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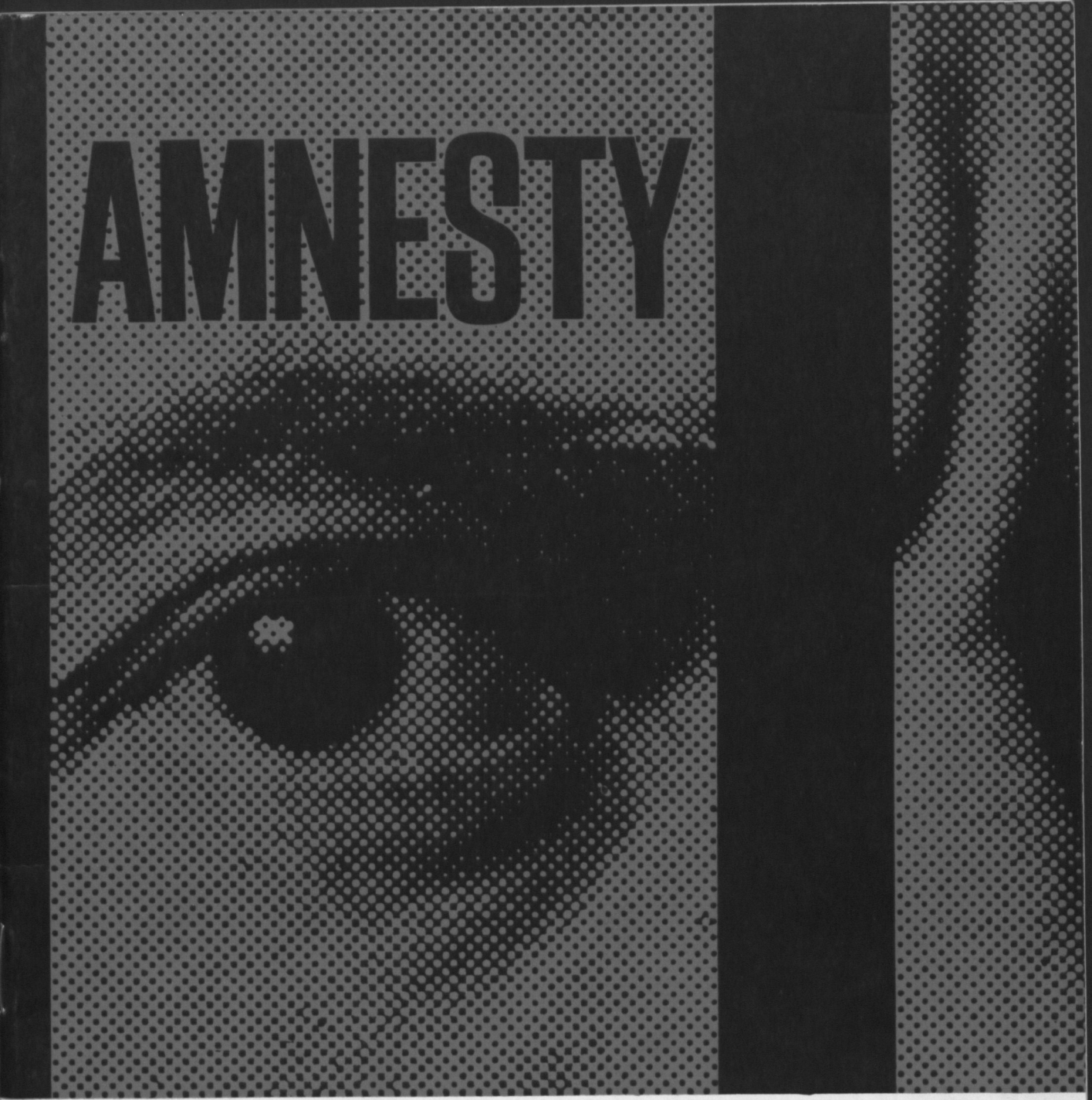

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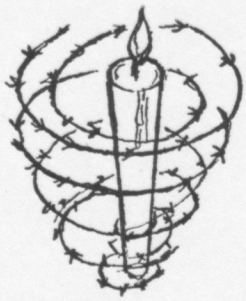

AMNESTY

An international movement for freedom of opinion and religion

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

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

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

The Unending Sentence

Africans in Exile in South Africa

by Helen Joseph

Mrs. Joseph, of the Johannesburg Human Rights Welfare Committee, has just completed an 8,500-mile journey round the Republic visiting Africans who for political reasons have been banished from their homes, and their families who are parted from them.

BANISHMENT—an ugly word and an uglier reality. It was not until I could go myself to seek out the banished Africans that I really understood the human tragedy of it all, that I could uncover the callous treatment, the stark neglect that has been the lot of so many of these people, banished without trial, all of them, exiled to endless years of desolation.

I thought I knew something about banishments; I had been deeply moved by letters that we had received. A lonely wife had written, "What sort of prisoner are you? Prisoners go to gaol and they come home again but you don't come home." I had thought that these words revealed the essence of this inhuman yet legalized system, but today I realize that I knew nothing—until now. And I am still only an onlooker, for it hasn't happened to me.

