, at no time convicted of violence, who has been in almost constant restriction since 1959, will demonstrate this. Mr Moyo was detained under the Emergency in February 1959, he was held in prisons in Bulawayo, Selukwe, Fort Victoria, Gwelo and Marandellas and then in March 1961 was released into Restriction at Gokwe. In November 1961 he was released from restriction and was at liberty until May 1962 when, having organised a strike in May, he was held for two months in Salisbury Prison on remand. He was released at the end of June, but in August he addressed a meeting in Sinoia after which he was charged with provoking a riot and held in prison for two weeks before the charges were withdrawn. In September 1962, ZAPU was banned and Mr Moyo was served with an order under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act restricting him to the area of Nuanetsi for three months. In July 1963, he was arrested for carrying an offensive weapon (which was in fact a walking stick) and given a twelve month sentence which was reduced to six months on appeal. Mr Moyo enrolled at the University College in Salisbury in 1964 and studied there for two terms before being served with a 12 month order on 12 August restricting him to Gonakudzingwa. On 14 August 1965, he was released and returned to the University College (while at Gonakudzingwa he had taken and passed his first year exams), but on 14 December he was charged with arson and held at Fort Victoria Prison until 20 January when these charges were withdrawn. He was immediately taken to Gwelo Prison where, on 22 January, he was detained for 30 days under the Emergency Regulations. When this detention ended in February 1966, Mr Moyo was served with a five year order again restricting him to Gonakudzingwa.

IMPRISONMENT

(a) THE PRISON SYSTEM

The Rhodesian Prison Service was established by the Prisons Act (No.9 of 1955) to administer prisons throughout the Central African Federation; at the break-up of Federation it became a territorial service and, since December 1963, it has been the responsibility of the Rhodesian Government. At the present time, ultimate power in all matters concerning prisons rests with the Minister of Justice and under the Act, a Director of Prisons, who is responsible for prison administration, is appointed by him. Formerly, the Director was responsible for the administration of the Act itself, but by an amendment of 1966 ultimate responsibility has been removed from him and placed with the Minister. By this amendment, the Minister may now appoint not only senior and junior officers in the Service, but also Officers in Charge of prisons — a power originally held by the Director who may now appoint only subordinate officers. These changes took place shortly after the retirement of the Director of Prisons, Mr D. Phillips.[1]

Prisons exist in all main towns; they are divided for security purposes into the three usual categories of maximum, medium and open. Salisbury and Khami Prison at Bulawayo are the largest, but political prisoners and detainees have also been held at Gwelo, Marandellas, Fort Victoria, Gwanda, Que Que, Selukwe and Umtali. The prisons are also divided into four classes: classes I and II for prisoners with sentences of over 6 months, and classes III and IV for short term convictions. In general, reports suggest that conditions are better in prisons for long-term sentences — the facilities at Salisbury, for example, are much more developed than those at Gwanda. The Minister of Justice confirmed this when, in 1964, he told the Assembly that there was nothing basically wrong with the administration of class I and II prisons, but said: "I admit that in the smaller prisons, classes III and IV in the remote rural areas, they do leave quite a lot to be desired".[2] Expenditure on prisons in Rhodesia has constantly lagged behind

1. Debating the amendment, the Minister answered criticism that disagreements with the former Director had "soured" him, that the amendment "stripped" the Director of his power and that it reduced him to no more than a Superintendent, while the Minister became the real Director. He said: "Do not think for a minute that I intend to run the prisons. All I wish to do is to be able to have the final say if there is a conflict. One cannot leave oneself in the position of not being able to over-rule the Director of Prisons if something is palpably wrong, which was the position before." (Hansard, 1 March 1966)

2. Hansard, 25 March 1964.

their estimated needs, and in the years 1954-1964 the total annual expenditure averaged £70,000 — a smaller figure than the £100,000 of her Federal partner, Northern Rhodesia.

At the change-over from Federal to territorial control, the total manpower in the Prison Service numbered 1,148 (83% of the authorised establishment). The daily average prison population in December 1963 was 7,133. But increases in the Service under the 1966 Prison Act Amendment are aimed to raise the ratio of officers to prisoners from 1:6½ to 1:6. The amendment also introduced four other changes designed to improve the quality of Prison Service recruits. The minimum age of entry was lowered from 24 to 20, to attract young men looking for a career; an educational qualifications for recruits was introduced, and laid down a minimum of three years secondary education for Junior Officers and Standard VI for Subordinate Officers; improved salary scales were brought in and, finally, whereas training had hitherto been left to the discretion of the Director and in practice been either scanty or non-existant, a three month period of basic training must now be taken by all recruits before they are posted to a prison.

Criticisms of the Prison Service by ex-prisoners and Visitors stress the severe staff shortage and lack of training. They say that recruits have been put on the job with neither training nor a knowledge of simple penal theory. In 1959, warders on night duty in Salisbury were willing to pass letters between prisoners, while a more recent example is the case of a visitor to a European remand prisoner, also in Salisbury, in 1966, who was told that although the prisoner was allowed visits he could not be seen at that moment, because no Officer was free to bring him from his cell. Visitors have also described the calibre of some Prison Officers as low, and, although it is an incident which has been officially denied, there is much evidence to support prisoners' statements that prior to the Khami riot in 1963, the prison Superintendent, Mr W. S. Lawler, ordered a sackful of stray cats to be burnt, live, in the prison yard in full view of the prisoners. Mr Lawler was later made an Assistant Director.

Penal System Although it appears that many senior officers subscribe to the view that the duty of a prison system is to "endeavour to provide Vocational training for prisoners so that on release they may take their part in communal life", neither the existing prison legislation nor the Regulations anywhere state that the purpose of prison should be rehabilitive rather than punitive.

8 Visitors who have come into contact with a range of prison staff say that the common attitude, with some exceptions, among warders is purely punitive and is summed up in the words: "this is a prison, not a training establishment". This is supported by the authorities' initial reluctance to approve provision of educational courses for prisoners by a voluntary body.

Regulations Regulations for the administration of the prisons were laid down in 1956 and were retained by the Rhodesian Government after Federation.[1] The Minister may issue other regulations on all matters relating to prisons, and standing orders may be authorised by the Director.

Inspections Under the Act and Regulations, prisons are inspected daily by the Officer in Charge or his delegate, and at intervals of not more than eight weeks by official Visitors. Under the Act the duties of these Visitors were to "see all parts of the prison and visit every prisoner", but the 1966 amendment has now made these permissive rather than obligatory duties.

Complaints Complaints by prisoners about their conditions should be made either to the officer in charge who must "ensure that every prisoner is given ... reasonable facilities ... to make complaints to him" (Regulations, para.21), or to a prison Visitor. Statements from prisoners suggest that this system is not completely satisfactory. A prisoner in Khami medium prison in 1964 says that complaints had to be made to the Superintendent with a warder present, who usually denied them. In Gwanda, when a prisoner complained to a visitor about bedding and food, he was told he should have made the complaint through the officer in charge and given a punishment of extra labour. The prisoner in Khami said he saw a visitor only once in 6 months, while another maximum security prisoner said he saw no visitor from July 1963 to January 1966. Demands for commissions of enquiry in recent years have been refused by the Minister. In 1964, Mr Grey tabled a motion asking for a commission of enquiry to investigate and report on the administration of prisons generally, with particular reference to the condition and suitability of prison buildings, the conditions under which sentences are served and the welfare and rehabilitation of prisoners. He alleged that the prisons were in "a very poor state" from over-crowding, lack of rehabilitative work and bad facilities. The Minister rejected the motion on the grounds that a departmental enquiry had been set up. Similar grounds were used for a refusal for a commission to enquire into the

1. Federal Government Notice No.42 of 1956

Khami riot in which two prisoners were shot dead and at least another 15 injured.

Classification and Separation of Prisoners Neither the Act nor the Regulations establish any separation of prisoners on racial grounds, but prisoners are graded on entry to prison on the basis of their living standard in normal life, and these grades determine their food, clothing and cell accommodation and thus affect almost every aspect of their imprisonment. In practice it appears that European prisoners have been placed in Grade 1, Asians and Coloureds in Grade 2 and Africans in Grade 3 ; an African prisoner who is able to prove that he has a high standard of living in his home may be placed in Grade 2 and a white with a very low standard may also go into Grade 2 . In Salisbury Prison, prisoners fill in a form on reception, stating their education and income and this determines their Grade. Africans claim that it is often very hard to prove a standard of living, particularly when their homes are far from the prison. Although Section 63 of the Act states that prisoners should be separated on the basis of age and criminal record, this is rarely done; official statements say that the ommission is due to lack of space, but in practice this means that it is common for a young first offender to be held in a cell with adult habitual criminals. Prior to 1964 it appears to have been usual for no distinction to be made between criminal prisoners and those sentenced for security offences, but in that year the two groups were separated in Khami. This practice seems to be increasing.[1] Unlike South Africa, however, as far as is known, political prisoners have been granted the same remission of one third of their sentences as is allowed to criminal prisoners.

1. Sir Edgar Whitehead put one case for separating political and criminal prisoners when he said "there are certain risks in confining in the same prison an expert professional burglar ... and ... a political fanatic. If, during the course of the sentences, the professional burglar also becomes a political fanatic he will be far more dangerous than most of those who are in for political fanaticism .... In the opposite direction, a political fanatic is likely to be much more dangerous if he is instructed in professional burglary during his period in prison". (Hansard, 25 March, 1964)

(b) SENTENCED PRISONERS

Accommodation Cells are built as single or communal rooms. Prisoners may be alone in a cell or with two other prisoners, though never in couples, or in large cells of 40 or 50 people. Complaints of over-crowding are widely made, and in several prisons cells are accommodating more prisoners than was intended in their construction; allegations that cells for three have held six prisoners have been made in the press and Parliament. The communal cell in Gwanda in 1963 was so over-crowded that prisoners slept on their sides, and at night the latrine over-flowed on to the floor. In many prisons, as for example, Khami maximum, windows are not glazed. Floors are normally of concrete and although Grades 1 and 2 prisoners have beds, Grade 3 are given a hard, sizal mat and blankets. Bedding allowances vary considerably between Grades; as well as beds, Grades 1 and 2 have sheets, pillows, and a towel, none of which are given to 3. (For lists of cell equipment, see Appendix A) Moreover, in some prisons, notably Gwanda, shortages of mats are reported, and then prisoners slept on boards instead or else on the concrete floor. Prisoners say that blankets are seldom washed and soon become filthy and vermin-ridden, and this is apparently so even at Gwelo, where the prison has a monthly contract for blankets with the local dry cleaning firm. They also complain that at Gwanda they are made to fold their blankets in a communal pile when they go out to work, and the blankets are taken at random when they return, so prisoners never sleep in the same ones twice.

Food Diet scales, too, are determined by grades and also by the class prison.[1] Among hard labour prisoners, the daily calorie intake of a Grade 1 prisoner is 4,016 while that of a Grade 3 prisoner is only 3,200; prisoners in Class I and II prisons have a daily ration of 4 oz. meat, while for those in Class III and IV prisons it is 8 oz. twice a week. However, on penal diet the situation is reversed and the 16 oz. bread for a Grade I prisoner represents 1,136 calories, while the same amount of mealie meal is 1,632 calories. Full diet scales are given in Appendix B. The diet of a Grade 1 — or European — prisoner contains a minimum of 14 items, including meat, bread, oatmeal, various fats, fresh vegetables, potatoes, beans, cheese or jam, tea, coffee, sugar and milk. Grade 2 is equally varied, but Grade 3 contains only six different foods — meat, mealie meal, beans, vegetables, chillies, and fats. However, Africans serving sentences of over six months get, as well as their basic diet, ¼ oz.

1. One African, the Rev. N. Sithole, is known to have been given a Grade 1 diet, but he was given Grade 2 cells and clothing.

each of coffee and sugar a day. African prison meals follow the rough pattern of: breakfast — sadza and a cup of black coffee; dinner — sadza and beans; supper — sadza, meat and sometimes a vegetable. Sadza is a stiff porridge made from mealie meal — itself a meal made from what in England would be called sweet corn; it is very solid and unappetising when served without gravy or some form of relish. The beans given in this diet are boiled dried beans, and need lengthy soaking in water before being cooked, if they are to be digestible.

A Grade 3 prison diet means a considerable drop in nutrition for an urban, professional African accustomed to European food. Moreover, as Dr Palley told the Assembly, an able bodied man doing hard labour every day should medically have a minimum of 4,000 calories a day to enable him to perform his work. Dr Palley said "the individual who, as part of his punishment, must do hard labour ... is ... not being provided with sufficient energy to enable him to do the labour required of him".[1]

Grade 3 prisoners never receive knives, forks or spoons, and must therefore eat with their fingers. Plates are made of tin, and are said to be sections of paraffin tins in Gwanda Jail. They rust easily.

Clothing The clothing provided for Grade 3 prisoners in summer consists of white shorts, shirt, and in winter an extra jersey and vests. They are not given the pyjamas, socks, long trousers, handkerchiefs, jacket or boots provided for prisoners in the other two grades. Sandals are listed as being given at the discretion of the officer, but in practice this is far from common. Whereas Grades 1 and 2 receive a towel, toothbrush, comb and razor, Grade 3 receives none of these. (See Appendix C).

Sanitary Facilities The Regulations lay down that "every prisoner shall bathe himself on his admission to prison and thereafter as often as the Officer in Charge may require". Washing facilities vary from prison to prison, and in some are reported to be adequate, as at Khami where prisoners in 1964 could shower every day, while in Gwanda prisoners say that no washing is allowed in the mornings before prisoners leave for work, it is only sometimes permitted in the evening on their return, and Saturday is the only day when they can always spend time in the ablution block. Small cells have latrine buckets, but most communal cells have a water-borne latrine. In many prisons this can only be flushed from outside by a warder, and is not done after 9.0 p.m.

