

# World Conscience

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

10 DECEMBER, 1963

## HUMAN RIGHTS—15 YEARS AFTER THE DECLARATION

1963 is the 15th year after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Rightly the United Nations has called for special commemorations. This year is also the centenary of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The idea of a universal charter sprang from the compassion—and from the imagination—of Henri Dunant. This publication, and the celebrations of Human Rights Day, would never have happened had it not been for the tireless energy of the founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

One year from the first committee meeting in Geneva, he had persuaded 26 governments to send representatives to approve an international charter for the protection of the wounded. Next year, 1964, we shall be commemorating the centenary of that first Geneva Convention.

If these celebrations today, the XVth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are to have any meaning, they must be more than the solemn speech-making to which on such occasions we have become accustomed.

Let this occasion when we "remember without ceasing (our) work of faith and labour of love," be used to some purpose for the future.

This newspaper is an example of what can be achieved by the co-operation of bodies centred in different countries, working in their varied ways towards the same end—the dignity of free men everywhere.

### Human Rights

The maintenance of human rights depends not on the whim of tyrants, but on the capacity of free men to agree on a common programme of action. For 15 years political and national differences have interrupted the progress towards the day when the Universal Declaration would become an effective international charter.

Now, in the wake of John Kennedy's untimely death, the world is united as never before. Let us use this moment to make a great step forward in the direction taken by President Kennedy, and by Franklin Roosevelt and Thomas Jefferson before him.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident," wrote Thomas Jefferson, "that all men are... endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights... that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The words of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence of the United States changed the history of a generation. Soon afterwards Jefferson was invited by the Constituent Assembly of the French Revolution to draft the first Declaration of the Rights of Man. The final draft, of which we also celebrate the 175th anniversary next year, was by another hand. But let this be our aim—that national barriers fall away so that once again men of one country can



The Assistant Secretary-General for Social Affairs, M. Henri Laugier, conferring with the chairman, the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, after the opening session of the Commission on Human Rights, Gillet Hall, Hunter College, New York, April 29, 1946.

## Prisoner of the year

The "Prisoner of the Year" award was first made in 1962, when the prisoner selected as symbolic of the suffering of all those imprisoned because their ideas are unacceptable to their government was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (the "Moslem Gandhi").

The ceramic plaque made in his honour was presented to him in Lahore Prison, with the permission of the authorities, by his son. In accordance with AMNESTY'S principle of impar-



tiality this "Prisoner of the Year" is chosen from the Communist countries; he is HEINZ BRANDT. Next year's prisoner will be chosen from the West.

## HEINZ BRANDT

HEINZ Brandt, is a man of faith, faith in the unity of mankind, in human solidarity, in reason and in peace. When Hitler came to power, Brandt fought in the underground; he was arrested and sentenced to prison, and when released he rejoined the ranks of the underground. He was captured again, and altogether spent 11 years in Hitler's prisons and concentration camps.

The defeat of the Nazis saved him from death; it also gave him new hope. He believed that the United Socialist Party in East Germany would bring about the realisation of equality and freedom. But he became increasingly critical of the Ulbricht regime, until he felt compelled to escape with his wife and three small children to West Germany, where he accepted a position on the publication of the Metalworkers' Trade Union in Frankfurt.

But he neither lost his faith in socialism, nor did he become

a "cold war" fighter. Even though he made himself unpopular, he passionately fought for co-existence and against West German atomic rearmament. On the occasion of a visit to West Berlin he mysteriously fell into the hands of the East German police. After a year of being held incommunicado, he was sentenced, in a secret trial, to 13 years hard labour.

Many leading representatives of the peace movement in the West, such as Earl Russell, Collins, Chisholm, Bourdet, Pickett, Reisman, Abendroth, Flechtheim, have approached the government of East Germany with the request of a pardon for Heinz Brandt, to allow him to return to his family and his work for peace in Frankfurt. So far, there has been no reaction.

It is most welcome news to all humanitarians that Amnesty International has now chosen Brandt as their symbol "prisoner of the year."

ERICH FROMM  
Professor, Mexico City.

### Practical Way

What is a practical way of commemorating the anniversaries which fall in 1964? The revised Geneva Conventions, of 1949, have not lost their importance because the danger of world war is receding. On the contrary; in a world which is internationally more stable there is a greater likelihood of internal change of government. "That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends," continues the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, "it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it."

1963 has seen the frequent exercise of this right by force of arms—in Togo, Congo (Brazzaville), Iraq, Syria, Burma, Vietnam, Santo Domingo and Argentina. But these changes, some not unwelcome to friends of human rights, have been marred by unnecessary carnage and cruelty.

Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions 1949 applies to situations of "internal conflict." The conventions have been ratified by almost every country on the globe, yet with monotonous regularity, whenever there is a coup d'etat it is followed

battlefield.

Let 1964, the centenary of the first Geneva Convention and the XVth anniversary of the second, be the year when every political party and military force accepts as an essential corollary of the conventions:—no more political executions.

Another disfigurement of 1963 is the continuing practice of preventive detention, usually following a change of government. There can be no way of halting this dubious process of circumventing the law except by giving the law itself teeth.

### Habeas Corpus

The 36th clause of *Magna Carta* provides that writs of habeas corpus "shall be freely given and not denied". In 1965 falls the 750th anniversary of this, the first of all declarations of human rights. Until each country has a system equivalent to habeas corpus, there will be no effective way of guaranteeing any human right.

In all the 750 years which have followed the signing of the Great Charter at Runnymede no better way of protecting freedom has been found than by giving ultimate

## Thanks from Amnesty

THIS paper is published by AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, which takes the occasion to thank the British Section of the International Press Institute which arranged for the paper to be printed without charge by one of its member-newspapers. Special appreciation is due to the Westminster Press, the owners, to Mr. Charles Fenby, of

the publishing company, and the Editor, staff, and the printers of the Oxford Mail, who produced the paper, and last, but not least, to Mr. E. J. B. Rose, former Director of the International Press Institute, Mr. Donald O'Donovan, of the Irish Times, and Mr. Hugh O'Shaughnessy, of the Financial Times, who gave their services as journalists without charge.

## Where it all began

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If every organisation, and its supporters, works with the same vigour as that which produced this newspaper, we can look forward to something worth celebrating in 1965. Within these two years there can be added to every legal

Carta which is a cliffion-call to each succeeding generation: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or outlawed, or exiled, or in any way destroyed, except by the legal judgment of his equals and by the law of the land."

## Clemency appeal

IN connection with whatever action your government may be planning in regard to the 15th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1963, may we call to your attention resolution 940 (XXXV) of the Economic and Social Council which in clause 5 (e) recommends to all governments to grant an amnesty or other measures of clemency on the 10th of December, 1963.

We venture to urge your government to consider responding to the E.C.O.S.O.C. resolution and grant clemency or amnesty to political prisoners to mark the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—which in article 19 asserts "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"; and article 20 which asserts "Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association"

The undersigned organisations, each committed to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, hold it a most fitting recognition of these rights to liberate on this 15th anniversary of that Declaration those who may be held in prison for political opinions or associations not involving violence.

Respectfully submitted,

ROGER N. BALDWIN  
(Chairman, International League for the Rights of Man)

PETER BENENSON  
(Secretary, Amnesty International)

SEAN MacBRIDE  
(Secretary - General, International Commission of Jurists)

(R.S.V.P. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, 12 CRANE COURT, LONDON, E.C. 4, UNITED KINGDOM.)

## CONTENTS

International Commission of Jurists:	
Exposing injustice in every land .....	2
World Congress of Faiths: Freedom of Religion ...	2
International Press Institute: A fearless Press is guarantee of right .....	3
Anti-Slavery Society: The Slave's First Steps to Freedom .....	4
Salvador de Madariaga: A Litany .....	4

# EXPOSING INJUSTICE IN EVERY LAND

## FIRST OF THE FEW

THIS special Human Rights Day newspaper has been designed to cover certain aspects of the field of Human Rights. Appreciation is expressed to those organisations — specialists in their aspect — which have co-operated by contributing material:—

Freedom of the Press. International Press Institute, Zurich.

The Rule of Law. International Commission of Jurists, Geneva.

Freedom of Religion. World Congress of Faiths, London.

Freedom of Youth. Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students, Leiden.

Freedom from Slavery. The Anti-Slavery Society, London.

If, thanks to the generosity of the newspaper industry, it is possible to publish editions on future Human Rights Days, other aspects will be dealt with, and other organisations given an opportunity to describe their work.

## A time to give

A time to keep silence...  
...and a time to speak.

A time to save...

...AND A TIME TO GIVE.

If ever there was a season to give, surely it is Christmas. And who is more deserving than a "Prisoner of Conscience" held captive over Christmas, alone in his cell? Or his family: wife, children, dependants — often left without income, and cut off from State aid.

For many "Prisoners of Conscience" this may be their last Christmas — the threat of death hangs over them — death by execution, death by torture, death by starvation.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL helps all "Prisoners of Conscience" regardless of their politics, religion, nationality or race.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL arranges for

"Prisoners of Conscience" to be adopted; their families sent food, or allowances;

legal observers to be sent in cases where the death penalty is involved;

representations for clemency and better prison conditions to be made to Governments;

a place of asylum for those escaping penal legislation;

a running record to be kept of every known "Prisoner of Conscience," so that none is forgotten.