Deep in the northern Transvaal, hundreds of miles from Johannesburg, we visited the wives of men who had been banished ten, twelve years ago. The day was bright and shining as we drove around the rocky hills to meet those lonely wives—and widows. They had put on their brightest headscarves and their gayest beads to welcome us, but as one by one they told their tragic stories, the sky seemed less blue and the gay colours served only to deepen the lines of sorrow in these dark faces. Sometimes the tears rolled down their cheeks as they told us how their husbands had been taken away so long ago. Of them all, only one had ever returned.

"An agricultural officer came on a motor bike and told my husband to go to the police station

(*continued overleaf*)

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at Sandfontein. I do not remember what year this was. He was taken away by train from Pietersburg and I did not get a letter from him during all the years afterwards until the day when he walked into the house. I did not know where he was and I thought it was a ghost and I got a shock. This was on a Monday in June 1961. He collapsed on the floor and then he struggled to his feet and asked, 'How are you? How are the children?' He said he was well but he wasn't well and fell down again. He lay in bed for a week and then he died. He did not speak again after that first day." When we asked how this dying man had reached his home, his wife told us that he had walked a few yards and then he had sat down. Then he had struggled and got up and walked a few more yards. It had taken him nearly all day to walk the five miles from the bus to his home.

We knew that Sibija Matlala had been released from Driefontein banishment camp, a thousand miles away in the northern Cape. He had been visited there and we had known him to be a sickly man for many years, too ill to work, to move about. What inhumanity put that dying man out of the camp to struggle home alone? Could he not have been given transport for those last few miles of agony?

* * *

Four other banished men from Matlalas Reserve have died during these long years of banishment, in the Transkei, in Zululand, in Hectorspruit, but *they* died far away from their homes and their families. Others are still eating out their hearts in this endless exile, their wives left helpless, alone, destitute. Maema Matlalos is an old man now, in his eighties, but he is still in exile in Bushbuckridge. His wife told us, "We were at home when the agricultural officer came in a government car and said to my husband, 'Stand up! Let's go!' They wanted to take me too, but when my husband knew that he was going to be banished he would not allow them to take me. He said that I must remain, for a soldier does not take his wife to war. She waits for him to come home. It was after five years that I first heard that my husband was still alive and in Bushbuckridge, but now I do not hear from him at all." When we asked if she would like to go to her husband, a slow faint smile appeared and her face lighted up with emotion, incredulous. Then it fell back into the former lines of sorrow, until we said again, later on, "Don't look so sad, you are going to visit your husband." Then she really smiled for the first time.

We visited her husband, gallant old Maema Matlala, who has spent the past twelve years banished to Bushbuckridge, hundreds of miles away from his home. He had served in the 1914-1918 war, he had been to East Africa, he had seen Mount Kilimanjaro, he told us he was already a grown man in the Boer War. He had been in Pretoria at the time of the wedding of President Kruger's daughter. Maema Matlala's hair is white and he is wrinkled and old, but his spirit is still that of a leader of his people and he waits for the day when he will go home again to Matlalas. "When I go to heaven, that will be the third kingdom, for the second kingdom will be when I go back to Matlalas." He did not complain about what he had endured in the beginning and it was only when we asked him that he told us the story of how he was alone when he first came there, living in an empty room behind government buildings, the very same room that he lives in now; he had no bed, no blankets, no food except a few mealies, and no pot to cook them in, no spoon. It was only after years that he had managed to get any sort of bed, the broken wooden structure that is still in that tiny room, his home for so many long years. Will he too be released in time to go home—to die?

Twelve have been banished from Sekhukhuneland and six of them are still in exile. Here is the pattern of banishment straight from the gates of the gaol where sentences have been served for political offences. William Sekhukhune is over seventy and his wife is in her sixties. Her face is sad and wrinkled and she wept a little as she told us of her sad and lonely life. Her husband had been convicted for holding an illegal meeting and she had been expecting him to come home after he had served his sentence. The people in the village had said that he would be coming home soon. But then she had been told by a government official that he was banished and would not return at all. Now she lives alone, except when her grown-up

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LETTER FROM GREECE

The following are extracts from a letter from Emmanouil Roumeliotakis, a Greek political exile, held on an island in the Aegean Sea, received by an Amnesty supporter earlier this year.

Ayios Efstratios

Dear Cousin,

I received your letter of 10.12.61. For your kind words and your moral support for our struggle, I thank you very much and also I thank all your English compatriots who are friends of your people. I am late in writing to you to tell you as you asked about my life and, in particular, to describe a day in my life here, that is, one of the 5,000 days approximately that I have spent in the various camps, Icaria, Macronisos and Ai-Strati (Ayios Efstratios), because what you ask for is forbidden. So I had to find a way of sending it without passing it through the censorship.

It is however very difficult for me to really convey a picture of our tortured life, one day of our life in the space of a letter; one day in the life which began on 9.4.58 and still continues today. During that time my comrades and I —some of them have been held since 1954— have been put through every kind of test and torture, the cruel force of bodily torture to the point of death (on Macronisos one comrade of mine died before my very eyes from torture), the martyrdom of thirst, of hunger and of hard labour which means carrying rocks and boulders from one place to another under the lash.