1. Hansard, 25 March 1964.

12 Work The working day in prison must be between eight and ten hours in the week and not more than five on a Saturday. Prisoners who are skilled craftsmen are able to work in a variety of trades in the larger prisons, but most Grade 3 prisoners — and thus most African political prisoners — are employed on manual labour. The nature of this varies from prison to prison, but many prisoners are employed in farm work. There are prison farms at Khami and Connemara, where tilling, fencing and stumping are jobs described by former prisoners. At Gwanda, some prisoners work in the hospital, and former prisoners say their main jobs were in the mortuary and grave-digging. At Khami, Africans are sent out in work gangs for heavier labour like dam construction. If a prisoner gets a medical certificate that he is unfit to do outside work, he can be put on to lighter jobs, painting and cleaning Government or local authority buildings.

Medical Attention The Prison Regulations state that prisons should be visited by a Medical Officer "not less than once a week"; he is responsible not only for the health of prisoners, but also for inspecting the prison regularly to ascertain that the sanitation, washing and cooking facilities are not in a condition which could be "injurious or dangerous to the health of the prisoners". (Regulations, 31) Most prison doctors are Government Medical Officers, whose prison work is part of their official duties, but in Salisbury the doctor is a private practitioner and his reputation among prisoners is higher than that of most others. Complaints of irregular visiting have been made at several prisons, and when an official Visitor at Khami, Mrs Watson, inspected the prison in 1963 after a large number of complaints had been made in the Bulawayo Chronicle about its administration, she found that the doctor's weekly visits had not been taking place. At Gwanda, in 1963, prisoners who reported sick were seen by a semi-trained Prison Officer who then decided whether they could see the doctor. Prisoners who need hospital treatment are sent to the local hospitals.

Punishment Punishment for breach of prison discipline seems to have most commonly taken the form of loss of remission. In 1963 — the latest figures available — in all 749 prisoners forfeited remission, compared with 128 sentenced to solitary confinement, 112 given extra work and 87 who were given solitary confinement on a reduced diet. Prisoners receive corporal punishment, but this can only be authorised by the local Magistrate. In solitary confinement — which may not exceed 25 days — prisoners remain in the cell throughout the day, apart from

one hour exercise, without books or games, and all furniture is removed. Bedding is placed in the cell only between 5.0 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. African prisoners say that the most common punishment for slowness, or disobedience, is beating.

Letters and Visits Convicted prisoners may write and receive a maximum of one letter every four weeks, and if the Officer in Charge thinks extra letters would "promote the best interests of the prisoner or his family", he may authorise them. A prisoner may also have one visit of not more than three people for not more than thirty minutes every month, and these must take place in the "sight and hearing of a prison officer". (Regulations, 87 & 88). It is difficult to know how far these regulations are implemented in the prisons; for many African families, the expense and distances involved in travelling to the prison make a monthly visit impracticable, while there have been complaints that the visiting time is cut to half its proper length. Similarly, many African wives are unaccustomed to letter-writing. All letters, whether outgoing or incoming, must be read by a warder who may then stop it if its contents are "objectionable" or "of inordinate length"; prisoners have complained of lengthy delays in receiving letters from their families.

Recreation and Education Although libraries exist in some places and the larger prisons have varied recreational facilities for prisoners to make use of their spare time, the Regulations make no specific provision for either of these. Prisoners at Khami have regular access to a library and soccer is played by all Grades at the weekends. At Gwanda, no sports are available, and one prisoner who repeatedly demanded books was finally allowed some old copies of the Readers Digest.

Official policy on education for prisoners is "to do all that is reasonably possible to assist prisoners who wish to undertake educational studies while in prison. If any prisoner wishes to take a correspondence course at his own expense, he is given adequate facilities to pursue his studies. The limited funds available in the education grant to prisons does not allow the Minister to provide correspondence courses from that fund". Since 1963, education for prisoners has been provided by a voluntary group — the Salisbury Prison Education Committee, which itself originated in the Legal Aid and Welfare Committee. Initially only 18 prisoners, out of the total 1,400 in Salisbury Prison, were allowed to take correspondence courses, and prison

officials opposed the scheme on the grounds that it would benefit only political prisoners, since they would be the keenest to learn, and might well create an élite which could endanger prison discipline. Prisoners were only allowed to enrol towards the end of their sentences, and thus a 16-year-old boy who wished to continue his school education by studying for Standard V was refused permission and told he had a long sentence to serve before he would be considered eligible for a course. But since 1964, the attitude of the prison authorities has changed and any prisoner who can arrange payment for courses may study.

Although, theoretically, no obstacle is placed in the way of a prisoner who enrols for a course, the practical difficulties of lack of facilities — prisoners who have to study in their cells say the light is poor — and shortage of books, desks and writing materials have hindered his work. Books and stationery are provided in Salisbury by SPEC, and a similar committee has recently begun work in Bulawayo, but for prisoners in prison away from Salisbury and Bulawayo the position is much harder. An additional hindrance has been the suspension of courses for periods of six months or more as punishment for breaches of discipline. The offences, however, have often been the use of writing paper, provided for study, for unauthorised letters.

Religious Visits

"Ministers of Religion,... may at such hours and in such places as may be prescribed... be admitted to prison to visit prisoners who may be desirous of their services; and be admitted to hold religious services." (Prison Act, 41) The system of religious visiting appears to be a fairly satisfactory one as far as convicted prisoners are concerned, with a single exception. Ministers are not automatically informed by the prison when a member of their church is admitted, and therefore they can only know which prisoners to visit by requests direct from the prisoners; this impedes normal pastoral visiting.

Legal Visits

Prisoners also have the right to see a legal representative, if they are involved in legal proceedings, in the sight but not hearing of a warder, "for reasonable periods at reasonable times". (Regulations, 148a)

(c) UNSENTENCED PRISONERS

Conditions of prisoners on remand — or "civil prisoners" — are those of sentenced prisoners with certain important differences. While on remand, prisoners are held in a completely separate part of the prison and have no contact with convicted prisoners. Before sentence, a prisoner may receive "or procure for himself" reasonable quantities of food and other necessaries, he may smoke and have "reputable" newspapers, he may choose to work but is not obliged to do so, he need not wear prison clothing unless his own is "insufficient, improper or in an insanitary condition", and he may receive weekly letters and daily visits. The regulations allowing daily exercise and visits, however, are permissive rather than obligatory; thus whereas they state that a prisoner "shall" be permitted to write and receive one letter a week, he "may be visited daily". (Regulations, 80-88)

Statements from former prisoners and from restrictees who spent time in the remand cells while in transit for their restriction area, suggest that the actual conditions of unsentenced prisoners are frequently at odds either with those laid down in regulations or with those necessary for physical well-being. This can be demonstrated by instances taken from statements relating to several prisons in 1965 and 1966.

In many prisons prisoners are fed only twice a day. In Gwelo meals are brought at 6.0 a.m. and 6.0 p.m., and in Chirunda the times are 11.0 a.m. and 3.0 p.m. When arrests are made after the second meal has been given in the afternoon, the new prisoners are not fed until 11.0 a.m. the next morning. As a remand prisoner does not work, and may have to wait for several weeks before his trial comes up in court, he has little to occupy him. In February 1966, a cell of 40 in Salisbury had one board of draughts between them. In some cases, books delivered for prisoners do not reach them, and there are also cases in which prisoners were refused permission to write letters. In Gwanda, visitors to prisoners on charge for political offences have been refused entry to the prison if thought to share the prisoner's political beliefs. In Salisbury, visits have been cut to five minutes, while, since visitors must apply in advance for a permit from the police, cases are known where two people were given permission on the same day and one was told on arrival at the prison that the visit for that day had already taken place; this is particularly hard where a relative may have travelled some distance. In some prisons, washing facilities for remand prisoners appear

to be grossly inadequate. In Gwelo in 1965, one man was held for 21 days and allowed only a small bowl of water to wash his hands in before each meal. He had no latrine facilities in his cell and could only go to the lavatory when taken by a warder. During this period he had no exercise at all. Over-crowding in cells appears to be fairly frequent, and this has recently been accentuated by the influx of 30-day detainees into prisons thus increasing the numbers in the remand sections.

RESTRICTION*

Legislation and Orders

Since 1960, the Minister of Law and Order has been able to limit the freedom of movement of any Rhodesian who, in his opinion, presents a threat to the maintenance of law and order in the country. His powers to do this stem from Sections 50 and 51 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, and enable him to define the area inside which the individual concerned must live. The Minister's action in doing this has become known as 'restriction'. Under the Act, restriction orders may be of two types: they may forbid the restrictee to enter a certain area (50(a)), or they may compel him to live within a particular area (50 (b)). Unlike detention, however, the Minister may place no other limitations on the restricted person and may not control in any way his contact and communication with other people. Within the area of his restriction, the restricted person has complete freedom of movement.

Similar powers to restrict movement were given to the Minister under the Preventive Detention (Temporary Provisions) Act in 1959, although these could only be used upon those who were released from preventive detention. But the powers expired with the Act in 1964.

Contravention of a restriction order under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act carries a penalty of a £500 fine or a three-year prison sentence. Initially, orders were valid only for three months, but subsequent amendments to the Act have extended this period to five years; moreover, since no legal bar has been placed on re-restriction when the original order expires, in theory at any rate restriction can be indefinite. The Minister has himself said: "every time he (the restrictee) comes out, I can restrict him again". (Hansard, 13 March 1965)

* Although as a result of the detention orders served on them since the Emergency, all those restricted at Gonakudzingwa, Wha Wha and Sikombela have now become detainees, throughout this section they will be referred to as 'restrictees' even when the period under consideration is one in which they had technically become detainees.

In practice, the first type of order has been used to prevent individuals — usually African political leaders — from entering rural areas or townships where they are known to have particular influence; in September 1965, it was estimated that some 120 Africans had been forbidden to enter the Salisbury area where, for the most part, their wives and families lived. The second form of order has been used in a wide variety of cases, ranging from the restriction of individuals to a certain radius of their homes — Garfield Todd and Leo Baron are notable examples — to the large scale removal of numbers of Africans suspected of "subversive" activities to the three restriction areas of Gonakudzingwa, Wha Wha and Sikombela. A third restraint on freedom of movement not allowed for in the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act has recently been employed by the police; certain Africans who, since November 1965, have been released from a restriction area or from prison have been verbally ordered by police to remain outside their home town or to report daily to a particular police station. One example of this is the case of a man whose restriction order expired in late March 1966 and who was then discharged from Mpilo Hospital in Bulawayo where he had been receiving treatment for TB. He took a bus from Bulawayo to his home in Gwanda, but when the bus reached Gwanda town he was taken off it by the police, who placed him in the prison, held him there for four days and then gave him an alternative of returning to Bulawayo and keeping away from Gwanda or remaining in the cells for another 30 days. This particular case was complicated by the fact that the hospital had placed him on a special diet and given him tablets on his discharge; he was removed from the bus so hurriedly that he left his case behind containing the tablets, and during the four days in the police station he was refused permission either to contact a doctor to replace the pills or to send out of the prison, with his own money, for fresh fruit and milk to supplement the prison diet. No written order was served on him and his restriction to Bulawayo appears to be dependent on police pleasure.

When a restriction order is served on an individual, its provisions take immediate effect.[1] Appeal against it is allowed in paragraph 4, and the recipient is given the right to "make representations in writing", within seven days, stating reasons why the order should be revoked. But restrictees say that an appeal is made difficult by the vague wording of paragraph 2 which states the Minister's grounds for deciding to restrict. Recently, the second reason has been the same in all cases; it

1. For the text of an order, see Appendix D.

has been printed as an integral part of the order and reads:

> "This Order is based... on information which has been before me (the Minister) and which I am unable to divulge because of the confidential nature of the contents and sources of such information".

The first ground varies slightly according to the individual case, but recently it has frequently been: "a belief that you (the recipient) have engaged in subversive activities". No more precise details are given and the Minister is under no obligation to furnish them. No cases where appeals have had discernible success are known. Although under the Preventive Detention Act, provision was specifically made for an annual review of each restrictee's case by the Governor, under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, no comparable provision exists, nor may appeal be made to anyone except the Minister who originally authorised the order. No restricted person need ever appear in court, nor are appeals heard in court, but are considered by the Minister who, according to the Act, must consider them and "either revoke the order or notify the person to whom it relates of his refusal to do so" (50(6)).

Restriction Process

Immediately an order is served, the recipient is under restriction. Unless the police who serve the order allow it, he may not inform his family or his employer, contact his lawyer or make arrangements for the care of his business and personal affairs. For those restrictees who own shops or are working in a profession this inability to set their affairs in order before an absence of up to five years is particularly serious. In 1960, the local District Commissioner was given the responsibility of looking after detainees' property. But although the Legal Aid and Welfare Committee have asked the Government to appoint an official to do this at the present time no curator has been named. Sometimes, when the arrest takes place away from home, the police allow a man to return to his home to collect his clothing and tell his family, but in many cases the restrictee is taken immediately to a police station. In certain cases, restrictees' families have never received official notification either of the restriction or of the man's restriction area, and when this happens the wife must rely on messages from people who were present when the arrest took place or enquire at all the likely police stations — which distance often makes impossible. Recently it has been common practice for police to call at a house in the very early hours of the morning; in Bulawayo in April, they usually came at 4.0 a.m. Orders are not always served at the time of the arrest, and in some cases Africans have been

held for several days in police cells before receiving a retrospective order; since November 1965, a restriction has often followed on 30-day detention, and then the man is taken from home or work to detention and sent straight to restriction at the end of the 30 days without being able to go home in between. While the restrictee is in prison or a police station waiting for transport to the camp, he is treated as a remand prisoner, but although he may receive visits, his wife can come only if she knows where he is being held. During this time, restrictees have their belts, ties and shoes removed, and, in April, these were not returned even when the men went under police escort to Mpilo Hospital for their medical examination, so they walked barefoot and had to hold their trousers up.

Travel to the Camps

Restrictees destined for Gonakudzingwa wait in their cells until a large enough group has been formed and then travel by train to Malvernia — the station for the area. On some occasions men have had to wait up to a fortnight before a group was made up. For the journey from Bulawayo to Malvernia, food is provided, but restrictees travelling in the reverse direction say that they receive nothing to eat during the whole of the 14-hour journey.