### BUT ALL THIS COSTS MONEY.

Give generously to:

"The Prisoners of Conscience Fund,"  
1 Mitre Court Buildings,  
Temple,  
London, E.C.4.

Covenanted gifts may rank for tax exemption, as the Fund is a registered charity in the United Kingdom.



Seán MacBride

THE WORK of the International Commission of Jurists is carried on by the Secretary-General and the Administrative Secretary at its Geneva headquarters, where they are assisted by a legal and administrative staff. When the Commission itself is not in session, decisions are taken on its behalf by an Executive Committee.

The first Secretary-General was Mr. A. J. M. van Dal, of the Netherlands, Advocate at the Supreme Court, who was succeeded in 1956 by Mr. Norman Marsh, then Fellow of University College, Oxford, and now Director of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law. In 1958, Dr.

Jean-Flavien Lalive, of Switzerland, took over, after having served as General Counsel to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in Beirut.

He was succeeded in 1961 by Sir Leslie Munro, of New Zealand, former Ambassador to the United States and President of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The present Secretary-General, appointed in October, 1963, is Mr. Seán MacBride, S.C., former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ireland. Mr. Edward S. Kozera, of the United States, formerly a lecturer in the University of Columbia, has been Administrative Secretary since 1954.

THE International Commission of Jurists owes its beginnings in 1952 to the revulsion of a small band of dedicated lawyers who set themselves the task of exposing to their colleagues in all lands the sufferings of the peoples of Eastern Europe under the yoke of Stalin. It quickly became apparent that injustice is not the monopoly of any one system, and no less revulsion was felt for forms of tyranny other than Communist.

The efforts of the Commission in its early days met with a ready response; now it can count over 40,000 supporters from countries all over the world, and the Commission itself numbers 28 members, drawn from all the continents.

The main task of the Commission is unspectacular, quietly helping where help is acceptable, patiently observing and evaluating legal and other relevant developments as far as its resources permit. This side of the Commission's work is the most rewarding but at the same time the least known.

The norms of the Rule of Law, to be of value, must pass international boundaries, and cut across the different legal systems of the world. This has been achieved at successive Congresses of Jurists, where ideas have been exchanged, cross-fertilised, and finally drawn up as Conclusions on the different aspects of the Rule of Law — the roles of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, the status and function of the judiciary and the bar, legal education, and the rights, civil, political, social and economic, of the individual in society.

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### Major Concern

The Commission is best known for its Press statements on important developments, its *Bulletin*, which appears quarterly in English, French, Spanish and German, and its special reports on situations of major concern. As a non-governmental organisation — N.G.O. in the parlance of international organisations — it is free from the pressures of Governments, and independently financed from private contributions.

From the early days of the small, dedicated band of lawyers, the Commission has now grown to be regarded as an, if not *the*, authoritative exponent of the Rule of Law, an age-old but frequently ill-defined standard and even sometimes a politician's cliché. Through its practical contri-

### Amalgam

From these Congresses, at Athens in 1955, New Delhi in 1959, Lagos in 1961 and Rio de Janeiro in 1962, has come a succession of texts representing the wisdom and experience of the Old World and the aspirations of the New.

Another side of the Commission's work, often linked with its less publicised activities, is the sending of distinguished lawyers on missions to various parts of the world where an objective, on-the-spot assessment is necessary and feasible. Sometimes this is done by the Secretary-General or other members of the Secretariat, sometimes by a member of the Commission, and sometimes by a distinguished outsider.

## A book of honour

IN response to the United Nations request for awards to be made on Human Rights Day, to commemorate the XVth anniversary of the Universal Declaration, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL decided at its annual international meeting — held at Königswinter — to pay tribute to Roger Baldwin.

He will be presented with a "Book of Honour" containing a title page setting out his services in the struggle for human rights. The remainder of the book will contain the signatures of those who have worked with him during the 50 years since he became President of the International League for the Rights of Man.

Roger Baldwin retires at the end of this year on reaching the age of 80.

# Freedom of Religion

EVERY two months, there meets in London a committee which must in the religious sense be unique. It includes among its members several Christians of various schools of thought, two Jews (one orthodox and one liberal), a Buddhist, a Hindu, a Muslim and a Sikh. Its chairman is a Unitarian Minister who is also a Member of Parliament. It is the Executive Committee of the World Congress of Faiths.

Ironically, religions, which exist to free the soul of man from spiritual bonds, have during their long history, seen perhaps more intolerance and less freedom than almost any human activity. Even in our enlightened days we hear disquieting rumours from many parts of the world.