(At Ai-Strati) they will not allow us to live in the only village near our camp even though there are houses that we could live in and the cost of renting them would be less for the State than the purchase of the tents which they have to pay out every year. The camp consists of two ravines where there are the dried up beds of two rivers, and every year they are flooded and carry away to the sea all our poor household goods and we have even been in danger of being victims ourselves, especially those who are very ill and so now they have allowed a very small number of them to live in the village— following the protests of our people. These comrades of ours pay the rent which means, in fact, that they pay for their detention! The picture is not complete without mention of the cement watchtowers overlooking the ravines where the gendarmes and the dogs are. It is forbidden to go beyond a certain defined limit at the risk of one's life. . . In the summer the tents become burning ovens and in the winter they are frozen ice-boxes. Here is how our life is spent. We do all our own work ourselves, the cooking is done altogether for everyone in common, we bake bread having learned here in exile how to make it; we have our shoemaking and repair shop, our tailoring group, our hairdressing group . . .

. . . we have a long list of illnesses and the government places unsurmountable obstacles in the way of our getting treatment. Those who are seriously ill, according to the diagnosis of the Red Cross, are transferred to Athens for treatment and having taken them through the terrible transit depot they return to us in an even worse state (the death circuit, this was called by the former chief of the Greek Red Cross team, Vasilis Tsironis).

The situation as far as food is concerned is very bad. In January 1960 the government itself recognized the need for the allowance to be increased by two drachmas and it was approved by the Ministry, but we still do not receive the increase and the cost of living meanwhile has gone up further . . .

Now some of my preoccupations. Foreseeing some of the difficulties of life in exile (Roumeliotakis lost an arm in Albania fighting the Italians)

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ONE GENERAL'S EMPIRE

BY HUGH O'NEILL

Professor O'Neill, of the University of Wales, recently visited Paraguay on Amnesty's behalf.

It is to be hoped that the days of one-man dictatorships by generals or unscrupulous politicians in Latin America are numbered, but one dictator who does survive is General Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay.

In May, 1954, General Stroessner staged a *coup d'état* and that summer held one-ticket elections which resulted in his being confirmed in office. The Chamber of Deputies now entirely consists of members of his Colorado Party.

Opposition parties can by and large only indulge in clandestine activities and are not allowed to publish newspapers though the weekly "Tribuna Liberal", a paper which presents little danger to the régime, is allowed to be distributed most weeks.

Because you cannot get much of a job unless you belong to the Colorados, between 400,000 and 600,000, mostly young people, have left the Republic, the majority of whom now live in Argentina where the dissident political parties operate and hold their conventions.

In 1959 the exiles invaded Paraguay in guerrilla bands which were, however, rounded up by Government forces. All the survivors of the first raid were killed, some after undergoing torture, on the orders of General Patricio Colman. Those who were captured in later raids were taken to an island prison in the River Paraguay and to a military prison in the Chaco plain.

General Stroessner's less active opponents have hardly received any better treatment. One reliable informant told me of a prison in the Calle Yegros in Asunción, the capital, guarded by the Security Forces. About two years ago some 140 men, lawyers and businessmen suspected of being hostile to the régime, were confined there in one room without trial, sleeping on the floor and without any sanitary arrangements. They were held for three or four months before any outside visitor was allowed them. Most were sick, many had dysentery yet they were obliged to do forced labour. They had been beaten on the hands with rifles and their backs were raw from beatings with light chains. Some would suddenly be woken at 3 o'clock in the morning to be beaten and bastinadoed. Such treatment broke the spirit of many of them.

After protests to the government they were taken to a prison in the more remote parts of the country where a number of them managed to overcome their guards and flee to Brazil.

One small grouping, the Movimiento Social-demócrata Cristiana, was founded in 1960 and that is struggling to gain adherents in Paraguay. Its president, Professor Jorge H. Escobar, was suddenly put in prison without trial in June 1961 and after 15 days was transferred to an unhealthy part of the country where he was kept under house arrest on an estate. There he was kept for 5 months with nothing to do while his family (he has a wife and eight children), lived by selling some of their possessions. Towards the end of last year he was allowed to return to Asunción and take up his work again.

As a result of an emergency law passed in May, 1961, Professor Resck, a member of the M.S.D.C., who has been in prison 36 times in all because of his opposition to the Government, together with 65 students, were imprisoned, for protesting against the Stroessner régime. When they were eventually brought to trial they were defended by fellow members of the party and ordered to be released. The police did not comply with the judge's decision and it needed the intercession of the Archbishop of Asunción to get them freed.

AMNESTY AS AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

By ERIC BAKER

Eric Baker was Joint Director of Amnesty during its first year's work

THE last eighteen months have shown the main lines along which Amnesty should develop, but much remains to be filled in. A letter from Dr. Neto, recently freed by the Portuguese authorities, has emphasized that the publicity Amnesty gave to his sufferings both helped to give him courage and to contribute to his eventual release. Letters from individual families in Greece and Ghana have shown how warmly those who are in want, because of the imprisonment of their breadwinner, appreciate the small amounts of relief which the Threes are able to send to them.

Evidence of this kind convinces us that in the main, Amnesty is working along the right lines. It also convinces us, however, that, as soon as possible, Amnesty should be established as a truly international movement.

