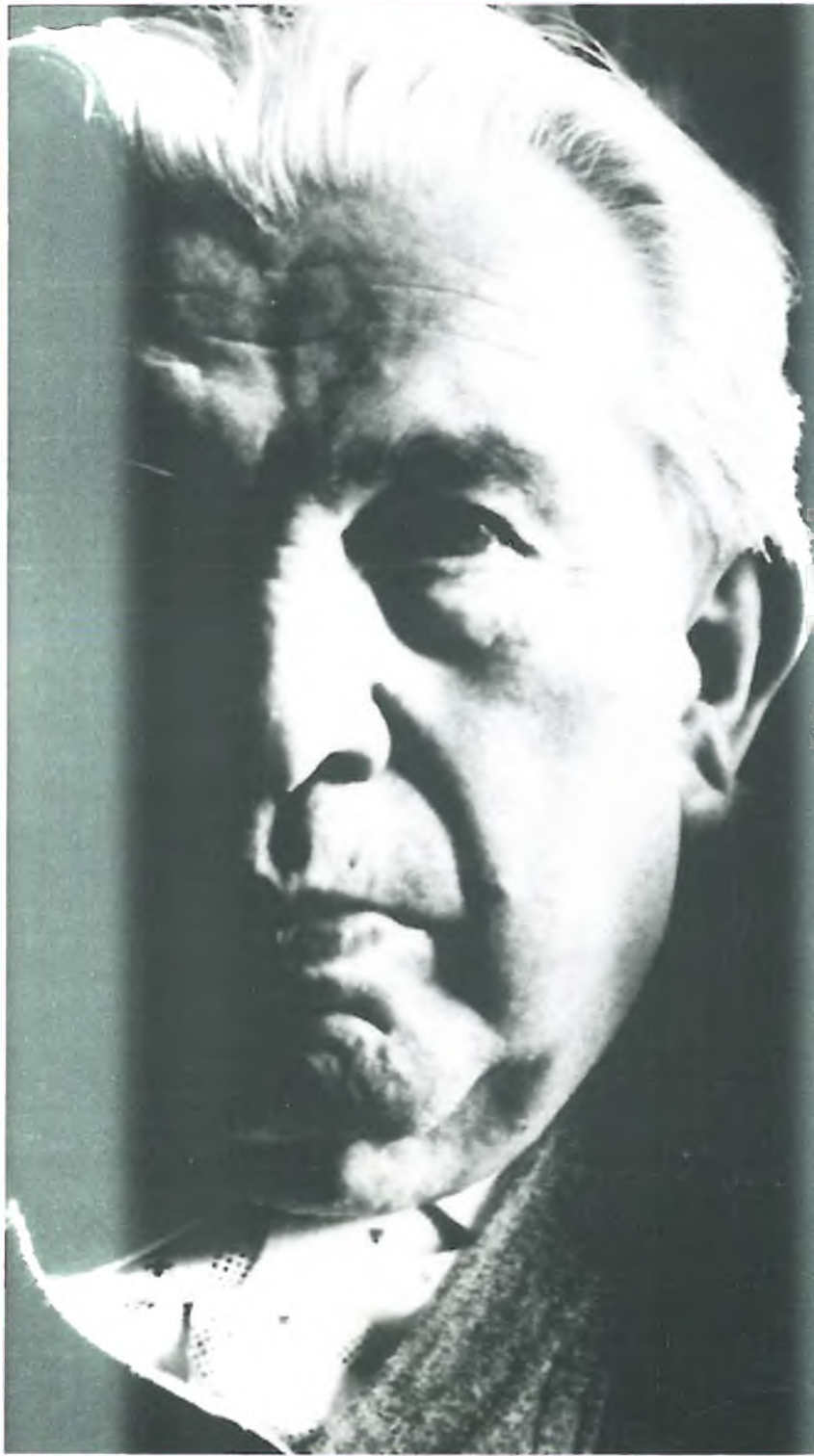


INDEX on CENSORSHIP

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Jaroslav Seifert

In memoriam
Vladimír Holan

In Lenin's Mausoleum

Jan Vladislav:
How the Czechs
have treated Seifert

Saudi Arabia:

Keeping the lid on,
Samizdat poem

El Salvador:

Yolocamba l'ta.
Manlio Argueta —
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Pakistan:

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Unpublished poem

Now that he has won the Nobel Prize for Literature, the Czechoslovak media pretend that Jaroslav Seifert has never been out of favour with the Prague regime. Jan Vladislav, who brought out Seifert's work in samizdat, sets the record straight (p 8); and we print a Seifert poem which will not be published in Czechoslovakia.



Writers, poets — and punks

Yugoslavia has been no less unkind to many of its writers and poets, as Momcilo Selic explains (p 12). While György Konrad finds life in Budapest more tolerable (p 15), punk and other non-conformist musicians are in trouble, and Zsolt Krokovay discusses the moral dilemmas their activities pose for the liberal conscience (p 17).

Press problems

At the end of February, General Zia held elections in Pakistan. With the opposition virtually excluded by the detention of its leaders shortly before polling day, the result came as no surprise, leaving the country much as it was before — a military dictatorship. We look at the consequences of military rule for Pakistan's civil liberties, education, and the press (pp 28-36); and we examine press problems in Thailand, Nigeria, and Uganda (pp 36-45).

Cover photo of Jaroslav Seifert by Ivan Kyncel

'There is no such thing as objectivity — objective is that which serves the interests of the Party and the government.'

In the course of the 38 years I have spent working in journalism and publishing I have heard many arguments on the nature of objectivity, but none as brutally frank as this, from the lips of the newly appointed boss of all Czechoslovak media in early 1948, shortly after the Communist coup in February that year. He was addressing a meeting of the Union of Journalists in Prague, and his words came as a profound shock to me, then an idealistic 20-year-old with just two years' experience as an English news editor at ČTK, the official news agency. And it was that statement, as much as anything, that strengthened my determination not to join the Party, which I was being urged to do by colleagues who knew that refusal to do so would eventually terminate my journalistic career.

The 'purge' came two years later. Meanwhile, those of us who worked in the small 'export' department responsible for sending out news from Prague in English, continued to cling to our concept of 'objectivity', refusing to be coerced into presenting a distorted picture of events in Czechoslovakia in order to 'serve the interests of the Party'.

Since then I have had many an occasion to reflect on 'objectivity', and I would still disagree with the man who for several years presided over the Stalinist media in Czechoslovakia. There *is* such a thing as objectivity — or at least one can and should strive to take an objective view, conditioned though one may be by one's background and opinions. At the very least, one has to reject any and every attempt to trim one's views and their expression in the service of any party or government, any faction or group: even if this may frequently be demanded more subtly than in the blatant example quoted above.

But it seems to me that to strive for objectivity and to be seen by others as objective are two very different things.

Index on Censorship has, over the years, gained a reputation for objectivity and even-handedness. Considering the highly controversial and emotive nature of its subject-matter, it is perhaps surprising that we have not been the target of more criticism and suspicion than has actually been the case.

Eight years ago, following the publication of an article on the problems of Fleet Street by David Astor (the reporting of which in *The Times* led to a one-day stoppage at that newspaper), *Index* was accused by the then Editor of *The Journalist* (and later by a columnist on *The Guardian*) of indulging in a bout of 'union bashing' and of censoring an

OPINION

How objective are we? George Theiner

article favourable to the printing unions. Not content with this, both writers implied that we had acted in obedience to the wishes of Mr Astor, who apart from being one of the founders of our organisation and a member of the *Index* editorial committee has been generous in providing financial support. A few short months later, 'Atticus' in the *Sunday Times* berated us for allegedly suppressing another article, but this time one that was *critical* of the trade unions!

This was the first time that we had to counter serious allegations of bias, but here we had little difficulty in demonstrating our innocence since in all three instances the journalists concerned had ignored information that disproved their allegations, choosing to mention only such facts as suited their thesis.

More recently, criticism has come our way from two different quarters — from the Israeli lobby in Britain and from a highly placed government official in Washington. And although we would again vehemently reject any suggestion of deliberate bias on our part, these complaints do raise difficult questions concerning objectivity.

At the end of July last year, Philip Kleinman, who writes a column on the media in the London *Jewish Chronicle*, claimed that *Index* was unfair to Israel when it printed a report on censorship in the West Bank. Over a period of two months Mr Kleinman and I exchanged fire on the pages of the *Chronicle*, his charges against *Index* growing more weighty each time ('distortions', 'anti-Israel propaganda barrage masquerading as objective reporting'), until we were said to 'concentrate on the sins' of Israel while ignoring its virtues and omitting to mention the misdeeds of its enemies. We responded by listing evidence disproving these assertions (e.g. that as recently as April we had carried an article on 'Repression in Iraq and Syria'), whereupon Mr Kleinman, in what was mercifully the last shot in this over-long battle, somewhat spoiled his case by admitting that he was not aware of what *Index* had published.

This might seem to entitle us to dismiss the whole thing as a storm in a teacup, but there are several reasons why we cannot do so. Mr Kleinman was not alone in taking *Index* to task over its Israeli coverage, and there is no disputing the fact (indeed, we have ourselves drawn attention to it in two successive Annual

Reports) that Israel, being a parliamentary democracy with a free press, is an easy target, while it is incomparably more difficult to obtain information about the censorship and human rights violations perpetrated by its 'enemies'. As a consequence, Israel tends — after, be it noted, including incidents occurring in the occupied territories — to get long entries in *Index/Index* while Iraq, Syria, Libya or Saudi Arabia may get only a few lines. (The same, of course, applies to Britain and the USA as opposed, for example, to Albania, Bulgaria, or many Third World countries.) It seems to me, therefore, that one cannot — as some of our critics did — simply count up the lines and demand more 'objective' reporting. One has, in the first place, to look at the *content* of the entries, and also to take into account the rest of the material in the magazine — not in just a single issue but over a period. It would be quite wrong to omit information on one country just because we are not able to provide an equivalent amount on another. All one can do is to attempt to get as much information as possible also on the 'difficult' ones — and this is what we did by obtaining a grant enabling us to employ a specialist, who has considerably broadened our coverage of the Middle East. (Ironically, an irate reader who has discontinued her subscription to *Index* because of this 'lack of balance' came to the conclusion that it was this new member of staff with an obviously Arabic name who was responsible for our 'anti-Israeli bias'!)

At the end of last year a US Administration representative took issue with what he called 'the pattern' of an anti-American bias in our coverage of Latin America, quoting two sentences from a recent article on the press in Haiti as an example. While I would agree that the article contained two sentences of political rhetoric which we might have asked the author to omit, the issue is by no means as simple as that. One of the functions of *Index* is to give a platform to 'dissidents' and thus enable them to voice their opinions, whether they come from the Soviet Union or El Salvador, from Czechoslovakia or Chile, from Poland or Paraguay. And it is an inescapable fact that the policies adopted by the US in Central and South America for many decades — with their stubborn support of brutal dictatorships such as those of Batista, Somoza, Stroessner and Pinochet — have resulted in much anti-American feeling in that part of the world. It is then inevitable that some contributors to *Index* give vent to sentiments that can only be described as anti-American — but that is hardly a reason to condemn *Index* for its 'anti-Americanism'.

Continued on page 21

AFGHANISTAN

Tears, blood & cries

In December last year the US Helsinki Watch Committee published a 210-page report on the human rights situation in Afghanistan following the Soviet invasion in 1979. The Committee's researchers, Jeri Laber and Barnett Rubin, spent many months interviewing Afghan refugees in the refugee camps along the Pakistani border, and consulted many specialists on Afghanistan in Europe and in the US.

The report's findings include state-sanctioned violence against civilians, arbitrary arrests, torture, imprisonment and execution. The press and other institutions are now under strict totalitarian control. Universities and all other aspects of Afghan cultural life are being systematically 'Sovietized'. Soviet personnel are taking a more and more active role in the Afghan government's oppression of its citizens, including torture in detention camps.

The best-known Afghan poet Ustad Khalilullah Khalili (79), who is now a refugee in Pakistan, said in an interview, 'When I was young I wrote poetry about love, beauty and peace in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, at this age, I write about the tears, blood and cries of the Afghan people'.

(Tears, Blood and Cries, Human Rights in Afghanistan Since the Invasion, 1979-84, Helsinki Watch Committee, 36 West 44 Street, New York, NY 10036.)

CHILE

Foreign priests go home!

The Catholic Church's social work in defence of human rights and dignity is bringing it into increasing conflict with the Pinochet government. It has seen its role as mediator between Pinochet and the democratic opposition come to nothing with the reintroduction of the state of siege on 6 November 1984, and is now facing what appears to be concerted pressure on its human rights agencies, particularly those in which foreign priests are involved.

The present antagonism can be traced back to the shooting of the French priest André Jarlan at his pastoral headquarters in the shanty town of La Victoria last September, during one of the days of protest against Pinochet's regime. Jarlan was allegedly killed by a police bullet as he sat reading his Bible. Despite initial denials of police involvement, a corporal in the riot police is now being charged with the priest's murder.

BRIEF REPORTS

Relations worsened when the government confirmed its refusal to allow Spanish-born Mgr. Ignacio Gutierrez, the head of Vicaría de Solidaridad, the Catholic Church's human rights organisation, back into Chile after a trip to Rome, where he met with Chilean exile groups.

The archbishop of Santiago, Mons. Juan Francisco Fresno, who is usually less outspoken than his predecessor Raúl Silva Enriquez, was quick to respond on this occasion. He issued a pastoral letter to be read in churches on 18 November in which he spoke of the government causing 'fear and anguish' among the Chilean people, and condemned the banning of Mons. Gutierrez, together with the fact that many of his own statements on social themes have been banned from publication in Chile. The letter, which the media could not report, was followed up on 23 November by a day of fasting and prayer to demonstrate concern at the 'climate of oppression' in the country.

On 27 November, the next day of protest against the Pinochet regime, two Catholic priests were among five people detained for handing out anti-government pamphlets and inciting disorder. They were released a day later, but a Dutch theology student, Jeert Wurwal, who had been arrested with them, was deported.

Also deported from Chile early in the New Year was US-born Reverend Denis O'Mara. He was accused of 'persistent political activity' for his participation in the 'Sebastián Acevedo Anti-Torture Movement', a group of priests, nuns and others who stage non-violent protests outside police stations where prisoners are thought to be maltreated. O'Mara had been arrested shortly before Christmas while he was handing out Christmas cards bearing the message: 'For a Christmas without Herods and a New Year without torturers'. Nick Caistor.

CAMBODIA

Nokorbal

In December 1984, the US-based 'Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights' published an interim report on Cambodia, following a two week fact-finding trip to that country in November.

The Lawyers Committee delegation was not allowed to visit Phnom Penh and other areas under government control. Thus information on the Heng Samrin regime was based essentially on interviews with persons who had fled to the Thai border regions, many of whom are former political prisoners.

The preliminary findings and conclusions of the delegation are as follows. In areas under the control of the Heng Samrin regime, the arrest and detention of those suspected of supporting the anti-Vietnamese occupation forces is common. There are certainly hundreds of detained persons classified as political prisoners, if not thousands. The rule of law is not respected. Very seldom those who are detained are judged and sentenced. The torture of prisoners, such as a beating with truncheons, metal pipes or rifle butts, is common, especially during interrogation. Prisoners are frequently kept in foot-shackles in windowless cells.

According to the report, the authorities responsible for the arrest and detention of political prisoners are the *Nokorbal* (security agents) who are under the command of the Interior Ministry. The *Nokorbal* are mostly Cambodian communist elements who have spent most of their adult life in North Vietnam, or they are former Khmer Rouge cadres who defected to Vietnam in 1978. Their duties are carried out with the close participation or supervision of 'Vietnamese experts' (*Chamneankar*). Vietnamese security units are known to have arrested political suspects before turning them over to the Cambodian authorities. 'Vietnamese experts' are also reported to have taken part in the torture of political prisoners during interrogation.

In areas controlled by the Khmer Rouge, one of the three forces in the Coalition Government, it would appear that the murderous practices of the Khmer Rouge of the mid-1970s are no longer the order of the day, says the report. However, severely restrictive controls over daily life remain, and there are allegations of occasional instances of brutality and deaths during detention. There are restrictions on marriage, freedom of movement, the taking of photographs and on trading with the Thais. Those who are caught are detained and sent to 'instruction halls' for 'political re-education'. Criticism of, or attack on, the leadership is considered an offence, as is contact with the outside world, including humanitarian organisations which work along the Thai border.

The Lawyers Committee's final and full report will be published in May. (The Lawyers Committee For International Human Rights, 36 West 44th Street, New York, NY 10036.) LHT ■

Czechoslovakia

Jaroslav Seifert

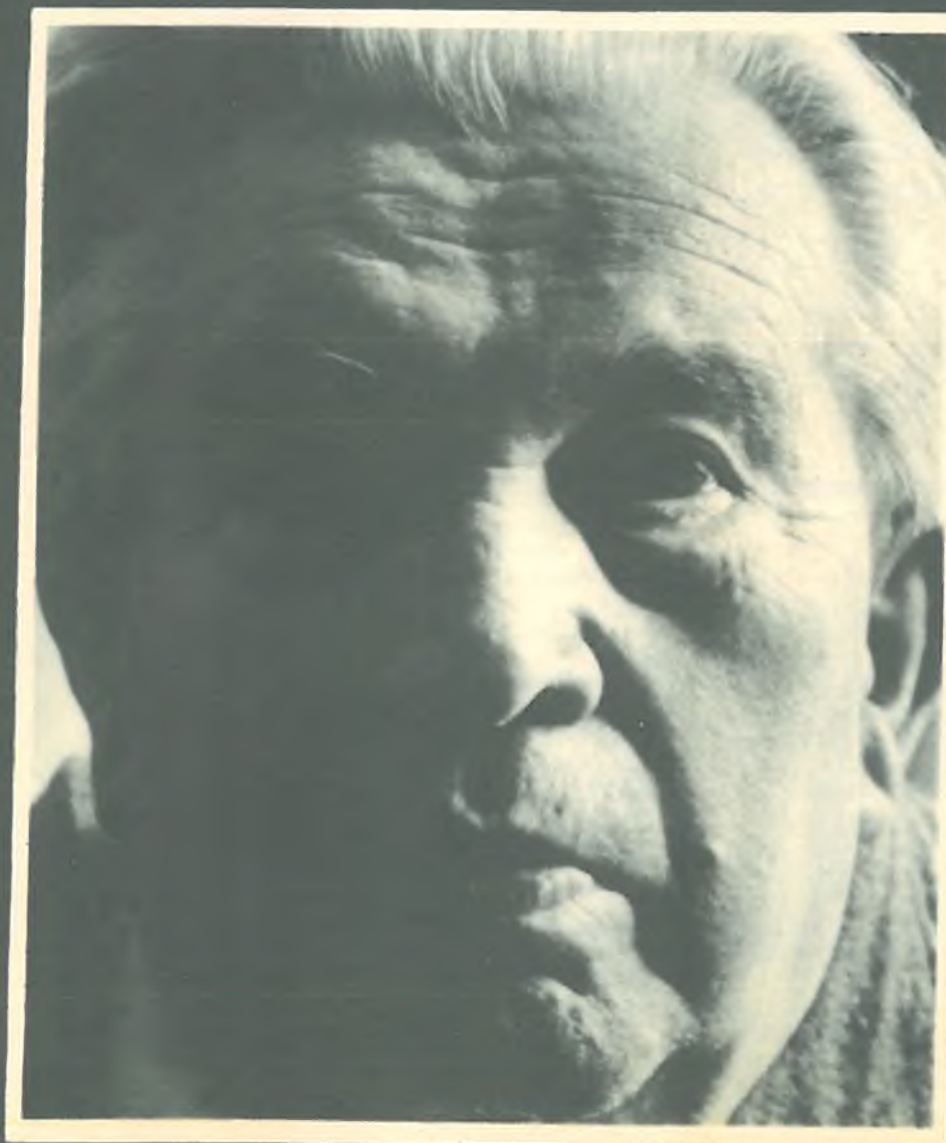
A tribute to Vladimír Holan

The poem which follows, 'A Tribute to Vladimír Holan', appeared as a samizdat book in Prague in 1980. It is an obituary tribute — Vladimír Holan died in 1980 — and it is also a look back at twentieth century Czech cultural history, as personified by eight of Seifert's deceased friends.

Each of these friends were poets who made a contribution to the treasure chest of European literature, yet most are unknown outside Czechoslovakia. (Czech is spoken by only ten million people, and an author writing

in a minority language experiences a sort of censorship from the outset; for poetry is difficult to translate.) To introduce the eight poets, we reprint an article by Milan Kundera, the Czech novelist now living in France, which first appeared in Le Nouvel Observateur.

Three of the six pages of the samizdat book are reproduced below and on page 6. The photographer, and the maker of the samizdat book, was Ivan Kyncl. Over 50 of Ivan Kyncl's photos have appeared in Index since 1978, when he was still in Prague and was pseudony-



Czechoslovakia

mously credited as 'Ivan Bárta'. His story is also symptomatic of present day Czechoslovakia. He was 15 when the Warsaw Pact tanks rolled into Prague in 1968. His parents refused to regard this invasion as 'fraternal international assistance' and so he was debarred from entering university and instead trained as a commercial photographer. He became the unofficial photographer of Charter 77. Many of his documentary photos and films found their way to the West, but during a house search his entire archive of

negatives was confiscated. Following an international outcry, part of the archive was returned — each and every negative destroyed by a chemical. Ivan Kyncl left the country in 1980 and now works as a freelance photographer in London.

In the same year Vladimir Holan died. The Czech authorities allowed public recital by an actor of Seifert's tribute on one condition: instead of the line 'In the wretched aviary that is Bohemia' he had to say 'In the wretched aviary that is the world'.

A little history lesson

Milan Kundera

There were five of them: Vítězslav Nezval, Jaroslav Seifert, Konstantin Biebl, Frantisek Halas, and Vladimír Holan. Poets of the generation born with the century, the greatest constellation in the entire history of Czech poetry. Vladimír Holan was the first to go under. In 1948, after the Stalinist assault on him, he shut himself into his Prague apartment as if into a monastery,

Žeou chvilu, kdy ve svých svlencích
abvídáe i anioje,
jako by jejich věcné nebyli
bylo jen stocinull
v lchodné netylnosti a v bezloleoti
a v abílal vodnouctho kvlll.

Šločl věck jen ačhvěv rochoče,
at va je jakkoliv,
a vrcclae ze octolně
ke svůjm kadodenním tramporám.

Přecíl joer věckry básniky
své generace.
Vaictri at byli přáteli.
Popoled umel Vladimír Holan.
Žak by mi nebylo iako,
joem sám.

Czechoslovakia A tribute to Vladimír Holan



Jsem žito byl jediný,
 kdo s ním měl otěhotět s J. K. Želkou.
 Ten pěstuje do jeho rohu,
 když pochopí šedý strop,
 žití, dojezd šedý voní na otučen
 po horkých sandálech.

Stálek nás nedal František Žolot,
 silnější druh.
 Doučet, aby jeho včera endorovaly
 lidé, do vol,
 ale někdy mu to nedalo
 o spívat.

Dost chtělo od něho pokoru,
 on pokoru nesnad.
 A do postelce chleba
 tojstet se vrtel surtus.

Když, který on poseddval ruce,
 když vždáto,
 vedel na šroji jeho postete
 o pšatol.



never to leave it again. Jaroslav Seifert came under attack at the same time and for a long while he withdrew from public life. Then Frantisek Halas died. He had written:
From down below you will smell the roses as you live out your death and there in the dark you will throw off love, your shield.
 The day after his funeral, an unshielded corpse, he became the object of a violent ideological campaign that turned his name into a symbol for everything evil. Next, it

was Konstantin Biebl's turn. I adored this modest poet who loved women, *beautiful and lazy as a funeral procession.* I was twenty-one. They had just hanged Zavis Kalandra, a Czech surrealist. Biebl, with his great frightened eyes, asked me, 'Did you hear about Eluard's reaction?' He explained: In an open letter, in Paris, André Breton had exhorted his fellow surrealist, the poet Paul Eluard, now a great figure of world communism, to protest the charges

brought in Prague against their mutual friend Kalandra, and Eluard, publicly and solemnly, had refused to defend an enemy of the people. It was the last time I saw him. A few months later, Biebl threw himself out of a window. Meanwhile, Mitezslav Nezval was desperately trying to manage the impossible role of a loyal son of the party who is also an artist faithful to art and to his artist friends. In 1957, as he put it, he went
to seek out the violet eyes with only death behind them.

A tribute to Vladimír Holan Czechoslovakia

A tribute to Vladimír Holan
by Jaroslav Seifert

There are times when in our thoughts
we even envy the dead,
as if their eternal non-existence
was a mere respite,
blissfully motionless and without pain,
in a still-life of wilting flowers.

It only takes a spasm of pleasure,
whatever it may be,
and we gladly return
to our daily cares.

I've outlived all the poets
of my generation.
All of them my friends.
The last to go was Vladimír Holan.
How should I not feel sad,
I'm all alone.

The first was Jiří Wolker,
he was young and in a hurry.
Oh, those fatal kisses
on the feverish lips
of tubercular girls in that sanatorium
on the Norwegian coast.

Years later, Jindřich Hořejší died,
the oldest of us all.
He wrote his verses on a little round table
in a crowded coffee-house,
like a soldier after the battle writing love letters
on an upturned drum.

Josef Hora was the only one
to be on first-name terms with F.X.Šalda.
Just go into his orchard
when the saplings start to bloom.
In the sun, their blossoms smell of bitter almonds.

František Halas, that dear friend, never said goodbye.
He wanted his verses to croak
in people's ears,
yet at times he could not help
but sing.

Konstantin Biebl left us suddenly,
with a violent gesture.
I think he missed those gentle Javanese girls
who resemble living blossoms
and tread softly on tiptoe.

Vítězslav Nezval blasphemed against death,
and she took her revenge.
When he died unexpectedly at Easter,
as he had forecast,
one of the strong boughs on the tree of poetry
was broken.

František Hrubín had not the slightest inkling
of approaching death.
At first, I did not understand
where he found the rhythms for his verses,
but all he did was listen to the smiling waters
of the weir at Sázava.

Holan took a long time to die.
The telephone fell often from his hand.
Contemptuously, he threw out his poems
in the wretched aviary that is Bohemia
as if they were chunks of raw meat.
And the birds were frightened.

Death demanded humility of him,
but he did not know how to be humble.
He fought it furiously,
to the very end.

The angel who lifted his hands
when he grew faint
sat on the edge of his bed
and wept.

Translated by George Theiner

He died, but not by throwing himself from a window. It was his son (the very image of his father) who did that, twelve years after Nezval's death in 1969, when the Russian horror was battering the country. The Czech writers — the occupier's main target — then elected Seifert president of their union. I can still see him. He already had great difficulty walking, with crutches. And — perhaps because of that — there in his seat he seemed a rock: unmoving, solid, firm. It consoled us to have him with us. This little nation,

trampled and doomed — how could it possibly justify its existence? There before us was the justification: the poet, heavy, with his crutches leaning against the table; the poet, the tangible expression of the nation's genius, the sole glory of the powerless. I was already in France when I learned that Vladimír Holan had died in his apartment/monastery. I will never forget his terrible lines:

*And still the evil rises
through the spinal marrow of humankind*

*covered with blood spittle
like a dentist's staircase.*

When Holan died, Seifert wrote:
*In the wretched aviary that is Bohemia
he tossed his poems around him
with contempt
like chunks of raw meat.*

The wretched aviary, Bohemia. He was the only one left. A good fifteen years later, the Nobel Prize found him in his hospital bed.

*Translated from the French
by Linda Asher*

Czechoslovakia

Jan Vladislav

Poets and power: Jaroslav Seifert

Following his 1984 Nobel Prize, the communist authorities in Prague now claim poet Jaroslav Seifert as one of their own; only a year earlier, possession of his books was deemed a crime

'Force does not tolerate another force,' wrote Gustave Flaubert in connection with the planned but then hushed-up trial of his young friend, Maupassant, thinking when he wrote those words of one of the two chief enemies of every good author. The first enemy are his readers, because a good book 'forces them to think, to work'. More dangerous, however, is the second enemy Flaubert had in mind — those in power, the government.

Flaubert had learned to his cost what these enemies can do, especially when they join forces to haul the writer up in court, as they did with him over *Madame Bovary*. Then there was the trial which condemned Baudelaire's *Flowers of Evil*. But such trials, whether public or secret, were by no means confined to nineteenth-century France. There is a time-honoured tradition of books on trial, a tradition frequently illuminated by the flames in which the books were burned, and sometimes their authors with them. The tradition has continued into our century, when modern methods have brought both mass produced books and their mass destruction. Thus the six strictly secret *Bibliographical Catalogues of Harmful Literature*, issued by the Head Office of Press Supervision (censorship) of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior in 1960 have a total of 187 pages and list more than 6,500 'harmful' and even 'hostile' book titles by some 2,300 writers, Czechoslovak and foreign.