The most notorious recent example, of course, was the attack on the Buddhists of South Vietnam, but we hear of the difficulties and dangers of being a Protestant in Spain, of the attacks mounted on the Bahai sympathisers in certain Muslim countries, and of the persecution of the Jews which still goes on in some parts of the world.

Surely it should be said, and said as often as possible, that freedom in religion is one of the fundamental freedoms which all men should possess as a right.

"God is one, but the sages give him different names," said an ancient Hindu philosopher; and this is the lesson which the world is slow to learn.

### Tolerance

This, of course, is not to say that tolerance necessarily means indifference. Followers of all religions have to see that those who disagree with them may be just as sincere as they themselves. But while men are in prison because of their religious opinions and

ideas, no religious man can be happy.

The practical steps to be taken to settle the intolerance of some religious fanatics are not easy to see. But if freedom of opinion on political issues is an essential for civilised life, so is freedom of opinion on religious issues. If one has met Jews and Buddhists, Muslims and Hindus, one can no longer think of such men as being beyond the pale.

### Forms of Protest

Protest against religious intolerance may take many forms. It may take the form of letters to the Press; it may take the form of organising meetings or religious services where followers of different religions are given the opportunity of meeting one another, of sharing the experience of a religious service, or of hearing speakers setting forth the beliefs which they hold dear.

All this may seem a rather meek-and-mild way of expressing our abhorrence of religious persecution. But much of this must take place on the purely personal level. Just as the colour-bar can best be defeated by individuals showing that the colour of a man's skin is no criterion of



Dr. Albert Schweitzer, the Nobel Prize winner, seen here at his home at the leper colony at Lambaréné in Central Africa, has been a tireless advocate of religious tolerance.

his merits, so if all Christians go out of their way to show friendship to Jews or Muslims or Buddhists or Sikhs, it will have some effect on public opinion.

Public opinion! That is the real heart of this question as of so many others. Just as Amnesty International tries at this time of Human Rights Day to focus the attention of all thinking people on the need for mutual understanding and mutual trust, so on the religious level we should focus on the need for sharing our

insights and our understandings.

I have not said much here about specific problems, the specific problems, indeed, will become obvious enough to anyone who reads his daily newspaper. But they are not by any means problems which are common to one country or to one religion.

### Imprisoned

In many parts of the world a man or woman who belongs to a minority group is liable to be imprisoned for that fact, and that fact alone. It is against this that we must protest; and we can, as I have already suggested, do this by showing our appreciation of the other people who may disagree with us on a superficial plane.

I once heard a prayer at a great meeting of Churches which contained a phrase that has ever since stuck in my mind the phrase was: "If we must disagree, let us not be disagreeable." That might, I think, be taken as a motto by all who wish to see better understanding between the followers of different religious traditions.

At the academic level, something of this sort is already coming about. The University of Oxford has a Professor of Eastern Religions; the University of London has a Reader in the History of Religions who can give a sympathetic talk on Islam or Buddhism or Hinduism.

By the REV. JOHN ROWLAND, B.Sc., F.R.S.A., joint secretary, World Congress of Faiths.

He, too, is a member of the committee I mentioned at the beginning.

But this does not appear to have filtered down to the man in the street. And if the world is ever to become a reasonably safe and happy place for the religious believer of any school of thought it must filter down to the man in the street.

The man who sneers at a Jew or a Buddhist is even more dangerous than the man who sneers at a Negro or a Japanese, for the religious beliefs of men are in many respects the most deeply-felt things of all.

Freedom of religion, then, is an essential for a civilised world. While we have religious persecutions going on, as they are going on today in many countries, our world cannot be regarded as properly civilised.

### The Bridges

To build bridges between East and West necessarily involves bridges of religious thought as well as bridges of political thought and bridges of trade and commerce. So let us all at this time resolve to learn something of those religions which are not our own: Let us try to make friends among people whose religious persuasion is different from ours.

Above all, let us jump, whenever opportunity offers, on religious hatred and intolerance whenever it raises its ugly head.

## Rule of Law Congress

Sir David Scott Cairns, the British judge, with Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, at the New Delhi Congress on the Rule of Law, India, January, 1959.



## East German youth freed

JUERGEN WIECHERT, a young East German boy whose case was publicised by Amnesty, has been released. Wiechert, the 19-year-old son of a West German clergyman, went with a group of his friends to book tickets aboard a boat for an excursion round the Danish island of Bornholm.

When they got out to sea, however, they discovered that the captain had received

orders to stay within the territorial waters of the East German Republic. They thereupon wrote a note to the captain requesting him to keep to the original course.

This was considered an illegal act indicating their intention to flee East Germany and in August, 1961, Wiechert was given a prison sentence of eight years. In October, news of his release, six years before the completion of the sentence, was published in the East German *Unternehmensausschuss Freiheitlicher Juristen*.