From the beginning the organizers realized that work on behalf of prisoners of conscience would only be successful if the pressure on their behalf came, not from this country alone, but from men and women in countries all over the world. Consequently, within weeks of the first *Observer* article in May, 1961, contact was made with those who had responded from Europe, and the first meeting of the international committee was held in July in Luxemburg; this September a second international conference will meet in Belgium.

The next step to establish the character of Amnesty as an international movement was to send out our own investigators. This has proved useful, both in gathering information, and often in bringing forcibly to the attention of governments that disregard of the human rights of their own citizens was a matter of lively concern to men and women all over the world. Investigators who have been sent to countries east of the Iron Curtain (Czechoslovakia and East Germany), to African and Asian countries (Ghana and Ceylon) and to the countries of Europe (Spain and Portugal) have all been successful, not only in bringing back detailed information about the condition of particular prisoners, but in interviewing members of the governments concerned on their behalf.

But the success and the difficulties which have attended the work of the investigators suggest that there is scope for development of the work of Amnesty at governmental level which would well repay exploration.

* * *

With the best will in the world, it must be difficult for any government to receive enquiries from Amnesty without some degree of anxiety and suspicion. Its avowed concern is with those very individuals whose beliefs and works a government has viewed with the gravest disquiet. In short, to some of those governments most anxious about their own stability, it would appear that this is a movement whose chief purpose is to support just those who have threatened their own existence.

Yet such fears are groundless. Amnesty has always made it clear that it is no part of its purpose to challenge an existing government. However much Amnesty supporters may privately approve or disapprove of the activities of any particular government, they have always been quite clear that the business of supporting or opposing it, or the legislation which it enacts, is the responsibility of the citizens of that country and of them alone. Consequently, it has never attempted to interfere with internal politics. Its concern is solely with men and women who are suffering because their beliefs are unpopular.

Perhaps the best analogy is that of the International Red Cross. The I.R.C., throughout, has been scrupulously careful to emphasize that its concern is with suffering human beings. In order to concentrate on humanity it has deliberately refused to concern itself with the question of who was responsible for wars or for the policies which led up to them.

This, too, has been the basic Amnesty approach but, whereas the I.R.C. is chiefly concerned with the consequences of hostilities between nations, Amnesty is chiefly concerned with the consequences of domestic policy within the boundaries of a nation.

That Amnesty's concern is with the individual who is suffering and not (as an organization) with the policies of which the suffering is a consequence is a concept which it will take governments some time, perhaps several years, fully to appreciate. The establishment of Amnesty as an organization of international standing is an essential part of the process of bringing home to governments, both at home and overseas, that it has an humanitarian, not a political purpose.

The major step in this direction would be for Amnesty to achieve recognition as a non-governmental organization with consultative status at the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. This would be all the more important as, if ECOSOC adopts the recomendation of its Human Rights Division, non-governmental organizations will shortly be able to submit comments and observations "of an objective character" on the reports which each government makes once every three years on the state of human rights within its own territory.

While it is still, possibly, too early for Amnesty to be granted the status of a non-governmental organization, there are, nevertheless, one or two steps which it can take towards helping governments to understand its true, humanitarian character. Discussion of the work of Amnesty might, with profit, be held both with older established international organizations and, in some form, with the representatives of governments.

How this can best be done is a matter for experiment. What is not in doubt, however, is that the purposes of Amnesty warrant its establishment as an international organization which can approach and be received by governments, not in the name of this or that sectional interest, but in the name of humanity itself.

PERSONAL FREEDOM IN WESTERN EUROPE

Amnesty's third conference in the series on
'Personal Freedom in Contemporary Society'
will be held in London on

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17th, 1962

IN

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10.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Norman Marsh will take the Chair

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AMNESTY IN ASIA

by ANDREW PHELAN

A BRITISH Minister of State acclaimed it once as "a little bit of England" and the western world has usually thought of Ceylon as a tranquil tea garden, a pendant hanging from the Indian subcontinent near the "coast of Coromandel, where the early pumpkins blow".

One came to it in the morning out of the Indian Ocean, the Comet's shadow racing across plantations of coconut, and found that Ceylon is no longer tranquil. In Flagstaff Street, Colombo, a naval wardroom houses, this Summer, a special sitting of judges of the Supreme Court of Ceylon, where 24 prominent citizens face allegations of an attempted *coup* against their Government on the night of 27th January, 1962. They face a penalty which, under legislation especially passed to encompass these proceedings, must be either death or a minimum of ten years' imprisonment with confiscation of property.

The legal background of the trial is remarkable. Ceylon has, of course, a criminal code covering conspiracy, sedition, and other offences against the State. Whether a plot to carry out a *coup* did exist early in 1962 is a question to be determined, but on January 27th all these persons, mostly army and police officers, were arrested before they had committed any act of violence. As it was apparently felt that they might not have committed any offence against existing law, new legislation was drafted, once they were in prison, enlarging the scope of offences against the State, giving the police the widest powers of arrest, search and detention, imposing the death penalty, and empowering the Minister of Justice himself to nominate the court of trial, such court to be free to give a majority verdict which is not to be appealed against in any other court. The legislation, the Criminal Law (Special Provisions) Act, 1962, received the Royal Assent in mid-March. It declares itself to be in force from January 1st, 1962.

Lawyers now argue that, as well as being repugnant to elementary notions of justice, this Act violates the Constitution Ceylon adopted when she became independent in 1948.