There are many examples in Czech culture during the past fifty years of those who fell victim to the force Flaubert talks about, but Czech literature lacks books which record this struggle of ideas against power systematically and in detail. While there are several remarkable testimonies — such as the poetic diaries *Eyewitness* and *The Liver of Prometheus*, written in the late forties and early fifties by Jiří Kolář, the diary in the form of a novel *The Czech*

Jan Vladislav is a Czech poet, essayist and translator now living in Paris. He was forced to leave Czechoslovakia in 1981, mainly because he published in Prague a samizdat poetry series, Kvart. It was in this series that the new writings of Jaroslav Seifert first appeared, ten years before their official publication was allowed by the authorities.

Dreambook, written in the late seventies by Ludvík Vaculík, or the effective but highly pessimistic monologue *Too Noisy a Lonely Place* by Bohumil Hrabal, which ends with an apocalyptic vision of a world in which mass destruction awaits books and ideas condemned to death by the *Bibliographical Catalogues* of the Interior Ministry — we have not had a work that would sum up these and other testimonies, giving an overall picture of the true, and to this day hidden, face of Czech literature in the last few decades. One possible approach to such an undertaking was indicated by the Polish writer Czesław Miłosz in his *The Captive Mind*. This consisted of a number of life stories used by the author to demonstrate different basic intellectual attitudes towards power, and in particular totalitarian power, in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Although Miłosz does not name the Polish writers he is writing about, they are not difficult to identify; and it is a great pity that his instructive account ends in 1953, when *The Captive Mind* was published — naturally only abroad and never in Poland — for their later development would have provided material of even greater interest.

Similarly instructive life stories also exist in the history of twentieth-century Czech culture, and the award of the 1984 Nobel Prize for literature drew attention to a particularly striking one. But as so little is known abroad about the true nature of that culture, the decision to give the Nobel Prize to an 'unknown' Czech poet puzzled many people, and the Czechoslovak authorities had not the slightest interest in trying to remedy the situation. On the contrary, despite their statements claiming that the recipient of the prize, poet Jaroslav Seifert, was greatly and universally respected, his works published in large quantities, Czechoslovakia's official representatives in fact shared the view of those foreign journalists who chose the most simplistic and banal explanation: that, once again, this was a politically motivated award and that the Swedish Academy was honouring Jaroslav Seifert the dissident rather than the poet. 'In their eyes,' was the verdict of the Paris *L'Express* of 19-25 October, 'the most important text to carry the name of Jaroslav Seifert was obviously Charter 77.'

The doubts and in some cases indignation expressed by some of these 'expert'

commentators was partly an admission of their own ignorance. 'That someone has not been translated into English or French,' wrote Nicole Zand aptly in *Le Monde* of 14-15 October, 'does not necessarily mean they do not exist.'

Yet, it is not even altogether true to say that Seifert has not been translated. Both *Umbrella from Piccadilly* and *The Plague Column* appeared in English, translated by Ewald Osers, and his 1979 version of the latter, which was also performed on stage in dramatised readings, showed British and perhaps American readers that Seifert was an important poet five years before the Swedish Academy's award.

Those who really know Jaroslav Seifert and his work can have no doubt that he is, first and foremost, a poet. The authority he enjoys even outside the bounds of literature is based primarily on the quality and integrity of his literary *oeuvre*, and even his interventions in public life — on the rare occasions that he made them — invariably had to do above all with poetry, its mission in life, the poet's rights and responsibilities.

Czech readers have no doubts on this score. For them, Jaroslav Seifert is one of the most popular of all contemporary poets, his poetry among those who are most widely read and, at least at first sight, the most easily accessible. And it is probably due to this very accessibility, the apparent simplicity of Seifert's work, that even Czech critics have not paid sufficient attention to it, so that we do not have any study that shows its real significance. When writing about Seifert, authors usually confine themselves to a description of his, on the whole, uncomplicated artistic development: beginning his literary career with socially motivated verses based on his own personal experience and the spirit of the time, the young poet enthusiastically joined the post-war *avantgarde* in the early 1920s, celebrating *all the beauties of the world* as well as the revolution which was to bestow them on one and all; in the 1930s, older and wiser, he adopted a more classical, traditional style, and it was then that he won growing popularity with a wide readership; the climax of this phase of Seifert's development came in the late 1930s, with the approach of the Nazi occupation and world war, when he wrote a large number of poems giving effective voice to the fears and hopes

Jaroslav Seifert Czechoslovakia

of an imperilled nation, thus becoming a truly national poet.

This flattering but on the other hand limiting label, which is from time to time made use of by the representatives of communist cultural policy in Czechoslovakia, has stuck to this day, obscuring the true range and depth of the poet's *oeuvre*. It obscures, in particular, the turning-point which the then 64-year-old writer reached some time around 1965, when he turned away from the classical rhyming verse forms and adopted the freer, more colloquial verse which has allowed him to deal with greater immediacy and power with perhaps every important problem of modern man's existence.

Not that these did not figure in his work right from the start, but it was as if they could only now be expressed in full. Seifert thus showed that he was the rightful heir of two different branches of poetry. One of these, the native one, had its beginnings way back in Bohemian Baroque music, continuing with Mácha, Erben, Neruda, and Vrchlický, all the way to Neumann, Sova, Toman and Hora, all poets whose powerful imagination and poetic skill ranked them with the best European poets of their time, even though Europe did not know them as they wrote in Czech; the second branch leads from Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rodenbach and Corbière to Cendrars and, in particular, to Apollinaire, who provided such great inspiration not only for French but also for Czech poetry.

Guilty conscience

Few modern poets have been so fascinated by the life and work of W. A. Mozart as has Jaroslav Seifert. He has written many a poem, including a whole cycle called *Mozart in Prague*, about the composer, returning again and again to his compositions, characters from his operas and incidents from his life. Mozart quite simply represents one of the chief components of Seifert's spiritual world, and it is as if something of that Mozartian element had entered his own poetry which, like Mozart's music, conceals hidden depths beneath its seemingly transparent, melodious surface.

It is that which lies in these hidden, incalculable depths that most disturbs and angers the Flaubertian force which does not tolerate other forces. That is why official Czechoslovak cultural representatives chose to ignore this aspect of Seifert's *oeuvre* since the Soviet invasion of 1968, refusing to publish any of his new books. And even when, after more than 10 years and under pressure from the samizdat and foreign editions of Seifert, as well as translations into other languages, they at last capitulated in the early 1980s, publishing *Umbrella from Piccadilly*, *The Plague Column*, and Seifert's

The writer's duty

It seemed somewhat symbolic that in Orwell's year of 1984 the Nobel Prize for Literature should have been given to a poet who, even in the darkest days, never hesitated to emphasise the writer's duty to write the truth. He sees this, not as simply an abstract moral postulate, but as an everyday task — struggle might be a better word — in particular to be required of those who work with words. These present the writer at every step not only with the opportunity to embrace liberating truth but also with the very real danger of succumbing to lies.

It was on this theme that Jaroslav Seifert spoke in the interview he gave to Z. Zivkovicova for the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* when the Nobel Prize award was announced, in October 1984.

Sorry... nothing

Christopher Whelen, a well-known English composer and writer, has recently become interested in one of Czechoslovakia's major modern poets, the late Vladimír Holan, and is thinking of compiling a programme about him for the BBC. Wishing to learn more about the poet, whose Collected Works are being published in Prague but who has never enjoyed official sympathy on the part of the Communist regime, Mr Whelen phoned the Czechoslovak Embassy in London. The following conversation (if that is the word for it) ensued:

CW: 'I'm looking for information about your fine poet, Vladimír Holan...'

Voice: 'One moment...' (Transfer to rather spiky lady)

Spiky lady: 'Hello (perfectly pleasant).'

CW: 'Could you help me with some information about Holan?'

As if continuing quite naturally where he left off almost 30 years ago, at the Second Writers Congress in Prague in 1956, Seifert stressed that a poet did not write *because* he felt free but rather *in order* to feel free, in order to wrest from the world, from society, that little extra bit of freedom. To write is for him to extend the basic freedom we all acquire when we acquire a language — the freedom to speak. 'In language, man seeks his most elementary freedom, the freedom to utter his innermost thoughts. That is the prerequisite of all freedom; in society, its ultimate form is political freedom.'

Seifert applies this requirement to everyone who deals in truth: 'This concerns not just writers and poets, but all intellectuals. We must live according to the reality we know, we must not live a lie.' Jan Vladislav

SL: 'Who?'

CW: 'Your poet, Vladimír Holan.'

(Pause)

SL: 'I think we have nothing' (spiky now).

CW: 'But... I mean, he's one of your leading poets?'

SL (terse): 'I'm afraid we have nothing.'

CW: 'What I'm looking for is some background information, an illustrated biography — doesn't have to be in English... further translations...'

SL: 'Nothing... sorry.'

CW: 'You have no library?'

SL: 'None. (Pause) You should try one of your own libraries...'

CW: 'So, there's no chance of...'

SL: 'Sorry... none.'

(By contrast, Christopher Whelen tells us, the Poles are very helpful when contacted for similar information, as are most embassies and cultural offices.)

memoirs, *All the Beauties of the World*, they still failed to acknowledge their true poetic meaning.

This is to be seen in the description of Seifert's work given in the literary columns of the Czechoslovak Communist Party daily, *Rudé právo*, on 13 October 1984, the day after the Nobel Prize award was announced:

'His development, both as poet and citizen, was complicated and not without contradictions, as he himself admits in his memoirs. Nevertheless, there is no doubting his importance for Czech poetry... In his early collections, full of social feeling and verse that is free from pathos, Seifert created an individual type of proletarian poetry. With J. Wolker, V. Nezval and K. Biebl he

belonged to the leading representatives of the youngest generation of Czech poets. Though after a time he abandoned the ideals of revolutionary poetry, at the end of the 1930s he joined the front rank of those who wished to defend the Republic against fascism. His poetry gave strength to the nation during the Nazi occupation. After the war, he celebrated the heroes of the Prague Uprising, the Red Army, his mother, his childhood, his home, and his country.'

Thus ends this equivocal, distorted and incomplete pen portrait of National Artist Jaroslav Seifert in *Rudé právo*. There follows only an attempt to show how magnanimous the authorities have been to Seifert: 'Seifert's name has lately been misused in the West for slanderous attacks against his country.'

Czechoslovakia Jaroslav Seifert

MV - HLAVNÍ SPRÁVA TISKOVÉHO DOBŘEDÍ

CJ. 01 00273/17-80

PŘÍSNĚ TAJNĚ

BIBLIOGRAFICKÝ KATALOG SEŠIT ČÍSLO 3

Závadná dětská literatura

Praha 1980

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CJ. 01 00276 17 80

PŘÍSNĚ TAJNĚ

BIBLIOGRAFICKÝ KATALOG SEŠIT ČÍSLO 2

Závadná beletrie

Praha 1980

attempts being made to use our leading poet as part of the psychological war against the countries of socialism. These are cynical, despicable attempts. Seifert's verses are a permanent part of the treasury of our poetry, he himself being one of our most published authors. For instance, in 1971-84 our publishing houses brought out 18 titles of Seifert's work in a total printing of 176,000. Most recently there have been his newest collections: *Umbrella from Piccadilly* (1979), *The Plague Column* (1981), *To Be a Poet* (1981). In 1982 his *Recollections and Stories* (the subtitle of *All the Beauties of the World*) was published...

As is usually the case with self-praise, the above account is dictated by a guilty conscience. It is remarkable more for what it conceals than what it says. If Seifert had really been *persona grata* with the authorities, as the article suggests, why did his post-invasion books not come out as soon as they were written, why did *The Plague Column*, for instance, have to wait over 10 years for its official publication in Prague?

I was present when the poet himself made a spirited and humorous protest about this to an official from the Ministry of Culture who came to congratulate him on his 80th

birthday. The Ministry had taken the wise precaution of sending the head of the Arts (and not Literature) Department, who was able to tell Seifert that unfortunately publishing poetry was not his responsibility. And so the poet had to rest content for many years with typescript samizdat editions of his work, *The Plague Column* and later *Umbrella from Piccadilly* being produced in several thousand copies. [Modesty has prevented the author from mentioning his own part in the samizdat production of Czech literature including Seifert's collections, as described by him in 'A parallel world', *Index on Censorship* 6/1981, and 'All you need is a typewriter', *Index* 2/1983. Ed.]

While the unofficial samizdat editions were naturally not censored, censorship was applied to the later, official, versions of Seifert's books, as can easily be verified by anyone who takes the trouble to compare the two. The censor's role was particularly significant in the case of Seifert's memoirs, *All the Beauties of the World* in which, according to a Prague samizdat article, nine chapters were left out, while in 12 others names, sentences and sometimes whole paragraphs were omitted. The index of names is thus shorter by 83 names, 51 of

Two secret 'Bibliographical Catalogues of Harmful Literature' on children's books (left) and fiction (right).

which are nevertheless mentioned in the book. The remaining 32 have disappeared altogether.

It is interesting to note the nature of the deletions. Not just people's names or items of a political or cultural-political character have been removed from Seifert's original text but also his reflections on death and a mention of the suicide of the mistress of the famous pre-war Czech art historian, Karel Teige, as well as various erotic scenes described in the book. It would appear from all this that death is just as obscene and unmentionable where Czechoslovak censorship is concerned as sex. Not a word about any of this is naturally to be found in the *Rudé právo* article.

Nor is the reader going to find out anything about some other facts which give an even clearer picture of the attitude of Czechoslovak authorities to poetry in general and Jaroslav Seifert in particular. Some of these facts can be gleaned from official documents, such as the protocols of interviews with nonconformist intellectuals carried out by the police, in which the interrogators voiced the opinion that Seifert's

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uncompromising attitude and his unwillingness to cooperate were due to his 'senility'.

Another document records the decision of the Prague Municipal Court of 23 February 1983 to confiscate the books and manuscripts taken away from Ludvík Vaculík's apartment during a house search on 21 January 1981. Giving a detailed justification for the decision, the court stated that 'given a certain political situation, even passages from works dealing with other historical periods than our own, or with other countries, can be misused for the creation of a hostile attitude towards our system, as was evident during the crisis period of 1968-69' ['the crisis period' being Czech officialese for what the rest of the world knows as the Prague Spring when the Dubček government tried to reform the Stalinist system in Czechoslovakia].

Among the examples quoted as being works capable of misuse and therefore to be confiscated, we find a manuscript translation of *Reflections, Letters to Parents and Poems* by the German Protestant philosopher D. Bonhoeffer, who was executed in 1945 by the Nazis, clearly described as 'letters from a German fascist prison'; and, as the last of several examples, the manuscript of Seifert's *Umbrella from Piccadilly* and four other Seifert poems, which the judge, Dr Jan Rojt, evidently ordered confiscated because they were 'in their original, unmodified form'.

But it was not only Seifert's manuscripts which were deemed liable to confiscation; suggestions that he should be nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature were considered equally 'criminal' by the judiciary. One of the Czech intellectuals arrested in 1981 and held for almost a year while their trial [which in the end did not take place] was in preparation, the former journalist Jiří Ruml, wrote on 22 October 1984 in an open letter addressed to the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Paris: 'Dr Jiřina Šiklová, who was detained with me in 1981 was accused of having sent abroad a copy of the manuscript and a recording of Jaroslav Seifert's memoirs and material to be used for his nomination for the Nobel Prize... All these manuscripts, gramophone records and other materials were confiscated and are still lying somewhere in the cellar of the Ministry of the Interior. Actors, who were sent records from abroad with readings of Seifert's memoirs... were interrogated, and the records, together with all Seifert's works published abroad or produced here on the typewriter are still subject to confiscation during various house searches.'

Jaroslav Seifert never idly indulged in theoretical or ideological arguments, preferring to devote himself to his poetry; but he did not shirk speaking out when he

Jaroslav Seifert

In Lenin's Mausoleum

Beneath the red wall, beneath the domes
golden and gleaming
on his catafalque in sweet repose,
as if just dreaming,

in a glass coffin Lenin lies,
as though by Death unmarred,
watching with half-closed eyes
the soldier who stands on guard.

Bayonet fixed, he passes long hours
by Lenin's side,
inhaling the scent of faded flowers
while the clock outside

marks time's swift evolution.
The red flag's still there
but where is the revolution —
where?

The Kremlin wall, red like a field of
poppies,
its teeth bares in ire.
There Comrade Stalin has his office,
but no revolutionary fire.

Suddenly the silence is shattered
by the sound of shooting —
at the Lubyanka enemies and traitors
they're executing.

Now Lenin seems to awaken.
He stretches out a hand:
'Why do I lie here forsaken?
Tell me that, my friend.

'When out there in the streets they
need me
I cannot stay.
Don't leave me here to sleep, but
lead me
to join the fray.'

But the soldier shook his head and
pressed
the lid down tight.
'No, you just lie here quietly and rest.
Why go and fight?

'Sleep, comrade, and be glad you're
here.
These days it's best to keep
your nose clean, don't you interfere.
Good night, go back to sleep.'

Lenin falls asleep. In his quiet tomb
the shadows gather in,
his tranquil face permeated
with wax and paraffin.

Translated by George Theiner
From Verses on a Wall,
published in 1937 in
Prague by Prokop Laichter.

deemed this to be necessary. He did so for the first time in 1929, when with eight other foremost Czech writers — at 28 he was the youngest of them — he signed a protest against the bolshevisation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. This led to his expulsion from the party but at the same time as he left the communist movement, he won his artistic independence. The party's ideologues never forgave him and remained suspicious of him, an attitude that was to put the poet in considerable danger after February 1948, when they achieved total power over Czechoslovak culture. At a working conference of the Czechoslovak Writers Union in January 1950, held in the tense atmosphere that accompanied the arrests and preparations for the first Prague show trials and was itself a mini-trial of modern Czech poetry, Jaroslav Seifert was named as one of the culprits — an example of 'a great poetic talent' which without the

support of the 'correct' ideology 'must of necessity become diluted'. The prosecutor in this shadow trial, which was nevertheless menacing to those concerned, was the official Czech communist ideologue and eager disciple of A. A. Zhdanov, Ladislav Štoll. He railed against some of the finest poets in the land because '*not one of them — neither Hora, nor Seifert, nor Halas — see fit any more to pen a single verse for Stalin*'.

In the spring of that year Seifert became the target of another, still more dangerous, attack; his collection *The Song of Viktorka*, a lyrical account of the tragic love affair of one of the major characters in Czech romantic literature, was condemned by the official Party critics as a misuse of poetry 'to ridicule everything that our working people hold dear' because the author 'refuses to see the wings our working man is growing in his flight towards a socialist future'. On the contrary, the critics alleged, Seifert was

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trying 'between the lines of his *Viktorka* to convince his readers that in our world of a new-born humanity there is no such thing as love and happiness'. It should be added that these splendid words about a 'world of a new-born humanity' were written just at the time when the first Prague show trial was getting under way which was to end with the execution of Dr Milada Horakova, the poet Zavis Kalandra, and others...

Seifert himself was in danger of being arrested and tried, even if on less serious charges, for he had had the temerity to make some uncomplimentary remarks about Soviet poetry, saying at a private meeting with friends that he preferred French poets. The authorities were contemplating a show trial with the intention of making an example of the poet, and according to Seifert, it was only the intervention of the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg, who happened to be visiting Prague, that saved him.

Other Czech writers did not escape trial. The 'new-born humanity' so highly prized by the communist ideologues did not prevent over 40 writers from being given long prison sentences in the early 1950s, and it was Jaroslav Seifert who first raised his voice on their behalf when he demanded to speak at the Second Congress of Czechoslovak Writers in April 1956. This was one of those moments when he realised he had to speak out, and he did. Yet even then it was no political speech — although he appealed for his imprisoned and suffering friends and colleagues, his main concern was more universal, the very *raison d'être* of literature and its basic duty, that of telling the truth.

'Again and again we hear it said at this Congress — and from distinguished lips — that it is necessary for writers to write the truth. That means that in recent years they did not write the truth. Did they or didn't they? And did they do so voluntarily or under coercion? Willingly or enthusiastically?

'When I look back at the history of our literature I fail to find that any great Czech poet — and particularly not one of those who in their work spoke of the Czech nation such as Neruda, Cech, Machar and Dyk — that any of them paused to ask themselves whether they had been telling the truth, and having paused announced to the nation and to their readers that indeed they had not. Or do you perhaps recall any one of them proclaiming: "Forgive me, my reader, I have seen your travail and the suffering of the Czech people and closed my eyes to it. I have not written the truth."

'If anyone else remains silent, this may well be a tactical manoeuvre. If a writer remains silent, he is lying.'

For anyone who has not lived in a totalitarian state, in the atmosphere that prevailed in Czechoslovakia at the time

when Jaroslav Seifert spoke these words it must be difficult, if not impossible, to realise just how much courage was needed for such a pronouncement, nor the incredible effect his words had on his listeners, to whom they came as a liberating catharsis. With those few simple words Seifert bravely broke several strict taboos at once, above all by calling a spade a spade — to him a lie was a lie, truth was truth, and the imprisoned writers were prisoners whose fate at last merited attention.

'We all know full well — yes, I know we live in difficult times — that we must try to

make their lot easier. But, dear friends, I ask you once more, are we really to be only the manufacturers of verses, rhymes and metaphors? Are we really just story-tellers and nothing more, that we should discuss only problems that affect our professional concerns as writers?

'That is how I see the mission of the writer in our time.'

This conviction Seifert has held steadfastly to this day. He had no need to demonstrate it by making public pronouncements — he has demonstrated it by the integrity of his poetry. ■

Yugoslavia

Momcilo Selic

The policing of hope

A recently exiled writer recalls the many writers who since the war have been silenced or isolated

Last year they burnt another book. They've been trying to incinerate memories for forty years now, and when I die, they will have succeeded.

Before that they destroyed Dragan's book, about what happened to Djogo's book. That one they obliterated like the smallpox.

I talked to Djogo as he huddled, smiling thinly. His eyes scoured all kinds of perimeters, checking for exits and possible breaches.

We spoke to each other like martens on the run. Matija used to stop as we walked, suddenly, and turn around, to confound the tails. I never saw any, but Matija never dropped his guard. He had learned it from Milovan Djilas, who had picked it up from someone else. Though Matija never said it, the insane, furtive walk was a measure of our condition.

We survived, taking inordinate pride in it. Squeezing lines past censors, mostly in double-locked code, became reason for exultation. Finally, I could stand it no more. I spoke out in an intelligible voice, was jailed, and escaped to Canada.

Others are still back in Yugoslavia, practising their stultifying wisdom.

From here I see what I knew I would. A

Momcilo Selic is an exiled Yugoslav writer living in Canada. In 1980 he was sentenced by a Yugoslav court to seven years' imprisonment for a short story found to be critical of Tito. (See Selic's own account in Index on Censorship 4/1984, 'I am a writer of fiction').

small, embellished cage amidst greater rolls of concertina wire. In a world where they kill writers, our plight seems no plight at all.

Yet, we remember Vasic's death, and Crnjanski's exile, and Zupan's nine years behind bars (see V. Zupan, 'Chronicler of a critical time', *Index on Censorship* 2/1980). From time to time, someone draws the straw, and we are reminded. Fear gnaws at us, all the greater for being hardly perceptible.

The story of Yugoslav intellectual repression is a long one. To us who have experienced it, it seems immensely important. In it, we see a crime beyond crime, against the spirit and essence of man. So, I will enumerate:

To the Party, all art is a tool, as are all men, ideas, and phenomena. Within its cosmos, unattainable goals take precedence over fact. Fact itself becomes fallible, and dogma as irreproachable as any Godhead.

I remember being taught that Balzac was a great writer for depicting the depravity of the bourgeoisie, and that Tolstoy was a renderer of feudal Russia. Dickens I could almost conceive as a Cruikshank cranking out vignettes for *Das Kapital*. All was in place there, except for me.

Four decades have passed since Miroslav Krleža failed to join the Partisans for the fear of being shot. The executioner he dreaded was Milovan Djilas, who today is Yugoslavia's dissident number one. The crime he had committed was to denounce barbarity hailed as Revolution. Though a Communist Party member, Krleža was a European

The policing of hope Yugoslavia

intellectual. As others, further West, disregarded Stalin's purges, he broke ranks and wrote *Anti-Barbarus*. For this essay, an important comrade in the middle of Nazi-occupied Zagreb literally spat in his face. His article was reprinted only after his death in 1981, causing a furore no less than in 1939.

Yet Krleza died the doyen of Yugoslav letters. For 40 years he had been Tito's close friend, a success, and a sphinx. Never a man to forget a lesson, he wrote almost nothing during that time. Instead, he started compiling an encyclopaedia, cramming his mind with most of its content. The poet was no more, nor the novelist. As a courtier and an emblem, he sufficed for the needs of the Party.

Indeed, Krleza became an ideal: a greatness without substance, to endorse any substance at hand. He loomed, questioning nothing. His insights were wordless and his bulk shapeless. Of his leftist anger an ennui remained, as he hushed before encroaching death.

Many books have been written about the Thirties and Forties of intellectual and artistic Europe. The milieu of fellow-travellers, Red writers, of sympathisers and outright spies, of clandestine ferment, and vicious, subterranean struggle was no different in Yugoslavia than in the rest of the continent. The times of inevitable communism may seem distant to us, as much as the choice between two totalitarian systems, yet, for our fathers, they are often still more real than the present. The refugees streaming into the West then were mostly the Russians and the Jews, and their reports were as disregarded then as are those of today's escapees. While Bunin and Remisov were exiled, and Jesenin and Mayakovsky committed suicide, and Mandelstam, Bulgakov, and Babel were executed, Yugoslav communists talked of Western decadence. After Yugoslavia was invaded, following Czechoslovakia and Poland, Party propaganda still saw Western imperialism as the root of all evil.

For, a leader had been sent to them from Soviet Russia, a self-seeking man of immutable, peasant wisdom. Jossip Broz Tito had gone through the same World-War-I Galicia that had spiritually devastated Krleza, yet he had never developed a queasiness. Big game hunting remained his favourite sport till the end of his days.

Tito had little use for literature, or anything else that could not be quantified. It is doubtful whether he ever read even the Marxist classics he swore by. That barred no one, later, from sanctifying his opinion that a textbook was worth at least a thousand novels. During the last four decades of his life, a team of specialists concocted digests of

interesting texts for him. On the basis of these, Tito emulated his Georgian mentor. True, only a few writers under his jurisdiction were actually executed; but the number of those smothered, hushed, or emasculated by him or his policies, is formidable.

First to suffer were the drawing-room stalwarts. In a cryptically named 'Conflict on the Literary Left' of the late Thirties, Krleza and a number of others were anathematised as élitists. Forever apologising for their bourgeois origins, they sopped up their punishment, with their minds on the rewards of the impending future. Some died in the Revolutionary War, but many survived, to continue their paths of dominance under the socialist régime.

The true settling of scores started with the October 1944 entry of the Partisans into Belgrade. An immediate pogrom devoured many relatively unknown literary names, while the better-known ones, labelled 'collaborationists', were barred from returning to the country. Thus, Ducic, Crnjanski, Jovanovic, members of the Allied Royal Yugoslav government, were denounced as traitors to a cause which they had never supported, while Ivo Andric, the ambassador of that same government to Hitler at the time of the Nazi attack upon Yugoslavia, remained a loyalist, after writing a tribute to the victors.

Few people hated the new regime more than Andric, and he, like Krleza, wrote nothing of value following the Liberation, yet the communist government cherished him as a jewel of their own culture. Apart from his ransom story, *Zeko*, Andric wrote not a word about the Partisans, the Struggle, the Revolution, or any of the obligatory themes, but his silence concerning his true feelings was appreciated, especially after he joined the Communist Party, and received the Nobel prize. Unwillingly, mutely, he played the role of a communist cultural luminary, writing of seventeenth-century Bosnia.

His path into historicism was followed by many. Mesa Selimovic transposed the story of his brother's execution by the Partisans into a best-selling novel, *A Dervish and Death*. Today his book is cited as a showpiece of post-war literature by the very persons responsible for his brother's death.

Following the laws of revolutionary retribution, the axe, having dealt with the 'class enemy', fell upon those Party members who had misinterpreted the struggle as one for truth and freedom. Radovan Zogovic, Milovan Djilas, Valdimir Dedijer, Tanasije Mladenovic, Dobrica Cosic, Antonije Isakovic, Branko Copic, Gojko Mikolis, and many others whose names read like a *Who's Who* of the Revolution, were summarily labelled

'enemies of the people'.

Zogovic became an enemy for refusing to renounce Stalin overnight in 1948. As a commissar and a censor, he had religiously upheld the authority of the supreme leader of the Communist movement. Whether he felt unable to deal with the memory of his Partisan comrades who had died shouting Stalin's name, while barely aware of Tito's, or whether he could not forgo the feelings of self-righteousness, dedication and mystic harmony of a true Communist, Zogovic remained true to himself. He was excommunicated, his poems were stricken from school texts, and his name was rubbed out. Few Yugoslavs under thirty today have even heard of this small, wizened old man, once a bard of leftist literature.

Next to go was Milovan Djilas, who became a pariah for advocating a multi-party socialist system. Second only to Tito, poet, ideologue, and firebrand, he spent several years in jail for publishing in the West. All his books are banned in Yugoslavia, regardless of their nature, and merely to possess or read them may serve as grounds for prosecution.

Vladimir Dedijer became a non-person for remaining Djilas' personal friend when all others shunned him. Only his ties with Western liberal intellectuals saved him from Zogovic's fate.