## WORLD CONGRESS OF FAITHS

THE World Congress of Faiths, founded by Sir Francis Younghusband, explorer and mystic, has premises at Younghusband House, 23 Norfolk Square, London, W.2. It publishes a quarterly magazine, *World Faiths*, to

which leading thinkers of many religions contribute. It holds conferences, gives lectures, and organises services in churches, synagogues and other places of worship where believers in many religions can come together.

Its President is the Baroness Ravensdale of Kedleston; its chairman is the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., and its joint Honorary Secretaries are the Rev. L. Gillett, an Eastern Orthodox Priest, and the Rev. John Rowland.

## Konigswinter Conference

AN Amnesty International Conference was held from September 20 to September 22 at Konigswinter, near Bonn. Delegates came from Britain, Ireland, Australia, Denmark, Germany, Israel, Turkey, France, Belgium, Luxemburg, Sweden and the Netherlands.

The main theme of the conference was "pressure on the Judiciary in Political Cases" and at the end of discussions delegates reaffirmed their belief that the independence of the judicial system is an indispensable guarantee of the rights of free expression and religion.

## AMNESTY IN AUSTRALIA

THE Amnesty Movement has taken firm root in Australia with more than half-a-dozen **Three Groups** energetically at work. According to a letter just received from Melbourne more than £A120 was sent abroad between March and November this year to help prisoners and their families in Russia, South Africa, Greece, Spain and East Germany.

In the belief that all rights carry corresponding obligations I.P.I. members in many countries have voluntarily instituted systems of self-control through the operation of Press Councils, and Courts of Honour and the observance of an ethical Code of Conduct.

# A fearless Press is guarantee of rights

**F**REEDOM of the Press is not absolute. It is contained within limits which we all know. Thus, if a newspaper publishes libellous or pornographic material, the law will swiftly demonstrate where freedom of the Press ends.

In many countries, these restrictions extend over the political, economic and military fields. It is not permissible to insult a Head of State: it is forbidden to publish secret material relating to national defence: even attacking the credit of monetary institutions (for instance, prophesying an imminent devaluation of the currency) may be considered a crime.

A free Press admits *a priori* that these restrictions are, by and large, legitimate. On the other hand, if freedom of expression is to be a reality, the scope left to the Press for comment on public affairs must remain wide enough to cover all issues of public interest.

In countries in which the Press is not free, its function is not to reflect the individual attitudes of the people but to convey to them—sometimes brutally, sometimes with more subtlety—the policies and outlook of the State.

## Third Group

In between, there is a third group made up of countries which recognise freedom of the Press but do not always practise it, or which have no defined policy and react according to the necessities of the day, or still have not reached the level of political maturity which would make genuine freedom of the Press possible.

If we study the situation today, on a country-by-country basis, we find it is not greatly different from that which prevailed in 1948 when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was signed.

On a strictly territorial basis, freedom of the Press has contracted much more than it has expanded in those 15 years. However, it must be recalled that these years have witnessed great changes in the political structure of two continents, Asia and Africa.

In some areas, where in 1948 under enlightened colonial regimes, there was a certain amount of freedom for the Press that freedom has now disappeared. This is perhaps due to the fact that this freedom had been "imported" along with other less commendable features of Colonialism and was swept away simultaneously when independence came.

Freedom of the Press is a fact in practically the whole American continent, with the conspicuous exception of Bolivia, Cuba, Haiti and Paraguay.

This freedom is sometimes exposed to dangers. In Mexico, it may be dangerous for the personal safety of a journalist to pursue his investigations too far.

In the United States, it is difficult to forget the ugly episode of the McCarthy era when journalists were intimidated by Congressional Committees and, more often than not, dismissed by newspaper enterprises on the basis, not of their present writings, but of their previous political affiliations dating back to the 1930s and severed long since.

## Press Releases

The United States is a country relatively free from tampering with the Press once the news has been printed. But it is one where access to sources tends to become more difficult than was the case in 1948. Yet freedom of the Press is based as much on the availability of sources of information as on the use it makes of them.

In many quarters in the United States nowadays, there is a tendency to think that an official Press release is an adequate substitute for an original story. This was apparent last year during the

Cuban crisis and the disquieting impression which the incident made has not yet entirely subsided.

In Europe, the following countries have a genuine concern for the freedom of the Press: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

Even in these countries, this freedom has not always had smooth sailing. It is not long since the French Government was seizing newspapers: in Britain this year, two journalists who were upholding their right to professional secrecy were imprisoned: Germany has had the *Spiegel* Affair which presented a classic case of conflict between a free Press and state interests.