If the legal submissions fail then the trial, there being some 347 Crown witnesses, may last several months. It is therefore unlikely that its full progress can be observed either by the observer from the International Commission of Jurists—who has been in attendance this Summer—or by any representative of "Amnesty", but so far as proceedings have gone it can be said that the conduct of Bench and Bar conforms to the highest professional standards.

* * *

The arrival of a representative of "Amnesty" was given publicity in Colombo's main newspapers and "Amnesty's" aims fairly reported. Investigation of the conditions of detention indicated that for the first month after arrest in January, no news was available as to the fate or whereabouts of the detainees, in spite of many requests. Thereafter visits—at first of short duration—were allowed, but defending counsel complained of lack of access to their clients. By August conditions in the Magazine Prison, Colombo, where the detainees are lodged, were fairly satisfactory. I met most of the detainees' relatives, informed them of the aims of "Amnesty", asked that "Amnesty" be informed of any deterioration in prison conditions and then, in an interview with the Commissioner of Prisons, sought permission to meet the prisoners. I was asked to apply to the Ministry of Home Affairs, did so, and my application was officially refused.

In the course of these efforts I learnt that three men, a Mr. Kitto, Mr. de Silva, and a Mr. Corea, were detained in Mahara Prison, near Colombo. They had been arrested early in February 1962, under the virtually unlimited powers vested in the Minister of Defence under Emergency Regulations (Ceylon has had a state of Emergency since April 1961). They had been named in a Government statement about the alleged *coup* but Corea had not even been interviewed, Kitto had been questioned for only some 10 minutes, whether de Silva had been questioned I could not discover, and none of the three had been charged with any offence. I made personal application at the Ministry of External Affairs to visit these men and explained the purposes of Amnesty. I was informed that the application would have the immediate attention of the government and, a few days later, the application was refused without reason given. A week after that, however, these three men were released.

* * *

Ceylon today has a population of some 10 millions of whom two-thirds are Buddhist, one-third Hindu, and some 9% Christian (mostly Roman Catholic). It is also multi-racial, the Singhalese being in the large majority. But there are long-settled communities of Tamils (from south India), Malayas, Burghers, and Moors. The European community, small and diminishing, is mainly confined to business houses in Colombo and to the tea plantations in the hills. Economically and socially, the Christian community, be it Singhalese, Tamil, or European, still enjoys an ascendancy out of all proportion to its numbers, and the Buddhists assert—with some truth—that they are the mass of the people which Colonial rule, with its Christian and Anglicized traditions, kept in a state of under-privileged subjection.

The assassination of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. S. Bandaranaike, in September 1959, led inevitably to a General Election. In March 1960 his opposition, the United National Party, returned to power with a small majority. They were defeated in April and held a further election in June 1960.

Their opponents were the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (Lanka being the ancient name of Ceylon). This party's cause was helped by the sympathy that was felt for its leader, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, widow of the murdered Prime Minister, and by the activities of some 12,000 Buddhist monks who worked as un-official and unpaid election agents.

Both the S.L.F.P. and the U.N.P. were progressive in social and economic policy and the main difference between them was that the U.N.P. would continue State aid for the denominational schools. The U.N.P. lost heavily and Mrs. Bandaranaike is today the world's only woman Prime Minister, leader of a Party that has an overall majority and is assured of left-wing support if its policy remains socially progressive.

The minorities in Ceylon face the future with misgivings. The Christian Church and Christian education is hampered by legislation and policy. The position of schools is crucial. In the early 'fifties an Act enabled schools to become State-assisted or to remain independent and charge fees. In 1960 a further Act declared that if a school wished to opt out of the national scheme after March 1960 and be independent, it could not even charge fees in future. Today the minority schools, Catholic, Muslim, and Hindu, desperately strive to retain control over their own affairs by relying on voluntary donations and the proceeds of fêtes.

* * *

Karachi, expanding in shanty towns over the arid coast of the Arabian Sea, has no resemblance to England. My task here, in a necessarily brief visit, was to collect information on the detention of political opponents of the Government and endeavour to interview certain prisoners, particularly Mr. S. Suhrawardy and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

In Pakistan, Martial Law was withdrawn in June 1962 after being in force for 44 months. The National Assembly was then convened and the new Constitution promulgated. The Political Parties Act, 1962, has been passed to permit the establishment of parties, though only under condition that no funds are obtained from abroad and that the parties support the policy of the Government in general terms.

Representatives of the two great parties, the

(*continued overleaf*)

National Awami League and the Muslim League have had now to consider whether and under what terms they should revive these parties.

The nine leaders of the Awami League in East Pakistan decided in mid-August 1962 that, in present circumstances, the Party should not be revived and made a demand for the release of members detained in East Pakistan and for the incorporation of fundamental rights in the Constitution. The Awami League leaders in West Pakistan are stated—in the West Pakistan press—to have endorsed this decision. Mr. Suhrawardy, a Prime Minister of United Bengal before Partition and ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan, was a founder of the Awami League.

He was arrested in January 1962 under the Security of Pakistan Act, 1962, and lodged in Karachi Central Prison. I secured an interview with the Commissioner of Karachi on August 16th, and was told that my application to visit Mr. Suhrawardy would be sent at once to the Government. In fact he was released on August 19th.