Tanasije Mladenovic's poems disappeared from school curricula after he was pronounced a 'Serbian chauvinist'. Whether Mladenovic was truly a chauvinist, the Yugoslav public could never find out, as he was not given a chance to state his views. Today, he is an obscure has-been, probably for the same crime as Dobrica Cosic, another alleged 'nationalist'.

Cosic, like Mladenovic, was a young Partisan political officer who jumped into the cultural vacuum left by post-war purges of 'reactionary' artists, writers, and intellectuals. He rose quickly in the Party hierarchy, at the same time acquiring renown as a novelist. A man of true intellectual curiosity, Cosic continued adding to his meagre pre-war schooling, attaining, eventually, commendable erudition and mastery of prose. Tentatively, he began examining the role of his people, the Serbs, in the Yugoslav federation, and the possibilities for greater democracy in the land. Cosic became genuinely concerned with the historical direction Yugoslavia was taking, its character, attainment, and its future. He didn't mind speaking out, increasingly at odds with the Party line, and was expelled from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, from the Party itself, and from public life in general. By the time of his fall, he was too famous as a writer to be erased from living memory, but no efforts were spared to make

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him ineffectual and his life miserable. His latest book, *The Real and the Possible*, was banned and its publishers sacked from their jobs.

Branko Copic, the best-selling poet and novelist, fell from grace for writing gentle satire, though no author had done more to immortalise the Partisans than he. Antonije Isakovic, a veteran of the Partisan First Proletarian Brigade, was denounced for dealing with a non-topic: the Naked Island (*Goli Otok*) concentration camp for political prisoners. Gojko Nikolis, a Major-General, was declared a traitor for writing wistful, self-searching memoirs of his life as a communist. His book, *The Ivy and the Tree*, was found blasphemous about the very movement of which he was one of the leaders. His detractors often had no first-hand knowledge of the things Nikolis was writing about, yet they were conscious of the way these subjects should be covered, and the way they had been presented in the past.

Amnesia is anesthesia, and no one is more aware of that than the Party itself. For those who deal in images, words and thoughts have a distinctly material value, to be protected by material means. Though from time to time some highly-placed Yugoslav communists will call for books to be answered by books, a pitch apparently aimed at the Western public, their record proves them insincere. Mitja Ribicic, for instance, one of these liberal communists, was a Security Service general and public prosecutor in Slovenia, responsible for many executions of 'reactionaries'. Books, in Yugoslavia, are answered by imprisonment, disenfranchisement, banishment, and other very concrete measures.

Djilas was jailed for his books, as was Mihajlo Mihajlov. Vlado Gotovac, a Croatian poet, is in jail for interviews he gave to the Western press, as is Franjo Tudjman, a Partisan general and an historian. Adem Demaci (see *Index on Censorship* 5/1984, p 42), an Albanian novelist is in jail for his words, as are several of his compatriots, for writing prose, or for having published it. Milan Milisic is in jail for a short story. A Slovenian student has been imprisoned for a satire on the late Brezhnev. Dragoljub Ignjatovic, a poet, had been jailed for his words at a public meeting, while the author of this article went to jail for a short stay.

Prison, indeed, has been a tumour in the back of Yugoslav letters for a full 40 years. Borislav Pekic, a Serbian novelist, spent seven years behind bars after being condemned, at the age of 17, for his Royalist sympathies. Dragoslav Mihajlovic was jailed at the same tender age, for the same length of time, having been found a 'Cominformist'. In view of Mihajlovic's extremely liberal and humanist activity in

the last two decades, it is inconceivable that he was ever a Stalinist. What is probably closer to the truth is that his and Pekic's label can be interchanged, for all the truth behind them. In each one of the Party's numerous epochs, people have been incarcerated for being different and obstinate, and the slogans of the moment used to dispose of them. Vitomil Zupan, the best-selling Slovene novelist, spent nine years on the Naked Island as a fascist and a common criminal, despite his prior prominence in the Partisan movement. In 1948, this young Ljubljana dandy, wag, former boxer, adventurer, and recognised writer, played an elaborate, anarchistic joke on the Slovene Central Committee of the Communist Party by informing them that Tito had been imprisoned. The paranoia of the time was such that nobody dared check the rumour, and the whole Central Committee hid for days, bringing the entire Party organisation in Slovenia to a standstill. Following his imprisonment, Zupan has made a successful comeback, unlike many others who left their bones on the infamous Island.

Vojislav Lubarda has been chased out of his native Bosnia like a rabid dog, for having written *The Proud Stumbling*. In the eyes of the Party, Lubarda did the unforgivable: he picked at the sores by refusing to forget. His novel dealt with the horrendous war years of Serbo-Muslim massacres, when eyes were gouged out before throats were slit, and necklaces of human tongues were made by the victors. Lubarda wrote what he had to, and was branded a ghoul and a chauvinist. A high police official publicly admonished him to seek permission from a citizens' caucus before proceeding with future literary projects.

His crime was repeated by Vuk Draskovic, a Herzegovinian journalist, whose first novel, *The Knife*, created an uproar in 1982. Party committees were convened, up to the level of the republican Central Committees, fellow journalists vied with each other in smearing Draskovic, he was run out of the Party and his job, and his conviction was demanded by various Partisan veteran organisations from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nobody every questioned Draskovic's facts. What was condemned was his choosing to deal with them.

In an impassioned, unpublished letter to his detractors, Draskovic made a plea for remembrance, as a safeguard against a repetition of those events. His words echo unheeded, in a land chronically beset by these very same nightmares.

Draskovic's book, unfortunately, is not first-class literature. It is too constrained by what it has to say, to worry overmuch about artistry. Mere utterance is still a major literary accomplishment in Yugoslavia. It is

certainly a sad decline from the days of epic oral poetry which the Serbo-Croat peoples have produced. No knights uphold theirs and others' honour in the asphalt poetry of the new age. The throttled song of today's writers lisps of what is apparent: of barbarity, decline, and blandness, shielding itself with resignation and illegibility.

What has made this possible, more than outright state terrorism, is hope. Yugoslav 'freedom just around the corner', has resulted in what even the Soviets had not been able to achieve. There, desperate men put out samizdat or smuggle manuscripts to the West. But who is to risk anything, when things just round the corner are so enticing?

What may liberate Yugoslavia yet is the gradual extinction of hope by the communist rulers and international financing. Store windows, once the consolation of Yugoslavs, are graying rapidly, while no freedom has greened within living memory.

The future is already back in Yugoslavia, whether anyone admits it or not.

The mills of propaganda are turning, but the flour they grind out is unpalatable. Close to a third of all Yugoslavs have reverted to illiteracy. In the land of the phonetic alphabet, mastered by many in a day or two, a multitude no longer reads.

While one Predja, former commandant of the Naked Island, is making millions producing screenplays about the struggle against reactionaries, kulaks, Nazis, traitors, Chetniks, foreign intelligence services, international anti-Yugoslav cabals, liberals, anarchists, and the like, and while his UDBa comrade, Silja, is filling columns in Belgrade newspapers and magazines, never fearing a libel suit, other Yugoslavs are cramming the cafés, listening to ersatz folk songs recalling other times. What, after all, is one to read from men like Tempo, who let his own brother be shot merely for being a priest? Yet, Tempo fills out tomes. Are they to read Josip Vrhovec, one-time editor of Zagreb's daily, *Vjesnik*, who has exchanged one police job for another, having become the Communist Party chief for Croatia? Vrhovec has also produced a book, called the 'White' one, outlining all the transgressions in Yugoslav arts in the recent years and citing the Soviet news agency, Tass, as his ideological source, in several instances.

What can one expect of a literature policed by people like Vuk Krnjevic, the editor of the Belgrade *Kultura* magazine? Or literary janissaries like Milisav Savic, the present editor of *Prosveta*, Belgrade's largest publisher? Or their innumerable clones, all mightily toiling away at keeping every vestige of real life out of the editions in their charge?

In the land of the proletariat, there shall

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be no clash of opiates. The soma is to be produced by the Party, and Yugoslavs are to self-manage its distribution.

When I was in prison, one night they surreptitiously brought the Albanians in. Silently, we crowded the darkened windows of our mess halls, watching the shadowy figures as they walked the line of guards to the Seventh Pavilion.

The Albanians were not much seen, for they circled the yard of the inner prison, separated from us by a wall, barbed wire, and machinegun-armed watchtowers. From time to time we could see them as they were led, pasty-faced and handcuffed, beside the whitewashed wall to meet their visitors. Nobody ever spoke a word to them.

Whether Demaci was among them, or any of a number of writers, I don't know. They were all my brothers, despite the blood between us. They had been jailed for being what they were, same as I.

The despair of being marked for being oneself is among the ultimate we can feel. I remember the face of Mijo Milicevic before he died. That he was to die, maybe that he was dead even as his sunken eyes glimmered gently at me, I was not much in doubt. I could hide the feeling from his brothers, but not from him, for he was a poet. The first time he had been damned was by his very birth: his father was a Chetnik.

Poets never have an easy time of it anywhere. Yet, he never complained. Whatever had ground him to dust, he smiled at, much more kindly than is usual with Montenegrins.

After his symptomless death, before his fortieth birthday, his brothers took his poems to the only publisher who would touch them: *Zapis*. Out of their own pocket they paid for the printing, and the book lived.

But *Zapis* died. Its many sins were totted up, and a citizens' group decided to disband it.

Only Masic, and his 'Independent Publications' is left, because he is alone. They don't mind single whelps, yapping at lumbering trains. Though that may be changing. Survival, once a victory in the face of unlife, has become a sin as well. ■

Elizabeth Heron

Gyorgy Konrad: On the front line

'I engage in politics so that I can write freely and we can develop peacefully without political interference,' says Hungary's well-known writer

Gyorgy Konrad's latest book AntiPolitics has been welcomed by E. P. Thompson as 'a book of exceptional importance'. It has reinforced the international acclaim won by his earlier works, but has also accentuated his position at the forefront of dissident politics in his native Hungary. Yet Konrad is a writer who thinks politics is like a contagious infection, something to get rid of. Elizabeth Heron went to Budapest to find out how a writer survives on the Cold War frontier.

Reading Konrad and visiting Budapest are complementary activities. For who could be a better companion through the city's blackened nineteenth-century streets than the social worker of his first novel whose beat takes him through the seedier streets of central Budapest, behind their 'overripe façades' and into the curious lowlife within? The words of the unfriendly critic who described Konrad's prose as 'rich, intense and repulsive in such quantities' sit more aptly on some of Budapest's architectural excesses, such as the male caryatids who flex and writhe under the weight of the Hungaria Restaurant.

Konrad currently lives on the Buda side of the Danube, on the edge of the Pasareti, an area of large, turn-of-the-century houses, liberally sprinkled with film studios and creative people. The two standard photographs of a beaming hunk of masculinity which adorn articles about Konrad bear little resemblance to his actual appearance. He is sitting on his crumbling balcony under an oversized stone vase. On his face, awash with consciousness, no fixed expression has lodged itself. He welcomes the visitor with a gesture of immediate warmth and tends to their needs with genteel hospitality. His light step and melodious voice belie the austerity of his third novel *The Loser*.

'Let all those come who want; one of us will talk, the other will listen; at least we shall be together.' With this universal invitation the compassionate and ineffectual case worker closes Konrad's first novel. Konrad also has a very personal style which soon has the interviewer, equipped with notebooks

and tape-recorder, feeling like an intellectual policeman. 'I don't like giving interviews,' he said. 'Moreover, English isn't my native tongue. I prefer to meditate on what I want to say and then write it in Hungarian.' He likes to write until he is tired and then relax with friends.

He offered to write an interview in Hungarian on condition that he could add a few questions of his own. Then he would have it translated by a friend. 'Come back next week and see what I've done,' he proposed. A week later he had had his room painted. His papers were thrown into confusion and he hadn't been able to write the interview.

Konrad is a belletrist in the old European tradition. He started writing in the 1960s when the monopoly of socialist realism in literature had already cracked apart. The party itself encouraged diversity after 1956 in an attempt to underline the regime's legitimacy by breaking the silence of the writers. The new tolerance, summed up by first secretary Janos Kadar as 'Those who are not against us are with us', permitted writers to air their personal discontent, so long as they did not challenge the political status quo.

Konrad worked as a Child Welfare Officer and in the Institute of Urban Planning in Budapest, and his first two novels *The Case Worker*, 1969, and *The City Builder*, 1977, grew out of this experience. But that is not to say that the novels are representational. On the contrary, his work has become increasingly experimental. *The Loser*, 1982, translated Hungary's history from before the war to the 1970s into the disjointed reflections of an inmate of a mental hospital. He has written numerous critical essays, as well as a sociological paper on the rise of a new dominant class in Eastern Europe. He co-authored *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* with sociologist Ivan Szelenyi and, in consequence, was briefly arrested in 1973. Konrad writes about what he considers important. 'I am against narrow professionalism,' he said.

From early 1977 to March 1979 he spent two years in the West, with funding from a West German scholarship. He stayed in

Hungary On the front line: György Konrad

Paris, where he left his family, West Berlin and New York where he finished *The Loser* before returning home. Indeed it would have been hard for him to finish this novel in Hungary, for it omitted neither war-time atrocities nor the events of 1956. In autumn 1982 he again left Budapest for West Berlin, going on to spend eight months in America from September 1983. But although Konrad exploits to the full the extensive freedom of movement Hungary's top intellectuals and artists enjoy, as long as they don't offend the regime, he has rejected the option of self-exile. He returned to Budapest in May 1984 with *AntiPolitics*, another book which has no hope of passing the Hungarian censorship, about to come out in America.

When asked about his record with the censors, Konrad said: 'On this subject I choose to exercise self-censorship. At the moment they are reconsidering *The Loser* and at last it stands some chance of being published officially. So it wouldn't be very tactful of me to come out now with a long list of my sufferings.' In fact, of his oeuvre, only *The Case Worker*, *The City Builder* and some very early sociological essays have been published officially in Hungary, while almost all his works have been published in the West. The gap is filled by samizdat.

Thinking is allowed

Konrad arranged our second meeting to coincide with one of his regular visits to Gabor Demszky, one of the founders of AB Independent Publishers. In contrast to earlier 'anarchic' samizdat production, AB, which opened in December 1981, is highly organised, with circulation running to thousands of copies. It has now split into two sibling organisations, Demszky's AB and ABC, run by co-founder Jenő Nagy, which between them publish censored material critical of the Hungarian regime, and the censored works of major Hungarian and foreign authors, including George Orwell, Arthur Koestler, Hungarian poet Gyula Illyes and Konrad, whose essay, 'The State and Censorship' was one of their first publications.

We walk along Pest's main boulevard, The People's Republic Avenue, towards the Heroes Square and stop at an unremarkable café with tables sprawling along the pavement. Demszky is waiting. Konrad hands him a paper he wants published, 'Is there a dream about Central Europe?', which he recently wrote for a talk held by the Austrian Volkspartei. First it has to be photocopied. While Konrad is protected by his international reputation and supported by Western earnings, Demszky's work is fraught with financial risks and the harassment attendant on illegal publishing. 'He is a man of action, I am just a thinker,' Konrad says respectfully. 'And thinking is

allowed in Hungary today.'

Confiscation is frequent. *The Loser* was taken away in four different forms; as a manuscript, as proofs, in plates and as books, before it finally reached its illicit readership, and *AntiPolitics*, doomed at its inception to outlawry, has already been confiscated once. 'The number of photocopiers per thousand population is not a bad indicator of freedom,' Konrad writes in *AntiPolitics*. 'There is no censorship here, our politicians say. To that it is enough to remark that the photocopiers in our industrial enterprises are under the strict supervision of the Ministry of the Interior.' It turns out there are two photocopy shops in Budapest where they don't examine the text to be reproduced. Two photocopiers away from unfreedom; a writer can still work here.

Konrad's rejection of censorship and his sustained battle of wits with the censors has made him a central figure in Hungary's Democratic Opposition. His theoretical writings reflect debates within an informal network of intellectuals, professionals and young people who are united in the sense that they choose to organise for social and political purposes outside the Communist Party.

Konrad regards his role as a 'dissident' with suspicion. He first expressed his misgivings at the 1977 Venice Biennale on Cultural Dissent (he was the only Eastern European-based writer permitted to attend). At the Biennale he dismissed literary movements as passing fads and writers who serve political purposes as masochists. Konrad believes a writer has nothing if not his own individual vision. He asked for his books to be read for their own sake and not as curios through which to measure the cages in the communist zoo following the repression of some dissident or strike.

Peace moves

And yet he has been and still is politically active. Apart from illegal publishing, which earned him the label 'agent of Western imperialist forces seeking to undermine the socialist order' from Peter Renyi, editor of the party's daily paper *Népszabadság*, he participated in a fundraising cultural programme for the illegal charity SZETA, which aims to alleviate extreme poverty in Hungary, most widespread among gypsies, who are subject to a kind of apartheid development programme. He hosted a meeting between Edward Thompson and Hungary's young independent peace group 'Dialogue' in his apartment in 1982. Just as the student-run Dialogue has largely died out due to the penalisation of its leading figures, and the Party's unilateralist (ie disarmament for the West) peace movement has grown, so Konrad's independent peace

activism has been stepped up.

He maintains contact with END and published a recent article called 'The Lethal Dramaturgy of the Bloc System' in an END pamphlet in November 1984 as a follow-up to a series of excerpts from *AntiPolitics* in the END journal. In summer 1984 he signed a 'Declaration on Peace in Europe' put out by the Berlin-based Initiative for East-West Dialogue. The Declaration called for full respect for human rights, and a new politics of détente from below, involving manifold contact between individuals and groups in East and West as a way towards full nuclear disarmament in Europe, and the step-by-step dismantling of the two superpower blocs. It was signed by independent peace groups in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, the GDR and Hungary and many Eastern European dissidents including Charter 77 members Šabata, Hájek and Uhl, Wlodek Goldkorn of KOR, Hungarian dissident Janos Kis, Czech exiles Jan Kavan and Zdeněk Mlynář, and Russian exile Lev Kopelev. *AntiPolitics* itself explicitly calls for the removal of foreign troops from Europe on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

'Does it seem contradictory?' he asked. 'I act in favour of non-action. I engage in politics so that I can write freely and we can develop peacefully without political interference.'

At the end of November 1984 Konrad signed a petition protesting against the imposition of police surveillance on Hungarian dissident György Krassó for continuous illegal publishing and was one of 12 signatories to a letter to the Preparatory Conference of the International Cultural Forum, which will be held in Hungary in November 1985 to monitor respect for Human Rights as outlined in the Helsinki Conference, asking them to consider the case of Mr Krassó.

'If it's moral to keep still, then speaking out indiscreetly is the sweetest of sins.' Temptation runs like a golden thread through Konrad's writing from the case worker who searched for his fellow man, 'always certain that the chosen one, my brother, is the one who is coming towards me', to the *The Loser*, where Konrad succumbed to the temptation to trace the story of an independent Hungarian intellectual. *AntiPolitics* is also the result of a temptation; 'to think of myself as some utopian son of Europe, able to touch the Pacific at San Francisco with one outstretched hand and at Vladivostok with the other and keeping the peace everywhere within my embrace'.

Described by E. P. Thompson as 'the work of a creative writer, not a political analyst', *AntiPolitics* is an attempt to come to terms with the tensions between East and

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Hungary

Zsolt Krokovay

Politics & punk

Members of the Coitus Punk Group were sentenced to two years in jail when their songs and behaviour — which included tearing apart a live chicken — were held to be 'incitement to disaffection'. A Hungarian dissident considers the grounds for this charge and concludes that in an ideal world he would ban the glorification of brutality.

The second half of the 1970s saw the emergence of a citizens' movement in Hungary, which initiated autonomous political activity in the name of democratic ideals. At much the same time, though in a quite different sphere, there also began to emerge a new youth culture in the form of rock music and underground art. Those involved were 14-24 year olds and their lifestyles, ideologies and self-expression reflected Western punk. The typical representative of this development was the 'csöves' — a Hungarian word meaning someone living in a sewer, someone without permanent accommodation. They tended to congregate in the busy pedestrian underpasses of Budapest, sometimes idling around harmlessly, sometimes behaving scandalously. They lived, as it were, in sewers, because they had no homes, only refuges, because they were escaping from home or from a juvenile detention centre. They have no permanent or legal employment, so they are not entitled to accommodation in a workers' hostel or they cannot afford a costly sublet. Or they despise the conformist world of family, school and work, and go wandering instead. Hard-rock groups found a ready following among them and those like them; they call themselves, under the influence of these rock groups, 'punk'. They accept the distaste of their well brought-up contemporaries and paternalistic adults with a self-deprecating shrug of the shoulder. 'You were born in the petrol fumes of the city,' sang their favourite group to them. 'I am the refuse of society. No future.'

In the 1930s, Hungary's outstanding poet Attila Jozsef wrote: 'Culture drops off me, like the clothes off a happy lover.' It is no surprise that the anarchistic lyrics of this poet should have become the anthem of the sewer dwellers, whose contact with high culture is otherwise minimal. As a student, Attila Jozsef was fined for his anarchistic poetry, notably for writing: 'I have no

father, I have no mother, I have no god and I have no country...'

It would be absurd to explain punk to a Western audience, what styles they adopted and what fashions they followed. But clearly the circumstances of its emergence in Hungary were surprisingly similar. As a writer in the samizdat journal *Beszélő* ('News from Inside') remarks, 'the aging and waning stars of the light-music industry had become boring; their symbols (of protest) — jeans, long hair — had become threadbare; the new youth subculture was being received with intolerance; and lastly the pessimism, anti-idealistic mood of the late 1970s, the sense of hopelessness, had gained strength in ever wider circles in this generation, especially in the significantly growing number of those in the margins'.

So politics and punk arose simultaneously in Hungary. But there was no connection between the two other than the common anxiety they roused among the authorities. The professional rock-journalists and sociologists working with young people observed these developments among the sewer-dwellers and rock-culture with interest, but nobody gave them any political significance. The so-called sewer-dweller problem was frequently touched on in the official press. But discussions mostly dealt with how the reliable youth audience and the strict supervisors of pop musical events should respond to this so-called disruption of 'cultured entertainment' by distasteful ravings. Alternatively, the question was raised to what extent were the well-established sections of society responsible for the sense of exclusion and hopelessness among the children of the poorest sections of the population, from whom the disrupters were largely recruited. Or, whether the rock groups whose name had been made by the sewer-dwellers should be given publicity on radio or television or records.

A few years later matters grew more complex. Politics and punk became mixed up. In 1983 and 1984 two groups, one from Budapest and one from the provinces, were brought before the courts, on a charge of 'public incitement to disaffection on a continuous basis as members of a group'.

The sentence, particularly in the case of the provincial group, was rather severe. Three members of the CPg (Coitus Punk Group) from Szeged were each given two years in jail; the fourth, a minor, was given 18 months suspended.

I want to look at the official justification of this sentence, by examining what someone like myself, with a liberal standpoint, can say about this judgment; and in what respect can he assume solidarity with the group. Then I shall look at what the protagonists of a democratic alternative have to do with this punk-type opposition. The views that I put forward have already been aired in samizdat, as part of a debate in the samizdat journals *Beszélő* and *Hirmondó* ('Messenger').

I shall start with the seemingly insignificant 'chicken affair'. During some concerts one of the accused tore a live chicken to bits, chopped it up with a knife and threw the pieces among the audience. The court regarded this as hooliganism. But this was clearly a political trial, so the chicken can hardly be regarded as central. There was no indication in the judgment as to how far the judges were influenced by the event. There is something to be said, therefore, for the views (expressed in samizdat) that the killing of the chicken was irrelevant; on the other hand most normal people would feel revulsion.

I would like to discuss four points: 1, what we can say about the torture of animals; 2, the distinction between killing animals for pleasure and for eating; 3, protecting oneself from offensive phenomena by rational avoidance; and 4, the significance of the symbolic meaning of offensive acts.

Firstly, a chicken — it might be said — rarely escapes its fate; sooner or later it will find itself in a saucepan. But that, of course, is no reason for us to torture it, to cause it pain for our delectation. Generally, animals, like human beings, should be protected from torture, because we regard this as scandalous. In the case of a cat or a dog, the scandal is easily enough recognised; it is equally easy to recognise the right of animals to some protection. On the other hand, this does not appear to apply with equal weight to poultry. Yet who can say how much a

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chicken suffers? Maybe, the suffering of the chicken is actually greater in the battery farms than at the hands of the punk guitarist.

Secondly, there still remains the proposition, that animals should not be slaughtered for the sheer pleasure of doing so. Perhaps, it would be all right, if at least they were eaten.

Thirdly, one can take this further. One could insist that everyone is free not to attend concerts where chickens are torn apart and thrown about. Nudism or pornography are parallels: on Thursday evenings, between seven and ten, one knows that there will be an event of the kind that one rather wants to avoid. Or we can say, 'Excellent, just what I want'. I remember the success of the Beatrice punk group not that many years ago; this group was in the habit of throwing bags of milk at the audience — it was a great success. But unlike nudism, hard porn or throwing bags of milk, there is something jarring, something not quite right, about the tearing up of live chickens.

Fourthly, what seems particularly outrageous about games of blood is not so much that they are a variant of the torture of animals, but rather that they belong to a category of symbolic offensive behaviour. Acts of outrage — like burning the flag, the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes, or various blasphemies — are equally offensive whether done in private or in public.

If so, then the condemnation of hooligan behaviour by the CPg has essentially exactly the same kind of justification as the condemnation of their lyrics (also regarded as criminal). In this sense, the charge of torture of animals appears to have been a pretext.

Liberty of discussion

There is a long tradition in Hungary that at exhibitions there is a visitors' book, where people are free to make whatever enthusiastic or critical comments they like about what they have seen. It is common knowledge that public opinion is divided about the value of contemporary art, so we can imagine what is to be found in the visitors' book of even major artists. In effect, the only basic charge against the CPg, not connected with their musical performance, is tantamount to a critical comment of the kind found in visitors' books.

One of the accused, for this is the point here, went to a minor artistic exhibition and wrote in the visitors' book there: 'Every custom, order and tradition should be stamped into the ground.' I quote again: 'We are a country of suicides, of alcoholics and of hidden unemployment.' And he wrote: 'What I want is for all scum to be liquidated — for a war to sweep all able-bodied men away'; and 'I want insults, fighting, the destruction of morality and its

rebuilding.' Then he added in large capital letters: 'WE ARE NOT FASCISTS', and continued, 'we murder with our minds, you are failing through your outdatedness, not bureaucratic obstacles and you should be killed with your own weapons.' He concluded: 'You the AUDIENCE and you the ARTIST, I pray that you may have a tranquil life, and that our revolution, which will be more developed than any yet, will not find you alive.' Under it all, by way of a date, was added, 'On the day after a revolution,' which is a reference to the revolution of Sándor Petöfi and the March Youth in 1848, because this was on 16 March 1984.

In Hungarian schools the curriculum includes quite a bit about avant-garde movements like Futurism, Dadaism and the like. They had their somewhat confused and naïve declarations, not unlike the one above. The Criminal Code, however, is an amazingly flexible document. It indicates to citizens quite clearly that they commit the crime of incitement *if they seek to arouse feelings of hatred* directed against the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic or against socialist convictions. 'Hatred' is a strong word, referring to strong feelings, say the dictionaries. For my part, I'm not a judge and I can't tell you where exactly hatred begins on the scale of passion. Nor do I know what criteria are used for determining objectively when hatred has been aroused, deliberately or otherwise. I suppose I would really have to be a better judge of human nature to make such an assessment; and not just that, I would have to be better than I am at understanding the changing practice of enforcing what the Hungarian constitutional order regards as legality at any particular time. Given the provisions of the Criminal Code, actually, the charges against the CPg could in reality have been held to be an aggravating circumstance. But that's not the issue. The real issue — to my mind — is whether, assuming a world better than the one we live in, any punishment at all is appropriate for such revolutionary scribbles.

Following J. S. Mill in his book *On Liberty*, one could say that it is not permissible to hinder the free expression of opinions just on the grounds that they may be wrong. We have a paramount interest in ensuring that anyone can express his or her views freely. But if someone, writes Mill, stands in front of the house of a merchant and publicly expresses the view that merchants are responsible for mass starvation, and does this in the middle of an angry crowd, then this constitutes an entirely different set of circumstances. Indeed, we should seek to try and prevent this from happening. Mill's argument cannot be applied without further refine-

ments to all the problems of free expression. But it provides an excellent starting point. It makes it clear how one can distinguish between support for violence in the abstract and the circumstances when an identical support for violence can have clear and direct consequences for law and order.

The comments in the visitor's book belonged to an opinion which would like to see the end of the state. The use of revolutionary rhetoric is one thing, but the clear and direct preparation for the overthrow of the legal order is quite another. If someone were to sing, in a hypothetical ideal democracy, that 'this struggle will be the final one', then it would be plain silly to accuse him of trying to disturb the social order. When the ideologist of the CPg writes, down with 'every custom, order and tradition', then I can simply reply, 'well, in my view, there are useful rules and traditions and, what's more, there is something to be said for a measure of order'. This would be the end of the matter. At the most, all I would have to do is to give a detailed refutation of the views I'm criticising.