Elsewhere, in Greece and Turkey for example freedom of the Press is more restricted than in other European countries and is subject to the fluctuations of internal politics. Yet the Press of these two countries sometimes gives the opposite impression: The use of epithets in political writing is far more liberal than would be tolerated in, say, Switzerland or Denmark.

## In Finland

In Finland, the Press is particularly careful not to offend the Soviet Union in its comments: Yet it is entirely free to make use of the same kind of information as is found in other Western newspapers.

In Asia, there is freedom of the Press in Israel, India, Malaya, Hongkong, Japan, the Philippines and South Korea. India introduced some restrictions during the recent military operations on the Tibetan border. These restrictions have not gone entirely and, given the circumstances,

## Sporadic harassment

In the third group, which is subject to sporadic rather than permanent harassment by Governments, we find countries like Bolivia, Haiti and Paraguay. In South America, the changes that have occurred since 1948 were frequent but only marginal. If a trend can be discerned, it is in favour of freedom rather than in the direction of full Government control.

Practically all of the African countries, with the exception of those mentioned in the second group, belong to that category. It must be remembered, however, that the lack of sophisticated public opinion prevents many of these countries from having at present an independent Press in the western sense of the term. Only improvements in education in the decades ahead can produce a change for the better.

The Republic of South Africa belongs in this group because its journalists have been subject in recent years to definite attempts by the authorities, by means of special Press councils and otherwise, to influence editorial policy.

In Western Europe, censorship and/or Government intervention in newspaper policy still curtails freedom of the

were not completely unjustified. More questionable has been the tendency of the Indian authorities to regulate the allocation of newsprint from time to time. This could constitute, in the long run, an indirect pressure on the political independence of the Press.

Australia and New Zealand complete the list of nations which enjoy freedom of the Press, as it has been defined in this article.

The second group is made up of those countries where strict control over the Press is the rule. It includes the entire Communist bloc—or blocs—including Cuba, but leaving out Yugoslavia. There are discernible trends towards greater freedom of expression in Poland and Hungary and to some extent in the Soviet Union. But this liberalisation still applies largely to literary journals, and has not markedly penetrated the newspaper Press.

Nevertheless, if we compare the present situation with the position in 1948, the change is considerable. For instance, in the Soviet Union, censorship of outgoing dispatches from foreign correspondents has been abolished and there is more inclination, in the Press, to see the world as it is rather than through the distorted eyes of the Stalin era.

In all the Communist countries, the Press is fully controlled by the State. Outside the Soviet and Chinese blocs, one finds various countries which, although professing a different ideology, appear determined to make their Press fully subservient to State interests.

This is particularly apparent in Ghana, Guinea, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Indonesia. Many of these countries are run by strong men claiming political infallibility and this often accounts for the ban on free comment.

President Sukarno of Indonesia, in particular, does not tolerate the slightest dissent from his personal policy of thought-control and keeps in jail or detention camps, without trial, a number of courageous journalists, including Mochtar Lubis.

Press in Spain, Portugal and Yugoslavia. While slight changes towards liberalisation have taken place in Spain recently, representing considerable progress compared with the situation 15 years ago, the limited freedom newly acquired still falls short of the norms in neighbouring countries.

There is Government censorship in practically every country in the Middle East—the most liberal ones being, in 1963 as in 1948, the Lebanon and Iran. Recent developments in Burma and Pakistan tend to place these countries, where freedom of the Press made brief appearances in the past 15 years, in the same category.

## Unsatisfactory

South-East Asia has several danger points, such as Ceylon, where total nationalisation of the Press is in progress. It also offers unforeseeable opportunities, as in South Vietnam, where the recent revolution brought a *de facto* freedom of the Press that, if it lasts long enough, will make a free Press possible.

The situation in Formosa is not satisfactory, and the trend is, towards more, rather than fewer, restrictions.

## The dangers ahead

**F**ROM this brief survey, it can be seen that no drastic changes have occurred in the state of freedom of the Press in the world between 1948 and 1963.

One reason for the stagnation of the situation is the division between power blocs, which effectively has prevented the countries of Eastern Europe from joining the ranks of nations enjoying a free Press and contrariwise, has safeguarded freedoms in the Atlantic Community, including that of the Press.

Another cause may be found in the socio-economic environment which would seem to make freedom of the Press a luxury for nine-tenths of the emerging countries so long as other freedoms are not recognised.

It would be over-optimistic to say that totalitarian control, censorship and other restrictions cannot contaminate a developed society as well (the examples of Nazism and Fascism are there for the record): but it has become clear, especially in the past 15 years that material prosperity does generate parallel pressures for freedom of expression.

## Never Secure

It is also well to remember the dangers ahead. Freedom of the Press is never secure: it must be fought for by the Press and by the public it serves.