The Three Restriction Areas

Most restrictees have been sent to the area generally known as Gonakudzingwa, which in May 1966 accommodated some 320 Africans, all members of the PCC. This camp was established in April 1964, when the first PCC leaders were sent into restriction there. Initially, its official name was Gonakudzingwa, but when the original area in the Gona-re-Zou National Land was extended in late 1964 into the Sengwe Tribal Trust Land, it became officially called the Sengwe restriction area.[1] At this time, too, the extent of the area rose from 110 acres to its present 400 square miles. Wha Wha was established in February 1964, when the area which had formerly been used as a rehabilitation camp for "vagrants" was changed into a restriction camp;[2] since 1965, it has been used for women

1. For the exact definition of the Sengwe restriction area, see Appendix D.

2. The Wha Wha restriction area is defined in orders as: "the area of land situated in the district of Gwelo bounded by a series of lines commencing at the beacon common to the farms Umgeni, Rocklands of Woollahra and Gando, thence southwards along the line of the fence on the western side of Gando to the fence situated at the northern edge of the Gwel-Umvuma main road, thence westwards and south-westwards along the line of the fence on the northern and north-western edges of this road for a distance of approximately 7,400 English feet to the eastern edge of the Kabanga road, thence in a

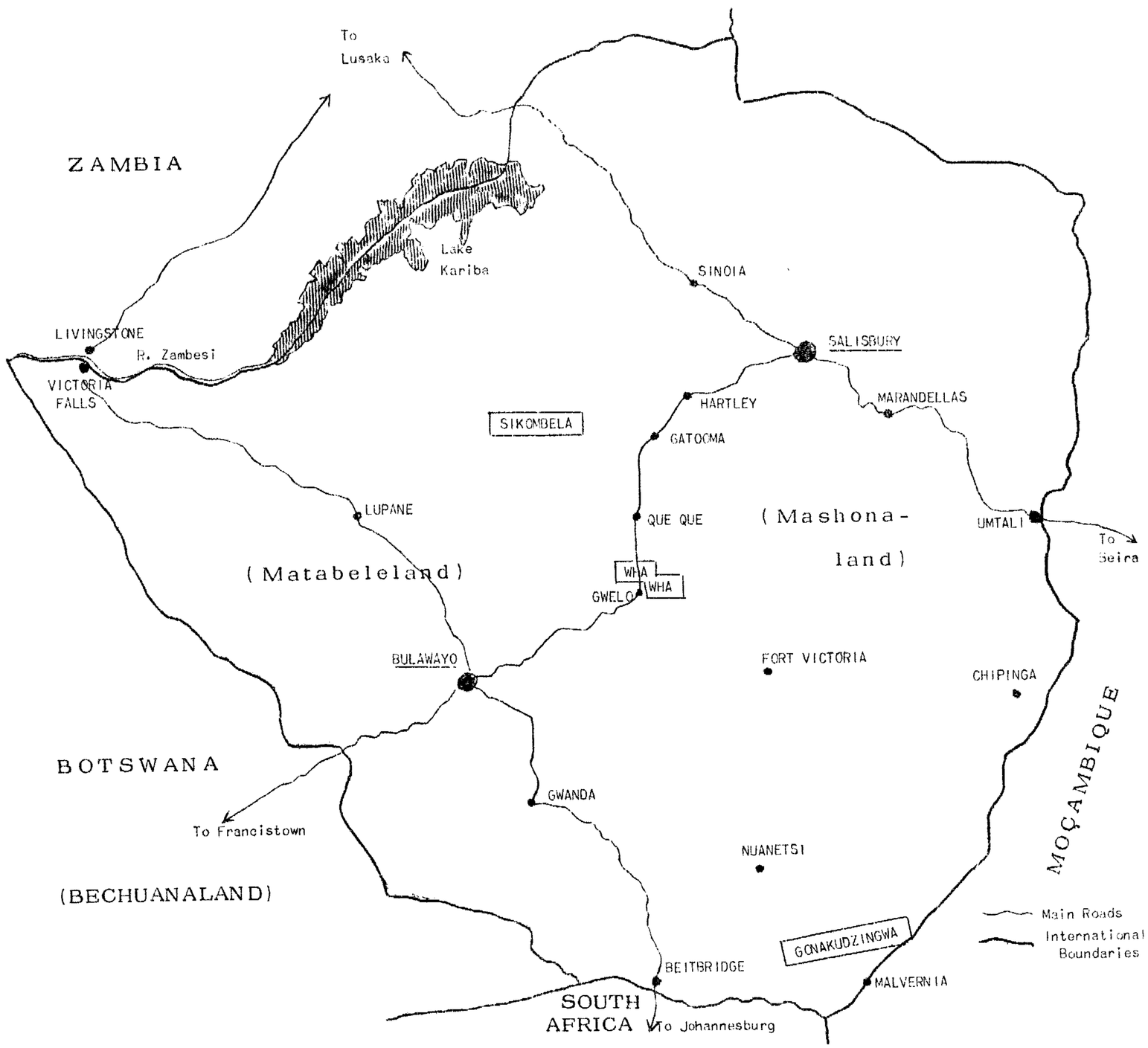
with their children, older men, restrictees whose health necessitates that they should be in easy reach of a hospital, and those officially categorised as "soft core" PCC members. In June 1965, a third camp was opened at Sikombela and 70 members of ZANU were sent there; in mid 1966 its inhabitants were transferred to the Remand section of Salisbury prison.

The Sengwe restriction area lies in the south-eastern corner of Rhodesia, adjoining Moçambique; it is in the Nuanetsi District. It is an exceptionally remote and arid region, part of which is used as a game reserve, and although some villages existed inside the restriction area, the inhabitants have gradually moved away. Gonakudzingwa is a place which by reason of its heat --- the temperature rises to a peak of 118°F; dryness --- the mean annual rainfall is between 16" and 20"; and endemic malaria, is unattractive for human habitation. The altitude is only some 1000', and thus much lower, and consequently hotter, than the rest of Rhodesia. The area of Wha Wha is some 4 square miles. Sikombela is situated in thickly wooded country, in Gokwe District, sixty miles to the north-west of Que Que. Here, too, the rainfall is low. One of the first restrictees described the camp in June 1965:

> "The nearest road... about six miles away from the camp, is the road from Que Que to the Gokwe District Commissioner's office... Most visitors get lost. Those who come by bus are dropped off seven miles away. When they arrive, some have had to spend the night in the bush. Others have given up before getting here... It is hot; the vegetation is dominated by that sign of dryness, the mopani tree. The eastern side teams with zebra; a lion roared near us the other day and elephants are said to visit occasionally. The nearest house is five miles away and outside the restriction area."

Wha Wha is close to the main Salisbury-Gwelo road and railway, but access to Gonakudzingwa and Sikombela is made difficult by the distances involved— Gonakudzingwa is over 400 miles from Salisbury — and the conditions of the roads. Parts of the Gonakudzingwa road are passable only by Land Rover in the rainy season, but there is a rail service to Malvernia. Since Sikombela was established, a road from Gatooma has been built which passes within a mile of the camp; there is no railway. Roads to both areas are un-metalled.

(Footnote 2, page 19, continued) northerly direction along the eastern edge of the Kabanga road, to the southern boundary of Umgeni and thence eastwards along the line of the fence on the southern boundary of Umgeni to the starting point".


To
Lusaka
ZAMBIA
Lake
Kariba
LIVINGSTONE
R. Zambesi
VICTORIA
FALLS
SIKOMBELA
SINOIA
SALISBURY
HARTLEY
MARANDELLAS
GATOOMA
LUPANE
QUE QUE
(Mashona-
land)
UMTALI
To
Beira
(Matabeleland)
WHA
WHA
GWELO
BULAWAYO
FORT VICTORIA
CHIPINGA
MOÇAMBIQUE
BOTSWANA
GWANDA
To Francistown
NUANETSI
(BECHUANALAND)
Main Roads
International
Boundaries
GONAKUDZINGWA
BEITBRIDGE
MALVERNIA
SOUTH
AFRICA
To Johannesburg

Effect of Emergencies

Until the Nuanetsi state of emergency was declared in May 1965, restrictees at Gonakudzingwa lived in five unfenced encampments, two or three miles apart from each other, in each of which living quarters, cooking facilities and wash-houses had been provided. They could decide in which camp they lived and move freely inside the whole restriction area. But under the Emergency Regulations, the restriction area was declared a protected place, the camps themselves were fenced in, and detention orders were served on the restrictees confining them to a particular camp (see Appendix E). The provisions affecting detainees under the Emergency Regulations are described on pages 30 - 33. The present area of camps 3 and 4 is about 7 acres each. Camp 1, the nearest to the Mocambique border, is now used by the police, camp 2 is reserved for wives visiting their husbands and camp 5 is empty. The perimeters of the two occupied camps are patrolled by armed police with dogs, and the fences are lit by arc lamps at night. Similar detention camps were established at Wha Wha and Sikombela in November, and restrictees were also served with detention orders under the Emergency Regulations. Police permits are now necessary for anyone who wants to go outside the perimeter of the camp in which he lives, whether it is to collect firewood at Gonakudzingwa or to go to the wash-house at Sikombela, which is now outside the fence.

Control of Movement

All restriction areas are under the authority of the police, but in the present state of emergency, Protecting Authorities have been appointed --- usually senior police officers --- over all protected areas and they have complete control of movement inside the area. Whereas a restrictee under normal conditions must have a permit from the Minister of Law and Order if he wishes to leave restriction to go to hospital (see Appendix F), this authorisation must now come from the police, and whereas access to restriction is normally uncontrolled, all visitors must now apply to the police for permission (see Appendix G).

The Minister of Law and Order has on many occasions stated the necessity of controlling entry to restriction areas, and in 1964 he assumed powers similar to those of the police under an emergency, by declaring the land surrounding Wha Wha and Gonakudzingwa to be protected areas.[1] This meant that although visitors could be in the restriction areas without permits, they could not cross the land surrounding them without the permission of the Minister. This action was challenged in the courts

1. Under the Protected Places and Areas Act (Chapter 76).

immediately when several restrictees at Wha Wha applied to the High Court arguing that by using the Protected Places Act in conjunction with the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, the Minister had exceeded the powers conferred on him by legislation. They won the case and since then access to restriction areas can be controlled only in an Emergency.

Surveillance of restrictees in normal times is minimal. At Sikombela, prior to November 1965, police visited the camp once or twice a week to deliver rations, but on the other days no police were nearer than Zhomba, 20 miles away. At Gonakudzingwa, restrictees had to report to the police at Vila Salazar once a week. At Wha Wha, a compulsory roll call at 8.15 a.m. was instituted; penalties were imposed for not attending. But when several restrictees were charged in court after persistently refusing to attend, they themselves brought - and won - a case on the grounds that restriction with such a condition was contrary to the declaration of rights in the 1961 Constitution and therefore invalid.

Inspections Since 1964, the International Red Cross has inspected the restriction areas annually at the invitation of the Government. The most recent inspection was made by Mr G. Senn in March 1966; by the restrictees' own report, he was able to speak freely with them. On each occasion, a report on conditions has been sent to the IRC headquarters in Geneva, but these are not available as such reports are confidential and may only be published with the agreement of the government concerned.

Accommodation Accommodation in the camps is provided by the Government. It is of two types; barracks, which at Wha Wha measure 60' x 15' x 10', and should house 16 men, and huts, measuring 14' x 11' x 5.6'. Both barracks and huts are made of galvanised iron sheets, on a metal frame. They have rough concrete floors, and glazed windows. The roofs are unlined, and are described by restrictees as "ovens in the day and refrigerators at night". Other complaints are that the barracks are having to accommodate 25 men, that their floors, at Wha Wha in particular, are level with the ground and therefore very damp in the rains, that the building construction is so bad that in March 1965 the roofs of two barracks at Gonakudzingwa blew off and restrictees had to sleep outside for a fortnight, and that since the buildings are not insulated and trees at Gonakudzingwa are sparse, restrictees have no adequate shelter. At Wha Wha, restrictees tried to improve their living conditions by building pole and dagga huts, which had the dual advantage of being insulated against the heat, and of providing private quarters for

married people who otherwise had to live communally; but as these huts were built away from the other accommodation, the post-emergency reduction in the area of the camp has placed them outside the boundary fence and they can no longer be used.

The Government provides minimal furniture: in 1965, the occupants of Wha Wha had 10 chairs, 4 desks and 2 benches.

Clothing No provision is made for clothing, either in cash or kind. A proportion of those restricted possess only the clothes in which they were arrested, and unless their families are able to provide replacements when these wear out, they have no prospect of any other supply. Parcels of clothes may be sent into the camps, but in practice such gifts have met practical obstacles; at Christmas 1965, when the Rhodesian Christian Action members sent a bulk parcel to Gonakudzingwa, it was returned by the authorities and they were told to divide the contents into a number of small parcels. When approached to provide clothing, Government officials have said that this is a need that can readily be supplied by voluntary organisations; in one instance, a welfare worker was advised to ask the Guild of Loyal Women for assistance. But when approached in May 1966, a Bulawayo member of the Guild said that they could supply second-hand clothing to whites and Asians only and would not consider extending their help to "Kaffirs". At Gonakudzingwa, the clothing shortage is reported to be increasingly acute as time goes on; restrictees say that the extreme heat makes garments wear out more quickly than in a more temperate area, and many restrictees are now barely able to cover themselves. But as the heat makes it necessary to wear shoes, some sandals made from tyre rubber have been provided.

Bedding The official bedding allowance is 4 blankets per person at Wha Wha and Sikombela, and 3 at Gonakudzingwa; all restrictees have felt sleeping mats. In April 1965, only Wha Wha restrictees were provided with pillows. No beds are provided, except on medical recommendation for one or two restrictees; a few individuals have managed either to make or bring their own. A Wha Wha restrictee wrote about his sleeping conditions in 1965:

> the "old and dirty blankets, torn in most cases, and fur-like mat we use as the bed are far from being a normal bed.... The bedding is so hard that our bodies are just painful. Most of us are not accustomed to such type of bedding. The floors are of brick covered by a layer of dusty smelting so that in addition to poor blankets, lack of sheets, etc. we

breathe dust right through. The floors are not smooth and that makes it more painful to sleep on such a floor... In asking for beds, sheets, etc. we are not asking for a privilege. We are asking for normal sleeping conditions, which we have at our homes. They may not be as decent, but they must be tolerable. Many prisoners, all Europeans and a large number of African prisoners, sleep on beds and we see no reason why we, unconvicted people, who should legally be subjected to no punishment other than that of our restriction, should be denied these things."