Maybe this would be just bandying words. Radical speeches are sometimes intended to arouse radical feelings and these are not expression of opinion — whether true or false — nor are they plans for action. We all know how fashionable it is to use exaggeration for emphasis, to stress deep commitment. The great avant-garde artist can declare that all tradition should go to hell. One doesn't argue with him, not just because what he says has nothing to do with the overthrow of power, but because we know that he is only indulging in a form of words. He is letting us know in a roundabout fashion just how uncompromising he is in his determination to break with tradition. So, when we find in our celebrated visitor's book, that an all-destroying revolution will recreate the new morality, this is nothing more than the expression of an attitude. We may or may not like it, but we don't start looking for the reasoning behind it.

The comments on alcoholism, suicide and hidden unemployment, however, coincide with the views of many people in Hungary, even if they don't usually refer to the liquidation of scum. Perhaps the only genuinely questionable sentiment expressed in the visitor's book was the one about a 'war to sweep all able-bodied men away'. In this connection, it is not quite good enough to add 'We are not fascists', even in capital letters, in order to dispel unpleasant memories.

And if they *were* fascists? This could only arouse objection if fascist views and attitudes were irreconcilable with a democratic society. To be more exact: these views may be regarded as objectionable only

Politics & punk Hungary

A tighter grip on cultural policy in the GDR

The aspiration to present the German Democratic Republic as the only true continuation of 'German' culture was displayed spectacularly last September in the East Berlin youth daily *Junge Welt*, which, marking the forthcoming 35th anniversary of the GDR, printed on its centre pages a compilation of over 100 photographs of famous Germans from the past 500 years. Depicted alongside Marx, Engels, and Walter Ulbricht were such diverse figures as Immanuel Kant, the Prussian General Von Scharnhorst, Albert Einstein, and Hitler's would-be assassin Claus Graf Schenk von Stauffenberg, who was rehabilitated from being a reactionary to a 'progressive' resistance fighter only in 1984. Secretary General Erich Honecker said in a statement heading the feature:

'The path taken generations ago by the best sons and daughters of the German people: revolutionaries, humanists and democrats, the path on which they fought with bravery and self-sacrifice for a happier future, we pursued triumphantly with the foundation of the GDR. The purpose for which the German anti-fascists were fighting has found shape in the GDR.'

However, at the same time as the Party is taking on board a greater stock of German history and culture, there are signs that it may also be tightening its ideological grip on cultural policy. In many ways the situation is still marked by the frictions that emerged in the late 1970s following the expatriation of Wolf Biermann, the popular East German writer and singer of protest songs. The Bierman incident and the ensuing departure of more than 100 authors and artists from the GDR ended a period of limited liberalisation in East German cultural policy which had been

introduced by Honecker himself at the eighth party congress in 1971. Since then, the ninth (1976) and tenth (1981) party congresses have laid more cautious guidelines for the arts, stressing their political role and ideological commitment to promoting socialism. In the last year several prominent officials have placed new emphasis on the Leninist concept that culture and cultural politics are first and foremost another weapon in the struggle against 'imperialism'. In May 1984 the Party's leading ideologist, Kurt Hager, pointing to an 'intensifying battle between socialism and imperialism', appealed to the Ministry of Culture, editors, publishers, and other cultural representatives to 'meet their responsibility for the preservation of clear party positions... to an even greater degree'. In June the Deputy Minister of Culture, Klaus Hoepke, urged writers to present 'socially activating works' with heroes who 'accomplish things for the sake of progress'. Echoing this approach, Erich Honecker, in a keynote address to cultural officials in September 1984 said:

'What arts do we need in the struggles of our time? Our time needs works of art that strengthen socialism, that bring out the beauty and greatness of achievements attained in the face of difficulties, works of art that concentrate on the active, history-making hero, the working class and its representatives... The position of an observer or critic of our society cannot answer this demand. The responsibility of a socialist artist is fulfilled solely in his role as an active and passionate combatant.'

These statements include a narrowing of the scope for culture, and there have been a series of incidents since the beginning of the last year, in which literary projects have been cancelled by the authorities. In January 1984, a play by Rainer Kerndl, *Der Georgberg* ('The Georg Mountain'), was taken out of the repertoire of the Maxim Gorki Theatre in East Berlin after only three performances. Although the

move was officially justified by shortcomings in the play, it was widely believed that Kerndl, who is chief theatre critic for the party daily *Neues Deutschland* and Vice President of the Writers' Union, had angered the authorities by treating the sensitive subject of East Germans' obsessive greed for Western currencies.

Shortly afterwards, the publication of a book by Gabriele Eckart, based on taped conversations at an agricultural cooperative, was banned after an excerpt had been printed in the periodical *Sinn und Form* and critical comments of a manager at the cooperative about travel restrictions and other problems of daily life in the GDR had attracted wide attention in the West. Recently a novel by Guenter de Bruyn, *Neue Herrlichkeit* ('New Splendour'), was withdrawn shortly before it was due to be distributed to East German book stores. The ban followed wide acclaim in West Germany, where a licensed edition of the novel had appeared, for the author's audacious treatment of nepotism and corruption in the GDR.

In early June 1984 the staging of a pantomime play by the young East Berlin author Lutz Rathenow, *Keine Tragödie* ('No Tragedy') was cancelled a few days before it was scheduled to open at a university theatre in Leipzig. (See *Index on Censorship* 1/1985, p 48.)

The likelihood of continued incompatibility between political power and creative spirit remains strong, as the regime has again displayed its extreme sensitivity to any criticisms of socialism in the arts. By reinstating the orthodox notion of culture as an ideological weapon and by laying down the party line on the role of the artist and the 'positive heroes' he should portray, Erich Honecker has left little doubt that the artist's room for critical manoeuvre remains narrow.

B. V. Flow

if we regard it as a reasonable supposition that numerous instances of the glorification of physical violence, of mob rule and of destruction must be excluded from the terrain of free communication, even if they do not threaten society or a part of it clearly and directly. I can imagine a world where the followers of Marx and of Bakunin may freely weave their dreams about world revolution, without harassment, but where at the same time it is not permitted for a revolutionary genius to take pleasure in the future liquidation of the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy and all conformists. And

maybe the law would also prohibit views glorifying the spectacle of shedding blood.

It's not easy to defend views like these. Especially not for a liberal like myself, who completely rejects the idea of the legal enforcement of morality, namely, the proposition that, *prima facie*, that which is immoral can be prevented and punished by the law.

'Subversive allegories, the use of forbidden metaphors' — this was the title of an article in *Hirmondó*, in which the writer, even though he or she does not explain why, unambiguously declares that a citizen can't

even be taken to court for the contents of works of fiction, or of allegories or metaphors. And in the story of the CPg this was exactly the standpoint taken in deciding whether it was right or wrong. From this standpoint we evidently would have no justification for prohibiting the symbolic chicken-ceremony. Moreover, as a consequence, it would be permissible to sing anything on stage. For example a member of CPg could sing the lyrics — and I quote — 'Rotten, stinking Communist gang, / Why has nobody hanged them yet?'

It is important to make this trivial

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distinction, even if as a result the most hair-raising images and expressions appeared in lyrics with a guitar backing and the law was powerless in the matter. Well, we like rhyme and rhythm: fiction and artistic creativity in even its most worthless form should not be neglected.

To return to our punk group, in their lyrics they have openly, many times reviled the Hungarian way of life, often using very transparent allegories and sometimes using quite complex metaphors. One of the songs — let me give you some examples — sung at a secondary school had the title *Gas Blues* and the text 'I lived in Auschwitz/I smell Jews in the air/Hungary, is my home/I have to shut my dot-dot-dot trap.' The justification behind the judge's sentence was that the group, through its lyrics, was directly arousing hatred, and because — according to the judge — 'they will lead their listeners astray by means of association of ideas with similar results'. The lyrics of *Rotten Angels*, *Our king is a puppet* or *Pig-sty* probably belong to this category, but I can also quote from the song *Everyone is a louse*: 'Where everything is bad, that is new,/where money gives birth to silence,/where people are mute,/here, in Hungary, everyone is a louse.' The other side of the coin is that they allow for the 'coming of anarchism'. The lyrics also say 'I will try to springclean', 'I will be free, what I want is this:/Not to be governed by a stupid beast'.

There is not enough space to expand further on these images. Instead let us concentrate on the phrases which almost certainly had a key role in the sentencing of the members of the CPg band. These phrases are to be found in the songs called *SS 20*, *The Schemer*, and *Standing Youth*.

It would be futile to pretend surprise that the song *SS 20* turns out to be 'against the Soviet Union and therefore against the international relations of the Hungarian People's Republic', since the lyrics of *SS 20* are made up of the slogans of the anti-nuclear peace movement, and precisely those slogans were used which are forbidden in this part of Europe: 'The Soviet bomb is also a bomb/I cannot stand total war/The police harass me whatever./The US-bomb is also a bomb/In the East and the West-bloc/They are struggling for power./SS 20 in the East/Power is Power/In the East and in the West/There is harassment everywhere.' Believe it or not, the style is concise and effective, the rhyme and rhythm faultless and if it had not touched on certain political taboos, it might have been considered an excellent example of modern political verse. John Stuart Mill was thinking precisely along these lines, when he fought against the officially accepted viewpoint of the day.

The Schemer is a simple case of allegories.

It was performed in the hall of a provincial university and later at three concerts in Budapest, one of them a very important forum, the Central Club of Young Artists. The song was condemned by the court, which alleged that without being explicit, it made reference to Comrade Brezhnev's death, in the following lines: 'The Schemer has died,/The Beast has died,/The Dictator/Can now become an idol.' The band said in defence that the lyrics were a protest against old rock music and (according to the official document) that it was only after the events in November 1982 that the lyrics took on political significance and only because of the new closing shout, 'there is someone to replace him.' By the way, it is also well worth noting that the archaic sounding 'the Schemer has died' echoes the *Schemer Chorus* from one of Hungary's well known patriotic operas, *Laszlo Hunyadi*. In this opera the patriots celebrate the fall of the foreign dictator.

Standing Youth was condemned for the lyrics: 'In the meadow a young shock-worker is standing,/He had just come from a Communist Saturday meeting,/Duli-dul-balalajka, / Duli-dul-balalajka. / Statues, pictures — you schematic bandit,/The workers' hero has to play along with it,/Duli-dul-balalajka,/Duli-dul-balalajka.' This is reminiscent of the Russian folksong, *A young birch tree is standing in the meadow*, which is taught in all primary schools in Hungary. The refrain-phrase 'duli' has come to have obscene connotations in Hungary. The 'shock-worker' refers to the 1950s and the 'Communist Saturday' is highly relevant today — it refers to the practice of working on Saturdays for no wage, for the 'good of society' as the authorities would have it. Most important for the court was that this song was later given a new third stanza by one of the accused, more than once, even though his colleagues warned him that what he was doing was a highly dangerous game. This is the text I have already mentioned: 'Rotten, stinking communist gang,/Why has nobody hanged them yet?' and the refrain. It was while making these comments that the infamous tearing up of the chicken took place and the accused slashed his face and arms with a razor blade while actually singing.

There is not a lot more to be said about the lyrics of *SS 20*. It is a different story with the other two songs. Both texts contain references which are abusive regardless of politics. To call a leader a dictator is generally an insult, but I can remark here, to put it into the context of Hungary, that all official commentators on foreign affairs frequently reveal that different foreign leaders are dictators. Nonetheless, the words 'rotten', 'beast', 'stinking' are unarguably meant to be abusive. Moreover, the phrase

'Rotten, stinking communist gang' echoes the language and feelings of the anti-communist Hungarian regime of the inter-war period. And it is not the political context which makes it unacceptable to call for the hanging of certain members of society.

This raises my central question: how may one allude to revolution, physical violence and mob rule in a hypothetical ideal democracy? We have already excluded those who through their preaching could cause, clearly and directly, acts of violence. We have given their ideas, their political programmes and revolutionary feelings the green light, provided that their mode of expression is neither abusive nor offensive.

I have already mentioned our suggestion that offensive attitudes and modes of expression cannot simply be allowed on condition that they are publicly regulated. Anthony Ellis in his article, 'Offence and the Liberal Conception of the Law' comes to the conclusion that it is not the difference between the private and the public that provides the criteria that justify the legal restrictions of offensive behaviour, but rather it is the differentiation between directly provocative and indirectly provocative behaviour. Objecting to Joel Feinberg's Offence Principle, Ellis comments on his second category — the pointless flaunting of one's contempt for people's values — in these lines: 'Swastikas, Feinberg remarks, give people great offence because of their "symbolic suggestion of barbarity and genocide". It is difficult to see how we can identify this feeling other than as moral outrage. If swastikas are to be banned in order to protect people from feeling moral outrage, then this amounts to banning them because some people think them (symbolic of what is) morally abhorrent. This seems to be so for all cases of what Feinberg calls "shocked moral, religious or patriotic sensibilities".' According to Ellis, openly provocative behaviour lies in a different category because 'here the motive behind the action is to insult, and such actions are so close to technical insult since their intention is to provoke fear, anger and perhaps violence that the Offence Principle is not needed for them at all; the Harm Condition will uncontroversially do all that we require'.

'Uncontroversially', well, it's all right, if someone is so sure of themselves that they can always tell, empirically, when a person is wearing a swastika armband in order to arouse fear, anger and maybe violence, and when it is just a question of ignoring the feelings of others. I understand that in France the wearing of swastikas is invariably criminal, while in Britain only if law and order is seriously threatened. This ties up with one's assessment of the punk use of metaphors, ceremonials and attitudes. As

Poland

Wladyslaw Bartoszewski

Flying through the fear barrier

The story of the TKN — the Society for Academic Courses, known as the 'Flying University' — which was set up to counter the omissions and distortions in state education. 'Our greatest achievement was breaking the barrier of fear, bringing people together for the purpose of self-education, and simply sustaining the will to carry on.'

Two distinguished representatives of the thriving 'alternative culture' in Poland visited the USA and Britain respectively last year. One spoke about the activities of the 'Society for Academic Courses' which is responsible for university lectures in private apartments, trying in particular to set the record straight as regards Polish history; and the other spoke about the successes of the leading Catholic publishing house which has just celebrated its 25th anniversary.

Professor Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, while visiting the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, gave an interview to Marek Nowak, the full text of which appeared in Studium Papers (Ann Arbor) 3/1984; a condensed version is printed below.

During a visit to London, Jacek Wozniakowski described the work of the Znak publishing house, of which he is the Director. (See box 'Znak: Making people's voices heard'.)

The Society for Academic Courses (TKN) was founded in January 1978, although the initiative for this came a little earlier, at the beginning of the 1977/78 academic year. A series of lectures in private Warsaw apartments had begun in November 1977. The topics included political and economic history, the history of ideology in twentieth-century Poland, Polish political thought, and the cultural and social traditions of our country from an historical, sociological and economic perspective.

The first series of lectures was given by Tadeusz Kowalik, an economist, Adam Michnik, a young historian, Bohdan Cywinski, a historian, sociologist and literary critic, Tomasz Burek, a literary critic, and Andrzej Tyszka, a sociologist. The course of lectures was given the informal title of 'The Flying University' [see articles in *Index on Censorship* 6/1978, pp 57-9, and 6/1979, pp 19-22], linking it to the Warsaw tradition of clandestine self-education of the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries. During this period, Tsarist Russia did not allow the teaching of Polish history, literature, and other topics having to do with Poland's national, cultural and social traditions. The term 'flying' referred to the constant relocation of the meetings from one apartment to another in order to confuse Tsarist agents.

Among those who initiated the TKN courses in 1977 were academics and other intellectuals, mainly from Warsaw, representing a variety of ideological views. They included people who called themselves socialists although they weren't members of any leftist party; there were Catholics, even Catholic activists, such as Bohdan Cywinski, who was for several years the editor-in-chief of the Catholic monthly *Znak*; there were also people with a strong Marxist background, like Tadeusz Kowalik, a highly respected economist. Various generations were represented as well: people in their thirties and in their fifties.

The main aim of the courses was to correct the errors prevalent in our elementary, secondary, and university teaching, particularly where the shaping of the world views is concerned. There was a crying need to fill gaps in history and literature, created by the omitting of certain historical facts and certain names and works in the teaching of Polish émigré literature. And there was a need to disseminate knowledge about new developments in world scholarship in philosophy and sociology.

The main reason for the establishment of the TKN was to fill the gaps created by the ruling political system in Eastern Europe as a result of its approach to social sciences and the humanities. An example of this were the omissions and distortions in the presentation of Poland's struggle for independence in 1914 and for the creation of its national boundaries. One of the goals of World War One, as formulated by President Wilson, was the restoration of a free and

was argued in one samizdat article, 'We know that punk culture emerged in 1977, after decades of evolution from rock, at a particular moment. The moment was when it looked as if commercialisation had worn out everything that was shocking in music. So there was a need to break the worst taboos in the crudest way possible, to create some excitement'. And there is the further point, 'the wearing of swastikas and the like do not, actually, advertise some kind of neo-fascism. They constitute the most provocative symbols from the rubbish-heap of history. What the punks find interesting in them is that they cause scandal'.

Faced with arguments, one asks again: How does he know? How can one really tell what lies behind these provocative symbols? Or, what is more important, how can a court tell the difference between the fashionable flaunting of symbols and the genuinely neo-fascist demonstration? Let's assume that one can tell what lies behind the symbols: the swastikas painted on the practice drum of the CPg — a part of the evidence against them which hasn't been mentioned so far — the chicken's blood, the reference to 'a war to sweep all able-bodied men away' — and primitive anti-communist slogans can have only one purpose, to prove the ceremonial and ideological credibility of the punk style. Or let's assume, with Ellis, that they are only expressing sentiments which ignore the feelings and values of others. From the standpoint of what I have to say, both these excuses can be effective, but neither is conclusive. In my hypothetical democracy, the one I've talked about before, punk culture which requires the tearing up of chickens for their authenticity would be banned. So would the glorification of brutality and killing. Even behind closed doors. I'd like to finish with these lines because such things by their very nature fill all people with fear and alarm — all people who attach any importance to human life. ■

OPINION

Continued from page 2

Perhaps it is simply a misunderstanding of what *Index* is about. We are not in the business of promoting or condemning this or that system, this or that government or -ism; our aim is to report incidents of censorship and repression wherever they occur and to help writers, journalists and others who are deprived of freedom of expression in their own country. Like Amnesty, we will almost inevitably be denounced as 'anti-Soviet' in Eastern Europe and 'anti-American' where Latin America is concerned, 'anti-Israel' by some of Israel's supporters and (as also happened last year) 'anti-Islamic' and 'pro-Zionist' by their opponents.

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independent Poland with access to the sea. All this was completely falsified or ignored in official Polish teaching.

Another example of official omissions and distortions is the history of World War Two. The pact between Hitler and Stalin, as a result of which East-Central Europe was partitioned, the annexation of the Baltic states and half of Poland by the Soviets, and Soviet influence in the Balkans are all either ignored or distorted in Polish schools and universities.

In the light of human rights guarantees with regard to education, to news, to the free flow of information, it was necessary to provide people with an opportunity to expand their horizons. But TKN was not confined to history, it also included literature; such writers as Milosz and Gombrowicz were for the most part quite unknown to the younger generation.

Respected names

I learned about the lectures from the foreign press while I was abroad, in the USA and Great Britain. I returned to Poland just before Christmas 1977, and after the

holidays was approached by colleagues from the Academy of Sciences and Warsaw University, who suggested that I join them in making a public announcement of the founders' declaration setting up the Society for Academic Courses. Apart from organising lectures, TKN was also to assist individuals and provide scholarships for people undertaking scholarly research on unpopular topics. It was to assist people who were regarded as unreliable by the authorities during their schooldays or their early years at university. In addition, the Society set out to develop contacts abroad in order to provide scholarships and books for research not supported by official Polish institutions.

My role began with the signing of the declaration, signed by 58 people, which was distributed to the official press — which, of course, did not publish it. It was also sent to the independent press and posted on the noticeboards of official institutions.

The 58 included mathematicians, physicists, astronomers, and other academics whose subjects did not require private lectures since their disciplines could

be discussed in official classrooms. They signed the declaration, lending their recognised and respected names to our effort. In so doing they expressed their solidarity with the sociologists, philosophers, economists, literary specialists, and historians. Consequently, there were two groups — the signatories of the declaration, who took upon themselves a moral and social responsibility for the initiative, and the group of active lecturers.

As a lecturer, I began systematically to present Polish political history from 1939 to 1945, that is from the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact to the Potsdam Agreement, a period that suffers the greatest distortions and omissions in official curricula.

Another controversial and much-discussed topic in Poland is the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords. Many Poles, probably a majority of those who think about these things, held the view that the Accords merely confirmed the division of Europe and the status quo. However, some Polish intellectuals put forward the idea that we should demand genuine implementation of the internationally accepted norms incorporated into the Helsinki agreement. This meant that if, within the provisions of the so-called Basket Three dealing with human rights, it was possible to increase the range of freedoms, then we should pursue their implementation persistently, non-violently, but making use of social pressure. An attempt was thus made to extend freedom of speech, restrict the arbitrariness of censorship, create and publish independent literary and academic works. The hope was generally to expand human rights, the freedom of religion, the freedom to hold different views, as well as the right to free movement, i.e. to travel abroad.

Success and punishment

In all, about 1,200 people took part in the TKN lectures during our first year. Attendance at individual lectures varied greatly, depending on the topic and the location. It ranged from a dozen to several dozen, sometimes up to a hundred. My lectures and those given by Adam Michnik were closely related, since I covered Polish history up to 1945, and Michnik the history of People's Poland after 1945. These lectures, Michnik's and mine, were the most popular, and we had to move to larger premises. We never had fewer than 50 or 60 listeners, once I had more than a hundred. There were some very important symposia held before the creation of Solidarity, and they were on a very high intellectual level. One example was the symposium on the language of propaganda, the first of its kind to analyse the methods of manipulating the Polish language to create concepts which had one meaning in practice, in real life, and

Between the lines

Bertolt Brecht's *Mother Courage* underwent a number of cuts when it was performed by the Prague National Theatre company in the early seventies — cuts dictated by political rather than dramatic considerations, such as the dropping of the Swedish king's name (Gustav Adolf) because the President of Czechoslovakia and First Secretary of the country's Communist Party, happens also to be Gustav (Dr Gustav Husák).

But even this painstaking censorship proved inadequate when, during the play's run, trouble erupted in the Polish Baltic ports of Gdansk and Gdynia. The following line came like a bombshell to an audience accustomed to reading between the lines, even though the author was referring to events that took place several centuries earlier:

'The Poles must be taught a lesson — they seem to think they can meddle in their own affairs!'

The greening of Poland

Armed patrols and military personnel carriers have long since disappeared from our streets, Local (military) Operational Groups don't roam the parishes any more, yet Poland remains green. Not only do we have a soldier for our Prime Minister, military party secretaries, government ministers, regional administrators, and directors — we also have teachers nominated by the military.

On 22 February [1984], the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish People's Army, General Baryla, issued Order No 8, 'concerning the recruitment and initial training of Army personnel leaving active service for work in the teaching profession'.

The Order went on: 'Political boards of the military regions shall, in May or June of each year, and in cooperation with the

Divisions for Teacher Improvement, organise 21-day preparatory teachers' courses for selected conscripts due to be released from active service in the autumn of any given year.'

Of course, not everyone deserves to be sent on detachment to teach school. By the order of General Baryla, 'commanders of military units... will carry out an initial selection of volunteers, taking due account of the aptitude they demonstrated in the course of their military service, as well as their moral and ideological attitude'.

Thus, at a time when the technological gap between us and the countries of the West is rapidly widening, our children are to be taught by the graduates of 21-day courses, assigned to the teaching profession by military commanders and political officers.

Tygodnik Mazowsze (Polish underground newspaper), No 101, 11 October 1984

Flying through the fear barrier Poland

Znak: Making people's voices heard

Znak, the Catholic publishing house in Cracow, was founded 25 years ago and has published some 300 titles. Today, it brings out about 20 per annum, with a print number of approximately 10,000 copies. The aim, said the Director, Jacek Wozniakowski, is 'to help people develop their spiritual and intellectual life, not to despair, and to enable them to make their voices heard'.

The books published by Znak include translations of works by leading Western theologians, as well as by young Polish authors, both Christian and humanist, whom Znak has introduced to Polish readers. Znak was also the first to publish Czeslaw Milosz *legally* — some of his books had earlier been brought out unofficially by NOWA — and the collected works of the present Pope, formerly the Archbishop of Cracow, Karol Wojtyła. Znak is also the only publisher in Poland of some other Polish authors living abroad. Jacek Wozniakowski himself had fought for eight years to get Milosz past the censor.

The publishing house is linked with a monthly of the same name and with the well-known weekly, *Tygodnik Powszechny* — 'one of the very few papers in Poland you can write for without having to feel ashamed', as Jacek Wozniakowski put it.

Tygodnik Powszechny was started 40 years ago by the then Archbishop of Cracow, Mgr Sapieha, a Polish war hero. The paper has only experienced two interruptions during its four decades, the main one — for three years — following the death of Stalin in 1953, when it refused to

print a comment on the dictator's demise and carried only the official communiqué. It had similarly declined to comment on the trials of Polish bishops. The paper's offices were sealed, and people from the PAX pro-government organisation were put in to continue publication. They kept the same title and numbering of issues, but not one member of the old editorial board stayed on. Readers quickly saw through this attempt to pretend as though nothing had happened and sales dropped catastrophically. The attempt failed dismally, and *TP* was re-started when Gomulka came to power. The other stoppage, this time for only two months, came in December 1981, when General Jaruzelski imposed Martial Law.

The monthly *Znak* magazine, like *Tygodnik Powszechny*, is an independent Catholic publication, and was founded shortly after the weekly. Prior to Solidarity, *TP* printed 40,000 copies and *Znak* 10,000 — today it is 80,000 and 15,000 respectively; they could print larger editions but are limited by paper allocations and other official constraints, while the *Znak* publishing house has to contend with censorship and other difficulties and delays in getting its titles out.

The new Censorship Law allows them to show what has been left out.

'It is important that you can show where the censor had intervened,' said Jacek Wozniakowski, and this was not possible before. In this sense at least the new law had certain advantages — censorship had become less arbitrary than it used to be.

Recently, *Znak* asked its readers to write in on various important topics, such as relationships — parents and children, couples, etc. — as well as religious subjects — 'What does Jesus Christ mean

to us today?' — and they were publishing the replies in six volumes. They had had a marvellous response from people in every walk of life and every age group, from 17 to over 80.

John Paul II took over from Mgr Sapieha as their religious adviser when he became Archbishop of Cracow, and he helped them 'to push our books through the Church censorship'. His first-ever article had been published in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, and *Znak* had brought out four books by the Pope — canonical texts, plays, poems.

Jacek Wozniakowski, now 64 years old, first wrote an article for one of the very first issues of *TP*, then joined the staff in 1948 at the age of 28. He had always been interested in books and 'in putting my thoughts down on paper'. He was Secretary of *Tygodnik Powszechny* until 1953.

TP was founded by a group of young, left-leaning Catholics, whose main inspiration came from French philosophers such as Maritain. They had formed a students' organisation before World War Two called *Odrozienie* ('Rebirth'). Jerzy Turowicz, the first Chief Editor, was still editing *TP* today at the age of 73.

The publishing house shares its administrative staff with *TP* and the monthly *Znak*. For many years there had been only two people in its editorial office — Wozniakowski and a secretary — now there were five permanent staff and, together with *TP* and the monthly, the total number of employees was 50. There are also outside collaborators, some of whom were 'on the other side of the ideological fence' in earlier years — former Stalinists. G.T.

a different one when formulated on paper. This analysis, carried out by well-known linguists, sociologists, and literary experts addressed questions of relevance to many sociologists and political scientists doing research on the problems of the Eastern bloc, as for instance how human minds are manipulated or how the psyche is influenced. The proceedings of the symposium were published by TKN.

Also the texts of several lectures appeared in print. The first to do so was my lecture on the Polish Underground State, which was reprinted four times in various communities. Bohdan Cywinski's lecture on the pre-war problems of Catholic life in Poland was also published, as were lectures on the history of ideas and the proceedings of various symposia.

All these texts were published primarily in the university towns, printed in underground printing shops which the security forces had difficulty in tracking down; indeed, some have not been found to this day.

Our greatest achievement was breaking the barrier of fear, bringing people together for the purpose of self-education, and simply sustaining the will to carry on. This helped to produce a qualitative change in certain basic attitudes.

Repression varied. Sometimes it was severe. Young people, or those who were particularly in disfavour politically or especially hated by the political police, suffered the worst consequences. In the case of lectures by Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron, the meetings were repeatedly broken

up and ended in fist fights. Several people were badly beaten in Kuron's apartment, including his son, who suffered concussion. Otherwise there were assaults, beatings, summons to the police or Internal Security, house searches, harassment of families, the dismissal of people from jobs or at least threats of dismissal, particularly among the young. In the case of professors and other academics the repression was less visible, taking the form of arrests on the way to lectures, the person concerned then being escorted to the police station and detained for several hours. Often, people travelling to other cities would be arrested, and some were detained overnight to prevent them lecturing.