There is no institution which can, as permanently and fearlessly as does the Press, provide an effective guarantee that the declaration of human rights will ultimately be fully enforced at all times everywhere.

"I knew a village which had not celebrated a first birthday for ten years, for not one child has succeeded in living that long".

British agriculturalist.



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Men, women and children are dying for lack of food. Oxfam's Hunger £ Million is to back the biggest drive against hunger we have ever launched. It will help to grow food and end disease, ignorance and suffering. All over the country people are joining in, helping urgent projects to get under way. Help us now to raise the rest. We need five-bobs and fivers, every penny you can spare. Human lives depend on it.

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The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief is sponsoring this appeal to provide a special contribution to the U.K. Freedom From Hunger Campaign.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL gratefully acknowledge help from Oxfam in the work of relieving the distress of prisoners' families.

# THE SLAVE'S FIRST STEPS TO FREEDOM

## The nature of slavery



## Human Rights Day Litany

IN 1963 Salvador de Madariaga, the Spanish historian and thinker wrote a Litany, which was published by Amnesty International in its Human Rights Day Booklet "A Time to Keep Silence and a Time to Speak." The first performance took place on December 10 in the Lord Chief Justice of England's Court where it was declaimed immediately after the minute's silence by Robert Speaight, the well-known actor and author.

For Human Rights Day, 1964, the Litany has been set to music by Thor Pierres, a composer whose life is an embodiment of the united world. His father is a Danish diplomat and his mother a girl from Liberia.

### In South Africa

After the marriage, his father was posted to South Africa, where Thor was educated and

studied music. When the racial laws started, Thor moved to London, where he now lives and composes. The setting of the Litany is designed primarily for two voices, preferably baritone and contralto, but can be sung by one voice, or any set of voices, or by a choir. The accompaniment is designed for piano or organ.

Sheets of the music can be obtained from Amnesty International, 12 Crane Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

For those who grasp their prison bars helplessly that we may walk free—a thought.

For those who rot in the dark so that we may walk in the sun—a thought.

For those whose ribs have been broken so that we may breathe our fill—a thought.

For those whose back has been broken so that we may walk erect—a thought.

For those whose faces have been slapped so that we may walk in fear of no hand—a thought.

For those whose mouths have been gagged so that we may speak out—a thought.

For those whose pride lies in rags on the slabs of their jails so that we may proudly walk—a thought.

For those whose wives live in anguish so that our wives may live happy—a thought.

For those whose countries are in chains so that our country may be free—a thought.

And for their jailers and torturers—a thought, the saddest of all, they are the most maimed, and the day of reckoning is bound to come.

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

## Christmas cards

It is still not too late to send an AMNESTY Christmas card. Each box of 12 contains a list of addresses of 12 Prisoners of Conscience; 12 lists in all. Even if the cards arrive after Christmas, they are still appreciated. They are suitable to send to friends in freedom, too. Order from Manton's (Westminster), Ltd., 163 Victoria Street, S.W.1, London. 8s. 6d. per dozen, or £1 per 3 dozen. All post free.

## Cash for East Germany

Money may be sent to the families of prisoners in East Germany through the Moscow Narodny Bank, 4 Moorgate, E.C.2.

ALMOST every significant blow struck in the fight against slavery was initiated by a society that, although it was not founded by him, owes its existence to William Wilberforce. Its name—the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights—goes back to 1839 and its origin to 1792. It is the only organisation in the world that actually campaigns to bring slavery to an end.

The major aims of this society are the effective abolition of slavery, systems of labour analogous to it, and racial discrimination; as well as justice for primitive peoples. Among its prouder achievements are:

- the abolition of slave-trading in British vessels 1807);
- the emancipation of all slaves in British territories (1834);
- the Brussels Convention on slavery—the most effective instrument yet achieved, still in force yet disregarded (1890);
- the exposure of atrocities in the Congo under the rule of King Leopold of Belgium (1906);
- the exposure of atrocities in the Putomayo rubber plantations of Peru (1909);
- the drawing up of the League of Nations Anti-Slavery Convention (1926), in which the society took a leading part.

In 1956, the secretary of the society was the rapporteur to the committee of the United Nations which drew up the Supplementary Convention on Slavery.

### Present Forms

Apart from forced labour and "white slavery," those forms of slavery defined in this United Nations Convention and affecting many millions of people today are serfdom, debt bondage, the sham adoption of children, servile forms of marriage and chattel slavery. Here there is space to touch on only one of them.

Someone in chattel slavery is possessed and has no rights.