Light and Heating — No restriction area has electric light. At its establishment in 1964, Gonakudzingwa was lit by candles, and early in 1966, the 80 restrictees at Wha Wha were provided with 16 hurricane lamps, and a weekly ration of 15 candles and one box of matches.

Water is supplied from bore holes in each area. A visitor to Gonakudzingwa in 1965 reported that the camps were "well supplied with water from a nearby bore hole. Two large storage tanks are mounted in each camp and taps are distributed over the camp area. Taps are set in slabs of concrete to prevent the surrounding ground from becoming soggy." But the soil round the taps does become slightly water-logged and this is regarded by restrictees as being important in a malarial area. During three months in early 1966, water in the camps was only turned on for 6 hours a day. At Wha Wha, an elevated tank has been placed beside the borehole, but at Sikombela, in 1965, water was being hand-pumped from the bore hole and, until one was given by a European visitor, no storage tank existed in case the pump broke down. As the camp was then 20 miles from the police post and was without a telephone, lack of water could have been serious. Water in all camps is heated over open fires. Firewood for this and for cooking is collected by the restrictees; in Gonakudzingwa where the dead wood inside the camps has long been used up, restrictees are allowed outside the camps and a police lorry is provided to carry the wood back.

Food — The official daily food ration for restrictees in April 1966 was:

14 oz	maize flour plus 7 oz rice	or	21 oz maize flour
11½ oz	green vegetables	or	1 oz dried beans 2 oz shelled ground nuts 4 oz fresh vegetables
5 oz	fresh meat		1 oz powdered skimmed milk
1 oz	margarine/ dripping		¾ oz salt
¼ oz	coffee or tea		2 oz sugar

These rations are delivered by the police and cooked by the restrictees. As the food is delivered in bulk — either every week or every few days — and as the restrictees have no scales, it is impossible for them to check that they are given the proper quantities. Food appears to have improved since the camps were established; restrictees at Wha Wha went on a five-day hunger strike in 1965 before they were given meat, fresh vegetables and oil as a regular ration; at Gonakudzingwa, on several occasions reports have come through that the meat was so rotten when it was received that it was inedible. At Wha Wha, meat is now delivered daily, but restrictees say that fresh vegetables have often been cut completely and that the fruit ration is only one banana or orange a week. When the Asians at Gonakudzingwa asked that they should have a vegetarian diet, their meat ration was removed, but no protein substitute was provided.

Restrictees complain that the diet is so monotonous that they become unable to eat it, that no bread is provided and that it is a diet which, although possibly little different from that of a rural African, is seriously below the standard to which an urban or professional African is accustomed. One restrictee dropped in weight from 160 lb. to 140 lb. between mid-December and mid-April 1966. In 1965, an Indian restrictee, temporarily out of restriction, had Pellagra, Beri Beri and Scurvy diagnosed by his own doctor; these are all diseases stemming from mal-nutrition and had gone un-noticed by the Government Medical Officer. It is thought that other cases of malnutrition may exist in the camps.

Cooking is done by restrictees. Wha Wha is presently provided with 12 buckets for food storage and 10 for preparation. At Gonakudzingwa, the barracks are provided with 8' long grates, under an iron roof, supported by poles, and those who live in the huts have small, lean-to kitchenettes containing iron stoves. At Wha Wha complaints have been made that the kitchens, which are constructed like those at Gonakudzingwa, are sited very close to the latrines. The Government supplies iron, three-legged cooking pots.

Washing Facilities — Washing facilities vary between the camps. Camp 2 at Gonakudzingwa, in late 1965, had one zinc bath house, with 4 showers and 4 lavatories, for use by 80-100 people. Camp 3 has three ablution huts, each with 2 showers, a urinal and four flush lavatories with steel bowls cemented into a raised platform. At Wha Wha, there is one shower room, used by both sexes,

containing 6 showers, 2 latrines and 8 Turkish lavatories; the whole area is reported to be filthy and fly-infested as the waste-disposal pit is nearby and not enclosed. The Government has undertaken to build improved wash-houses, but these have not yet materialised. At Sikombela, there is a shower-house and also latrine pits, but the showers are now outside the camp perimeter. Water supplies are reported to be adequate and restrictees can shower as often as they like. There are no towels at Gonakudzingwa. The soap ration is: one 7d Lifebuoy tablet a week and 1lb. of blue, carbolic soap a month.

Medical Facilities

Medical facilities also vary, and the frequency with which a doctor visits appears to depend on the accessibility of the camp. In recent months, all restrictees have been given a medical examination before being sent to Gonakudzingwa, and since April 1965, every restrictee has been given a weekly anti-malarial tablet. Government Medical Officers visit each camp — weekly at Wha Wha, when summoned to Sikombela, and at Gonakudzingwa the doctor should make a monthly visit. Medical supplies of a simple sort are available and medical orderlies hold clinics in all the camps, but they are unequipped to do any diagnostic tests and can only treat symptoms of disease. Medical facilities have improved in the last two years. In 1964, a restrictee wrote from Sikombela:

> "The police in charge are some 18 miles away — 17 miles outside the restriction area. In an emergency or if anyone became seriously ill, we would be helpless; we cannot go to the police camp (at Zhomba), even if we could walk 18 miles in time, without committing an offence carrying a maximum penalty of 3 years' imprisonment... We have repeatedly requested a dispensary with a permanent medical assistant, without success. Instead the police brought a few common remedies inadequate even for a first-aid kit."

Even at the present time, the medical situation is not satisfactory. Gonakudzingwa restrictees say that the doctor's visits have been taking place only every 6 to 8 weeks; there is little continuity as doctors often change from one visit to the next, and when a medical officer does come, he spends only about six hours in the camp and is thus unable to make a proper examination of all who have reported sick. At least one case is known where lack of treatment meant that a curable condition became permanent. From Gonakudzingwa, restrictees go to Mpilo Hospital, Bulawayo, and from Wha Wha to the hospital at Gwelo. The standard of treatment in hospital is generally agreed to be high.

Education

Restrictees have been able to buy tobacco, razor blades, extra food, and stationery from the police, when they have money, but this depends on police good will and from time to time has been suspended either as a punishment or in periods of political tension, as in the weeks after UDI. As restrictees do no work except for the domestic tasks necessary to run the camps, a major problem is inactivity and boredom. Recreational facilities are not provided, although small libraries have been built up from books sent by friends. Newspapers can be received as long as they are Rhodesian, but under the Emergency all wirelesses have been banned. No limit is placed on books which can be received, though police have tended to remove anything relating to politics. By far the most important activity in the camps is study. Classes are organised on a wide range of subjects and instruction is on a form of monitorial system with students at one level teaching those at the level below. Although all classes were stopped by the police when the State of Emergency was declared, as were all forms of group activity, these are now again in progress. Since early 1965, the Ministry of Education has paid for courses taken through the Central African Correspondence College in Salisbury, and during 1965 some 200 restrictees enrolled. But the College does not provide courses beyond A Level, and those who want to prepare for degrees can only do this if they can find fees for another college from a voluntary source. Apart from four desks at Wha Wha, and a minimum number of chairs and tables at Gonakudzingwa, no facilities for study have been provided by the Government, but the restrictees themselves have erected pole and dagga shelters in which to work as the tin barracks are too hot to sit in during the day. A restrictee, Mr Sikhanyiso Ndhlovu, described the courses available:

> "The Gona Education Programme embraces Adult Education; primary and post-primary education; Junior Certificate and GCE; Public Administration; Book-keeping; Journalism; B.A.Econ.; Arts; Law; Constitutional Law, and Social Science... The educational staff consists of 26 restrictees who are qualified teachers, graduates, undergraduates and professional tutors. The Education Committee has ad hoc committees for the library and tutorial schemes."

Before the Emergencies, when communication with the outside world was limited only by the practical difficulties imposed by distance, visitors could come and stay in the camps and families were allowed to live with their husbands. Few if any families took advantage of this since no provision was made for their accommodation, food, children's education, nor was there any

means of earning an income. Before May 1965, Gonakudzingwa was receiving some hundreds of visitors a week; on two weekends in April, the estimated numbers were 300 on each. They moved freely inside the restriction area and were usually addressed by Mr Nkomo. In his 1965 Report, the Secretary for Law and Order said:

> "Visitors... were not only Africans but many left-wing sympathisers who tendered advice to the Nationalist hierarchy on how to continue their subversive activities and acted as couriers and contacts with the outside world."

Between May 1965 and March 1966, not even wives were allowed to enter the restriction area, but recently permission has been given to up to ten wives at any one time to spend a week living in Camp 2 with their husbands. They may not enter Camps 3 or 4. Applications for permits take several days and there is a lengthy waiting list. One wife, who lived in Gokwe, received her permit for Gonakudzingwa through the post only on the day it expired; she was not allowed an extension and went to the bottom of the waiting list. Visitors must take their own food with them. Some wives are unable to visit because they cannot afford the rail fare — £4.5.0. return from Salisbury (fourth class) and £2.18.0. return from Bulawayo.

Ministers of Religion have also been allowed to visit since March 1966, but permits have only been issued to particular ministers from the Roman Catholic, Anglican and main Non-conformist churches. A permit must be obtained for each visit, and this takes up to five days. A minister who visited Wha Wha in March said that his conversations with individual restrictees had to take place in the presence of a policeman.

Letters — Restrictees may receive as many letters as they like. All letters, incoming and outgoing, are subject to censorship, with the exception of one bag to which Gonakudzingwa restrictees are entitled to have the key — these letters they have to stamp themselves, but the letters they give unsealed to the police are stamped officially. Police censorship of letters at Gonakudzingwa is reported to have meant long delays of several weeks in the despatch of the letters. No instances of theft are reported, but some letters have been returned to relatives undelivered, without apparent reason.

Under the Emergency Regulations, certain restrictees have been served with orders forbidding them from communicating by letter or word of mouth with anyone outside the restriction area (see Appendix H).

Release — Until November, all restrictees were released from restriction when their orders expired, but since then reports have come from Gonakudzingwa that release is increasingly dependent on renunciation of nationalist beliefs. Even when a restriction order expires, the restrictee is still subject to a detention order which can only be revoked by the Minister; the implication of these reports is therefore that the Minister is prepared only to release those who agree to "co-operate and say what is going on" — the phrase used in interviews between officials and those who are due for release. Those who refuse to agree to this are told that they must remain at Gonakudzingwa.

1959 - 1963: Gokwe and Lupane — In February 1959, under the Emergency, about 530 people suspected of belonging to the banned African National Congress were detained; two months later the Preventive Detention Act was passed to allow the continued detention of any individuals thought to endanger the preservation of law and order even when no Emergency had been declared. Between February and May, some detainees had been released. In August a Review Tribunal, under the Presidency of Sir Hugh Beadle and appointed by the Act to advise on release, reported to the Government on those detainees who were still held. As a result, some 40 were released subject to restriction orders, and the rest remained in detention until later they, too, were released into restriction.

During these years, two restriction areas were used — first, and briefly, at Lupane, and then at Gokwe. At Gokwe, the restriction area was 200 square miles in extent, and inside this the restrictees could move freely. Each man had a pole and dagga hut, cooking utensils and blankets provided; instead of food, there was a monthly cash allowance. The huts were several miles away from each other, and restrictees complained of the loneliness. Purchases of food, clothes, etc. were made through the District Commissioner, and restrictees had to report twice a week, but in other ways no controls were placed on their activities. Medical treatment was, in at least one case, far from satisfactory. Families were able to visit as freely as the remoteness of the area would allow. The Gokwe restriction area was finally emptied early in 1963 when the last restrictees were released.

DETENTION

SINCE 1964, the Rhodesian Government has been unable to detain any personby normal constitutional processes except under a state of emergency.

In 1959, the Preventive Detention (Temporary Provisions) Act was promulgated under the 1923 Constitution to enable the Government to detain members of the banned African National Congress. When the Act expired in 1964, the Government renewed its provisions for a further period of five years and in November served detention orders under the renewed Act on Mr Nkomo and several other nationalist leaders. However, application was immediately made to the High Court by the detainees contending that the orders were illegal in that the Act, as extended, was contrary to section 58 of the 1961 Constitution. The court granted the application and the Act was declared invalid. It is, however, the stated wish of the Secretary for Law and Order that powers of preventive detention should be re-introduced.[1]

Under each recent state of emergency, provision has been made for preventive detention in the Regulations. Since the Highfields Emergency was declared on 28 August, 1964, a state of emergency has been in existence somewhere in Rhodesia on all but seven days[2]; therefore, since the Preventive Detention Act was declared invalid, the Government has had virtually continuous powers of detention.

The Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1966, which are at present in effect, give the Minister of Law and Order extensive powers to detain "if it appears to the Minister that the detention of any person is in the public interest" (paragraph 21). Any police officer is also empowered to "arrest

1. Report of the Secretary for Law and Order .. 1965: ".. as the law stands at present we cannot use this Act (Preventive Detention Act) and as a result the forces of law and order are at a grave disadvantage which makes the maintenance of law and order unnecessarily difficult. When a country is fighting for its existence against subversive forces which take every advantage of the law to defend themselves, but at the same time employ unlawful means to attain their political ends, it means that a situation is being created in which democracy is being used to defeat itself and the administration of justice is in fact being abused. ...the power of preventive detention is one which I am forced to plead for if Rhodesia is not to live under intermittent states of emergency whilst the Communist and other threats I have mentioned continue."

2. The Highfields Emergency was declared on 28 August 1964 and extended until 21 May 1965; the Harari Emergency, was declared on 7 October 1964, ended on 4 April 1965; the state of emergency in Lupane and Nuanetsi was declared on 28 May 1965, and the national state of emergency covering the whole of Rhodesia began on 5 November 1965 and is still in operation.

and detain, pending enquiries, any person in respect of whom he has reason to believe there are grounds which would justify his detention under section 21". For arrest and detention under this section (24), no warrant is needed. Detention under section 21 ends either when revoked by the Minister, or when the emergency expires, but detention under section 24 may last for no longer than 30 days.[1]

The main practical difference between detention and restriction lies in the fact that whereas a restriction order only defines the area inside which a man must live, under detention not only his residence is controlled, but also his contact with the outside world and the routine of his day. In February, the Minister explained the advantages of detention.