People who lent their apartments for the

Continued on page 36

Saudi Arabia

Anonymous Keeping the lid on

The writer, who wishes to remain anonymous, is a Saudi studying abroad for his doctorate degree.

King Saud, who reigned from 1953 to 1964, had a very uncomfortable relationship with scholars and writers. He regarded them with great suspicion, seeing all forms of writing as dangerous. He believed that writing should be geared to help the political system achieve its ends. During the fifties and early sixties many promising newspapers in the young state (established 1932) were permanently closed on direct orders of the King, including *Akhbar al-Dhuran* ('Dhuran News'), *al-Fajr al-Jadeed* ('The New Dawn'), *Majalat al-Isha'a* ('Isha'a magazine'), and *al-Khalij al-Arabi* ('The Arab Gulf Daily'). Their owners and editors were subjected to various forms of harassment including imprisonment without trial. In those days the world never heard or cared about such names as Abd al-Karim al Jouhiman, Yousef al-Sheikh Yacoub, Ahmed al-Sheikh Yacoub, Sa'ad al-Dawardi and Abd Allah Areef.

But according to the official Saudi line, Saud was an incompetent king and in 1964 he was deposed. Today, instead of the conspicuous figure of the king, various governmental and social institutions have been developed by the state which suppress civil liberties. The following is a brief description of the main apparatus for the suppression of freedom of expression in the country; generally, religion and tradition have been used — or rather misused — in a heavy-handed way.

The Ministry of Information

The Ministry of Information directly supervises all the media and all the other channels by which the public receives cultural or any other type of information. The Ministry focuses mainly on the 'purification' of all information and culture, so it may reach the public unpolluted and reflecting the government's point of view with unmistakable clarity. Publications are purified by a special unit called 'the management of publications department'. This department may send 'unofficial' instructions to newspapers and magazines informing them that a certain subject should or should not be discussed. It deals directly with chief editors, managing editors and staff reporters. If a published article or news item causes concern, the department sends a notice to the Minister of Information, who

then decides on the appropriate punishment for the publication and the offending reporter or writer. There is no institutional form of prior censorship nor any written code or guide of what can or cannot be published. In an interview published in a Kuwaiti magazine, *al-Mujtama'*, the Saudi Minister of Interior, Prince Naif Ben abd al-Aziz, said: 'As for freedom of speech for our newspapers, there are no written orders not to publish this or that, we have no censorship. Censorship comes only after publication...'

By this efficient method of suppression the writer himself learns what to avoid, and with practice, all writers and journalists become voluntary censors working for the government. Another effect of this system is that certain words and expressions become taboo, such as 'civil freedoms', 'revolution', 'struggle', etc.

The principal governmental body dealing with information and cultural activity, however, is the Ministry of Interior working through the Higher Council for Information, the Committee for Intellectual Security, and the Files system.

The Higher Council for Information

The Council is an autonomous authority that was established after the Mecca incident in 1980. The president of the Council is the Minister of Interior and the vice-president the Minister of Information, Brigadier Ali

al-Sha'ar. There are eight other members of the Council who mostly work for the government in different capacities. The function of the Council is to provide a religious context for the government's policies. One of its stated aims is to 'ensure obedience to those who rule by means of religious reasoning'.

The Committee for Intellectual Security

This is a special organ of the Ministry of the Interior that includes a number of specialists in different fields. Its function is to analyse the contents of all materials published or produced inside the country. Accordingly, it classifies writers as to their ideological sympathies and political viewpoints. It then makes lists of those elements dangerous for the country's cultural security. In light of the following reports from this committee, many Saudi scholars have been punished and non-Saudi Arab 'elements' expelled.

The Files

All journalists have special files in the Ministry of Interior which contain detailed information about them, their papers and places of work. Any change of status is promptly reported. The basis upon which this system operates is that all those who work in the media are guilty of subversion until proven otherwise. So it rests upon the journalists to provide proof of their innocence as demonstrated by pro-govern-

Saudi order threatens academic freedom

The National Security Council of Saudi Arabia (equivalent to the FBI in the USA), headed by the Interior Minister, Prince Naif Bin al-Aziz, issued an order in October 1984 instructing presidents of universities as well as educational attachés at Saudi embassies abroad, to make it obligatory for Saudi students studying for their masters and doctorate degrees to submit a copy of their thesis/dissertation to the National Security Council in Saudi Arabia before handing it to the university. The Council may approve or reject any research submitted for its inspection. A rejection means that the student cannot then submit his work to the university.

It is believed that the order is meant to discourage students from researching sensitive political or social issues. Previously, doctorate research undertaken by Saudis in foreign universities was being banned from entering Saudi Arabia despite the fact that the researchers held prominent positions in Saudi Arabia. Students were required to deliver a copy of their graduate research project to the educational attachés at the local Saudi embassy after graduation. Embassies reported any irregularities in the research at their own discretion.

The order of the National Security Council is a serious infringement of academic freedom, not only in Saudi Arabia but all over the world. There are some 15,000 Saudi students abroad at institutions of higher learning worldwide, most of them in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Keeping the lid on Saudi Arabia

Eliminating the outspoken press in Morocco

Even though the problems that freedom of expression faces in Morocco are not new, at the beginning of 1984 they started to take on a definite pattern. A Moroccan poet in exile, Nour al-Din al-Ansari, describes them as 'a way to confiscate the indigenous means of cultural expression in the country'.

'It is the only way to explain that since the food riots of January 1984, the government has suspended the licences of five major literary magazines published in Morocco,' he added. Those magazines are *al-Thaqafa al-Jadida*, published in Mohammedia (editor: Mohamed ben Neese); *al-Jossour*, published in Casablanca (editor: Aqar abd al-Hamid); *al-Badeel*, published in Rabat (editor: Ben Salem Khamis); *al-Zaman al-Magharebi*, published in Rabat (editor: Mohammed Aloush); and *al-Moqadema*, published in Rabat. The only one that continues to appear, with interruptions, is *Aqlam*.

In March 1984, the government authorised the facsimile production of the Saudi daily, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, which can now print and sell in Morocco on the same day as it is published in its own country. Normally all foreign dailies distribute the day after publication.

The government also allowed the paper to increase its circulation up to a 12,000 ceiling. In protest, there was a one-day strike of the Moroccan press in April as the national papers, alarmed by the government measure, threatened legal action challenging its constitutionality.

Four months later, on 21 July, the government announced that it had authorised the facsimile production of four French dailies, to be printed in Casablanca by satellite transmission: *Le*

Figaro, *France Soir*, and two sports papers. Again, the local press unanimously condemned the move.

At first glance, the reaction of the Moroccan press may appear isolationist and somewhat unprofessional. However, unwise as the protest may seem, the Moroccan press is facing a real threat to its freedom; far from being a step towards a free, open society, the government action is yet another form of censorship.

In July, at the same time as the Saudi and French papers were being given access to the Moroccan market, the authorities harassed Moroccan publications and writers, as well as foreign journalists based in Morocco; the authorities seized *al-Bayan*, the daily of the Party of Progress and Socialism. Abd al-Salam Yassin, a writer and publisher with fundamentalist views, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. And a court in Casablanca passed death sentences in July on 13 people for distributing religious literature and for membership of religious organisations.

Earlier in 1984, foreign journalists were denied access to a Moroccan city, Nador, to report on rioting over food price increases, while the local press was not allowed to mention the riots at all. In January, Agence France-Presse called the decision of the Moroccan government to expel the AFP correspondent, Jacques-Michel Tondre, 'a serious attack on the free practice of journalism'.

In the light of all this, the hospitality the government has decided to extend to the Saudi and French newspapers must seem puzzling, particularly as Arabic and French are the two main languages in the country. Yet, it is not difficult to explain.

All three papers conform to one conservative ideological point of view. *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, which is published primarily as a vehicle for Saudi political propaganda with little or no regard for commercial or professional considerations, has the financial means to print the same day in London, Jeddah, Riyadh, Washington — and now in Casablanca. The two French papers, *Le Figaro* and *France Soir*, are more sophisticated than the French-language Moroccan dailies, and have a conservative political stance.

The Moroccan press (10 dailies and 13 others) is characterised by poor editorial and production capabilities. A national illiteracy rate of 80% adds to its limitations, and to its restricted financial resources. All this put it at a clear disadvantage against the Saudi and French papers — which explains the protest. For by means of 'selective' licensing of foreign papers with one particular political stand and a strong economic base, and the exclusion of all others, the government is soliciting outside help to gradually eliminate the outspoken press.

Nevertheless, the threatened Moroccan press cannot hope to find a solution to its problems by blocking the entry of foreign publications. While the long-term solution will inevitably lie in their modernisation, to enable them to compete with the foreign giants on their own terms, in the short term they should be opposing and publicising government censorship every time it occurs, instead of fruitlessly resisting the licensing of other foreign or local papers. ■

H.K.

ment work. This further instrument of intimidation has long-term consequences for freedom of expression in the country. Most of those involved in creative activities — such as writers, reporters, etc. — work only part-time. Even some of the chief editors and managing editors are part-time because the profession, in the absence of civil and constitutional guarantees, has become one of the most hazardous jobs in the kingdom.

Besides the governmental bodies described above, there is a set of social institutions which has been developed for the same purpose and in which religion and tradition are misused to popularise oppression in a mediaeval European fashion. These institutions, although theoretically popular, are

an integral part of the state and their personnel are appointed by the King. One such institution is **The General Command for the Departments of Research and Missionary Works**. This is headed by the general Mufti (religious adviser) of the kingdom, Abd al-Aziz Bin Baz, who is installed with the approval and blessing of the king, and who lately declared, among other things, that anyone who insists that the earth is round is an atheist. The Command holds many powers that enable it to interfere in almost every aspect of life. Its major function is to 'interpret' all aspects of life. Those 'interpretations' automatically become laws once they have been pronounced even if they are in obvious conflict with basic theological scriptures and principles. It prepares written

opinions to answer any points of view that seem unfit and which were published in local or other Arab papers. The opinion is then distributed to all the Saudi media which are obliged to publish or broadcast it as an official document.

The Authority for Ordering Good and Stopping Evil is another organisation with a religious façade in which the position of president is inherited by members of the al-Sheikh family, who are political allies of the present ruling al-Saud family. It also has extensive powers; it can order people to be jailed or punished for what it sees as violations of ethical behaviour. Its members supervise all cultural activities that take place in the country including public seminars and poetry readings. ■

Saudi Arabia

Anonymous

The news bulletin

A samizdat poem from Saudi Arabia

In the Arab-speaking region the main medium of dissent is poetry. What follows are extracts from a Saudi poem which forms part of the unofficial literature in Saudi Arabia. Such poems are typed, photocopied and circulated privately.

And here is the news in detail

The wind is coming;
southern storm
the wind is coming;
northern storm
the wind is coming from the west
the wind is coming from the east

The news bulletin announces
that the sea is restive
that the land is dejected
troubled by cyclones of dust

and spreading its shadow as night
without sun is
a caravan of gathering mist

the news bulletin forgets to mention
that yesterday is buried alive
that today is slaughtered
that tomorrow
the law is martial

that longing is under curfew
that love is under curfew
that the word is under curfew
even in the hallways of dusk

that Tamim* is 'reactionary'
that Nizar* is 'reactionary'
the dictionary of the news
contains no definition of 'reactionary'

that Tamim is 'revolutionary'
that Nizar is 'revolutionary'
the dictionary of the news
contains no definition of 'revolutionary'

the news bulletin forgets
that Quraish brought
to Ibn Salul
sacrifices . . . from Mecca

that Damascus sold
the dew of the river Barda
and the perfume of Syria
and Damascan silk

that Oman
sold
its shares
and sold
its ports
and sold
its turbans

The news bulletin announces
that the first summit
has been convened
that the first session
is opening
that the remaining sessions
are secret

that the seventieth summit
has convened
a spokesman announced
another summit
after which will follow . . . summits

there is no summit without
the issuance of
statements
in its closing session
and before closing
and after closing

'Time Arab world
is passing through
a decisive phase
and a fateful curve,'
how often repeated
are the words
and the sentences
listlessly

* * *

The news bulletin Saudi Arabia

The news bulletin forgets
that there is a pile
of statements
lying in a thousand files

that the ambitions of the lords are personal
that the entrances of the doors are regional
that the feelings of the guards are individual
that the word when it passes from country to country
is faced by trenches
and confronted by obstacles
and stopped by traffic signs

that the body is fragmented
and the heart is fragmented
that there is representation
and papers
and a mandate
from South Yemen
to North Yemen

and in Bahrain
and the Seven Emirates
and in Qatar
there are Kuwaiti embassies

that in the gardens of Damascus
there are Beiruti flags
and Jordanian flags
while all the land
is Levantine

that the Arab Maghreb
is states
which exchange
letters
and drown in
border disputes

The news bulletin announces
that the spirit is one
that the links between Kafour†
and the public are amicable

The news bulletin forgets to mention
that treason exists
that coercion exists
that bloodshed exists
and that the spirit is exiled

The news bulletin announces
that the regime is popular
that the opinion is popular
and that the Sultan's orders are popular

The news bulletin forgets
that the people are subjugated
that the people are slaughtered
that the people are defeated
and that the people do not enjoy freedom
that love is forbidden
that the word is forbidden
that ink is forbidden
and that the worship of idols is compulsory

* Tamim and Nizar are pre-Islamic warring tribes.

† A foreign ruler of Egypt who ruled during a period of Arab fragmentation during the eleventh century.

Translated by Shirley Eber

Pakistan

Maleeha Lodhi

Detering dissent in education

'Real scholars have been silenced and pseudo-scholars and sycophants have been promoted. It seems that the forces of darkness and obscurantism have succeeded in arresting the processes of scientific research.'

Pakistan under General Zia-ul Haq has had a regime of Martial Law since July 1977. According to a 1984 report on a mission to Pakistan published by the Paris-based International Federation of Human Rights, a climate of insecurity and arbitrariness has existed in the country since that date. It is characterised by the facility with which the Martial Law authorities may arrest whomever they wish, whenever they wish, and hold them for indefinite periods, as often as they choose; the absence of any scope for appeal against such decisions; and the absence of judicial surveillance of any kind whatsoever.

In the following three articles, Pakistani writers describe the effects which Martial Law and the Islamic Law (Sharia) have had on higher education, the press and cultural life. Maleeha Lodhi teaches Politics at the London School of Economics and also works as a journalist with South magazine. The writer on Pakistan's press is a senior journalist who wishes to remain anonymous. And Farhad is the pseudonym of a Pakistani writer and journalist.

For other articles on Pakistan see John Melville Williams 'The Press in Pakistan' (Index 5/1978), Shahid Nadeem 'Imprisoned In Pakistan' (Index 5/1979), Feroz Ahmed 'Pakistan Curbs the Press' (Index 4/1980), and Behroze Gandhi 'Jamil Dehlavi Interviewed' (Index 4/1981); and, of course, the Index Index section generally.

In the seven and a half years of military rule, general political repression in Pakistan has been accompanied by increasing curbs on academic freedom and by attempts to silence expressions of intellectual and political dissent in institutions of higher education. When General Zia ul Haq assumed power in July 1977 by overthrowing the elected government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, he imposed Martial Law and suspended the 1973 Constitution that guaranteed such fundamental rights as freedom of opinion, thought and conscience, of peaceful assembly and association. Not surprisingly the suspension of such rights had a direct impact on academic freedom in the country's 20 universities and 600 colleges.

The cases below highlight the different methods and forms of pressure employed to deal with dissidence. They include the use of Martial Law — which cannot be challenged in the courts — and the meting out of exemplary punishments to deter dissent in the teaching profession (there are an estimated 21,500 teachers in higher education — colleges and universities). While the instances cited below are most notable, they are only a few among many that collectively constitute a systematic attack on the academic community. Their cumulative impact has been to create a climate of fear and insecurity that has stifled creative thought and intellectual development, and eroded standards of scholarship and educational innovation. The following extract from a letter written in anguish in April 1984 by a leading scholar, Dr Ziaul Haque, to a Pakistani news magazine, is an apt summary of the contemporary state of higher education: 'Real scholars have been silenced and pseudo-scholars and sycophants have been promoted.... It seems that the forces of darkness and obscurantism have succeeded in arresting the processing of scientific research in the humanities and natural sciences.... If freedom is denied to scholars why keep universities open?... The day is fast approaching when all dissenting and independent thinkers will be driven out.... The universities are being turned into graveyards. Those who have independent minds are being dubbed communists and "Kafirs" (non-believers).'

The Islamisation of society has been a fundamental feature of General Zia's rule. Out of personal conviction and political expediency he has used Islam to legitimise military rule. Islamic measures have been introduced in various fields — law, politics, the economy — besides education. Islamising education to achieve the declared goal of — in General Zia's words — 'producing a new generation wedded to the ideology of Pakistan and Islam', has in practice mainly involved the introduction of compulsory courses in Islamiyat (Islamic studies) in the curriculum and syllabi at all levels of education, and more stress on Arabic in higher education. The major aim is a thorough revision of syllabi at all

educational levels in line with Islamic ideology and principles. Charged with this formidable task, the Education Department has for years been involved in revising textbooks and curricula. So far, its endeavours have amounted to little more than censorship. By 1980 it claimed to have expunged un-Islamic or anti-Islamic material from 550 textbooks. The nature of the purged material ranges from the love poems of Robert Browning in English textbooks and D.H. Lawrence's literary works to Darwin's theory of evolution and 'atheistic' accounts of history. Substantive change, in the form of rewriting of new textbooks infused with Islamic method and content, has yet to occur.

The military government's principal concern has been to tighten its control over institutions of higher learning and to contain intellectual and political dissidence. Under military rule, the universities have effectively lost what measure of autonomy they traditionally enjoyed. As Chancellors, the military governors of Pakistan's four provinces directly control universities across the country. Moreover, university and college administrators reputed for holding independent views or suspected of sympathising with the previous Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government have been replaced, demoted or 'retired'. Over the years, university and college administrations have been packed with the military's own nominees to ensure pliant governing bodies.

Transfers of teachers

Amendments to the University Ordinance — which has governed the running of universities and affiliated colleges since the 1960s — have strengthened government powers over appointments, dismissals, transfers and promotions. These powers, especially the power to transfer teachers, have been extensively used to deal with dissidents. As government servants, university and college employees are subject to the same rules as other state employees, and this includes the transfer regulation under which teachers and professors can be transferred by the Education Ministry to any college in any place or to a government department. Teachers' associations have repeatedly demanded the repeal or modi-

Deterring dissent in education Pakistan

fication of the transfer clause, but their protest has gone unheeded.

There have been large-scale transfers of teachers from establishments regarded as 'politically sensitive' like Lahore's Punjab University — the oldest and most prestigious seat of learning in the country — to remote or insignificant places. Professor Zafar Al Khan, lecturer in English at Lahore's Islamia College, was transferred to six different places in 1978-9. Since transfer from prestigious institutions to less important ones effectively means demotion, affected teachers are often left with no option but to resign.

The transfer regulation has been used to strike at teachers' associations. The most dramatic example concerns Lahore's Pakistan College Teachers Association (PCTA), which has a tradition of activism stretching back to the sixties. In one stroke in 1978, the PCTA's top leaders and activists — some 200 teachers — were transferred from institutions in Lahore to remote places throughout the province of Punjab. Another big wave followed in 1979, when many teachers, reputed to be critics of the government, were transferred from Lahore to less important places. Protest from the PCTA brought only reprisals and victimisation of vocal members. In 1984 General Zia threatened to ban teachers' associations altogether, but this has not happened so far.

The government has recently introduced the system of Annual Confidential Reports (ACRs). This requires heads of departments and academic staff to provide information not just on teaching and research performance but also on their general 'behaviour' including political opinions and affiliations, ideological proclivities, religious beliefs and other personal details.

When the system was introduced at Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU) at Islamabad, teachers refused to fill in the ACR forms and vociferously opposed the scheme. Describing it as a 'tool of victimisation' — used extensively to block promotions — teaching associations have repeatedly called for its abolition, but it remains in force.

Physical violence

In its campaign to 'cleanse' campuses of 'socialists and secularists' — indeed anyone with even faintly left-wing or liberal views — the government found a ready instrument in the Islami Jamaat-i-Tulaba (IJT), the well-organised and armed student wing of the fundamentalist Jamaat-i-Islami party. Small but influential, Jamaat's close identification with the military government has led critics to call it 'the B team of Martial Law'. With its highly disciplined cadres and cell structure, the IJT has been used unofficially to police university campuses. The

IJT has engaged in poster and pamphleteering campaigns and used intimidatory tactics against faculty members regarded as 'un-Islamic' or 'Westernised'. It has even resorted to physical violence against 'troublesome' faculty members, especially at Punjab University — as in the case of Mujeeb Sheikh of the Administrative Sciences Department in 1983. The fact that university authorities declined to take action against the offenders in such cases suggests collusion between the IJT and university officials. As a former professor at Punjab University explained in January 1985: 'The university administration is totally in the IJT's grip. The Vice Chancellor is little more than a puppet of the IJT on the one hand and Martial Law authorities on the other hand. It is the IJT that has prepared lists of "undesirable" teachers on the basis of which official action has been taken — transfers, demotions, persecution. IJT's influence extends to having a say in the appointment of new teachers and admission of new students.'

The case of Dr Seemi Alam, a female lecturer in Applied Psychology at Punjab University, illustrates the IJT's methods. In November 1981, following harassment by IJT boys which included threatening messages scrawled on blackboards, Dr Alam was forced out of her classroom by a group of IJT students who abused her, manhandled her and warned her not to return to teach again. Although, she complained to the authorities and the Chancellor, no action was taken against the offenders. Instead, she was informed that pending transfer, she should stay at home.

Dr Alam is one among scores who have suffered at the hands of the IJT. Many young faculty members, when faced with unrelenting harassment from the IJT (who appeared to have official patronage), decided to leave their jobs. Older faculty members who had no alternative but to stay on, thought it expedient to adopt silence.

The experience of Sohail Akhtar, lecturer at Hailey College of Commerce at Lahore, is typical. Long a victim of IJT harassment Akhtar was issued a 'show cause notice' of dismissal by the university because of his criticism in the classroom of the views of Maulana Mandoodi (founder of the Jamaat-i-Islami). When such a notice is issued, the onus is on the accused to prove why he should not be dealt with in the manner prescribed in the show cause notice. The charge sheet against Akhtar also referred to his involvement in activities that 'do not pertain to the syllabus'. In 1983 Akhtar was suspended.

The case of Mehdi Hasan of Punjab's Journalism Department, nephew of a prominent member of the previous PPP government and well-known for his leftist

views, shows how political dissidents are treated. Following vilification and intimidation by the IJT, Hasan was served a show cause notice of dismissal on grounds of misconduct in October 1983. In the charge-sheet he was accused of signing an appeal with 55 other intellectuals urging restraint on the government in its dealing with the situation in Sind province (the main seat of anti-government agitation in 1983) and expressing sympathy with longstanding Sindhi demands. Hasan was determined to fight it out. He challenged the action of the university authorities in the Lahore High Court and was granted an injunction against dismissal pending hearing of a writ petition. His future, however, still hangs in the balance.

Many arrests

In 1981 the government's stance toughened. Thousands of political arrests followed the hijack in March of an aircraft of the national airline to Kabul. The hijack, which led to the killing of a passenger, was claimed by a group belonging to Al-Zulfikar, a Kabul-based terrorist organisation founded and led by Murtaza Bhutto, son of the executed former Prime Minister, Bhutto. The military government used the hijack incident to justify widescale arrests of politicians, party workers, lawyers, students, journalists, trade unionists and teachers. Prominent among several left-wing or independent-minded academics arrested at the time were Shoaib Hashmi, Professor of Economics at Government College, Lahore, and Irar Ahmed, Professor of Physics at Islamia College — both of whom were detained in Kot Lakhpat jail under Martial Law.

In April 1981, Dr Aslam Khan Naru, a chemistry professor and member of the Pakistan People's Party's Central Committee was arrested and kept incommunicado at the notorious Lahore Fort until June 1981, when he was permitted to see his family for the first time.

In March 1981, General Zia promulgated the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO), which abrogated fundamental provisions of the 1973 Constitution, gave him the power to amend the constitution, and ended judicial review of executive actions and military court proceedings — prohibiting challenge in any court to any action of the martial law authorities. It ended the protection of political prisoners by the right of habeas corpus.

Expressions of dissent and involvement in peaceful political activity by members of the teaching profession were treated with more harshness. There followed the 'subversive literature' case involving three young lecturers of Islamabad's Quaid-i-Azam University, who were subsequently adopted by Amnesty International as prisoners of

Pakistan Detering dissent in education

conscience. This was the first time that teachers were tried and sentenced by a military court using summary procedures before which there is no right of appeal. It represented a new trend — meting out harsh punishments to set an example.

The three lecturers, Jamil Omar (Department of Computer Science), Tariq Ahsan (Political Science) and M. Salim (Chemistry) were arrested separately between 3 and 6 November 1981 for allegedly possessing and distributing 'seditious' literature. Police first arrested Omar for distributing 'Jamhoori (Democratic) Pakistan', a non-violent pamphlet asking for the repeal of Martial Law. Tariq Ahsan had lent Omar his motorcycle, so he was picked up as an accomplice and M. Salim, another friend, was also jailed. After raids on their houses, the police claimed to have found seditious material 'aimed at creating feelings of disaffection and hatred towards the Government of Pakistan and its armed forces'. The arrests were given wide publicity in the state-controlled media and the confiscated literature was prominently displayed on television, and newspaper photographs included such publications as Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward* and the *Peking Review*. Later the three were also charged with possessing 'proscribed documents prejudicial to public safety and maintenance of public order'.

The Academic Staff Association of QUA and other teachers organisations condemned their detention without formal charge or trial, and pressed for their release. After the affair had attracted international attention, and after an editorial in the influential English daily, *The Muslim*, had sharply criticised their continued incarceration, the three were brought to trial.

Over 14 months elapsed between their arrest and trial on a charge that they had 'conspired together for publishing and circulating seditious material' contained in *Jamhoori Pakistan* and other publications. During his interrogation at Aabpara police station in Islamabad, Jamil Omar was allegedly subjected to various forms of torture including sexual assault, being hung upside down, beatings on the soles of his feet and being forced to stay awake for several days.

Special Military Court No 52 tried them between February and April 1983 for sedition and possession of subversive documents, material the court never made public. At the start of proceedings, defence lawyers moved that the three be tried separately since the charge-sheet made no joint accusation. However, during the course of the trial the original charge-sheet was amended, adding the charge of conspiracy to that of sedition. After the first three days, press coverage of the trial was

prohibited. The court's verdict was not handed down until some months after the trial ended. In November 1983, in addition to heavy fines, Ahsan was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, Salim to three years and Omar to seven years.

In November 1983, the dismissal of Omar Asghar Khan, lecturer in economics at Punjab University, indicated the shape of things to come. Omar's was the first case in which a Martial Law order was invoked to sack a university employee. The son of Asghar Khan, one of Pakistan's major opposition leaders. Omar was educated at Cambridge and Essex University. When he began lecturing at Punjab, he was harassed by the IJT. In February 1983 he was attacked and beaten by a group of students led by an armed IJT member, after going to the aid of a student being attacked by IJT boys. Subsequently Omar was served three show cause notices. The first, in August, concerned his wife's participation in February in a peaceful women's demonstration over a discriminatory law against women proposed by the government. This notice was served under the W. Pakistan Government Servants (Conduct) Rules, 1966, which prohibits government employees as well as their families from engaging in any form of political action. On 30 October 1983, university authorities issued a second show cause notice of dismissal, charging Omar with inciting students and workers to participate in an anti-government demonstration. An explanation was demanded by 2 November. In the short time allowed him, Omar submitted a provisional reply in which he asked the university administration to deal with him in accordance with university statutes. The following day — while university authorities were presumably still considering his reply — Omar received a third notice. This time it was issued under Martial Law Regulation (MLR) No 51 by the Governor and Martial Law Administrator of Punjab, General Ghulam Jilani. MLR 51 (of 13 June 1981) gives the authorities the power to deal in a summary way, refer to a military court, or dismiss, retire or demote a government employee who has 'indulged or is indulging in any manner whatsoever, in any agitational activity'. In his reply, Omar again denied the allegations. He did not, however, deny that he was present at the demonstration. As he explained in his reply: 'To be able to conduct meaningful academic work, freedom to move around and mix with the inhabitants of one's country, especially working people, is a necessary pre-requisite. Besides attending university I consider it my task as an academic to understand and write about the problems of my people by observing them closely in their various activities.' Omar's explanation was

found unsatisfactory and he was sacked.

MLR 51 was most recently used to dismiss Dr Hassan Zafar Arif, a 40-year-old lecturer in philosophy at the University of Karachi and President of the Pakistan University Teachers Society. Dr Arif, who has taught at Karachi since the mid-1970s, obtained his Ph.D from Reading University and spent a year on sabbatical leave at Hull University. On 26 September 1984, Dr Arif — an outspoken critic of the military regime — was served a show cause notice under MLR 51 from Lt General Jahandad Khan, Governor and Martial Law Administrator of Sind Province. This accused him of 'appearing to have indulged and to be indulging in agitational activities which have or are likely to impair the normal functioning and efficiency of the University'. Offences cited in the notice ranged from 'taking part in politics despite the specific prohibition on university employees', 'advocating subversive activities', 'maligning values held in esteem in Islamic society' to 'implanting a pro-Communist orientation to students' and even fraternising late at night with students while sitting on a culvert on the campus! On 8 October, Dr Arif responded to the show cause notice not by answering the charges but by accusing the authorities of 'suppression of all classes and sections of population, labour, students, lawyers, teachers, doctors, journalists and women, and generally unscrupulous treatment of all dissent'.