I also endeavoured—unsuccessfully—to visit 72-year-old Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, "the Gandhi of the North-West", a man of outstanding personality who has suffered long years in prison (being last arrested in April 1961), who asserts that the feudal lords of the north-western hill areas still oppress the common people, contrary to Government protestations, and who has always been an advocate of non-violence. He lies solitary in Lahore Prison in imperfect health and I was reliably informed that his followers in Baluchistan and Peshawar have, in hundreds, been most harshly treated in recent years.

Other persons detained in Pakistan include Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, President of the Muslim League, and Moulana Bhashani, a leading figure in the Awami League. In East Pakistan, indeed, some 98 members of the League still lie in prison and it was strongly represented to me that East Pakistan, under an army recruited mainly from the west (1,000 miles away) feels itself almost a colonial dependency, and that its relatively free press, in criticizing the Government, reflects the view of the majority of the people. This I was unable to check before I had to conclude a very busy three-week visit to Asia.

THE WORK OF THE "THREES"

MRS. BICKERSTAFF is the wife of a sub-postmaster in Margate. Recently she wrote, as a member of the Thanet Amnesty Three, to President Nkrumah in Ghana appealing to him to release Daniel Apedoh, a family man with eight children who has been in prison since January without trial.

Mrs. Bickerstaff is one of an increasing number of people all over the world who are appealing to Governments, Embassies, Ministers of Justice and Prison Governors to release prisoners who have committed no crime except to hold or express a view of which their governments disapprove.

In the last few months there has been a great impetus in the growth of "Threes". There are now nearly 100 groups, and though the majority of them are to be found in Great Britain, others are scattered throughout Europe, Australia and the United States. It is hoped that groups may also be started shortly in Ceylon, Pakistan and Malaya.

* * *

Threes in Britain were greatly encouraged by the success of their Conference on June 16th, 1962. Eric Baker presided over a meeting of over 50 delegates, and there was a lively discussion on how the work of Threes could be co-ordinated and made more effective. Thena Heschel from Hampstead, and Bridget Marsh from Oxford University, described how their groups worked. At Oxford £30 had been raised from the sale of Amnesty Membership cards, and this had been sent to prisoners' families. In the discussion that followed most people seemed to feel that more positive guidance was needed from Head Office as to how to proceed in the work of pressing for the release of prisoners and helping their families.

Replying, Peter Benenson made a number of suggestions. Because conditions varied in each country, he said, there could be no hard and fast rules; in the experimental stage we had tried to establish a network of national advisers for Threes, but this had not been very satisfactory. A new system was now being tried. Mrs. Marlys Deeds had been appointed Technical Adviser at Head Office and when in difficulties people should write to her and she would tap such sources as were available on their behalf. Threes, he continued, should have no fears about writing openly to their prisoners about the steps they were taking to obtain their release. Even if the letter was confiscated and never reached the prisoner it would be opened by the government or prison authorities and, because they knew that the man or woman concerned was not forgotten, this often resulted in the prisoner getting better treatment and an improvement in his conditions.

Peter Benenson went on to say that great care needed to be taken in approaching relatives. Unless it was possible for a letter to be delivered by hand (through someone going to the country on holiday, for example) it was better in the first place not to mention Amnesty, but to say "a group of friends" was interested in helping. The reply, if any, would show the best way of proceeding from there. It was worth noting that all Eastern European countries were short of foreign currency and food; it was quite safe to send these things, even if both were exchanged for the national currency by the authorities before people received them.

In the months since the Conference several groups have had the satisfaction of learning that prisoners they have worked for have been released. Hilary Cartwright of the William Temple Group, even had the pleasure of lunching in London with a Goan prisoner, Mr. Deshpande, recently released from Portugal and on his way back to India.

Such incidents become more common as the network of Threes spreads and the work of its members slowly takes effect.

REPRESSION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

By GEORGE THOMPSON, *M.P. for Dundee East*

DURING a recent debate in the House of Commons on Southern Rhodesia, Labour Party spokesmen were rebuked by Mr. R. A. Butler for describing the present régime as a "police state". Events since then, however, have sadly proved the Opposition view to be right.

Sir Edgar Whitehead has introduced two Bills designed to strengthen still further the already drastic powers he possesses. The measures are amendments to two previous Acts which themselves aroused strong liberal opposition—the Unlawful Organizations Act (1959) and the Law and Order Maintenance Act (1960). The amendment to the first Act is clearly designed not only to be able to outlaw ZAPU, the present Africa nationalist party, but to forbid any new organization taking its place. In addition it declares unlawful any organization that "takes part in the activities, promotes the objects or propagates the opinions of an unlawful organization".

The amendment of the Law and Order Maintenance Act increases greatly the severe penalties already in existence. An individual is liable to ten years' imprisonment if "he remains at or near or watches or besets any premises or place; or persistently follows some other person about from place to place". Persons who "engender feelings of hostility towards the police or expose them to contempt or ridicule" are also liable to long terms of imprisonment. In general the onus of proof of innocence rests with the accused.

The tragic paradox is that this further attack on human rights in the legal field comes at a time when Sir Edgar has led the demands for unprecedented advances in human rights in the area of racial and colour discrimination. There has been considerable progress in the abolition of the more flagrant forms of colour bar in hotels and public places, and Sir Edgar is pledged to the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act which is the economic core of white supremacy in Southern Rhodesia.