> "Without the emergency I can do nothing except restrict him to an area, but with the emergency I can put him into detention to keep him away and out of circulation. This is most necessary with saboteurs, because when we are investigating the cases of saboteurs they must obviously be kept out of circulation ... in restriction, they are in a big area of 400 square miles and there in all probability they will be training the other restrictees on a para military set-up." [2]

Under section 21 of the Emergency Regulations, a detained person may be held in a prison or in any other place decided by the Minister. The Minister may establish camps for the accommodation of detained people --- as has been done at Gonakudzingwa --- and appoint a superintendent to run them who may himself issue regulations for the "control and administration" and "the maintenance of good order and discipline". The superintendent of a camp may authorise a detainee to leave his place of detention for medical treatment and he has also power to try, convict and impose penalties on anyone who infringes these regulations. Penalties allowed in the Emergency Regulations include labour for up to 14 days, confinement to quarters with work also for up to 14 days, detention in a place "specially set apart for the purpose" for up to 28 days and spare diet. It is known that restrictees detained in Wha Wha restriction area have been placed in Wha Wha jail nearby for punishment (sections 26-28).

1. Under the Preventive Detention Act, provision was made for a Review Tribunal to examine all cases periodically and recommend whether they should be restricted, released or continue in detention. (See: General Report of the Review Tribunal, 1959). No similar provision exists at the present time.

2. Hansard, 3 February, 1966.

Finally, the Superintendent has control of all communications. Section 38(1) of the Regulations states briefly that "no person shall . . . communicate with a detained person in any camp", without authorisation, and section 39 forbids any letters or documents from leaving the camp without the Superintendent's permission.

In the three restriction areas, superintendents in charge of the detention camps have been senior police officers, while in prisons this function is taken by the Officer in Charge.

The detention order itself[1] states as the reason for detention "a belief that you are likely to commit acts in Rhodesia which are likely to endanger the public safety, disturb or interfere with public order, or interfere with the maintenance of any essential service".
Appeal is allowed in the same terms as in a restriction order.

(a) Detention under Section 21.

The conditions of Africans detained in the three restriction areas at Gonakudzingwa, Wha Wha and Sikombela have been described in the section on Restriction. Information on the conditions of those held in prisons has, however, proved almost impossible to obtain for the reasons given in the Introduction. Their general conditions have been those of remand prisoners, and they are allowed to receive books, as long as they are not political, Rhodesian newspapers, and some visits. They are usually held apart from the criminal prisoners.

(b) Detention under Section 24.

Detainees held under this section may be lodged either in a prison or in a police station. In Grey Street Prison, however, in December, seventy prisoners — some awaiting trial — were held in a cell designed for 30. In Fife Street police station, Bulawayo, in one case, thirteen men were in a cell with eight blankets and no mats. Washing was rare in the weeks following the emergency, one detainee did not wash for 29 days and another for 22 days. Exercise, too, seems to have been far from regular. In December, in Bulawayo, detainees were being refused books brought to the police stations for them, while visits by wives were also not allowed. Conditions appear to be those of remand prisoners, but are often extremely over-crowded and inadequate, especially in the police stations. One very general complaint is that detainees are being forced to wear prison clothing, even though they have not been sentenced. This has happened particularly in Gwelo

1. See Appendix I.

Prison. The detainees concerned deny that their own clothes were in an unsuitable condition and state that the purpose of making them wear convicts' clothing was to make them appear guilty of some crime.

Rehabilitation In 1964, a Rehabilitation Committee was set up by the Government with the initial objective of working among those detained during the Highfields and Harari emergencies and assisting their return to the community on release. The scope of the Committee's work is not clear, but restrictees are unanimous in regarding its wider purpose as being to persuade them to renounce their political beliefs. The Committee has been empowered to offer land or employment, but they have found few restrictees who were willing to accept, and have been met with total opposition at Gonakudzingwa where the camp committee has forbidden anyone to speak with Rehabilitation Officers unless they are with several other restrictees. The restrictee's general attitude was summed up by an African in April when he said:

"They want you to be submissive to the Government, that's all they mean by rehabilitation".

In his annual report for 1965, the Secretary for Law and Order described the Rehabilitation Committee's work during the year.

"After the release of the Highfield and Harari detainees, the Rehabilitation staff turned their attention to the restrictees. Their success was naturally conditional upon the amount of co-operation received from individual restrictees. It was found almost impossible to make any progress in rehabilitation unless arrangements could be made for restrictees to be interviewed individually; rehabilitation was much hampered by local intimidation within the camps. In order to assist this process, it became essential to isolate the 'hard core' restrictees from those who were willing to co-operate. With this in mind, 'soft core' PCC restrictees were moved from Sengwe (Gonakudzingwa) to Wha Wha."

The Secretary also said that the rehabilitation officers were "providing a service which is essential if the restriction camps are not to become a permanent feature of Rhodesia".

Early in 1966, the Chief Rehabilitation Officer resigned his post because he felt the Committee was able to achieve so little, and restrictees in Gonakudzingwa report that the Committee did not visit the camp during the first six months of 1966. It is not known whether the Committee is including in its work those detained in prisons.

POLICE USE OF VIOLENCE DURING INVESTIGATION

IN THE LATE 1950s, the high reputation of the British South African Police in Rhodesia was rarely challenged, and although instances were known in which policemen had mishandled suspects, it was widely regarded as a disciplined and humane force. Since the passing of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act in 1960, large numbers of political cases have been brought before the courts, and during the same period there has been an increasing number of allegations of police use of violence. Many prosecution cases have been based on confessions made by the accused while they were held by the police and by Rhodesian law confessions are admissible as evidence in a court if made while the accused was "in his sound and sober sense and without having been unduly influenced thereto". But, unlike South Africa, confessions need not have been confirmed and put into writing in front of a Magistrate. (Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act, Section 280)

Since 1959, the BSAP has undergone an increase in establishment of almost 400%, from 9,767 in 1959 to 38,701 in 1964. Changes, too, have taken place in their methods; dogs were added to the normal establishment in 1960, while in the same year firearms were first used to deal with disturbances, during the Salisbury riots. Eleven Africans died on this occasion, but violence was in no sense confined to the police; the Commissioner of Police later reported that:

> "the use of firearms in these disturbances shattered a record of 60 years' standing of non-recourse to firearms in times of emergency".

Since then dogs and arms have been used increasingly in crowd control.

The allegations of police brutality while questioning suspects have usually taken the form of unsupported statements from the suspects themselves. There are rarely witnesses present, other than police, when interrogation takes place, though in some cases where similar treatment has been given to a group of people, identical statements have been obtained from them all. On some occasions, doctors have examined the individuals concerned shortly after their interrogation, and these medical reports have substantiated the descriptions of brutality. An example of this is given in Appendix K. But a doctor's report, made after the event, can do no more than support a statement by confirming that similar injuries were inflicted to those alleged to have been caused by the police; it cannot prove that the injuries were in fact inflicted at the time and place and by the person named by the injured man. In several cases where police were charged with

brutality, the charges have failed for these reasons. A particular example of this is found in the case of Patrick Keyser who was acquitted in July 1965 of the murder of Alexander Mashawira, an African who had been found dead in a Salisbury police cell after being questioned by Keyser. At the inquest, two doctors had told the court that the deceased, who was a healthy man, had died within a few hours of being beaten extensively across the back with an instrument that left no marks on the skin. Police witnesses admitted that Mashawira had had to be carried to his cell after questioning. But at the end of Keyser's trial, the judge pointed out that the doctor's evidence had shown that Mashawira's death need not have been caused by the beating inflicted on the day of his death by Keyser, but could have been the result of interrogation, by other officers, on the days before. He therefore could not convict Keyser. This case established, however, that beating had been used by the police during the interrogation. In another case, heard in April 1966, a doctor who had been asked to examine an African prisoner who had complained to the prison authorities, admitted under cross examination that police had told him to examine certain scars, but to ignore other newer ones. His report that the man's injuries were not consistent with his statement of recent police beating had therefore been based on an inadequate examination.

Reported methods of interrogation vary. The most common one is straightforward beating up with fists, boots or batons (see Appendix K). Another method is reported to be that of threatened castration. This is illustrated in a statement from a man presently at Gonakudzingwa.

> "It was on 4 December 1965 . . . that there arose disturbances among the people of Gwanda. There were road blocks and rail blocks and the post office was blasted. My nephew was among those who were arrested. . . Suspects were brought to the police station for questioning and I was among this lot. One by one . . . we were interrogated about the disturbances. . . . I was forced to agree that I took part in the destruction of the post office with my nephew, and each time that I refused I was given some kind of punishment like the fastening of a stone on to some twine and on to my testicles and letting the stone hang from my testicles for a period; if I resisted this, the stone would be swung back and front and sideways. This made me agree for fear of cutting off my testicles."

This is not an isolated report; others of a similar nature have been made.

A third method, apparently used mainly by the police in Bulawayo, is known among the African population as the "electric

snake". Here, suspects are reported to be taken to the police station, and placed alone in a small, dark room, without furniture. From the centre of the ceiling hangs a length of rubber tubing, which swings. Inside the tubing is an electric wire, which protrudes at the end and becomes live when turned on by the police officer standing outside. When it touches the skin of the suspect, it gives an electric shock. The electric current used does not seem to be strong, and it has been suggested that the principle used is the same as that of an electric cattle goad, where the wire is inside a rod and is operated from a battery held in the hand of the cowherd. The duress inherent in this situation seems to be fear. Africans have described the tubing as "a giant cobra" and "a snake which twists and turns in the air and when it strikes you, you faint away".

In the Gwanda Reserve in 1964, a group of suspects reported that they had been strung from a tree by the ankles and beaten while in this position, until they were prepared to confess.

Interrogation usually takes place in a police station, though sometimes suspects are moved to other places. In the Mashawira inquest, the Detective Inspector in charge of the Section at the time told the court that he had found Mashawira "making a lot of noise" during his interrogation, and as it might have proved embarrassing for visitors or civilians if this went on in the police station he had instructed the use of a "deserted building" nearby for further questioning. In April, 1966, a former butcher's shop in Khami Road, Bulawayo, and a house near Epworth, outside Salisbury, called "Journey's End", were said to be used for interrogation. In the rural areas, questioning often takes place in the open within the area of a police camp.

In any general consideration of police methods, the experiences of a European priest who visited the Nkai District in early 1966 are most valuable. During his tour of the area he saw and photographed police beating up an African suspect, visited a kraal shortly after police had searched it and discussed the use of violence with several policemen. The photographs were destroyed, on police persuasion, but the priest's description of the two other incidents appeared in the Church Times (4/2/66). The police "stoutly justified violence, without the slightest attempt to conceal that this was what they were doing. 'This is the only language that these people understand.' 'We've got to hammer them.' 'I don't approve of all this documentation we have to go through for the sake of regulations.' 'We only arrest a man when we know he's guilty.' 'If we arrest someone, he's not going to tell us the names of those who told him what to do... so we've got to beat it out of him.'

The kraal had been visited by police searching for a particular African who had, by the time they arrived, already left. Nevertheless, they searched the largest hut. Every pane of glass was smashed, "radio and clock thrown on the floor and wrecked; mattress flung off the bed and slashed; chair seats broken through... wardrobe, which was not locked, smashed eight times with a rifle butt and every panel broken". The priest's description ended up: "I have never seen such destruction". In another hut, the police had fired a shot into the 44 gallon drum used for storing water, thus making it useless.

It is impossible to obtain figures for alleged assault. In August, 1964, the Minister of Justice said that since January three policemen had been convicted of assault, other reports had been made, but found on investigation to be groundless. Attorneys who have lodged complaints with the police on behalf of clients say that when they receive notification that a complaint has been investigated and rejected, they are never told on what evidence the decision was based. It is also certain that relatively few of the assaults that do take place are ever reported to the proper authorities. There are several reasons for this. Some Africans who have gone straight to the police with a complaint say that they were not listened to, and in other cases Africans who are known to have complained have been served with restriction orders shortly after. Even if the complainant has the necessary funds to bring a case to court, witnesses, if they exist, usually disperse and are hard to contact. An additional factor is that many Africans are afraid that a complaint, since it cannot eradicate what has happened, will achieve nothing for them and by bringing official attention to bear on them, may well lead to more trouble. One African minister, whose nephew was assaulted in February 1966, explained that he did not take him to a doctor for the necessary treatment for his injuries for fear that the doctor, who would be a European, would tell the police. This reasoning shows the deep fear, felt even by educated Africans, of any contact with officialdom, and the accompanying belief that since the police as are so powerful, they can do what they will, and the individual faced with police action has neither rights nor chance of redress.

Official reaction to general criticism of police methods based on particular cases has recently been to regard it as something with a deeper, political motive. The Commissioner of Police has on several occasions said that a "deliberate campaign" was being waged "to besmear the name of the BSAP," and when Dr Palley gave the Minister for Law and Order some affidavits

describing police treatment of students after a demonstration, the Minister told him that this was "a deliberate attempt to embarrass the Government". In 1964, a group of Europeans collected a dossier of reports of police brutality; this finally contained over 70 recent cases, and, as well as the statements describing the assaults, there were reports by doctors corroborating them. The Europeans asked for a meeting with the Minister for Law and Order to discuss the cases with him. They said they had no political incentive for their action. They were all professional men — the Dean of Salisbury, a lawyer, a doctor and two university lecturers. They said that their action was prompted by their concern at the number of complaints of assault that were being made and they believed that the material they had collected provided a prima facie case for a judicial enquiry. The Minister, however, refused to meet the deputation on the grounds, firstly, that they had no standing in such a matter, and, secondly, that since the rule was that all complaints against the police should be made on an individual basis, and when made they were fully investigated, he could take no action on a dossier presented in such a general way. No further action is known to have been taken on this matter. Since then, brutality allegations have continued to be made, but under the censorship regulations these are no longer reported in the press.