On 21 October, Dr Arif was taken from his home by police and incarcerated in Karachi Central Jail under a 90-day detention order issued by the Martial Law authorities. This can be renewed indefinitely. In fact, the order under which Dr Arif was jailed is a maintenance of public order regulation and does not relate to any specific charge or to show cause notice that led to his dismissal. Dr Arif has been adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International, which holds that he was jailed because of his political beliefs and his legitimate and peaceful political activities.

The treatment of Dr Arif provoked an outcry from Pakistan's teaching community. On 30 December 1984, the Federation of All Pakistan University Academic Staff Association (FAPUASA) threatened a country-wide strike if the government did not withdraw action against the two lecturers sacked under MLR 51. FAPUASA demanded the release and reinstatement of Dr Arif. Whether or not this leads to a showdown, the confrontation between the government and teachers is likely to go on. Despite all the government's efforts, voices of dissent from Pakistan's battered and bruised academic community continue to be heard. ■

Scriptor

Why the press is tame

'No newspaper has printed even one critical word about the heavily loaded question on which a referendum was held at 18 days notice'...

I was sitting with the news editor of *Dawn*; there was the usual confusion and noise, with telephones ringing and significant news sheets from ticker machines being brought in every few minutes. We had all been tipped off that important news would break later that day, big news. We were discussing just what it could be — was the Big Chief, at long last, going to announce the much-promised election schedule? — when the unlisted telephone rang.

I watched the colour drain from the News Editor's face and his brow pucker. Some of his face muscles twitched. He only said, 'Do you mean that... absolutely?' and then again 'How could that be?' and finally 'O.K., if you're sure you can do that.' He hung up and sat silent for some seconds. I was about to ask what it was all about when the same telephone rang again; I heard the same, obviously depressing, one-sided conversation. This time there was a little pathos in the News Editor's voice; he even pleaded, 'That would be ridiculous, just not possible.' But he soon had to hang up with a final resigned 'O.K.'

A minute or two later, during which he sat silent, reading or writing nothing, he finally explained: 'A bombshell of an announcement is coming in the evening. It has to be splashed as nothing before. Immediately a campaign is to start throughout the country. That has to be projected as much as possible. But not a word critical of it has to appear in print; not a word from the known political elements is to be allowed in.

'Not even a single word; everyone else is totally a non-person.' (Hitherto, opposition politicians had been published in a sanitised form in reports giving at least the gist of their criticisms.) There was one other person present. All three of us sat stunned, angry and impotent.

Later that evening, the announcement of a referendum was heard and seen on the TV screens and the radio. (The President, General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, announced on 1 December 1984 that a referendum would be held on his programme of 'Islamisation' and an affirmative result would mean that, beside many other implications, he was automatically elected for a term of five years.) I was still there when telex and teleprinters began to spit out the printed word in the raw. Soon after the ranting on the TV screen

ended, the text of the Order, the actual legal instrument, was in our hands, duly cyclo-styled. It looked bulky, but a hurried perusal showed its preamble to be a reasonably short but comprehensive measure in terms of substance; the rest of the document was procedural. Several of us panicked.

One had to have a brief session with oneself and the text. It was as clear as daylight that one had no business writing anything about it; one was completely *hors de guerre*. Nothing of objective comment could be published. No newspaper has since printed even one critical word about the heavily-loaded question on which a country-wide referendum was held at 18 days notice; no slants or insinuations or innuendos of any kind were tolerated. Only those who could read the small print of the document despite its legal jargon — the complete text was published in most newspapers — knew what the question in the referendum actually meant; some of its major implications have been spelled out in that document with masterly imprecision and deliberate vagueness to include and imply almost any enabling power for the President to do whatever he chooses in the months and years to come.

What the people were being asked, with as much circumlocution as feasible, was to endorse what the military dictator, General Zia, has been doing in pursuance of enforcing Islam in the daily lives of the largely Muslim people (à la Ayatollah Khomeini and Numeiri), and in making the Islamic ideology supreme, and to endorse whatever he might do on behalf of this cause in future. They had to say 'yes' or 'no'. They were not told that saying 'no' meant nothing: the present military government, ruling through martial decrees, shall continue as at present. If they said 'yes' this was freely explained in the accompanying propaganda — it would be a mandate for General Zia to continue for another five years as an elected president from a date to be specified by himself some time in future. Not merely that. He would be supposed to have obtained the mandate to make whatever amendments in the Constitution he pleases. He will make, on his own admission, sweeping changes in the electoral system so that the ideas and practices of the infidel West are not allowed to bring in a Western-style democracy — an ugly thing

from an *Islamic* point of view.

To this end, a tremendous amount of propaganda is being put out by the government machinery through all the known media; it is an unbelievable extravaganza of publicity, rarely matched even in Pakistan which has seen much totalitarian propaganda. It is a strictly one-horse race and the people are shown on the media, especially the TV (through deft tricks of mixing close-up shots of actual events with older scenes of huge crowds), wildly cheering the lone contender. The commentators are divided in two unequal halves: a few favoured ones are ecstatic in supporting the regime's objective through all the media; all the rest of us are sad and silent spectators. Newspaper editorials are mealy-mouthed in support, advising everybody to be 'realistic' and 'moderate' with plenty of clichés about national unity in this hour of 'national peril' etc.

No defiance

Is there censorship in Pakistan? The government representatives stoutly claim, as did Major General Mujibur Rehman who is Secretary of Information in the government, that there is no censorship whatever. He spoke the literal truth, except in one or two cases. 'Government merely *advises* the newspaper editors' — in most of the remaining cases of private ownership this means the proprietor himself — 'to project this or not to project that in the national interest'. The odd fact is that no one defies the *advice*. It is thus true that no journalist or writer is subject to direct official censorship. What censorship there is, is carried out by the newspapers themselves. Writers too are careful enough in their writing; if they are openly critical of the regime, nothing will get into print in either newspapers or literary magazines. The editors are the most efficient censors — and also the most ruthless.

On the question of press freedom, it is true that several hundred newspaper and press workers were arrested, kept in detention or given prison sentences, and at least four journalists were whipped in Lahore jail on an earlier occasion. But after that episode, the regime refined its instruments and methods. Now the controls are indirect. Every newspaper and periodical must renew its newsprint-quota licence every other month. Most of the country's advertising —

Pakistan Why the press is tame

60%-70% — is directly and rigidly government-controlled; the government distributes the ads as it sees best and is not bound by the old 'outdated' criterion of circulation, as the Information Minister proudly asserted in the hitherto-nominated parliament, called Shoora, in reply to a question. He said the government has its own criteria; among other things, it supports newspapers that project Islamic ideology, and also the smaller regional press. Which translates into a lot of money being given to small, obscure sycophantic sheets, owned and edited by small-time crooks.

There is one notable exception. Foreign journalists are not subjected to any controls; they may file whatever they please. Although this is not true in all cases, it applies to most. But a foreign journalist who is known to be 'unfriendly' can have his hotel room or luggage rifled through in his absence, his cables may be unaccountably delayed, or his telexed copy may at times be garbled. But this is a very small percentage. In most other cases, government officials go out of their way to be gracious and helpful; those representing the major Western media are favoured with exclusive interviews with

even the Big Chief in which the great man simply charms them by his artless simplicity, frankness, humility, courtesy and, above all, his willingness to give as much time and eatables as the visitor requires. The opinion of major Western newspapers and media is much valued and feared in Islamabad and their representatives are truly cultivated.

Not so the local guys. The Big Chief is, as the mood or circumstances require, courteous, forthcoming, patient or curt, arrogant, or simply not available. Although the Pakistani newspaper editors, as a community, are frequently called in for a collective audience and lavishly entertained after hearing long harangues during which he is seldom impatient or discourteous — largely because he does not have to be with such a docile lot, most of whom compete fiercely in being more loyal than the king.

Best channels

The government does not concern itself directly with individual journalists, columnists, or other commentators, except when the journalist concerned is one of the trusted few. In the latter case, even the Big Chief himself occasionally rings up, often at odd hours, as some of these writers have informed us through the printed word. He depends a lot on calculated — usually false — leaks about what he is about to do; he likes the political discussion in the nation to be centred on themes he selects and these favoured columnists are the best channels, for which purpose they are strategically planted — on advice from on high — in important newspapers.

All the controls are through the owners and editors on pain of the very large stick of draconian Martial Law Regulations and Orders that can mean forfeiture or closure of the newspapers, press or other property, including the much-valued declaration (the government permission to bring out a periodical); and the carrot that goes with the stick is comparatively shorter but nonetheless substantial. For large newspapers, say *Dawn* or *Jang*, it is conceivable that they can survive without government ads. But which entrepreneur wants to see his income drop by 60% and 70% — and that is certainly what will happen if they disobey the *advice*. And even worse things can happen.

Besides, newspaper owners are big businessmen with many other economic interests, all of which require the government's benevolent support. They simply cannot afford to displease the government. Insofar as the smaller newspapers are concerned, they would die in less than a month if there was a stoppage of government ads. Then, six or seven daily newspapers and some weeklies are directly owned and controlled, in the sense of

appointments being made, and deficits being met by bank loans, under government instructions; these can only toe the line. The radio and TV are strictly government-owned and controlled; they get bulletin-to-bulletin instructions from the Information people. They are the primary vehicles of government propaganda. The scope for dissent is severely limited, even in theory.

Among the instruments of government control a curious example is the one on journalists' travel. Any visit abroad has to be cleared with six agencies: the Foreign Office, Intelligence Bureau, Home Ministry (separately), the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (military), the Cabinet Secretariat, and the Information Ministry itself. But that is not all — the last hurdle is the purchase of air tickets, which requires permission from the State Bank of Pakistan. Even that is not the end of the matter. The Foreign Exchange for actual expenses, other than the personal quota available to all citizens once every two calendar years, requires permission from the State Bank of Pakistan under a special advice from the Central Finance Ministry (which means, ultimately, the Information Ministry's recommendation). There is a further catch, however, in this jungle of red tape: there is a super-secret list of banned persons with the Immigration authorities at all airports, ports and overland check points. A person on this, admittedly very small, list will not leave the country unless the Immigration people are specifically told to let him or her go.

Imprisoned publishers

Let no one run away with the notion that all restrictions are for journalists alone. They apply to all professions, to everyone invited abroad or having to go there for professional work. They have to pass through the same maze of red tape, except that instead of the Information Ministry, the pivotal role will be played by the Ministry dealing with their particular profession: thus writers, poets, university teachers or other educationalists must first move the Education Ministry that will initiate further clearances; lawyers have first to approach the Law Ministry; and so on. Persons on the banned list may be from any walk of life; the only qualification is prominence and a record of having seriously displeased the government. No one knows for certain whether his name is there or not; it is only at the time of departure that he or she may discover that he is eminent enough to be on the list. One is not talking of the small super-secret list where only affirmative telephone or other direct messages can do the trick. Confusion arises because everyone, as a private citizen, is supposed to be free to travel as an individual for private purposes; professionals get into trouble when they

Free and fair?

The Pakistan government has reimposed strict restrictions on the press, forbidding the publication of the views of opposition politicians who are boycotting the forthcoming elections.

Most of the politicians are in exile, in prison, under house arrest, or restricted from moving around the country.

Since 12 January when General Zia announced that elections without political parties would be held at the end of February... for three weeks there was a national debate about whether the Opposition would or should take part in the elections. Then the regime clamped down again.

Newspaper editors were told to print only the views of those taking part in the elections.

Such instructions are known as 'press advice'. On the same day, the Pakistani newspaper editors met and passed strong resolutions against the system of controlling the press. They also deplored the withholding of advertising from some papers which are considered to have transgressed.

The editors said that the press curbs negated assurances given by General Zia that the elections would be free and fair. Freedom of the press was indispensable for the growth of democracy through elections, said the editors.

Alex Brodie, *The Guardian*, 4 February 1985.

attempt to leave as simple citizens. It is only the hardened perennials like journalists and known politicians who take care to obtain a 'No Objection Certificate' (NOC) from the government before they attempt to depart.

Insofar as literary writers and poets are concerned, they are actually free to write what they like; there is no known censorship of short stories, novels or poetry. For one thing, the government does not care too much about the long-term effect of what the literateurs are saying or doing. They could not care less about what happens in the future; today's is a military government concerned with the present only: if its rule is not being challenged directly, it will leave the poet alone. But if the message is immediate or direct, things begin to happen to you: ask, for instance, the famous Urdu poet, Ahmad Faraz, now living abroad, mostly in London. Another famous poet, the late Ahmed Faiz spent years in voluntary exile, having left Pakistan of his own free will and not being deported.

Publishers of books do not receive 'advice' in the way newspapers do, i.e. on a day-to-day basis. But God help them if they publish a book that gets proscribed. They are dealt with not by a sophisticated Ministry like those of Information or Education; they hear from the Home Ministry through the police. While there have not been many cases of direct prosecution, the Martial Law Orders and Regulations are generous enough to include everyone within their catch-all provisions and dispense savage punishment. Even a well-known publisher like the Oxford University Press (Karachi branch) is known voluntarily to submit its manuscripts to the provincial government for prior (and informal) approval. The others do the same if they want to stay on the right side of what passes as the law. ■

Continued from page 16

West on which Konrad's recent career has turned. From Konrad's own predicament, from the exalted position of Hungary's intellectuals, and from the Hungarian experience of Kadar's liberal paternalistic regime it distills a strategy for reducing the power of the state — the cultivation of intellectual autonomy. 'Some mad Central European folly keeps me here,' he writes, 'possibly the intoxication of inner freedom compensates for the painful absence of external liberty. At other times I think that this is the only place where there is really something to think about, since even geographically this is the centre of Europe.' ■

Farhad

Curbing free thought

Martial Law regulation number 33 punishes indulgence 'in any political activity by words, signs or visible representation' with 7 years jail and 20 lashes. There are plans to ban women from driving, voting and holding most jobs.

* *A television playwright, fairly popular in official circles, wrote a line in his TV play: 'It is human nature. Man wants change.' The line was expunged from the play without the knowledge of the writer or the script editor.*

* *Four television cameramen of Rawalpindi-Islamabad television centre were sacked for irresponsibly commenting on the 'referendum' speech of General Zia-ul-Haq in December 1984.*

* *A censor committee insisted on deleting a close-up of a tearful eye in a film commercial saying that it was erotic. Another committee, set up to vet scripts of stage-plays, proudly claimed that it not only objected to certain lines of dialogue but that they also made 'positive suggestions'.*

* *A government circular advises government departments, libraries, educational institutions and autonomous institutions that they should subscribe only to listed 'balanced' newspapers (all published by the government-owned National Press Trust). The government also decides to base the granting of government advertisements on the 'responsible' attitude of the newspapers rather than their circulation.*

* *Author-advocate Mushtaq Raj was detained under Martial Law for writing a book which attempts to find common ground between religion and Marxism.*

* *The Law of Evidence was promulgated and women were declared unfit to become witnesses to commercial deals on their own. A business contract must be signed by two men, or by a man and two women.*

These are some of the 'developments' which took place in Pakistan in 1984, confirming the 'fundamentalist' social and cultural policies of the military regime which has been in power since 1977. For Pakistanis, not unfamiliar with military dictatorships and political repression, the rightist regime of General Zia has been a new and much more frightful experience. From the very outset, the General promised to introduce

'Nizam-i-Mustafa' (the system of Mohammad) and openly aligned himself with the ultra-right. While the generals (retired and in-service) took control of maintaining law and order and crushing any opposition, they let their political allies (Jamaat-i-Islami and the mullahs) take care of the cultural and educational front. The military regime issues Martial Law regulations prohibiting dissent, criticism by word, action or gesture, and stifling all forms of expression. The Jamaat and the mullahs create a mood of religious fanaticism and intolerance, seeking sanctions for all such acts from the *Quran*.

Those able to mobilise opposition or articulate popular feelings were the first target of the Zia regime. Political workers, trade union leaders, journalists and lawyers faced imprisonment, torture and flogging in the first few years. Teachers, artists, intellectuals from the smaller nationalities, religious minorities and women were tackled next.

Freedom of thought and expression in Pakistan has always been more of an ideal, a dream, like freedom from hunger, poverty and foreign control. But until the 1977 coup there had been steady progress on the cultural and social fronts. Under Ayub Khan (1958-69) and Bhutto (1971-77), Pakistan slowly but consistently moved towards a relatively liberal and modern society. More women were getting higher education and 'men's' jobs; the educational system, though based on the colonial mode, was flexible and open to new ideas, and regional languages and cultures were gradually emerging from the suppression of the initial years. In the first few years of Bhutto, in the early seventies, art and culture had a period of boom. The experience of two general elections (1970 and 1977), and of elected government answerable to the electorate and unable to abolish opposition, had a very healthy influence on creative and cultural expression. That was when writers, poets and artists expressed themselves freely and took sides without fear of losing jobs or of victimisation. In the latter years of Bhutto (mid-seventies) the screws started tightening again but had to be relaxed in the wake of the 1977 elections and the opposition

Pakistan Curbing free thought

agitation which followed. General Zia took over in July 1977 on the pretext of establishing law and order and holding free and fair elections.

General Zia didn't lose much time in revising his reasons for the takeover. He disclosed that actually he had come to Islamise the country (which was created in the name of Islam in the first place), and to purge the political life of corrupt, un-Islamic and un-patriotic politicians. He started a process of accountability of the ruling party politicians and the process of Islamisation. Islamic courts and punishments were introduced (though subject to Martial Law); steps were taken to introduce interest-free banking; piety and good character were introduced as criteria for government appointments and promotions; government offices, the media, education were purged of leftists, liberals, and un-Islamic people; student unions were banned, trade unions either banned or emasculated; and religious fanatics and mullahs were given powers at local level to conduct witch-hunting.

The freedom to think, write or create has been curtailed by a combination of state terror and the whipping up of fanaticism in the more vulnerable or articulate sections of the society. The various sources of pressure are:-

(i) **Martial Law Regulations.** These regulations and orders are issued at the will of the military regime, can cover any issue and may prescribe any punishment, effective in some cases retroactively. These regulations include spreading hatred between provinces or classes (MLR 4, maximum punishment 10 years and 30 stripes); exciting disaffection towards the army, creating dependency (MLR 13, 5 years and 10 stripes); propaganda for the separation of any province (MLR 15, death); expressing opinion prejudicial to ideology or integrity of Pakistan (MLR 18, 7 years and 10 stripes); membership of a political party by government servants (MLR 20, 5 years and 20 stripes); indulging in any political activity by words, signs or visible representation (MLR 33, 7 years and 20 stripes).

In most cases it is the suspect or the accused who has to prove his or her innocence in military courts where there is no opportunity to have defence lawyers and no right of appeal to a higher court. The Martial Law regulations are now applied to sack professors, to arrest 'drunken' journalists or writers, to prohibit religious minorities from praying, or to imprison publishers.

(ii) **Islamic courts** have been set up which are run by *Shariat* judges and mullahs can interfere in a wide range of social, family or cultural matters. Moreover, mullahs and

Blind Safia

Safia was raped by a father and son who employed her as a maid. Under Pakistan's extraordinary *Zina Ordinance*, rape must be substantiated by four male witnesses, and the victim must be able to 'identify' the man involved. Safia was helpless before a Pakistan court. She was unable to identify the man who attacked her — the court refused to accept as evidence the fact that she was blind. And the fact that she had borne a child out of wedlock meant that she was an adulteress. She was sentenced to a public flogging and three years gaol. That was the end of the case.

After six months of sustained protest and demonstrations by Pakistani women and lawyers, Safia was quietly acquitted by the federal Shariat court, the highest Islamic tribunal now ruling in Pakistan. But despite the public outcry, neither man was punished.

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fundamentalist groups have been given freedom to accuse others of being 'anti-Islamic', 'atheist' or 'irreverent to God or the Prophet'. Such hate-campaigns may whip up religious frenzy and threaten the safety of the victims. Two examples follow.

Masood Munawar, a well-known Punjabi poet and journalist, who had intellectual and writer friends in India and had opposed the domination of Urdu language and culture, became a target of such a campaign, which became hysterical when he went to India and gave interviews (publicised by the Indian media for obvious reasons). As a result, his return to Pakistan became impossible and his wife received threats and fled the country after being prevented from leaving several times.

Mushtaq Raj, a well-known lawyer, political activist and author, became the target of mullahs and bigots when his book

on Marxism and Islam was published. He was detained under Martial Law, which according to some was fortunate; for the statements by the fanatics could easily have led to attempts on his life.

When women organised themselves to oppose the proposed laws depriving them of their rights as citizens and persons, several religious leaders, including a visiting group of black Muslim 'scholars' invited from the US, decreed that these women were infidels, their marriages had become void and they were liable to be sentenced to death.

(iii) **The ideology of Pakistan.** Dissidents, leftists, nationalists and trade unionists can very easily be accused of 'undermining the ideology of Pakistan' and being 'unpatriotic' ('at the behest of foreign powers' in most cases). Most common victims of this trap are nationalist intellectuals or activists who support demands on behalf of the smaller nationalities and the development of the 'regional' cultures and languages. They are called 'secessionists', 'foreign agents' or 'subversives'.

(iv) **'Vulgarity'** is a magic wand which can be applied freely to those writers, poets, artists or media people who do not follow the line. Publications can be banned, films rejected by censors, and radio, TV or stage scripts thrown into the bin on the whim of sycophantic censors. Recently all special editions of newspapers about films were prohibited on such grounds. Women's hockey was banned and then restored under strict restrictions, such as that the players should be fully dressed (from head to the ankles) and no men be allowed as spectators. The famous classical dancer Naheed Siddiqui had to leave the country when her popular television programme on classical dancing was discontinued after accusations that it was corrupting the morals of young Pakistani girls. Most shocking was the demand by a government-promoted

Hameed Asghar Minas

Hameed Asghar Minas was arrested on 2 November 1981 under the Official Secrets Act. During the first one and a half years of his detention he was not informed of the charges against him, and his application for bail was rejected. He was finally charged in May 1983 under Section 3 of the Official Secrets Act and Martial Law Regulation No 54; the latter includes a wide range of anti-state offences for which the maximum penalty is death. Some of the charges against him are reported to relate to the possession of

anti-state literature and publication of material against the interests of Pakistan.

Amnesty International understands that Hameed Asghar Minas' trial, which began in May 1983, was held *in camera* by a special military court and was not conducted according to internationally established legal standards. The trial is believed to have been completed several months ago. Amnesty International does not know the precise date but understands that Hameed Asghar Minas has been held in leg fetters since that time. No verdict has yet been pronounced.

Amnesty International, Urgent Action, 27 January 1984

Curbing free thought Pakistan



Bar shackles: Prisoners of Rawalpindi Gaol squatting in the Special Military Court Rawalpindi. Note that their bar shackles have been temporarily undone from the waist.

religious scholar Dr Israr Ahmad that the game of cricket is vulgar, distracts people from prayers, and should be banned. The scholar was particularly offended by the sight of Imran Khan rubbing the cricket ball on his thigh.

Onslaught on women

Women as a sex have suffered most. The Zia regime had a political grievance against them, for they have been the most loyal supporters of the late Mr Bhutto and his People's Party. Women's demonstrations were crushed with unprecedented brutality and many women political workers were tortured. Soon there began a general onslaught against women. After intense propaganda about the Islamic teachings that women should confine themselves to the four walls and have segregated education from primary to university level, practical measures were taken. A government commission led by Maulana Ansari was set up to suggest reforms. The report

submitted in 1982 included recommendations that women should be barred from holding the office of head of state or government, the minimum age for women candidates to the parliament should be 50, the value of a murdered woman should be half of that of a murdered man when settling the case by agreement with the aggrieved party; in murder cases women should not be admitted as witnesses and in civil matters the evidence of two women should be equal to that of one man.

In spite of vociferous opposition from women's organisations representing different professions, social and political groups, several recommendations of the Ansari Commission have received ratification from the nominated Consultative Council (Majlis-i-Shoora) and the President, while enforcement of others seems imminent. There are proposals to ban women from radio and television, prohibit them from driving, withdraw their right to vote, and to keep them from most jobs. Dr

Israr has proposed that women should not step out of their houses, should not do any jobs (except house-work), and should only leave the house in emergencies, and even then should be dressed in such a way 'that not even an inch of their body be visible'. There are plans to set up women's universities in all provinces of Pakistan, paving the ground for driving women out of the main universities.

The extent of discrimination against women employees is evident: a blind woman in Sahiwal was raped by two men (her employers) and got pregnant. Under Islamic law she was unable herself to identify the rapists; and there were no witnesses to satisfy the Islamic legal requirements. So the men were released but the victim was sentenced to 15 lashes. (See box 'Blind Safia.') In Liaquatpur, a 35-year-old widow was flogged for 'adultery' in front of more than 5000 spectators.

As a result of this inhuman policy, assaults on women have increased. Fanatics roaming the streets humiliate women who dare to step out. When in February 1983 women protesters were mercilessly beaten up by policemen and policewomen in Lahore, it was justified by these elements on the grounds that the women had 'asked for it' by coming out on the streets. A campaign dubbing such women as 'immoral, shameless and un-Islamic' followed, culminating in demands to sentence them to death. Enquiries were launched against women in government jobs who had actively opposed the Ansari Report. At Nawabpur, during a feud, a group of men stripped the women of the opponents' families, assaulted them and then paraded them in the streets. In Karachi a new-born baby was stoned to death at a mullah's behest. The baby had been left on the doorstep of the mosque and the mullah had inferred that the baby was illegitimate and decreed that he be 'executed'.

There have been three kinds of reactions to the cultural repression. Several prominent poets, including Ahmad Faraz, Farigh Bukhari, Shohrat Bukari, Abbas Athar, Johar Mir, Zahid Farani, Masood Munawar, Ashoor Kazmi, had to leave Pakistan, their jobs, families and friends. Intellectuals and journalists like Wahab Siddiqui, Khalid Hassan, Hamraz Ahsan, Shahid Nadeem and Nasim Ahmad cannot return. Film-makers like Jameel Dehlavi and Salman Prizada, and actors like Badi-uz-Zaman fear immediate arrest on their return; for they made or acted in films the military regime doesn't like. Then there are those who have given up and accept the restrictions on thought and expression. Finally, there are those who carry on the resistance on the cultural front and refuse to give up their right to think, express

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Pakistan

themselves and act freely. They are ordinary people, not heroes; they are economically and physically vulnerable. They are the hope of the country.

There are poets who are writing poetry, although they could be arrested, like Habib Jalib was for 'drinking'. There are writers who dare to write what is not allowed, although they could be sacked from their jobs, as were Shafqat Tanveer Mirza or Masood Ashar. Journalists like Mazhar Ali Khan, Irshad Rao and Amin Mughal suffer imprisonment for criticising the government. Intellectuals like Tariq Ahsan, Jameel Omar and Mohammad Saleem suffer years in prison for publishing illegal political leaflets, but the illegal publications don't stop. In spite of official surveillance and restrictions on popular religious-cultural events, festivals like Mela Shah Hussain and Urs of Shah Bhitai attract hundreds of thousands from all parts of the country and no Martial Law order stops the devotees from dancing and singing. If films are banned on political or moralistic grounds, they still reach a large audience through clandestine videos; if poetry is banned in the newspapers, it reaches millions by word of mouth; cartoons circulate underground and literature in the 'regional' languages is flourishing. Pakistani writers and artists are learning to use new forms of expression. ■

Continued from page 23

lectures also suffered. All kinds of people, widows, retired persons, sometimes young people and sometimes whole families. They were usually summoned for summary proceedings in the so-called Misdemeanour Courts, institutions which punish hooligans who disturb the peace or commit various misdemeanours such as beating people up.

I had the honour of being the only TKN lecturer to be formally charged. In 1979, I stood before the Lower Misdemeanour Court in the Mokotow district of Warsaw, and I was sentenced to a fine of 5,000 zlotys for delivering a lecture on the Polish Underground State during World War Two.

During Martial Law, as far as I know, almost all the active TKN lecturers — certainly about 80% of them — were sent to internment camps, centres or jails. They served terms ranging from a few months to years. I believe that all the TKN lecturers who found themselves interned gave lectures there to their fellow-inmates. I myself delivered some 70 hours of lectures during my time in internment, which was almost five months. This was of course just a signal, a sign of life. As the Polish poet Slowacki said, 'when the ship was sinking I sat on the mast'. This means that though the ship may be sinking, I'll continue to give signs of life to the very end — I still exist. ■

Thailand

Marcel Barang

Press freedom: Now you see it, now you don't

Between 1979 and 1982, 47 journalists were murdered; they are believed to have been killed because of their investigations. Seven more were assassinated in 1983, and one in 1984.