The truth is that the ruling United Federal Party in Southern Rhodesia has braced itself to surrendering social rights which are indefensible in the modern world, and which they realize are doing their case irretrievable damage abroad. But they are not prepared to surrender political and legal power at anything approaching a pace that can enjoy popular consent. So they find themselves obliged to invoke heavier and heavier penalties against the exercise of civil liberties.

> The Zimbabwe African People's Union was declared an unlawful organization on September 20th, 1962.

What does this mean in practice? First and foremost, it means that several of the most notable African nationalist leaders continue to be held in restriction at Gokwe, a remote bush area. These men have now been imprisoned, detained or restricted for more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ years without trial or any recourse to the courts. It is to the shame of the British Government that they agreed to surrender their Reserved Powers over Southern Rhodesian legislation (however unused they may have been) and to negotiate a new constitution without using the occasion to ensure the release of these detainees.

Meantime the African nationalists, deprived

(*continued overleaf*)

(*continued from page 13*)
of some of their ablest leaders, labour under many other restrictions. They are forbidden to engage in political activity in the Reserves. Elsewhere meetings take place only with special permission, ringed with police guns, and infiltrated with police spies. The tension at the meetings is heightened by bored and overworked policemen relieving the monotony by taking practice sights at members of the audience or the platform party.

* * *

The police have the right summarily to arrest any of the speakers in mid-speech if they think they have said anything subversive. On Monday, May 14th, Mr. Leopold Takawira, the External Affairs Secretary of ZAPU was arrested in this way during a speech in a packed and heavily guarded hall at Florida. A police officer told the audience that their leader would be returning to them. In fact, he was detained in a cell, and when the news became known riots followed. Mr. Claudius Danha and Mr. S. Manyonga were similarly arrested during public meetings at Salisbury. Mr. Takawira has since been sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and is at present appealing.

In a number of cases where there have been summary arrests for allegedly subversive statements, the Courts have acquitted. The Courts have emerged from this ugly situation with credit, and it has become clear that the police, under pressure from the Ministry of Justice, have been stepping beyond even the very drastic powers given to them in the emergency legislation. It is partly to reduce the number of acquittals by the Courts that the Southern Rhodesian Government is tightening up still further the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act.

In this twilight of the rule of law disturbing and sinister events are inevitably taking place. There are allegations and counter-allegations that nationalists and that police officers are engaging in activities as agents-provocateurs. A judicial investigation has been taking place into one such alleged incident.

Individual nationalists and liberals find themselves spied on and harassed by the police. On May 16th, the late Dr. T. S. Parirenyatwa, the Deputy President of ZAPU, was having a meal in the house of a friend when six policemen entered and interrogated him. His car was seized and returned the next day without explanation.

More recently a moderate African journalist invited a prominent American businessman to an evening meal at his house in one of the African townships to meet some nationalist politicians. The evening meal was enlivened, and the American's insight into Southern Rhodesian politics heightened, by the arrival of the police who apparently suspected that an illegal meeting was taking place.

A European liberal on a land journey from Southern Rhodesia to Nyasaland, which involved crossing Portuguese territory, noticed that the police escort which had been trailing him had dropped away. But at the frontier he was arrested by the Portuguese and after an unpleasant interrogation turned back. There is, in general, a great deal of evidence of undercover collusion between the police forces of Whitehead, Welensky, Salazar and Verwoerd.

* * *

In this atmosphere the gap between the races is widening. The resignation of Mr. Jasper Savanhu, the first African Minister in the Federal Parliament, is one ominous sign of this. Appeals by the Church for conciliation have been turned down on both sides. Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the ZAPU leader, has denied any suggestion that he is in touch with Whitehead.

"But," added Nkomo, "he is certainly in touch with me through his tape recordings and his security men. Wherever I go I am shadowed by relays of Whitehead's police."

The final comment may be left to Sir Robert Tredgold, the former Chief Justice who resigned over the original batch of repressive measures. He is strongly critical of the new amendments proposed by Whitehead.

"The direct and indirect effect of these amendments," he said, "could mean that the Government of the day had complete control of parties and individuals of whom they disapprove. Moreover, decisions on all vital matters as to whether the Government is right or wrong is removed from the Courts and left to the Government. If passed unchanged they will remove any vestige of doubt whether Southern Rhodesia can properly be called a police state.'

A LITHUANIAN ESCAPES

ARCHBISHOP Teofilius Matulionis, Bishop of Kaisedorys, Lithuania, who died on August 20th aged 89 spent almost a quarter of his life in prison for his beliefs.

Born in Lithuania, at that time a province of the Russian Empire, he became a priest when he was 26 and went to work in Latvia then also attached to the Empire. Ten years later he became a parish priest in St Petersburg where he stayed throughout the Russian revolution. His first spell in prison came in 1923 when he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for refusing to sign the act of confiscation of its church and its contents. Having served his term in Moscow he returned to his parish in the city that was now Leningrad.