POSITION OF FAMILIES

WHEN a man is arrested the immediate effect for most families is loss of income. Many politically-active Africans are professional men, and even if their wives are able to find work it is unlikely that the income would be enough to cover the family's habitual needs. Restrictees are rarely given time in which to put their affairs in order, and for most families the restriction, detention or imprisonment of the bread winner means that the only sources of income are from an unmarried brother or from the sale of possessions.

No official provision of relief for families of restrictees as such has existed since early 1963 when the last people were released from Gokwe. Prior to this, the Government had accepted its responsibility towards the families of those originally detained in 1959 and made available allowances for food, rent, clothing and education.[1]

1. The Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs stated the position in 1959. "Africans originally detained under the Emergency .. Regulations 1959, and those now in detention under the Preventive Detention .. Act .. receive no allowances since they are maintained whilst in detention. (Footnote continued on page 39)

Present Official Policy

Present Government policy is that restrictees' families should apply and be assessed for social welfare assistance in exactly the same way as any family left destitute by the unemployment or desertion of the bread winner; any allowance paid specifically to restrictees' dependants would, official policy argues, mean that restrictees were left in a better position than some other members of the community. Since 1964, when social welfare funds were first made available to the non-white population, this policy has been repeatedly stated. In August, 1964, the Secretary of State for Law and Order said:

"The policy adopted by the Government . . . has been that no restrictee or his family should be placed in a more favourable position in regard to public assistance than any other person who may be in need."

An official statement in February 1965 amplified the situation.

"Applications by the dependants of restrictees for public assistance are examined and dealt with in exactly the same way as applications received from other destitute persons. Responsibility for destitute persons is shared by Government, local authorities and voluntary organisations. Central Government accepts responsibility for making a contribution towards

(Footnote 1, page 38 continued) "For the sake of uniformity, three standard rates of allowances payable to dependants of Africans detained under the Emergency .. Regulations .. were adopted and with the repeal of those regulations, allowances at the same rate have been continued to be paid to the dependants of persons detained under the Preventive Detention .. Act... They are :

i) for dependants of detainees ordinarily resident in urban areas or who were wage earners and who are accustomed to an ordinary African standard of living, 1/6 per diem per dependant paid weekly in advance from the office of the Native Commissioner of the district in which such detainees' dependants reside.

ii) for dependants of detainees normally resident in urban areas or who were wage earners accustomed to a relatively higher standard of living, 2/3 per diem per dependant paid weekly in advance from the office of the Native Commissioner of the district in which such dependants reside;

iii) for dependants of detainees who are normally resident in rural areas and who have the benefit of produce from agricultural land and stock holdings and who generally enjoy lower living costs than those with which dwellers in urban areas are faced, allowances ranging from £2.5.0. a month to £15 a month are paid depending on the number of dependants in each case.

"No 'means test' has been introduced and even though a detainee's wife is herself in gainful employment, she is still granted an allowance at the appropriate rates. Similarly, dependent children of a detainee receive allowances at the appropriate rates irrespective of age.

"In addition to subsistence allowances, the Rhodesian Government pays rents charged by local authorities in respect of accommodation provided by them in African residential areas under their jurisdiction and occupied by dependants of African detainees during periods of their detention; also the cost of necessary articles of clothing for detainees' children is covered by the Government as well as school fees and other charges incident to the education of a detainee's children."

the basic needs of food and shelter. In cases which qualify for assistance on the grounds of destitution, food is made available at an approved scale and rent allowances are authorised at basic levels. The matter of obtaining accommodation is the individual's responsibility. Government does not itself provide clothing for destitute persons of any race. Voluntary organisations assist in this respect." (Hansard, 19 February 1965)

The restrictees themselves make two main criticisms of this as a policy. They argue that a restrictee is in need as a result not of laziness, desertion or failure to find work, but because of direct governmental action. Secondly, destitution relief is usually seen as being an interim measure designed to tide a family over until the bread winner can find work again; for restrictees this must be a period of anything from twelve months to five years or more, during which time there is no hope of any income. Thus, they argue, the parallel between restrictees' families and those destitute from other causes is in no way an exact one.

At the present time, however, the situation of restrictees' families must be seen in the context of social welfare as a whole. This is in itself a new development in Rhodesia, for until 1964, no social assistance, other than medical care, existed for the non-white population. In that year, limited grants were made available to the municipal authorities for distribution to families in need. In September 1965, this assistance was taken over from the municipalities as a direct responsibility of the central government, and now all applications for relief must be made direct to the offices of the Department of Social Welfare.

Relief Provided

Assistance provided by Social Welfare takes two forms: a rent allowance of 30/- a month, paid direct to the township authorities, and a weekly ration pack. Cash allowances, instead of food packs can be made in "exceptional circumstances". No allowance is made for any other family need — cooking, cleaning, clothing, supplementary food like fresh fruit or vegetables, or travel fares to and from the welfare office. Although clothing is officially said to come from voluntary bodies, few European organisations are willing to give to African families, and the small number of African voluntary bodies have very limited resources. The weekly ration pack for a family of more than four contains:

- 20 lb mealie meal
- 2 lb protone (soup powder)
- 3 lb skim milk powder
- 2 lb peanuts
- 7 lb beans
- 1 lb salt

Means Test

(a) Urban

All families may apply for social welfare assistance, but before they are granted relief, they must be assessed according to two principles — "less eligibility" and "effective urbanisation". First, the family must prove that it is completely destitute; this is stressed in all official policy on the grounds that no person who is receiving relief should be in a better financial position than the poorest person surviving through his own efforts. It is officially known as the principle of "less eligibility". Any income, of whatever size, tends to debar the applicant; material possessions — whether furniture, a car, or, in rural areas, cows or goats — must be sold. Although it has been officially acknowledged in certain cases that long term interest demands that a family should retain at least adequate livestock for future breeding, some instances are known in which families with one or two head of cattle have been told to sell them. Thus in order to qualify for the food and shelter allowance, a restrictee's family must be in a state of propertyless poverty.

The second principle stressed by official handouts is that of "effective urbanisation"; this implies that only those African families who have lived in an urban area for a continuous period of ten years are eligible for relief in a town. Those who have either moved to the town more recently or appear to have retained close family ties with a tribal area, are refused relief by the urban office and told to return to the rural area; for this social welfare are empowered to pay travel expenses for a family "to their district of origin or to where they have a claim to support or shelter". Questions asked by the assessing officers include: "How often and for what purpose does the applicant visit rural/tribal areas?" In the statement of policy for administration of public assistance (Department of Social Welfare Circular No.1 of 1965), payment of an allowance for rent is authorised "in cases where an applicant is effectively urbanised and has become detribalised". The belief which appears to underlie the criterion of "effective urbanisation" is that all Africans are still rural people, whose urban existance is at best a tenuous one. Thus in cases of hardship, they should return to their family in the reserves. Cases exist, however, where families whose life is well established in the township have been classed as having effective rural ties as a result of frequent short-term visits to relatives in the country. For a restrictee, this policy means that application by his wife for assistance during his restriction may result not only in refusal of assistance, but also in encouragement that she should take her family out of the city back to the rural area.

(b) Rural Applications for assistance in rural areas are made through the District Commissioner, in some instances they have had also to have the endorsement of the local Chief. Three main problems appear to arise with this method. First, the office of the District Commissioner may be anything up to 50 miles from the home of the applicant; applications must be made in person, and as public transport is rare in rural areas, the wife may therefore have to walk up to 100 miles there and back to make her application. Chiefs, as representatives of a traditional tribal authority, are often deeply opposed to the aims of African nationalism; complaints that a Chief would therefore refuse to endorse an application for political reasons, may not be without substance. The third problem encountered by restrictees' families is that in cases where the man has been restricted on suspicion of political activity in the area, the man who advised the restriction order was in all probability the District Commissioner; families have stated that they therefore met with prejudice as the relatives of a "trouble-maker".

Housing In rural areas, Africans live in huts or houses on tribal land and thus pay no rent. Africans in urban areas, however, must by law live in a township which is administered through a Superintendent on behalf of either the local municipality or the central Government. Some home-ownership schemes are now in operation, whereby the tenant may buy his house through payment of instalments, or rent, over a period of 15 to 25 years, but most houses in townships are rented on a month to month basis from the township authorities. Rents vary; the lowest is 30/- a month and the highest is in the region of £6 or £7 a month. Waiting lists for houses in the townships are long and a man who is evicted from his house for non payment of his rent through unemployment may not be allocated a house in any other township until he has a regular job. The average rent is around £3 a month. A restrictee's family which is drawing national assistance receives 30/- a month for rent; if, as is so in the majority of cases, the family occupies a house with a rent in excess of this, money must either be given by friends or they must move out of their house. Waiting lists for houses in townships are long, and the cheapest houses are much in demand. The official allowance for shelter is therefore adequate in a very small percentage of cases.

Although no township can allow limitless credit to tenants who are unable to pay rent, it appears to be an increasingly general rule in government-run townships for families of restrictees to be allowed less latitude than others, before they are evicted. Among certain sections of the African population there is a belief that Government policy is now to evict families whose breadwinner has been restricted a second time. This has not happened in the Bulawayo municipal townships, but it is known to have occurred in Salisbury Government townships, and particularly in Harari and Highfields. It is impossible categorically to state that eviction of restrictees' families is being used as an instrument to dissuade Africans from any participation in politics, but the Select Committee on Political Boycott, in its report to Parliament in 1966, recommended:

"Your committee is forced to the conclusion that some individuals are irreconcilable fanatics and accordingly recommends:

a) That in any such case in which a resident of an African township is placed in restriction for a second period or his initial period of restriction is extended by the Minister, the law should provide that his tenancy be be terminated or if he be the owner of a house that this be disposed of.

b) If and when such a restrictee is released from restriction, steps be taken to ensure that he be not allowed to return to reside in the township from which he was removed."

(para 255)

Education of Children Children of restricted or detained people are entitled to have their fees waived at Government primary and secondary schools. In March 1966 the Minister of Education stated his policy.

"The provision which is being made for the children of detainees and restrictees whose parents are unable to pay school fees is exactly the same as the provision made for the children of other parents who are in need of financial assistance. It follows, therefore, that a detainee or restrictee can apply for remission of school fees."[1]

This remission, when granted, covers the full amount of fees --- tuition, boarding and general purpose. It does not, however, cover books and uniform. At the present time, however, many restrictees have shown reluctance in applying for remission; this appears to be because the application must be made through the Rehabilitation Officer directly by the restrictee himself. Formerly applications could be made by husband or wife to the headmaster concerned. Restrictees state that application through the Rehabilitation Officers means that they must show willingness to modify their political beliefs as a prerequisite to obtaining the remission. Most Government schools are in urban areas; education in rural areas is provided by mission schools, which cannot offer remission of fees. In some cases, at considerable

1. Hansard, 2 March 1966.

cost to individual teachers, children have had their fees paid for them, but in general terms any child whose parents are unable to pay may not continue his education. No Government allowance is available to assist restrictees whose children attend mission schools and who are unable to pay the fees which, for a child boarding at a primary school, will be about £15 a year.

Political Bias in Relief Awards

It is generally believed by politically-aware Africans that families of restrictees or detainees have less chance of obtaining social welfare relief than applicants with no political affiliations. Many wives feel considerable reluctance even to attend the social welfare offices to make an application, and for many the declaration of financial and personal details which attend any assistance interviews and the need to prove destitution are extremely repugnant. As many restrictees come from the professional African classes, the loss of their normal income may cause extreme hardship to the family long before it has become "destitute" in the technical sense of the term. Thus many restrictees' wives do not apply either out of a belief that they will be turned away for political reasons, or that they will be told to return to the tribal areas, or because their hardship has not reached the desperate, propertyless level of complete destitution. It is impossible to judge degree of political bias in this matter. Certainly an apparently large proportion of restrictees' families appear to be refused relief and the principles of "effective urbanisation" and "less eligibility" may well be more stringently applied in these cases. A group of men who were sacked from their jobs after striking against UDI on 27 December 1965 applied for social welfare in Bulawayo; in April, none had yet been granted relief.

POSITION OF A PRISONER OR RESTRICTEE ON RELEASE

WHEN an African is released from prison or restriction, he invariably finds that he has no job to return to; this has been the case not only when people were imprisoned or restricted for several years, but also recently when they were detained for 30 days or even, on some occasions, held by the police for questioning for two or three days only. There are some exceptions to this rule where employers have not only held jobs open for restricted men, but also assisted their families, but these are rare. It is much more common for a man to be released, faced with debts which have mounted up in his absence, and unable to find a job; he may also find that his family have had to leave the town and move out to a rural area, in which, if he joins them, his chances

of getting paid work are extremely small.

Labour exchanges exist in all towns, but many employers when given a choice prefer to employ a man who has just left a regular job rather than someone who has spent the last months in a restriction area and who is described officially as a "troublemaker". African unemployment has risen considerably as a result of sanctions, and this has only increased the competition for available work. Moreover, it appears to be policy on the part of some municipal authorities, among them Bulawayo, to refuse to re-employ a white collar worker who has been restricted. The Ministry of Education's stated policy is that any ex-restrictee who has failed to find a teaching job within one term of his release shall be considered to have resigned from the teaching service; until then he is on unpaid leave. In practice, few, if any, teachers are employed after restriction. In one case, at least, a school in Salisbury --- the Highfield Community School --- was told that if it re-employed one of its most qualified staff, who was due to be released, the Education Department would not be prepared to recognise the school.

At the present time, a combination of general unemployment and prejudice against politically active Africans makes the chances of a released political prisoner or restrictee finding work extremely small.

NON-OFFICIAL PROVISION OF RELIEF

Because of the stark inadequacy of the relief available from Social Welfare, two offices have been opened by the Christian Council of Rhodesia in Bulawayo and Salisbury to administer whatever funds can be obtained from voluntary donations inside and outside the country. These offices have now taken over the work which until 1965 was done by the Legal Aid and Welfare Committee in Salisbury. Monthly allowances are distributed to families whose bread-winners are in restriction, detention or serving sentences for non-violent political offences. The Christian Council Relief Office's funds are extremely limited, and although allowances are fixed according to an individual assessment for each family based on their rent, number of children and food needs; the average sum being paid out has averaged only £5 to £6 a month per family.