Thailand is, with the Philippines, widely regarded as having the freest press in Southeast Asia. This is indeed so, despite outdated laws which restrict freedom of thought and expression, and despite erratic use of these laws depending on political expediency and the balance of power. At the same time, a high level of social violence has taken its toll in human lives among the more assertive local professionals. In the past two years, 13 Thai reporters have been killed — at least eight of them murdered in job-related pursuits. Two foreign correspondents were expelled; a prominent editor, Chacharin Chaiwat, was jailed for five months without trial along with other intellectuals accused of communist activities; one well-known social critic, Sulak Sivaraksa, together with his publisher and his interviewer, were charged with *lèse-majesté* (the case was later dropped), the three were released from jail, but Sulak's book, *Unmasking Thai Society*, was confiscated by the police and remains banned (*Index on Censorship* 6/84, p 43). One political weekly was forced to close down and another was banned, only to resume publication under a different name. All this while the government kept up its efforts to impose drastic, new legislation to 'promote a more responsible press' in line with its attempts to enforce a kind of guided democracy on Thai society, polity and institutions.

Nevertheless, as regards press freedom, news availability and travel convenience, Bangkok remains the best 'base' for foreign press correspondents in the region. There are nearly 100 of them, most also covering events in the rest of Southeast Asia and sometimes beyond. Unlike their Thai colleagues, foreign reporters are hardly ever faced with threats to their physical safety. Since the Second World War, only one foreign reporter has been killed in Thailand (American freelance journalist Claudia Ross, found murdered in her flat in the early 1970s) and it was never clearly established whether or not her death was related to her

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journalistic pursuits. A few foreign reporters, though, have received threats and had narrow escapes in the course of their enquiries. On the whole, however, foreign journalists need not or cannot research local interest stories (where the risks of beating-up and murder are the greatest), and they like to think the biggest risk they face is expulsion.

Until two years ago, only two foreign journalists (Leon Daniel, UPI bureau chief, and Norman Peagam, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* Thailand correspondent) had been expelled, for articles deemed detrimental to the country by the then authoritarian régimes. However, in 1983, the *Asian Wall Street Journal's* Bangkok-based political correspondent Barry Wain was expelled after writing a well-documented article on conditions in a Thai detention camp at the Cambodian border holding Vietnamese army defectors. The article happened to displease a former Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs. Allowed back within three months, Barry Wain has since moved to a higher position at the AWSJ's Hong Kong headquarters.

In July 1984, it was the turn of American journalist Alan Dawson, an associate editor of *The Bangkok Post* writing on Indochina affairs, to be ordered to leave by the Foreign Ministry for unspecified articles deemed 'detrimental to the government's interest'. This move is particularly puzzling as Dawson's writings in the *Post* were considered to be staunchly pro-government and anti-communist. Since then, Dawson, who is writing a book on a bar owner in Bangkok's sin-city Patpong, has been in and out of the country on two-week tourist passes. His expulsion took the form of a refusal to renew his visa.

Most foreign reporters based in Thailand stay on a so-called 'non-immigrant' visa. This used to be renewable every year. In the past couple of years, however, reportedly under orders from the military, the Foreign Ministry requires immigration authorities to issue it for only six months at a time (with the labour permit and the press card following suit). For those foreign reporters unable to afford a middle man and pass it off as expenses, this only doubles bureaucratic hassles at a time when, ironically,

Press freedom Thailand



Sulak Sivaraksa: banned book

immigration, the labour department and other relevant administrations had notably improved (i.e. simplified) their procedures. The 'rationale' of such a move is supposedly to keep the foreign press under a tighter leash, with the threat of 'non-renewal' within six months rather than twelve.

Another source of ill-feeling among the foreign press since mid-1981 has been the denial of access to the Thai-Cambodian border, except on rare, guided tours. This Army-imposed policy resulted in a lack of credibility for Thailand. In late 1984 it was quietly dropped and access to certain border camps north of Aranyaprathet was restored to reporters, when the military situation allowed. (It should be stressed, however, that access has always been restricted to the 'refugee corridor', immediately North and immediately South of Aranyaprathet, and that the Thai military have always banned

both foreign and local press people from the remaining three quarters of the Thai-Khmer border, except for the very rare, guided visit to one particular base.)

As everyone is well aware, the only real taboo in Thailand is criticism of the royal institution. Even insistent interest in it is frowned on. Besides that, the Thai authorities are prompt to react to what they consider 'negative' reporting by the foreign press. As *Far Eastern Economic Review* (FEER) Bangkok political correspondent John McBeth puts it, 'officials sometimes expect the foreign press corps to share their own sense of Thai nationalism'. Particularly sensitive are stories about piracy, child labour, and prostitution, which have arguably been overemphasised in foreign press coverage. Participants at a meeting

held recently at the Foreign Correspondents Club in Bangkok were only too happy to blame the undue attention given these sensitive topics and their shallow and unbalanced coverage mainly on what the Thai press has dubbed the 'parachute correspondents' (foreign reporters coming for short visits). This conveniently overlooks the fact that the visitors' first (and too often only) sources of information are resident foreign journalists some of whom are only too happy to work out their frustrations by exposing to their visiting colleagues what they themselves haven't the guts to report in detail.

A widespread view among officials and the local press is that if Thais write critically about their country, it is all right, but if the foreign press does so, it is 'a smear on Thailand's image', as *Bangkok Post* managing editor Ian Fawcett puts it. This double-standard approach may help explain why the Thai press is much more daringly, wildly outspoken than foreign reports will ever be.

By and large, sensationalism remains the rule for most Thai mass-circulation dailies such as *Thai Rath* (circulation: 600,000 to 700,000), *Daily News* (450,000) or *Ban Meuang* (70,000). Their stock in trade consists of grisly pictures of murder or accident victims, boobs and bums, gossip columns, scandalous titbits, obnoxious reports and editorials (in sharp contrast, and possibly as a compensation, to the thoroughly sanitised official news forced to all four TV channels and dozens of radio stations, which are either government- or military-owned). Most of the vernacular press — there are 22 'national' dailies and dozens of periodicals upcountry — can be at once very tame and very vicious, very subservient and very scurrilous. Furthermore, quite a few upcountry journalists supplement their income as part-time businessmen, and some even resort to blackmail or extortion.

For all that, thanks to a new generation of socially-concerned journalists, there has in recent years been a noticeable improvement in the quality and scope of local reporting, with more attention being given to foreign news and social and economic trends, and a new emphasis on political development. Nevertheless, professional shortcomings are being used by the government as a weapon and an excuse to seek to justify tighter controls.

For the past two years, government-sponsored press legislation has been pending before Parliament to replace a host of special decrees and orders taken by various military régimes in the past. Chief among them is Decree 42, issued after the October 1976 coup, which gives the police Director-General sole powers to close down

Thailand Press freedom

newspapers indefinitely.

Only one publication has been closed permanently in recent years (*Thailand Times* weekly, in early 1983), allegedly for publishing false stories about military affairs. Others have seen their publishing licences withdrawn at one time or another, but they are usually allowed back under a new name. The standard counter-move for a publisher is to get several licences approved beforehand, or borrow an available, valid licence. The record is probably held by the left-wing magazine *Athit*, launched in the early 1970s, which after several 'sloughings' once again resurfaced as *Vivat* in mid-1984

after having been banned as *Kedlap* for carrying interviews with members of the CPT (Communist Party of Thailand) who were at that time underground and who later were arrested.

Apart from the police Director-General, three police officers have been acting as 'press officers', monitoring news reports and recommending sanctions against publications deemed to have erred. In mid-1984, however, the Interior Minister appointed nine new scrutineers, all attached to the military's Supreme Command. There was an outcry, and this measure was suspended.

Conflict

The new legislation — drafted by the Interior Ministry and approved by the Cabinet — has yet to be accepted by Parliament. Thai journalists view it as an attempt to perpetuate Decree 42 and to reinforce unacceptable provisions of the 1941 Press Act, which itself simply ignored the principle of press freedom. Two liberal private bills on the abrogation of Decree 42 and a general status for the press were passed by Parliament in 1983. They are in contradiction with the Interior Ministry bill, and the incorporation of all three bills into one single law looks an impossible task.

The main areas of conflict are over the amount of authority to be vested in the police Director-General; the absence or creation of a neutral appeals procedure; free licensing of publications or yearly renewal of publishing licences (a clause now dropped from the government bill); the powers of a press council. The government believes such a press council (to which all media licence-holders would have to belong) should merely advise the Interior Minister. The private bill sees the press council as a congregation of all journalists, appointing in turn a professional committee to handle complaints and mete out punishments ranging from warnings to expulsion. Many journalists are opposed to such a corporatist approach (partly out of fear of domination by the larger newspapers). They feel that the press council's authority should only be moral and that the best safeguard against 'irresponsibility' should come from within through better professional training — backed up by legal recourse. Another bone of contention is whether to include respect for 'national security' along with 'public order' and 'moral decency' as basic requirements whose breach would lead to sanctions. It is widely felt that this would be tantamount to introducing direct censorship in peacetime.

Restraint

As it is, all Thai newspapers (including the English-language dailies, *The Bangkok Post* and *The Nation Review*) do exercise a lot of

caution (not to say self-censorship) over certain issues usually — but not always — related to national security as understood by the powers-that-be. This restraint is often helped, one is told, by friendly (or not-so-friendly) phone calls or other informal warnings by authorities, when they do not actually pass on instructions on how to handle a particular story. Written warnings only come later.

How far to go on a sensitive story (piracy in the gulf of Thailand, happenings on the Cambodian and other borders, assassination attempts against national leaders, activities of the Communist Party of Thailand, etc) depends very much on the political climate of the moment as well as on the political clout of the person or persons owning or backing the periodical. Almost all of the Thai press is privately-owned, often by one businessman-cum-politician or just a few powerful shareholders.

For all that, some of the Thai-language newspapers (in particular the daily *Maitichon* and its sister paper the weekly *Prachachart Turakij*) have distinguished themselves in their fearless — and sometimes efficient — campaigns against corruption and other wrongdoings. At great cost, above all in human life.

Between 1979 and 1982, 47 journalists were murdered for what are believed to have been 'job-related' reasons. Another seven were killed in 1983, and one in June 1984. Others have been targets of assassination attempts. Most of those killed were rural reporters investigating smuggling, gambling, or illegal timber-felling activities. According to civil-rights lawyer Thongbai Thongpao, in the majority of cases the available evidence suggested police involvement; and in two of the seven 1983 cases policemen were indeed charged and sentenced.

Last year's case happened on 11 or 12 June, in Chonburi, an unruly seaport near Bangkok. 28-year-old Kittti Sirichai, who worked for both a local and a Bangkok paper (*Siang Siam* and *Daily Mirror*) was found dead in a ditch, shot twice, in the head and back. Another reporter from the same local paper, Udom Rojanavipark, had been killed by a gunman in Pattaya in 1980.

The decrease in the number of assassinations of journalists (from an all-time high of 13 in 1982) may reflect government efforts to suppress criminal activities, or else greater caution on the part of crusading journalists.

'Journalism', as the *Far Eastern Economic Review*'s correspondent Paisal Sirichatchanya correctly notes, 'has never been regarded as a socially honourable trade'. Asked if the perception had changed in the past few years, one editor replied, with a hint of a smile, 'that newsmen now ranked "better than a barber".' ■

Indonesia: Bannings

In 1984 five foreign correspondents based in Jakarta were denied an extension of stay to carry out their professional duties. They included Joe Manguno of the *Asian Wall Street Journal*, Isabelle Reckwag of UPI, Gilles Bertin of AFP, Susumu Awanohara of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* and Akira Mori of the Japanese *Asahi Shimbun*. The Indonesian government seemed to be particularly sensitive about these correspondents' 'negative' reporting of the deteriorating social and economic situation in the country. Some of these reports included mention of the activities of the semi-official 'death squads' which were allegedly responsible for the extra-judicial killings of some 5000 'suspected criminals' throughout the country; the periodic bombing and burning of banks, department stores and international hotels; the agitation among some Muslim fundamentalists; and the war in East Timor and Irian Jaya.

Local journalists and publications faced stricter restrictions because of censorship regulations and self-censorship. Publications which were banned included the weekly *Expo* because of a feature on 'Indonesia's One Hundred Billionaires', *Topik* magazine's coverage of the poor ('Looking for a Hundred Kinds of Poor People'); and *Focus* magazine's feature 'Two Hundred Rich Indonesians'. As the government spokesman explained, these magazines were banned because they 'promoted class conflict' and 'disrupted national security'. As for journalists, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, the Head of National Security, General Benny Murdani explained in September 1984 that 'journalists have a duty and responsibility to select information which can rapidly help create national unity and stability.' LHT

Nnamdi Anyadike

What price press freedom?

'Decree Four' makes it an offence for any person to report or publish information that is false in any material particular, or that brings the government or officials into ridicule or disrepute. The onus of proof rests on the person accused.

The news that the army had taken over, announced by Brigadier Sanni Abacha on New Year's Day 1984, was reported the next day by the Nigerian newspaper in a tone that bordered on the sycophantic. The mood persisted for at least a couple of weeks as editorial after editorial sought to out-do one another in condemning the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) government whilst at the same time heaping praise on the new military government. For anyone familiar with the many political upheavals in Nigeria since Independence — this was after all Nigeria's fourth successful coup — and the increasingly cynical way in which they had been reported, the reaction of the press on this occasion was, to say the least, quite extraordinary.

Now over a year after Shehu Shagari's civilian government was 'drummed out' by Nigeria's latest military rulers, Black Africa's most prolific and widely acclaimed free press is shackled by a Decree which has all but deprived it of its former potency. The press and the media generally have been stunned and confused. What possible justification could the government have for silencing the press which so vigorously condemned the same civilian government that the army has now overthrown? And why shackle a press that had given such generous support in the first (potentially difficult) days, thus 'smoothing the way' forward, and which had yet to utter a discordant note against the military's stated objectives?

Critics point out that General Gowon had a very rough ride from the domestic and, later, international press. But his government never resorted to the sort of draconian measures provided for in General Buhari's Decree 4. Also, when Gowon was later overthrown by the charismatic army officer, Brigadier Murtala Mohammed, the press by and large remained muted in their praise for the new junta and adopted a 'let's wait and see' attitude. No other Nigerian government, either civilian or military, had ever attracted



Tai Solarin: imprisoned columnist

such universal support from the national media upon entering office.

Yet on 17 April the Federal Military Government (FMG) published the Public Officers (Protection Against False Accusation) Decree 1984, Decree 4. This Decree, which was made retroactive, gave the government power to close newspapers and radio/TV stations, and to jail journalists for reporting 'false information' (see box 'Decree 4'). A decree had been passed two months earlier giving the FMG power to make laws that could not be challenged in the courts.

The announcement of this decree signalled the start of a series of raids on the offices of a

widely respected Nigerian newspaper, the *Guardian*. This paper which had commenced publication only the previous year, and was known for its campaigning style, was an obvious target. The associate editor, Lade Bonuola, and the assistant editor, Femi Kusa, were questioned briefly by the Nigerian Security Organisation (NSO), and then released. But it was the arrest and detention of two of the paper's journalists, Tunde Thompson and Nduka Irabor, and their subsequent trial that brought Decree 4 to the notice of the wider public.

The two men were arrested on 9 and 15

Nnamdi Anyadike, a freelance Nigerian journalist now resident in London, was a post-graduate student at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies and the London School of Economics.

Nigeria What price press freedom?

April 1984 respectively, in connection with a report that appeared in the *Guardian* claiming 11 foreign missions were to close, including one in Cameroon; that eight military officers had been proposed as ambassadors; and that Major-General Ibrahim Haruna (retired) was to replace Major-General Anthony Hananiya as High Commissioner in the UK. At their trial, starting on 4 June, principal witness for the state was George Dove Edwin, Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of External Affairs. He told the tribunal that although 11 foreign missions were indeed to close, the one mentioned in the report, Buea in Cameroon, was not among them. He agreed that eight army officers had been proposed as ambassadors, but said that the two officers named were not among them. He also denied a report that Haruna had been proposed as UK High Commissioner and then turned down by the British as 'unacceptable'.

Chief Rotimi Williams, defending the journalists, asked the tribunal to acquit them as the law of evidence did not require anyone to accept as true what is written in a newspaper. 'A newspaper is a newspaper. . . You can't believe what is in it without further proof.' He also argued that, as it stood, Decree 4 needed clarification, as the 'or' in the wording indicated that 'a statement which brought a public officer into ridicule or disrepute' constituted a separate charge, even if the statement was true. However the tribunal found the two guilty, and on 4 July they were each jailed for one year.

The Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) immediately lodged an appeal against the legality of Decree 4, but lost their action in

Decree 4

The decree makes it an offence for any person to report or publish information that is false in any material particular, or that brings the Government or officials into ridicule or disrepute. Trial will be by a special tribunal under the chairmanship of a High Court judge, with three military officers as members. The onus of proof will be on the person accused.

On conviction, an individual would be liable to a maximum prison sentence of two years. The tribunal can fine the publishing organisation a minimum of ₦10,000, and the Government will have the power to close newspapers or radio/TV stations for 12 months if they are deemed 'detrimental to the interests of the federation'.

No appeal will be allowed against the tribunal's decision.

West Africa, 23 April 1984

December. Meanwhile, despite numerous appeals to the government from both inside and outside the country, the two *Guardian* journalists — and the columnist Tai Solarin (see *Index on Censorship* 5/1984) and Haroun Adamu, editor of the Nigerian *Punch* — remain imprisoned, and the NSO continue to harass journalists and editors. (See *Index/Index* 4/1984 onwards.)

Apart from the notorious Decree 4, the FMG has other, more subtle, means for controlling the private press: the grant of import licences for newsprint. Newspapers, private and government alike, are compelled to import newsprint, and over the years costs have grown. Since 1 January the private press has found it exceptionally difficult to obtain licences to import newsprint in sufficient quantity, whereas the government press has been allowed to import its full allocation.

It has proved especially difficult to publish newspapers at anything like their former length, and some papers have had to 'slim down' from 24 pages to between eight and ten. (The private press has also had, with some difficulty, to persuade staff members to take salary cuts or lose jobs. At the Nigerian *Guardian*, staff reporters recently refused to accept a pay cut and in consequence there were many redundancies.) By refusing import licences to recalcitrant publishers, the government curbs dissent without the messy publicity of a Decree 4 tribunal — by simply stopping the paper from appearing at all.

Growth of the media

It is against the background of the early years of the Nigerian press, with its reputation for articulating and campaigning for nationalist aspirations, that the enormity of the damage done by Decree 4 should be seen. Yet compared with the rest of Black Africa, the Nigerian media are still very sophisticated and richly endowed, with at least 15 dailies and no mean readership: circulation of the most popular papers approach 250,000, and there are about 30 weeklies in various indigenous languages. The country's 19 states are also well covered by a network of local state and federal colour television stations.

As early as the 1880s an African press was already starting to circulate in West Africa. From its beginnings amongst the Creoles of Freetown, Sierra Leone, and among the missionary-educated elites in the Gold Coast enclave of Accra, newspapers produced by Africans for Africans came to be published in Lagos. The early Nigerian papers had a limited circulation — perhaps 2-300 — and were published in the main by 'returnee' West Indians and Black Americans. But though at first not overtly

political, they quickly became the arena where African grievances could be articulated. In the beginning they were primarily Lagos-based, but between 1921 and 1937 provincial newspapers became established in several other towns and cities, especially in eastern Nigeria.

By 1937 there were said to be as many as 51 newspapers: 11 dailies, 33 weeklies, three fortnightlys, and four monthlies. The papers served, and were written by, a tiny urban elite of 'black Englishmen' who had yet to couch their grievances in nationalist terms; but all this was to change. In 1937, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, returning from the USA, launched his newspaper *West African Pilot*. In the years following 1945 this paper became synonymous with radical nationalist sentiment, and forced the older, more established press on to the defensive. The *Daily Times* of Nigeria (founded in 1925 and now boasting 60 years of unbroken publication) responded in 1947 by selling its controlling shares to the *Daily Mirror* group in London. This relationship, which lasted until the 1970s, enabled the paper to be transformed into a modern daily, and improved as regards production quality, distribution and management.

Other papers emerged only to vanish, or merge with other provincial papers, so that by the 1950s on the verge of Independence Nigeria had a newspaper tradition that was considerable in scope, if not always in quality. However, with Independence and the break-up of the early nationalist movement which has long since fragmented into political parties with ethnic and regional power bases, the newspapers became locked into bitter rivalry, and became better known for their 'smear campaigns' and mud-slinging than for serious reporting. With the downfall of the First Republic in 1966 and the introduction of the military regimes of Major-General Ironsi and General Gowon, the press recovered somewhat: to initiate debates on issues such as the creation of more states, and the timetable for the return to civilian rule. Throughout the nine years of military government — despite the introduction of a 'Press Council' in 1978 — debate about policy issues was vigorous. Although Gowon and his military successors complained about 'indiscipline' in the press, there was no serious attempt at a clampdown. In a speech to the press Brigadier Obasanjo reminded them, 'I made it clear at my first meeting with members of the press that the Federal Military government is anxious to have a very cordial relationship with the press . . . this administration will welcome constructive ideas and criticism from all sectors including the press.'

But in 1979, the return to civilian rule

What price press freedom? Nigeria

under the new constitution's Presidency of Shehu Shagari saw in part a resurrection of the intemperate politicking by newspapers that had characterised the early 1960s. (See Graham Lambert, 'The Mass Media in Nigeria', *Index* 5/1981.) This time there were 19 states instead of four regions, and each was ruled by a state government potentially for or against the federally-elected NPN majority party. The party-controlled press plumbed new depths. Politicians were quoted in their own organs, frequently unedited, as they sought to demolish the opposition. Stories were rife about the lengths to which politicians (and journalists) would go in order to secure a favourable news slant. Charges of corruption in the media were frequently made, and the laws of libel were broken almost daily.

In 1979 one Anambra state politician purchased and then publicly burnt 18,000 copies of the Enugu-based *Daily Star* which he said contained inaccurate reports about himself. So extreme were the sentiments expressed by the press during this period that hardly a news item could be reported which would be recognised as the same event when read in a rival publication. However, although there was no consensus to speak of in the nation's press, some few brave souls did attempt an objective analysis of the political scene in Nigeria, and there were editorials that criticised these 'inconsistencies in the media', and the sad state of Nigerian journalism in particular.

It has been suggested that the virtual anarchy among the press at this time was the factor which sealed its fate when the generals came to power in 1984. Meanwhile, another arm of the media, not yet as influential as the press, has been growing in importance.

The growth of television

Television was inaugurated on 31 October 1959 at Ibadan in the former Western Region. Western Nigeria Television's call sign was 'First in Africa' and it was widely hailed as a bold pioneer. Now, just over a quarter of a century later, there are 32 television stations — 11 under state governments and 21 under federal. The federal stations have a monopoly by law, and the state-run stations must carry certain programmes such as network news beamed by satellite from Lagos. The question of political control and censorship has not caused friction in quite the same way it has in the press, because unlike the press, there are no privately-owned television stations.

Nigeria's television system is unique among third world and industrial nations alike for having this 'duopoly' of 32 state and federal publicly-owned stations. However, this led to a 'television war' during the second republic. State-owned stations controlled by state governments in oppo-

'Ignore Decree 4'

In Lagos on Monday last week, the General Manager (Publications) of the *Daily Times* of Nigeria, Mr Tony Momoh, identified the decree as being among the enactments that might hinder the operations of the press in the country. Others, he said, included the Official Secrets Act of 1962 and the law on sedition.

In a lecture at the Nigerian Institute of Journalism (NIJ) titled, 'It is safe for the press to operate as if such laws do not exist', he defined the role of the press as that of monitoring the government, adding that the role was imposed on the mass media by the people. He pointed out, however, that the role of the press bore the same relevance with the making of law, the enforcement of the law and the interpretation of law.

Mr Momoh, who is also a lawyer, said Nigerian journalists derived their power to operate from the 1979 Constitution. He referred to Chapter 2 of the Constitution, and stated emphatically that certain duties should be performed in the interest of the country. He held the view that in the performance of their duties of monitoring, no law-maker or law-enforcement agent or court might interfere in the process of collecting, collating and dissemination of information by journalists. This apart, Mr Momoh maintained that the forum and the freedom of expression guaranteed for journalists in the Constitution were very vital to the success of monitoring governance. Accordingly, he said, any threat to journalists or any action to bar them from performing their duties were incidents the system will frown on.

Concord Weekly, 14-21 December 1984

sition to the NPN federal government carried on as vigorous a campaign against it as the press. At the same time federal stations thought nothing of slandering the opposition. One often-quoted anecdote is of a hotel bar in Anambra state where the bartender said he never needed to look at the button to know which station the customers were watching. If, in the course of the evening, Jim Nwobodo's face (NPP candidate) repeatedly appeared, they were watching the state service, but if it was Ojukwu (NPN candidate), then they were watching the federal service.

Why the press clampdown?

There has been confusion and some justified resentment within the media about the clampdown by Buhari's government. But no one studying the present disposition and nature of the FMG should be at all

surprised.

From the first, this military government has seemed more authoritarian than its predecessors, more akin to a Latin American-style dictatorship than anything Nigeria has been used to in the past. In an interview published in mid-February, Buhari hinted that the press freedom guarantees in the suspended Constitution would be revised. 'I am going to tamper with that,' he was quoted as saying. 'It's because I know Nigerians very well.' Rumours, with more than a little substance, had maintained from the outset that the coup by the 'generals' was launched to preempt a more revolutionary takeover headed by junior officers, one likely to have been more bloody in its determination to sweep away the last vestiges of Nigeria's traditional locus of power: especially the so-called 'Kaduna Mafia', the major power-broker behind the NPN.

The success of the Buhari coup depended on neutralising the sectors that might oppose his regime. In the army, these were the younger radical elements that might have provided support for a junior officers' takeover. Soon after assuming power the FMG duly undertook a major reshuffle in the armed forces. Over 100 officers were rotated to different posts. Another source of likely opposition were the exiled politicians who had either escaped on the eve of the coup, or who were abroad at the time. Though they were constantly made to appear a source of danger (one former Minister of Transport, Dr Ummeru Dikko had talked, before his attempted kidnap, of leading an armed revolt), there was never a real threat from this quarter. Logistically, the task would have been almost impossible. Nigeria has a standing army of over 150,000 soldiers divided into four well-equipped divisions, a large navy, and an airforce of over 40 combat aircraft. The real dangers were internal.

Not a few observers have commented on the similarities between the former NPN regime and the present government. The FMG has been described as the 'NPN in military uniform', and simply another front for the powerful vested interests that to all intents and purposes still exist. The release of 250 political prisoners on 1 October, including several top ex-cabinet ministers, confirmed this in the eyes of many. The FMG was seen to be no crusading military regime intent on tackling the mismanagement and chaos that characterised the 1979-83 period. Rather, this was a regime which by coupling leniency to the former NPN politicians with ruthless repression of dissent, was going to keep the lid firmly in place.

But why? The reasons must surely lie in the perilous state of the nation's bank

Nigeria What price press freedom?

balance. Throughout its history the Nigerian economy has been growing. After the cash crop economy was established in the latter half of the nineteenth century as a legitimate replacement for the slave trade, peasant farmers paid their colonial masters and accumulated wealth from palm oil, groundnuts, and cocoa. Despite a hiccup in the 1930s, when commodity prices fell in response to the worldwide economic depression, the economy has continued to grow. In the 1950s this growth accelerated into a 'boom' when cocoa prices shot through the roof. This led to considerable optimism inside and outside Nigeria, about the potential for 'the giant of Africa'.

In the 1970s, oil, which had gradually been assuming greater importance in the Nigerian economy, had an unprecedented four-fold price increase in the 1973 OPEC price hike. As far as development was concerned, 'the sky was the limit'. It reached its pinnacle during the years of Shagari's NPN government. Growth was projected on the basis of oil sales of 2.4 million barrels per day, at \$40 per barrel. Then the balloon burst. Corrupt and inefficient management, wasteful spending, and the virtual looting of the nation's resources — but above all the collapse of world oil prices — left Nigeria, in 1982, with a staggering debt crisis and no means of repayment.

The Buhari regime has opted for harsh austerity measures whilst negotiating the debt repayments. Throughout Latin America, austerity measures introduced under IMF programmes have resulted in rioting in the streets. The FMG appears determined not to allow the same thing to happen in Nigeria, which is why all possible centres of opposition, including the press, have been dealt with. Where the Murtala Mohammed Obasanjo regime asked the press to be partners in development, Buhari has diagnosed the problem of Nigeria's underdevelopment as one of 'indiscipline' and has passed a decree making it an offence to 'rush into buses' and cheat in exams: an offence now punishable by 25 years in jail. If the FMG can resort to such measures as being flogged in public for a traffic offence, and public execution for armed robbery or drug smuggling, then what price press freedom?