There in 1929 he was secretly consecrated bishop, but in the same year he was again arrested and sentenced after 11 months of interrogation and torture to 10 years of forced labour. He spent the first eighteen months of his sentence working in the forests of the Arctic island of Solovki in the White Sea. The cold, the hunger and the treatment he received there so weakened his health that he had to be brought back to Leningrad where he was kept in solitary confinement. When he had recovered sufficiently he was sent back to a labour camp near the city. He fell sick again and was taken to a prison hospital in Moscow and after that to a prison camp at Sivri.

In spite of his objections he was repatriated to Lithuania, now an independent republic, in exchange for a number of Soviet agents.

When the Germans occupied the country at the beginning of the war Bishop Matulionis was threatened with arrest for protesting against the excesses of the Nazis. In 1944 the Russians captured the territory from the Germans and reorganized it as a republic of the Soviet Union.

Two years later the bishop was again sentenced by the Soviet authorities to 10 years' imprisonment which he spent in various forced labour camps in the Soviet Union. A year after he returned to his diocese, which he was not permitted to administer, he was exiled to Seduva in another part of Lithuania, where he was kept under restriction until he died.

Letter from Greece

(*continued from page 3*)

I started off from the first moment of my exile with a plan to become self-reliant as far as looking after myself was concerned, overcoming my physical disability. Despite the obstacles and efforts made by my comrades to help me, I accept their help only when I am ill. I am the distributor for my section each week when the boat comes in with the post. I wash my own clothes, darn my socks, collect wild vegetables to supplement our meagre food. I have become a specialist in this and no one is better at it than I am—taking into account my physical disabilities. I have made a garden outside the tent where I live and I have planted flowers, and in the summer I spend an hour a day watering them. I spend three hours a day reading newspapers and books (the few they allow us to have). I have also become a philatelist and so if you write again please send the stamp from my letter back together with any others you have from any country whatsoever—the edges must not be at all torn . . .

To everyone in the family, to the friends of our people, English patriots, and to you personally, my best wishes.

Much love and respect,

Roumeliotakis.

The Unending Sentence

(*continued from page 2*)

sons come to help with the ploughing. She had only one letter from her husband, just to say "How are you?" He did not write about himself except to say that he was "all right". *All right*? He lives alone, uncared for, in his old age. He works in the fields in far-off Zululand, this aged exile, who was not even allowed to go home from the gaol when he was banished.

Only five months ago three men were banished from Sekhukhuneland; two of them huddle in dilapidated huts in the Xalanga district of the northern Transkei, where the frost lies deep in the morning and the icy winds blow through the broken doors of the huts. Day after day they sit, these men, for they have not been given any work and the endless days drag past. They do not speak the Xhosa of the Transkei, only the Sepedi of the northern Transvaal. Their rations reminded us of the gaols, mealie meal and mealies, condensed milk and peanut butter but no tea, no meat, no sugar, no coffee. These men are at the very beginning of their banishment and the monotonous hopeless years stretch ahead. Our visit was like something from another world, the world that once they knew. We told them of gallant Stephen Nkadimang who had spoken from the lonely mountains and forests of northern Zululand, "Nkadimeng is not worried. The struggle of my people goes on." And these two men had said, "We too are not worried." The words rang in my ears for many days.

To see the banished people takes many weeks of travel, for they have been flung into the farthest corners of this land, from the northernmost tip of the Transvaal to the heart of Zululand, from the borders of Swaziland to the Ciskei and the Transkei. We covered more than seven thousand miles on this journey just to see thirty-three of the forty-eight people who are still in banishment. Our anger has been aroused by what we have seen and heard, as the cover has been ripped off and the festering evil of this banishment system shown for what it is, a slow torture of the soul, a living death. It is a crime against humanity and a savage violation of the rule of law, of fundamental human rights.

Sometimes the plight of these people, the stories of what they have endured, was almost too unbearable to behold, to hear. There are no words which can really tell how deeply these banished people have suffered and yet the abiding memory of our visits, our talks with them, is not pity, but inspiration, for the courage of these lonely exiles is undimmed, their spirit unbreakable. They are amongst the greatest heroes of our struggle and after we had left them, we would be silent for a little while, humble before their indomitable strength.

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY, DECEMBER 10th 1962

All Amnesty supporters are asked to help in the Commemoration of Human Rights Day again this year. The B.B.C. is devoting its morning service at 9.45 a.m. on December 9th to Human Rights, and the United Nations Association is joining us in an evening event on December 10th.

Try to get your local churches and other organizations to act in the same spirit.

ways of helping AMNESTY

1 At the present time the most urgent need is for funds. Any individual over the age of 14 can become a member by paying the minimum subscription of £1 a year. Local organizations can affiliate for £2 a year and national organizations for £5 a year. Join yourself and try and get a local organization with which you may be connected to affiliate.

2 Take the initiative in forming a group of Three or write to the central office asking for others in your area who may be interested. Three families joined together make the basis for a good group, but local organizations may also be interested in "adopting" three prisoners and their families.

3 Get your local paper, magazine or journal to publish something about the Amnesty movement.

4 Offer to speak to local organizations about the work of Amnesty. (Speakers' notes provided.)

5 Offer to help the Librarian by taking over responsibility for following up cases from a particular country. (This is only practicable for those who live in the London Area.)

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Persecution 1961 by Peter Benenson	2s. 6d.
Amnesty Quarterly No. 2	2s. 0d.

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