Welfare Committees set up by ZAPU and ZANU existed in a very limited way until 1965, when they were refused permission to raise money through public gatherings and bazaars, and they have since been compelled to stop all relief activities.

CONCLUSIONS

A. General Remarks

At the present time, the combination of far-reaching security legislation and statutory power of indefinite restriction, with constant states of emergency which allow detention and wide extension of police power, have resulted in a real and fundamental erosion of human rights in Rhodesia. This has on the whole affected only the non-white population and, as a result, the Rhodesian Government is enabled to deny freedom of political expression to the majority of its citizens while claiming to uphold the rule of law. Unless and until the present state of emergency is ended and large parts of the security legislation, including the power to restrict, are repealed, this situation cannot improve. Moreover, it is clear that through its laws and its police, the Rhodesian Government practises legal and physical intimidation at least comparable in degree to that of which it accuses the African nationalist parties.

The main recommendations of this report must therefore be:

1. An immediate end to the state of emergency;
2. The release or trial of all those held in detention and restriction;
3. The reference of all security legislation passed after 1958 to the Constitutional Council, and the repeal of those provisions held by the Council to be in violation of the human rights provision of the 1961 Constitution;
4. The appointment of a strictly impartial judicial commission to enquire into methods employed by the British South African Police during the investigation of political cases, and the degree of official sanction which these have enjoyed;

until the first two recommendations are implemented,

5. Government provision of adequate relief to enable the families of those restricted or detained without trial to live a reasonable life; this must include a cash allowance for adequate food, allowances for the fees of children attending mission schools, rent at realistic levels, costs of heating, clothing, cooking and other habitual but necessary expenses; it should also cover travel costs for visits to detention and restriction areas in order to preserve family unity despite long-term separation.

B. Prisons

In the opinion of this report, the Rhodesian Prison system suffers from three basic defects: the absence of any stated aim of rehabilitation for the prisoners, lack of training and hence professional standards among almost all ranks of prison officer, and a severe staff shortage. This has resulted in prisons which appear punitive in aim and inefficient in administration and from which there is little reason to suppose that a long-term prisoner will emerge as anything but a more embittered individual than when he was sentenced. The absence of modern penal method manifests itself primarily in the practical lack of classification, whereby prisoners are held together whatever their age or criminal record, and in the lack of official educational facilities. These are particularly serious factors for political prisoners, many of whom are young, highly intelligent people serving sentences of between ten and twenty years. The recent mild reforms can make little difference to the system, and indeed it is likely that the country's present economic crisis can only reduce the already scanty money available for prisons, while the rising political tension may be expected to worsen the relationship between a predominantly white prison authority, and black nationalist political prisoners.

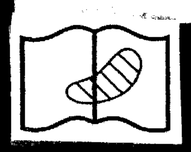
Although to date the apparently deliberate brutality inherent in the treatment of South African political offenders has not been evident, two points must be born in mind in Rhodesia. Ultimate responsibility for the administration of prisons has recently been transferred from a non-political, professional, Director of Prisons, to the Minister for Law and Order, and during the last eighteen months, political and criminal prisoners have been held apart from each other. It is to be hoped that this does not mean that political prisoners will in future receive different conditions from those of criminals.

From the evidence collected for this report, particular conclusions may be made:

(a) Food: Grade 3 diet, given to most Africans, is nutritionally inadequate for an African who is either accustomed to an urban standard of living or sentenced to hard labour; moreover, no Africans in this grade receive knives, forks or spoons, and the quality of the plates appears in some prisons to beunhygienic as well as unattractive.

(b) Clothing: The grade 3 allowance is in itself a punishment for Africans used to urban ways of living; shoes are rarely given.

(c) Cell Accommodation: this is generally over-crowded, bedding is seldom washed and in many prisons is verminous, and the



common practice of a latrine in a communal cell which is not flushed between 9.0 p.m. and 5.0 a.m. is extremely insanitary. Washing facilities are frequently grossly inadequate.

(d) Ministers of religion, although allowed free access to prisons, are not told which prisoners belong to their church; this makes effective pastoral care very difficult.

(e) Although prisoners may study with the assistance of voluntary workers outside the prisons, they are hindered by the lack of library facilities, cell space and lighting. Except where voluntary committees exist, no provision exists for study.

(f) Although hospital facilities are good, doctors do not invariably visit regularly, and examinations are sometimes superficial.

Although prison grades, and thus conditions, are officially said to be determined by the prisoner's standard of living in normal life, no Africans have ever been placed in Grade 1, and many political prisoners have complained of difficulty in establishing their right to grade 2; the system is therefore a practically discriminatory one.

Unsentenced prisoners, and detainees held in prison, complain equally of crowded cells, dirty bedding, inadequate washing facilities — sometimes no washing for two or three weeks. They also appear to have been compelled to wear prison clothing. This has been the case especially with political offenders and detainees, and appears to be policy in certain prisons.

Conditions in the larger prisons are considerably better than those in Classes III and IV; criticism is therefore directed primarily to the latter group.

C. Restriction and Detention

Official figures for Africans held in restriction areas have shown a decline in numbers since November 1965, but this does not represent a real decline in the numbers of Africans held without trial, since figures for detention in prisons and police stations under the Emergency Regulations have never been officially stated. Indeed, all the available evidence makes it plain that since the emergency hundreds, and possibly thousands, of Africans have been held in detention.

It is admitted by the Minister that those people whom he cannot charge in court, because the evidence is inadequate, he restricts or detains.

This report would therefore recommend:

(i) The unconditional release or trial of all in restriction or detention;

(ii) That an independent tribunal be set up and all restriction cases be reviewed at least every 12 months; where continued restriction is advised, the restrictee should be told the particular reason for the decision. Appeals should be made to this tribunal rather than to the Minister for Law and Order.

Until this is done, this report recommends:

(iii) That conditions for those in restriction areas be brought at least into line with the living conditions for sentenced prisoners; this would therefore introduce the fundamental principle that conditions are determined by an individual's standard of living in normal life.

(iv) As the climate of Gonakudzingwa is unhealthy as well as malarial, this camp should be moved.

(v) In view of proved malnutrition among restrictees, they should be (a) provided with fresh fruit and vegetables as a regular part of their diet, and (b) given scales so that they can check their rations. Considering the climate and conditions of the areas, fresh food should either be delivered daily or refrigeration should be provided.

(vi) Accommodation: restrictees who are accustomed to beds, sheets, towels, etc. should be provided with these; the huts should be insulated against the heat, extra accommodation should be built to reduce over-crowding; at Wha Wha, the huts should have their floors raised against the damp, and the present unhygienic situation of the kitchens, latrines and open garbage pit should be altered.

(vii) Since few families are able to send clothing, and many restricted people are at present clad only in the ragged remains of the outfit in which they were originally arrested, months or years ago, clothes should be provided as of right by the authorities.

(viii) Medical Facilities: complaints of inadequate medical facilities are fully justified. Adequate drugs should therefore be made available in the camps, which should be visited by a doctor once a week as a minimum.

(ix) Postal facilities and visits from friends, families and ministers of religion should be unlimited and uncontrolled. Moreover, as the lack of accommodation, schools, etc. in

the camps makes it impracticable for families to live with the husband, money allowances should be provided to enable them to make as frequent and lengthy visits as are necessa necessary to preserve the unity of the family. In the cases where husband and wife are both restricted, they should be moved to the same area and provided with private accommodation.

(x) As restriction can be ordered for up to five years, a restrictee must be allowed adequate time in which to put his affairs into order, and arrange for the welfare of his wife and family. An official curator must also be appointed by the authorities to run restrictees' businesses in their absence.

(xi) As study is the only creative activity possible in restriction, the Government should augment its present provision of courses by providing stationery, books, and classrooms and by paying for degree courses.

(xii) Release should be made without regard for a man's political opinions, and restrictees should be enabled to leave their restriction when their orders expire.

D. General Amnesty — Should any negotiated settlement with the Smith Government be contemplated by the British Government this must have the essential prerequisite of a full and unconditional amnesty for all those serving sentences for non-violent infringements of the security legislation.

Appendix A

Cell Equipment Laid Down in Prison Regulations (Sentenced Prisoners)

Scale 1 and 2

1 iron bed and mattress
1 chair
1 cupboard and shelving
1 small table
1 looking glass
1 mug
1 fork, knife and spoon
2 or 4 blankets (winter)
2 or 3 blankets (summer)
2 sheets
2 pillows and slips
1 towel

Where no permanent ablution arrangements are available, the following additional issue will be made :
1 basin, water jug, soap dish, chamber pot.

Scale 3

3 or 4 blankets (winter)
2 or 3 blankets (summer)
1 sleeping mat
1 mug

Where no permanent latrine is available the following additional issue will be made:
1 latrine bucket or 1 chamber pot

Appendix B

Diet Scales Laid Down in Prison Regulations (Sentenced Prisoners)

Dietary Scale No.1	Daily Issues
Meat	12 oz
OR Fresh Fish	16 oz
Bread	16 oz
Oatmeal OR Wheaten Porridge	4 oz
Margarine	2 oz
Cooking Fat	1 oz
Fresh Vegetables	8 oz
Potatoes OR Sweet Potatoes	8 oz
Peas OR Beans OR Groundnuts	2 oz
Cheese OR Syrup OR Jam	2 oz
Salt	¾ oz
Tea	¼ oz
Coffee	½ oz
Sugar	2 oz
Milk	½ pint
Fruit (in season)	4 oz
	Weekly Issues
Rice	4 oz
Curry Powder	1 oz
Currants OR Raisins	1 oz
Flour	2 oz
	Miscellaneous Issues
Mustard and Pepper	

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Dietary Scale No. 2	Daily Issues
Rice	10 oz
Wheaten Flour OR Maize Meal	8 oz
Bread	16 oz
Meat	8 oz
OR Fresh Fish	12 oz
Beans OR Peas OR Dahl	4 oz
Fresh Vegetables	6 oz
Onions	1 oz
Chillies OR Peppers	¼ oz
Margarine	1 oz
Ghee	1 oz
OR Dripping	1 oz
OR Ground-nut Oil	¼ oz

OR Red Palm Oil	¼ oz
Cheese OR Syrup OR Jam	2 oz
Salt	¾ oz
Tea	½ oz
Sugar	1½ oz
Milk	¼ pint
Fruit (in season)	4 oz
	Weekly Issues
Curry Powder	1 oz

- - - - -

Dietary Scale No.3	Daily Issues
Maize Meal	24 oz
OR Rice	16 oz
OR Cassava	24 oz
OR Millet Meal	24 oz
Peas OR Beans	4 oz
Fresh Vegetables	6 oz
OR Peas OR Beans	2 oz
OR Sweet Potatoes	10 oz
Chillies OR Peppers	⅛ oz
Dripping	½ oz
OR Groundnut Oil	¼ oz
OR Groundnuts, Shelled	1 oz
OR Red Palm Oil	⅛ oz
Salt	¾ oz
Fruit (in season)	4 oz

Appendix C

Clothing and Accessories Laid Down in Prison Regulations (Sentenced Prisoners)

Scale 1 and 2 (Male)

2 pairs trousers
2 shirts
2 flannel undervests (winter)
2 pairs socks
1 pair boots
2 pairs of pyjamas
2 handkerchiefs
1 hat or helmet
1 belt
1 jacket (winter)
1 brush and comb
1 toothbrush and shaving brush
1 safety razor
1 stick shaving soap monthly
1 tablet soap weekly
1 tube toothpaste monthly
1 pair overalls, if employed on dirty jobs
1 pair gym shoes, in discretion of officer in charge.

Scale 3 (Male)

2 shirts
2 pairs shorts
1 jersey (winter)
2 singlets (winter)
2 lb soap monthly (where no laundry)
1 lb soap monthly (where laundry)
1 pair sandals (in discretion of officer in charge)

Appendix D

RESTRICTION ORDER

Order in Terms of Section 50 of the Law and Order (Maintenence) Act (Chapter 39.)

To:.....

1. You are hereby notified that I consider that for the purpose of maintaining law and order in Rhodesia it is desirable to make an order against you in terms of subsection (1) of section 50 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (Chapter 39), for the purpose of securing that, except insofar as may be permitted by this Order, or by a written permit issued by me, you shall remain in the area specified in paragraph 3 of this Order during a period of FIVE YEARS.

2. This Order is based on -
   (a) a belief that you have been engaged in subversive activities.
   (b) information which has been placed before me and which I am unable to divulge because of the confidential nature of the contents and sources of such information.

3. NOW, THEREFORE, in terms of subsection (1) of Section 50 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (Chapter 39), I do hereby order that -
   (A) you shall remain in an area of Crown lands, in extent approximately 400 square miles, situated in the district of Nuanetsi, comprising -
      (a) that portion of the Sengwe Tribal Trust Land lying to the east of the Nuanetsi River; and
      (b) that portion of Gona-re-Zhou National Land lying to the west of the Bannockburn/Malvernia railway line, but excluding that area of land bounded to the north by Gonakedzingwa Native Purchase Area, to the east by the Bannockburn/Malvernia railway line, to the west by a line parallel to, 150 feet distant from, and lying to the west of, the aforesaid railway line and to the south by a line perpendicular to the aforesaid railway line and passing through a point approximately 400 yards north of the Nyala Siding where a road from the east joins the Mbizi/Malvernia road; and
      (c) that portion of Gona-re-Zhou National Land lying to the south of a line starting from the intersection of the Bannockburn/Malvernia railway line with the southern boundary of the excluded land referred to in paragraph (b), thence in an easterly direction to a point approximately 400 yards north of Nyala Siding where a road from the east joins the Mbizi/Malvernia road, thence along this road from the east in an easterly direction for a distance of approximately 13 miles to boundary beacon No.13 on the International Boundary between Southern Rhodesia and Mocambique;

   but excluding from the whole area that land lying to the south-east of the game fence, which game fence runs approximately parallel to, approximately 7 feet from, and on the north-western side of, the International Boundary between Rhodesia and Mocambique, for a period of FIVE YEARS reckoned from the date of the delivery or tender of this Order to you.

   (B) You will report to the British South Africa Police when called upon to do so by the Member in Charge, Vila Salazar.