He or she may be used, punished or sold as and when his master pleases. It persists today chiefly in Ethiopia and the Arabian peninsula. In most States in these areas it is now technically illegal and slave markets are no longer public. In Saudi Arabia, where it was declared illegal in November, 1962, there were then 250,000 slaves. Most of them are well-treated and few would accept emancipation if offered it. The alternatives, for men, are unemployment and destitution, for women at best prostitution.

### Resettlement

To enforce abolition is impracticable without a vast rehabilitation programme to educate, train, equip and resettle the ex-slaves. But the first stage is to ensure that the slaves, including the girls in the harems and their eunuch guards, are made aware of their new rights. Consuls of their countries of origin should be enabled to see them and offer them repatriation.

The slave population of Saudi Arabia trebled between 1947 and 1962. Why? In those years oil royalties averaged £100m. a year. Most of this has been spent on status symbols—palaces, Cadillacs and slaves. The price of slaves has also trebled. The society has evidence that thousands of children have been flown in in recent years, many by a well-paid white pilot.

There are three main sources of slaves. They are

encouraged to breed in captivity. Slave-traders, posing as Muslim missionaries, collect pilgrims from many Muslim countries. Servants and their children are brought too, and sold on arrival at Mecca to pay the return fare. An easy but long-term way of acquiring valuable fair-skinned girls is by purchase from baby farms in East African ports. These are the offspring of European fathers and either "white slaves" in the brothels or penniless African girls in ports and garrison towns. At the age of 12 they fetch up to £1,500 apiece.

### United Nations

The society has been given consultative status at the United Nations. Of the 111 States now members of the U.N., 50 have so far ratified the 1956 Convention. One of President Kennedy's last acts was to appeal to the Senate of the U.S.A. to ratify it. Its signatories promise to abolish all forms of slavery. No executive body exists to enforce the Convention and no inspection is provided for.

The provision of this vital necessity was omitted on the grounds that no State would accept it. To achieve its inclusion and have appointed a committee of experts to inform and advise the United Nations on slavery and the slave traffic, is the Anti-Slavery Society's present aim at the U.N.

### Society Policy

The policy of the society can be summed up in four words: intelligence, publicity, persuasion and rehabilitation. Nothing can be achieved without a steady stream of reliable and up-to-date information on slavery and slave trading from the slave-owning and slave-

## STUDENTS SHARE AMNESTY AIMS

THE international student movement shares the aims of Amnesty International. This fact is underlined in an article in the October number of the Information Bulletin published by the Co-ordinating Secretariat of the National Unions of Students at Leiden in the Netherlands.

Reporting on the 14th International Student Seminar held in Leysin, Switzerland, in August and September, which was attended by delegates from 32 countries the Bulletin carries details of its declaration:

"Social justice," it states, "can be achieved only when there is full recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as laid down in the United

source countries. Getting this information from Saudi Arabia and the Yemen has become more difficult, dangerous and therefore expensive since slavery was abolished and driven underground.

To convince an incredulous public in England, photographs are needed. But slaves are not recognisable as such in photographs. And the small proportion of slaves who are brutally treated provide photographs unfit for publication. One cannot display proof that a boy is a eunuch, or that a girl who tried to escape is beaten to death.

Publicity is directed towards informing people of the existence and nature of slavery with the object of enlisting their informed support, which can be given in many ways.

### Persuasion

In recent years, the society's efforts have been concentrated on the persuasion of foreign Governments, through their embassies in London and their delegations to the United Nations, to make more effective the 1956 United Nations Convention. A number of Governments has ratified in response to this persuasion.

Rehabilitation has been mentioned. If the Governments concerned agree and funds and qualified volunteers can be found, the society intends to send and maintain a number of small teams to do this job. Volunteers should have, or be prepared to acquire, some fluency in colloquial Arabic, have some knowledge of first aid and one or more suitable skills to impart. They must be prepared for hard work and rough conditions for at least a year. Each team is likely to consist of two men and one woman, one of whom should be a doctor. Women doctors are especially needed.

### How to Help

Our programme will be costly. Our present income cannot look at it. We need thousands of new members, especially among young people.

Many charities feed the hungry and Governments give massive aid. Yet to fight slavery there exists one organisation only in the world. It receives no State aid and faces a conspiracy of silence.

This is a real challenge—an opportunity to play a part in destroying some of the most evil things on earth. Will you help?

### Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"This will express itself in full equality of opportunity and treatment under the law for all, regardless of race, sex, economic circumstances, national or social origins, or political or religious conviction, and in full freedom of belief, association, and expression and freedom from fear and privation.

"Peace," the declaration goes on to say, "does not mean only the absence of armed conflict; it means the eradication of all forms of oppression and foreign domination and the development of bilateral and multilateral international co-operation on the basis of equality and respect for national independence and individual human rights."