4. This Order shall have effect immediately it is delivered or tendered to you but you have the right to object to this Order and to make representations in writing to me within seven days of its delivery or tender to you stating the reason or reasons why you consider the Order should be revoked.

Given under my hand at Salisbury this 11th day of March 1966.

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

Appendix E

DETENTION ORDER LIMITING RESTRICTION

Order in Terms of Section 12 of the Emergency (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations 1965

To:.....

1. You being a "restricted" person in respect of whom there is in force an order made by the Minister in terms of paragraph (b) of subsection (2) of section 50 or paragraph (c) of subsection (2) of section 51 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, (Chapter 39), are hereby notified that I have reasonable grounds for believing that you are likely
   (a) to do, in any other area or in any portion of the area under the charge of such authority, any acts which are likely to endanger the public safety, disturb or interfere with public order or interfere with the maintenance of any essential service or interfere with the preservation of the peace; or
   (b) to persuade or endeavour to persuade any person or persons in any other area or in any portion of the area

under the charge of such authority to do any such act; or

(c) to hinder the termination of the state of emergency.

2. NOW, THEREFORE, in terms of subsection (1) of section 12 of the Emergency (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1965, I do hereby order that you remain within the area commonly known as Camp 3 in the area here defined -

Area Defined: That portion of the Gonare-Zhou National Land commencing at an intersection of the Mbizi/Malvernia road approximately 400 yards north of Nyala Siding where a road from the east joins the aforesaid road, thence easterly along the latter road for a distance of approximately 13 miles to the boundary beacon Number 18 on the International Boundary between Southern Rhodesia and Mocambique, thence along the said International Boundary to where it joins the Barnockburn/Malvernia railway line, thence along the eastern side of the said railway line to the starting point some 400 yards north of Nyala Siding;

until the termination of the State of Emergency in Rhodesia or until the order made by the Minister making you a "prestricted person" as in paragraph (1) above is revoked or varied.

3. This Order shall under the provisions of subsection (1) of section 44 of the aforesaid Regulations, have effect immediately it is delivered or tendered to you but you have the right to object to this Order and to make representations in writing to me within seven days after the Order has been delivered or tendered to you stating the reason or reasons why you consider the Order should be revoked.

Given under my hand at FORT VICTORIA this EIGHTH DAY of NOVEMBER 1965.

(Signed) (H.K.A. GAITSKELL)
PROTECTING AUTHORITY,
VICTORIA POLICE PROVINCE

Appendix F

PERMIT ISSUED IN TERMS OF SECTION 50 OF THE LAW AND ORDER (MAINTENANCE) ACT (CHAPTER 39)

To:.....

In terms of paragraph (b) of subsection (2) as read with subsection (5) of section 50 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (Chapter 39) you are hereby permitted to leave the Sengwe restriction area for the purpose of travelling to Mpilo Hospital Bulawayo, for medical treatment.

This permit is issued subject to the following conditions :-

(i) that you travel under Police custody for the journey to and from Sengwe to Mpilo Hospital;

(ii) that you report in person your arrival in Bulawayo to the Police at Mzilikazi;

(iii) that whilst detained in Mpilo Hospital for observation you remain restricted to the ward in the hospital in which you are accommodated;

(iv) that on discharge from Mpilo Hospital on the orders of the Medical Superintendent you report to the Police at Mzilikazi and return to Sengwe Restriction Area in Police custody, reporting in person to Police, Vila Salazar, on arrival.

D.W. Lardner-Burke
MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

Appendix G

PERMIT ALLOWING WIFE TO VISIT GONAKUDZINGWA

PERMISSION TO ENTER PROTECTED AREA

Sub-Sections(2) and (3) of Section 13 of the Emergency (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1965

PERMISSION is hereby granted to:.....
of (address) .....
being a dependant of restrictee .....
to enter the Protected Area of Sengwe for the purpose of visiting restrictee.....

Conditions

You are required to travel by train to Vila Salazar Railway Station. You are to report your arrival and produce this permit at the BSA Police Station at Vila Salazar, and comply with all directions there given to you during the period of your visit.

This permit allows you to visit Camp 2 only and is valid for the period stated below :- From 15th April 1966
To 21st April 1966

Immediately before your departure from the Protected Area you are to report at the BSA Police Station to the Member in Charge at the time.

Note: You are liable to be searched on entering and leaving the Protected Area.

(H.K.A.GAITSKELL),
PROTECTING AUTHORITY
FOR THE VICTORIA POLICE PROVINCE

Appendix H

CONTROL OF COMMUNICATIONS

WHEREAS by sub-section 1 of Section 33 of the Emergency (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1965, it is provided that the Protecting Authority may by order prohibit any restricted person from communicating by word of mouth, in writing or otherwise, with any person who is outside the restricted area,

I DO HEREBY PROHIBIT YOU .....

from communicating by word of mouth, in writing or otherwise with any person who is outside the area to which you are restricted.

You are hereby informed that in terms of Section 45 of the Regulations, you have the right to object and make representation in writing to the Minister within seven days after the order has been given or tendered to you.

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND this 19th day of November 1965 at Gwelo.

PROTECTING AUTHORITY FOR THE MIDLANDS PROVINCE APPOINTED IN TERMS OF SECTION 3 OF THE EMERGENCY (MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER) REGULATIONS, 1965

Appendix I

DETENTION ORDER

ORDER IN TERMS OF SECTION 21 OF THE EMERGENCY (MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER) REGULATIONS, 1965

To:.....

1. You are hereby notified that I consider it is expedient in the public interest to make an Order against you in terms of sub-section (1) of Section 21 of the Emergency (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1965.

2. This Order is based on -
a belief that you are likely to commit acts in Rhodesia which are likely to endanger the public safety, disturb or interfere with public order, or interfere with the maintenance of any essential service.

3. NOW, THEREFORE, in terms of sub-section (1) of Section 21 of the Emergency (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1965, I do hereby order that you shall be detained in Gwelo Prison, until the termination of the State of Emergency in Rhodesia or until this order is revoked or varied.

4. This Order shall under provisions of subsection (1) of Section 41 of the aforesaid Regulations, have effect immediately it is made or given to you but you have the right to object to this Order and to make representations in writing to me within seven days after the Order has been delivered or tendered to you stating the reason or reasons why you consider the Order should be revoked.

Given under my hand at Salisbury this 23rd day of November, 1965.

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

Appendix J

PERMIT TO LEAVE GONAKUDZINGWA TO UNDERGO DETENTION

PERMIT ISSUED IN TERMS OF SECTION 50 OF THE LAW AND ORDER (MAINTENANCE) ACT (CHAPTER 39)

To:.....

In terms of paragraph (b) of subsection (2) as read with subsection (5) of section 50 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (Chapter 39) you are hereby permitted to leave the area in which you are restricted at Gonakudzingwa for the purpose of undergoing detention in terms of the Emergency (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations, 1965.

This permit is issued subject to the condition that in the event of your being released from such detention prior to the expiry of your restriction order you are required to return forthwith to the restriction area at Gonakudzingwa by the transport provided by the Government for this purpose.

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

Appendix K

STATEMENT DESCRIBING INTERROGATION WITH DOCTOR'S REPORT

"I reside in a village in the Tanda Reserve, in the Rusape district. The Tanda dip tank is some five miles away from my home. I am the Chairman of a women's organisation which has political affiliations with the PGC. A meeting was called for 4 March ... to discuss political matters, but I was not able to go to the meeting myself because my young child was ill ... After the meeting I heard from a friend what transpired... Someone had proposed the destruction of the Tanda dip tank, and this was agreed... The meeting was held in the afternoon and that night the dip tank was filled with stones. I did not take part in this exercise.

"The police arrived in my village on 6 March at about 7.0 a.m. They came straight to my house and arrested me.... We were taken in a police truck to the Mayo police camp, which is about 16 miles away... Two African constables, Tafirinyika and Chirango, took me to a place outside the camp, amongst the trees and small bushes. We came to a spot about 150 yards from the African constable's office.... I had my baby with me at the time and was told to sit down. Tafirinyika and Chirango immediately began to interrogate me. They asked me whether I was at the meeting. I told them I had not been at the meeting because I had a sick child. They asked me again and I repeated the information I had given them, adding that that was all that I knew. They then said to me "If you don't tell us we are going to beat you, and you will certainly say it when we do beat you.' They then started beating me. Chirango hit me first with his open palm. At this time I was still sitting on the ground with the child on my lap. Chirango's blows to my face were quite severe. After a while Tafirinyika told me I had better admit what I knew, but again I refused to do so. He then said to me that they were tired of beating me with their hands and would now beat me with sticks. They each then went off to look for sticks. These they cut with a knife from green trees. The sticks were roughly an inch in diameter and about an arm's length long. When they came back to me they took my child away from me and set it down some short distance away. They then told me to stand up and lean forward so they could beat my back. I did so, and they both laid into me with their sticks, beating me upon my back and buttocks. They also hit me on my hands when I tried to protect myself. Previously they had also hit me upon my shins with their sticks when I was sitting down. I was very heavily beaten and hit with many, many blows. I cannot remember how many blows, but the whole assault went on for a considerable time. All the time they were beating me they were also questioning me. Finally, when I felt I could take no more, I cried out to them that I was tired of being beaten, and that if they wanted to they could go and get a gun and shoot me. They then stopped beating me, and said "All right, we will now go back to the camp'. I was not able to walk properly and so one policeman carried the child and the other assisted me to walk. We went straight to the African constable's office. I fell down on the steps outside the office and fainted and remained unconscious for a short time ....

"After the beating I was detained for six days at the Mayo Police Camp."

Doctor's Report

"Patient seen by me on 15 March.
Complained of having been beaten on back and buttocks and head hit against wall of a house on 6 March.

On examination : T. 104°F

1. Dorsal area of back: healing crusted parallel weals and parallel bruise marks.
2. Buttocks: massive swelling of both cheeks, skin broken and oozing blood and serum. On the left side a large, prominent, tender area, probably due to a deep bruise that had become infected (of fever).

The patient was sent immediately to Harari Hospital where she was admitted."

Appendix L

LAW AND ORDER (MAINTENANCE) ACT

(Chapter 39)

Part I of the Act deals with control of processions, gatherings and meetings, by District Commissioners, regulating authorities (usually senior police officers) and the Minister for Law and Order. The type of limitation provided by the Act is well illustrated by an extract from Section 6 and Section 10:

"A regulating authority may issue directions for the purpose of controlling the conduct of public processions within his area ... Any person who wishes to form a procession shall first make application ... to the regulating authority ... and if such authority is satisfied that such procession is unlikely to cause or lead to a breach of the peace or public disorder, he shall, subject to section 10 issue a permit ... authorising such procession..."

Section 10 states:

"If at any time the district commissioner is of the opinion that by reason of particular circumstances existing in his district or in any part thereof serious public disorder may be occasioned by the holding of public processions in that district ... he may make an order prohibiting ... the holding of all public processions" for up to three months.

Section 17 empowers a police officer "for the proper exercise of his preventive ... duties" to forbid any person at a gathering from addressing the gathering and to enter and remain on any premises at which three or more persons are present "whenever he has reasonable grounds for believing that a breach of the peace is likely to occur or that a seditious ... statement is likely to be made."

Part II of the Act deals with printed publications; the Governor is given power to ban any publication "likely to be contrary to the interests of public safety". Section 20 enables the Post Master General or any other officer of the Ministry of Posts authorised by him to open any package "which he suspects to contain any prohibited publication or extract therefrom".

Part III creates a wide range of offences in which the onus is cast on the accused to prove his innocence. The total effect is far-reaching and the penalties severe; in many cases there is no option of a fine and in others a minimum sentence. Section 26 creates, inter alia, the following offences:

"Any person who without lawful excuse, the proof whereof lies on him - ... persistently follows some other person from place to place ... (d) does any act or behaves in a manner which is likely to compel or induce some other person to do some act which such other person is not legally obliged to do; (f) demands that any person should join or refrain from joining a political party or ... organisation ... shall be guilty of an offence and liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten years."

In one case under this section, a woman who kicked over beer mugs in a beer hall, and shouted "This is not the day to drink beer" (Joshua Nkomo was on trial at the time) was convicted and sentenced to three years.

Sections 39 and 41 deal respectively with undermining the authority of the police and public authorities. It is an offence to say or do anything which is likely to expose a police officer to contempt or ridicule. Under section 39, a man who referred in a speech to police officers attending the meeting as 'little boys' was convicted and given suspended sentence. Section 44 makes it an offence to make a subversive statement; the definition for these is wide, and includes two particular types of statement which have formed the basis of charges against many African nationalists:

"a statement which is likely ... to excite disaffection against ... the Government or constitution of Southern Rhodesia ... or the administration of justice therein; ... to engender or promote feelings of hostility to, or expose to contempt, ridicule or disesteem, any group, section or class in or of the community on account of race, religion or colour."

Leo Baron, commenting on this section, writes:

"It is by no means easy for an African politician to make a speech critical of the Government without being caught by this... He would not be alive to the distinction between the party in power and the Government in the sense of an organised entity; references to 'white men' would be difficult to avoid in any speech about Rhodesia and would frequently lead to a conviction..." (see Baron op.cit.)

Sections 50 and 51 of Part IV contain the provisions for restriction, described elsewhere in this report, while Section 56 gives the police power to

"stop and without warrant search any person or vehicle entering or leaving Southern Rhodesia and any person in or upon such vehicle; and seize any thing as to which he has reasonable grounds for believing that it will afford evidence as to the commission of an offence under the law."

Section 37, which provides a mandatory death penalty for certain offences, should be quoted in detail:

"Any person who, without lawful excuse, the proof whereof lies on him

(a) by the use of petrol ... or other inflammable liquid sets or attempts to set on fire any person, building, structure, vehicle, vessel, aircraft or railway engine, tender, carriage, van or truck; or

(b) by the use of explosives -

(i) causes or attempts to cause injury to any person; or

(ii) destroys or causes or attempts to cause damage to any building ... tender, carriage, van or truck;

shall be guilty of an offence and -

(c) shall be sentenced to death" ...

"except in certain cases, or where the person is under 16 years old or a pregnant woman. Where the accused is over 16 but under 19, the court is allowed to impose an alternative sentence of up to 20 years imprisonment."