The FMG's calculated gamble was to put the press in a strait-jacket before it had time to articulate, or become a tool for, effective opposition. Unfortunately for the FMG, but fortunately for the rest of society, Decree 4 has now become a *cause célèbre*. The future for the freedom of Nigeria's press will largely depend on how much more ruthless and efficient a dictatorship the present regime is prepared to become. ■

Kenya's lop-sided clemency

Jamhuri Day, 12 December — the anniversary of Kenya's independence in 1963 — is traditionally an occasion for clemency. On Jamhuri Day 1978 President Daniel arap Moi, then scarcely three months in office, released all those detained for political reasons by the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. This last Jamhuri Day, 12 December 1984, he released four of the seven men still held in detention since the period around the attempted coup of 1 August 1982, including the Kenyatta University College (KUC) lecturers Edward Oyugi and Kamoji Wachiira. All the five University of Nairobi and KUC lecturers held without charge or trial have now been released. But Maina wa Kinyatti, former KUC senior lecturer in history, continues to serve the six-year sentence imposed in November 1982, and ten University of Nairobi students are serving their five to ten-year sentences. Two journalists also continue to be held: Wang'ondu wa Kariuki, sentenced to four and a half years' imprisonment in July 1982, and Otieno Mak'onyango, held in detention since August 1982. Yet Charles Njonjo, the former Attorney-General, received a Jamhuri Day special pardon, despite confirmation by the President himself of the truth of the serious allegations against him.

The two lecturers freed had been the subject of international protest. Oyugi, a lecturer in educational psychology, and Wachiira, in geography, had been arrested in July 1982. They and the two former MPs also released — George Anyona and Koigi wa Wamwere — had been held, without charge or trial, under the Preservation of Public Security Act. In March 1984 lawyers acting on behalf of their families had filed a suit in the High Court, claiming that their detention was unconstitutional and illegal. The suit was thrown out by the Chief Justice — after the Attorney-General invoked a hastily-drafted bill which had not, at the time the court hearings started, been laid before parliament. The Attorney-General's subsequent denial of any connection between the bill and the case of the detainees was treated with extreme scepticism in the press and in parliament itself. The court's ruling was thought to have serious implications for civil and human rights in Kenya, as it seemed to legitimise unnotified and long-term detention without trial. (See *Index Briefing Paper* no 160.)



Maina wa Kinyatti: eyesight in danger

Maina wa Kinyatti was arrested on 3 June 1982. He was charged with possession of seditious literature — a pamphlet from 1980 entitled 'Moi's divisive tactics exposed'; tried at a Magistrate's Court on 15-18 October; and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. His defence accused the police of planting the leaflet. Certainly details of the charge and the hearing were far from convincing. (See *Index on Censorship* 4/1983, p 34.) An appeal to the High Court by Kinyatti's defence lawyer was heard on 11 May 1983 and rejected. A further appeal to the Kenya Court of Appeal was made at the end of November 1984 against both the conviction and the sentence imposed on Kinyatti, on the grounds that the trial magistrate had erred in law by failing to treat some of the evidence as hearsay, and that the High Court judges had also erred in upholding the sentence. But this appeal too was dismissed — despite the lawyer's argument that Kinyatti's eyesight was deteriorating in prison.

Of the 70 university students arrested and initially charged with sedition in connection with student demonstrations in support of the 1982 coup attempt, all but ten were freed by presidential clemency in February 1983 and allowed to resume their studies. The ten who stood trial were all convicted of sedition and sentenced to prison terms ranging from five to ten years. They are: Titus Adungosi Aloo, Nicholas Oginga Ogego, Samuel Muga K'Olale, David Onyango Oloo, Watson Wahinya Bore, Ephantus Kinyua Kiria, Johnson Simiyu Kitui, Thomas Musyoki Mutuse, Jeff Kwirikia Mwangi and Francis Opala Ong'ele. Amnesty International has expressed doubt as to

Lop-sided clemency Kenya



Titus Adungosi Aloo: imprisoned student

whether sufficient evidence has been produced to justify the convictions of three of the students, whose trial an Amnesty observer attended.

The journalist Wang'ondu wa Kariuki, like Maina wa Kinyatti, continues to serve a prison sentence for alleged possession of seditious literature. He was arrested in May 1982 and sentenced in July 1982 to four and a half years' imprisonment for alleged possession of an anti-government leaflet, *Pambana* (Struggle). He, like Kinyatti, denied possession. Although in 1983 he was said to have been granted a remission and promised release in July 1985, this now seems to be in doubt. Meanwhile Otieno Mak'Onyango, who before his arrest in August 1982 was assistant managing editor of the *Sunday Standard* newspaper and is a former chairman of the Kenyan Union of Journalists, continued to be held, untried. All charges against him were dropped in March 1983, but he was then served with a detention order.

Concern has been expressed by Amnesty International at some of the conditions under which political prisoners are held. Although complaints have reportedly been made to the Detention Review Tribunal, there seems to have been no significant improvement to the conditions. No international humanitarian organisation is allowed to visit prisons in Kenya to assess whether conditions conform to the standards recommended by the United Nations *Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners*.

On release, the economic future of former detainees is far from secure. Ngugi wa Thiong'o was unsuccessful in his attempt to be reinstated in his post as



Wang'ondu wa Kariuki: imprisoned journalist

head of the University of Nairobi Literature Department after his release on Jamhuri Day 1978. Likewise, applications by Professor Vincent Otieno, Al-Amin Mazrui and Mukaru Ng'ang'a for reinstatement in their respective departments of chemistry, linguistics and history have been ignored. Mazrui, after unsuccessful attempts to obtain other employment in Kenya, has taken up a university post in Nigeria. But a similar option was closed to Ng'ang'a who was recently denied re-possession of his passport, impounded prior to his detention in July 1982.

Against this background the state's treatment of Charles Njonjo, the former Attorney-General, is startling. The

findings of the judicial commission of inquiry (the Miller Commission) confirmed most of the allegations made against Charles Njonjo. These included implications that he was party to a conspiracy or conspiracies to overthrow the legally constituted government. Njonjo was pardoned, said the President, in consideration of his age (Njonjo is 63) and the fact that he had served the country well until 1980 when he started entertaining 'misguided political ambitions'. Younger citizens, less highly placed, have been as yet less lucky. ■
AW

Uganda

Dexter Petley

Munnansi

Munnansi is a small weekly with a reputation for accuracy. At the end of 1984 four of its staff were arrested and the paper went underground.

It is conceivable that the sound of typewriters in Uganda has become more irritating to its political leadership than the sound of army boots marching on the presidential suite. Amin was illiterate and mistrusted the written word. President Obote of the ruling Uganda People's Congress (UPC) seems to have an intellectual inferiority complex, which has debilitated the press and submerged political and intellectual debate. His outbursts against the press verge on the hysterical and his *modus operandi* is custodial. As a consequence, opposition journalism has become as relentless as its persecutors, and has set an example that other newspapers have begun to follow.

Before Milton Obote was re-elected as President in December 1980, between 25 and 30 newspapers and weeklies were published in Uganda. Only about a dozen survived, of which only half maintain any regularity. Between April and November 1984 a coincidence of critical articles in three of them, *Munnansi*, *The Uganda Pilot* and *The Star*, precipitated a purge against several of their journalists. Those on *Munnansi* are still detained in military prisons, untried, under the Public Order and Security Act (POSA). (See box.)

Munnansi (The Citizen) has close links with the Democratic Party (DP), the legal parliamentary opposition. Its editor, Anthony Ssekweyama, is also the DP's deputy publicity secretary. He was arrested on 6 November — together with Paul Ssemogerere (DP leader) and M. Ojok-Mulozi (DP publicity secretary and Chief Whip) — and charged with uttering seditious words and publishing a seditious press release. Ssekweyama was also charged with sedition on two further counts referring to their publication in *Munnansi*. The charges referred to a letter — released at a press conference on 26 October and published in *Munnansi* on 31 October — allegedly written by Chief Justice George Masika to President Milton Obote regarding the trial of Balaki Kirya and five others of

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the Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM), a political organisation engaged in guerrilla warfare against the government of President Obote. Ssekweyama and the other two men were remanded on bail to appear in court on 17 December. But on 23 November, Ssekweyama was again arrested, released on police bond and told to report to the police on 26 November when he was served with a detention order; he is now in Luzira Upper Prison, near Kampala. His detention may be connected with an article in *Munnansi* on 21 November which criticised the presence of North Korean troops in Uganda.

Ssekweyama and *Munnansi* are frequent victims of the UPC. *Munnansi*'s predecessor, *The Citizen*, was banned by Obote after his re-election in 1981. The publishers, the DP-funded Foundation for African Development, re-launched the paper under its present name. In March 1982, *Munnansi*'s offices were raided by police, equipment was seized and several journalists including Ssekweyama arrested and released on bail. *Munnansi* continued publication from the Democratic Party Headquarters, and in April 1983 the charges of sedition were dropped on orders from the President's office. Editor Emanuel Kiregeya said at the time: 'If the authorities thought we were making our stories up they would close us down, but as long as we remain as we are we

shall continue to speak out.'

Even though *Munnansi* is a special case, where essential editorial independence has out of necessity conceded to the politics of opposition in order to 'speak out' behind legitimate Party protection, its reputation for accuracy is formidable. *Munnansi* is a weekly duplicated A4 size publication. It reports atrocities committed by the army, UPC fraud, detentions, arrests, lists of those murdered by UPC agents. It relies on eye-witness reports, cross-checking information with the relatives of those concerned. 'For two years the security services have had to come to us for reliable information about the criminal elements within it. On the strength of our investigations there have been some prosecutions,' Kiregeya said.

Factional infighting within the UPC itself and a consolidation of authority before next December's general elections has led to a breakdown and abandonment of any UPC initiative for self-discipline. Kampala sources indicate Obote's determination to eradicate *Munnansi* permanently. Since November *Munnansi*, though still publishing, operates clandestinely from a secret address.

Obote's intolerance of criticism has resulted in the suppression and closure of many reputable publications during both his periods in power. In 1968 *Transition*, an

Journalists detained in Uganda

From *Munnansi* (weekly English-language paper closely linked with the Democratic Party (DP))

Anthony Ssekweyama (editor) arrested 6 November, charged with sedition and remanded on bail. Rearrested on 23 November, released on police bond and detained on 26 November.

John Baptist Kyeyune arrested 2 November; transferred to Kampala Police Station on or about 23 November, where he is reported to have been tortured. Now held at Kira Road Police Station.

Andrew Mulindwa arrested 2 November; transferred to Jinja Road Police Station on or about 20 November. Now held at Central Police Station.

David Kasujja arrested on 31 October; released on bail, rearrested and served with a detention order. Believed to be held in Luzira Upper Prison.

From *Uganda Pilot* (weekly English-language paper with a large Roman-Catholic readership)

Sam Kiwanuka and **Francis Kanyehamba** arrested in early April after the *Pilot* published a story criticising and

satirising the government's proposed Women's Charter. Charged in May with 'writing and publishing a false and malicious publication intended to incite the public'; held in custody until November; acquitted in court but immediately rearrested and detained, probably in Luzira Upper Prison. Released 23 January.

From *The Star* (only non-government English-language daily)

Drake Ssekkeba (editor-in-chief) and **Sam Katwere** (chief sub-editor) arrested 8 November, after a front-page story accusing government ministers of being corrupt. Reportedly held in Luzira Upper Prison. Released 23 January.

From Uganda News Agency

John Musoga arrested some time during 1984, after a dispute with the Deputy Minister of Information when he was accused of biased reporting.

John Owino officially gazetted as detained 3 April, probably as a result of his critical reports of army atrocities.

Pascal Buteera, a stringer for Voice of America, arrested March 1983, held at Makinde barracks for about a month, then taken to Luzira Upper Prison where he is believed to be still held.

Based on Amnesty information

important East African cultural and political magazine, ceased publication after Obote arrested and detained its editor, Rajat Neogy, and the author of a critical article, Abu Mayanja. Obote said at the time 'The arrest of Neogy and Mayanja is being seen in London... within the myth that has been the fundamental element in London's assessment of our policy and actions. It is for instance being asserted that we are afraid of intellectuals and do not want policies and actions to be criticised.'

After Obote's return to power in 1981 the *Citizen*, *Economy*, *Sosoliso* and the *Weekly Topic* were suppressed, all foreign correspondents were expelled, and a propaganda war was waged against the international press over unfavourable reports. (See 'Press in Uganda', *Index* 2/84.) In 1983, for instance, a Ugandan journalist filed for the BBC World Service under the pseudonym Richard Asipa. The authorities went to great lengths to identify him, issuing disclaimers after his broadcasts. 'The BBC has resorted to telling us lies,' Obote said, 'that it has a correspondent in Uganda... whereas such a person does not exist here.' Any Ugandan journalist criticising the regime is presumed not to exist if arrest cannot be effected. However, the usual sources of such 'lies' are disillusioned aid workers or non-accredited freelancers writing or broadcasting under pseudonyms for their own protection. Harassment of journalists, Ugandan or foreign, is a regular practice of the UPC. Ugandan journalists are subject to a dual scrutiny: political affiliation and the nature of a story. Only journalists registered with the Uganda Journalists Association, for instance, have access to government sources. The UJA is chaired by Augustine Apecu who is Under-Secretary for Information at the Secretariat of the UPC. UJA's patron is ex-journalist and Vice-President, Minister of Defence Paulo Muwanga. Obote, Muwanga and Dr David Anyoi, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, frequently address the UJA at Kampala Press Club, reminding them of the role of the press in Uganda. 'The Press', Muwanga said last year, 'must firmly support the UPC in its rehabilitation of the country for the good of the people... rumour-mongers shall be severely dealt with.'

The case of David Kasukka, another *Munnansi* journalist arrested on 31 October, is a classic example of a 'rumour-monger'. In connection with a story on corruption, he kept an appointment to interview an official at Entebbe airport where he was arrested on arrival and charged with trespass. The initial charge was dropped and then another, of which details are not known. He was then bailed, but re-detained under POSA and is currently living in Luzira Upper Prison

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THE "MASIKA AFFAIR" STILL LOOMS OVER
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-- Another DP Official Detained Without Trial --

Another member of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the opposition Democratic Party, Mr. Anthony Ssekweyama, has been arrested and detained under Security and Public Order of 1967 (detention without trial).

He was picked up from the DP Headquarters in Kampala last Friday morning (23/11/84) and taken to CID headquarters at Impala House for questioning where he stayed until late in the evening, when he was allowed to go home on "Police Bond" with instructions to report back the following Monday.

.. / 2

Front cover of *Munnansi* whose editor was arrested for sedition

under maximum security.

Munnansi, in a recent issue, estimated that 1,500 critics of UPC were being held under POSA. In July 1984, the Minister of Internal Affairs said that 1,142 were held in Luzira Upper Prison. On 23 November the government published a list of 250 people detained, in the *Uganda Gazette*. Luwuliza Kirunda, the Minister of Internal Affairs, is responsible for signing detention orders on anyone's recommendation, provided he is satisfied of the grounds. Alternatively, any police officer can arrest a suspect without a warrant and hold them for 14 days pending a detention order. Journalists, before arrest, are usually asked for their UPC cards. If they do not have one the arresting officer applies to Kirunda and a detention order is automatically served. Four other ministers are also delegated to implement POSA, independently of Kirunda. Few, if any, details are ever available about detainees. Although details of detentions should be published within 30 days and cases heard by

a Review Tribunal within two months, and thereafter every six months, such legal requirements are largely ignored in practice.

Just before his arrest, I interviewed Anthony Ssekweyama in Kampala, in his official capacity at the DP HQ. We talked of harassment, fraud, the killings, the state security organs, and the army. He spoke without bitterness of his possible detention and his humanitarian motivation.

'One has to look at the conditions and the environment under which we operate,' he concluded. 'There are no means either for the local or international press realistically to assess the political situation in this country. We (the DP) have a platform for human rights first and foremost; for democracy, human decency, in contrast to the present. We are fighting UPC as a system...'

El Salvador

Yolocamba I'ta

The rebellion and the song

An interview with a musical group from the other El Salvador — the people in armed revolt

Yolocamba I'ta are a group of young musicians from the other El Salvador: that part of the people in armed revolt against the government of President José Napoleon Duarte, just as they have been against his predecessors. The forces of these FDR-FMLN guerrillas claim to have established control over one-third of El Salvadorean territory, where they have established 'Guazapa', 'liberated zones' in which they attempt to put into practice their ideas for a new society. Yolocamba's music, as they explain in this interview, carried out in December 1984, is dedicated to bringing the message of this struggle to audiences throughout the world.

When was the group formed?

We started in El Salvador in 1975. There were only three of us then. We were motivated by many things — we knew little about the roots of our own music. We wanted to form a musical group to search for a kind of song that was El Salvadorean, that was solid and belonged to us. We wanted to re-discover certain rhythms, melodies, harmonies, to use particular instruments that were ours in ways that brought back into practice old ways and made them work again. At the same time, we wanted to make our songs move with the feelings of the people, everything coming from their aspirations, needs, their myths and stories, their organisations. We had to start from scratch because apart from one of us playing guitar none of us really sang or played or came from musical families.

Why did you choose the name Yolocamba I'ta?

In the beginning we didn't have a name — we waited for a good one to turn up! It comes from an extinct Indian language *Lenca*, and it means 'the rebellion of the sowing'. It isn't an easy name — it is often mispronounced. That's the problem we have had to deal with but we haven't felt it necessary to change it — it is too important to us.

How does it link up with your historic and political roots?

In 1932 Farabundo Martí led the

grassroots organisations which were formed at that time mostly amongst the indigenous people. They were massacred by the troops of the military government, who killed over 30,000 people, including Farabundo Martí. Then a terrible repression began directed chiefly against the indigenous population. To be indigenous, to identify with them or their culture, was to label yourself a subversive. People therefore began to stop speaking their languages openly, gradually to stop teaching them to their children, to stop wearing their traditional white clothes with a *manta* — all cultural identity had to be denied as it was dangerous. They stopped playing their music and using their instruments. We have only seen the wooden xylophone we play, the *marimba de arco*, used once. The *marimba* we have, we got hold of in Nicaragua where, since the revolution, its use has flourished. They have revived and encouraged anew their own cultural values. When we use our *marimba* we try to play it using traditional arrangements, often using the popular rhythm of the *son* Salvadoreño. Many rhythms in Central America and the Caribbean are called *son*, but they are all a little different! Ours is very particular because we use a *bombo*, which isn't found much in Central America.

What other instruments do you use?

Flute, guitar, mandolin, *bombo*, military drums, snares, percussion instruments like *maracas*, *claves*, electric bass and the piano acordeon so popular in our country. We would like to use a *marimba* with two rows, as musically in terms of available notes this would solve some problems, but we have to move around all the time, that is why we have to use an electric bass instead of an acoustic one — size, fragility — planes and paying excess baggage. There are pragmatic reasons as well as musical ones for the instruments we play!

In what kind of places did you first perform?

All our parents were teachers. They were politicised in 1968 when their trade union, the ANDES 21 de Junio, went on strike about teachers' working conditions, lack of rights, the education system. The strike gave great impetus to the popular movement at the time and little by little our own political consciousness was

created. We were barely teenagers, but we understood what was going on. Our first real appearance was at a Congress organised by the Teachers Union at which there were delegations from all over Central America. We sang in schools and in the Universities and we went out into the countryside to the crossroads where people meet in the rural areas on Sundays to buy and sell things. They sing there too and we would go along in someone's pick-up truck to listen and sing with them. Later, we had the opportunity to be involved with workers' organisations and the unions, to go and sing in factories. When the workers are forced to go on strike, they usually take over their work place to re-inforce their position, claims, demands and we would sing at the meetings held in these strikes.

How did the cultural organisations you were involved in develop?

In 1975 and '76 we decided that as so many other groups like teachers, peasants, students had their unions and associations, then perhaps artists should be organised too. We were aware in 1977 of the need for organic links between such organisations, and we started MUCAPAS, *Musicos y Cantores Populares Asociados Salvadoreños*. There were lots of groups involved, but its strength was undermined because we discovered that we had no political unity — we were all thinking in different terms; and when the elections came along in 1977, while we thought they were no alternative and offered no real freedom for our people, other groups wanted to perform on behalf of various parties. Faced by these contradictions, the organisation came to nothing: we couldn't follow the same path.

Did you form another organisation?

We joined with others and with a clearer political understanding we organised what was to become the MCP, *Movimiento de Cultura Popular* (Popular Culture Movement). This was a broader group of artists with stronger roots among the people. We didn't choose a name until we were solidly constructed, so it wasn't until 5 April 1979 that we were properly founded with 150 artists working on a collective basis.

How was your music developing at this time?

We had little time to rehearse! There

Jan Fairley is a member of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music. She specialises in writing on popular music from Latin America.

The rebellion and the song El Salvador

was a moment when we realised it had been eight months since we had stopped just to do that. During that period, there were the occupations of the Cathedral — to demand the release of various people, of *campesinos* — and we would be there singing. We used their sound equipment, we never had our own, we used whatever there was wherever we went. We were often singing every day. There were moments when there was so much going on we had to divide up and each go to different places. There were many groups, for theatre, puppets, pantomime and music but in any one day there might be 15 to 20 events. From the beginning really we never at any time stopped just to work on our music, and in a way we believe this was one of our main achievements. We may not have great technical skill or formal musical knowledge, but we did make music all the time, and achieved systematic organised work that did not stop despite repression, deaths and persecution. This way we feel we helped to discover a Salvadorean song tradition.

How did you write this music?

One of the first songs we wrote, I can hardly remember the words to it today, but it was called *The Real Charcoal Carrier*. We were motivated by song from other parts of Latin America, and we took a song that was very popular with the oligarchy which basically said 'How nice, here comes an Indian with a load of charcoal, what a lovely face he has'. We felt this was a folkloric picture — this Indian wasn't so happy, he was sweating, he was exploited, had nothing to eat — so we changed the words to give a realistic picture of that Indian and how he felt — we played it with guitar, an indigenous drum and a whistle. We wanted to make songs serve the interests of the people and despite our technical limitations we began to compose using popular history and musical traditions, but with changes to express the reality of the revolutionary process.

We have written a song *Winds of October* that tells about the work of women within the revolution. In our country a certain machismo exists and we men realise that the struggle against that isn't just for women but men too. *A Silvia* was written for a nun one of us knew very well. He had worked for Archbishop Romero and so had she, in a hospital of the Faribundo Martí Front, which is organised very closely with Christian grassroots groups. Some songs are written by individuals within the group who may or may not be with us any more. Members of the group have returned to do necessary work within the country and their places have been taken by others. A

song once written becomes property of the group. The roots of our struggle, the history of our people — that's why we wrote a song about the Indian leader *Anastasio Aquino*.

There is no distinction between your music and your politics?

What we write depends upon our political needs but the text and the music are thought about at the same time. Now most of the MCP have gone to join the military structures and the situation has changed since we have had a popular army. The song is still there though. We sing songs written in the controlled areas under bombardment, while fighting, terrible death and massacre is going on. Our song isn't abstract. We don't sit around discussing whether it is relevant or not. Our people are in struggle, we are there too and our song is relevant. *Las Minas* (The Land Mines) was written by a musician, now a fighter, in the Guazapa region in some time he managed to find.

Why did you leave El Salvador?

We are not outside because we were exiled or thrown out, but because our people delegated to us this work in the international field, to tell everyone about our struggle, to create international solidarity, to work against the intervention of the United States in our affairs.

Are recordings important?

Yes. A record carries the message when the group is not there. The first record was made in very difficult circumstances in a bad studio when there were only three of us. We were interrupted in the middle by military intervention in the university. They attacked, took over and destroyed, amongst many other things, the studio. Our second record was a Popular Mass — the *Misa Popular Salvadoreña* — which was about the

struggles of the Christian communities to bring about change. It included one of our most popular songs — the text is taken straight from the Bible, we haven't changed a comma. It is from the third book of Ecclesiastes, it is very beautiful: 'A time to be born, a time to die', a text that tells of the reality of El Salvador and Latin America. Our third record was the well-known *Songs for the Revolutionary Homeland*, and our latest was composed for a film called *Road to Freedom*.

Do you write most of your own material?

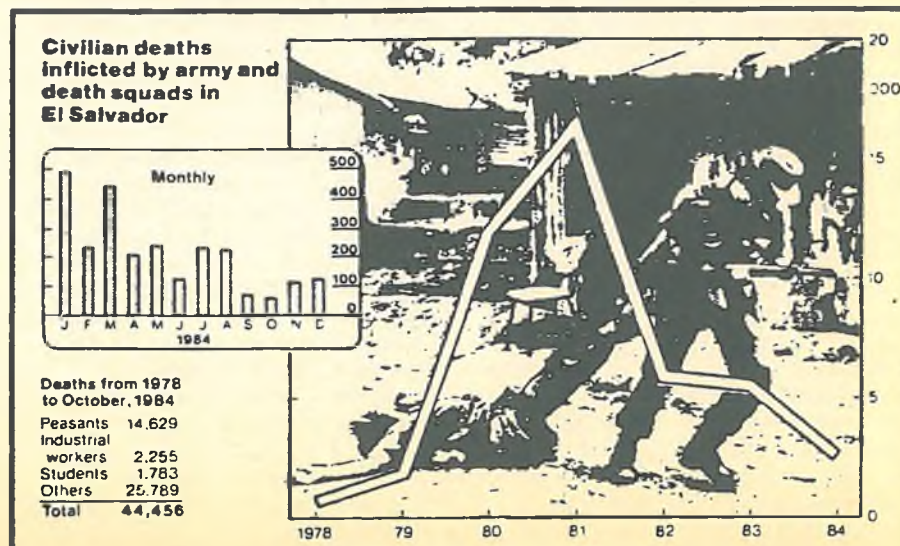
We do. Much of our work is collective as we have different skills and we try to combine them. We have gradually built up a repertoire over ten years. Since the very beginning we have tried not to have a static style but to evolve. At the moment we are deepening our musical knowledge and studying as much as we can.

Could this take some of your energy away from music?

Knowing more will not make us less spontaneous. It will give us access to other elements. We are as receptive as possible to all musical ideas. We saw the Jaivas [A Chilean band who play folk-rock] last February. They aren't political in a direct way but they have a very progressive attitude towards music and that has influenced us. We are not purists, there has to be evolution in music, otherwise you stagnate.

So you sing music written by other musicians from other countries?

There is one song, the *Milonga del Fusilado* written in Uruguay by the Olimareños [see *Index 4/78*]. They are not known in El Salvador but their song is. It came into the country and was sung by the people, like a hymn; every time a *compañero* falls in battle the song



El Salvador The rebellion and the song



is sung. The people don't know it's a Uruguayan song, it isn't important, we don't make that distinction. We feel the song and the music, like the struggle of our people, are the same, they are one.

Do others sing your songs?

Our song *Gift for the Children* is sung by an all-women North American group who sing in Spanish. They are called *Savia* which is the name of a Bolivian bird. They took our song and performed it when they visited the El Salvadorean refugee camps in Honduras. They did that as they are part of the international *nueva canción* movement and they feel that is the role of new song: to reach all the people despite dangers.

The *nueva canción* movement in Latin America has expanded and organised itself in the past five years with festivals in Mexico, Nicaragua, Ecuador and elsewhere. Do you consider yourselves part of this movement?

Yes. Those who sing *nueva canción* don't have a simple view of the role of song; most would sacrifice their artistic vocation for the revolution. They are not commercial and they take as their starting point the struggle in their own countries. The music is inspired by the struggle. If we weren't part of the struggle, directly, we wouldn't be here in Britain because what we are doing would have no meaning. It is cultural resistance. It isn't a

The five members of the Yolocamba I'ta group

question of generation but of the political and ideological position of each artist. But they don't think too much about being an artist — they are humble, despite many of them now enjoying great fame and importance. The music is exciting and expressive. We need to support each other, to project and broadcast the music of each country and information about the movement.

You have a particular style in your concerts — very pragmatic and immediate.

We try to break down the barrier between public and artist, to make the whole experience a collective one. Our translators are very important — they not only interpret what we say but transmit the spirit of it. If we shout, they must shout; if we whisper, joke, laugh, if we lift a hand, they must too. They can kill all the life and spirit of a performance, the most important things to project. They have to become one of us. We have sung in many different countries where the people have different attitudes and cultural characteristics, but they always end up very motivated, singing and dancing with us. People aren't there just to listen — we want to draw them into the performance, to become involved and participate.

How do you survive being always on the road?

We live very basically so as not to spend a lot of money. It's hard, but we keep our morale high as this is nothing to the conditions of the *compañeros* who are fighting within El Salvador and who give their life. We know all that our people and country are living through and we are part of that — that's how we maintain our spirit. Our commitment enables us to write the songs we do. We have family, some of them inside El Salvador, some outside, and it is difficult. We have a joke about putting on a clean shirt for airports, because even when we are travelling we have problems. When we arrive at airports they don't want us, and often treat us badly!

What do you think of the present situation in El Salvador?

We are very worried about what is happening at the moment. There are people who want to end the war just for the sake of ending the fighting. We don't agree. We feel that if there's a war, there's a good reason for it, and what has to end are the causes that generated it in the first place. Since Duarte came there have been many deaths, repression, and although he offered the guerrillas amnesty he is doing little about the death squads. As we sing in *Las Segovias*, the Latin American struggle isn't new. It has strong historical roots. The struggle is common to all Central America, not something particular to certain peoples and countries divided from each other.

After many years you managed to get a visa for a short trip to perform at folk festivals in the US recently — what was that like?

We are known a little there, an independent record and distributing company handles our record *Songs for the Revolutionary Homeland* through an alternative musical structure — it won a prize in 1983! We were shaken by the threat of intervention when we were there, and so many people didn't seem to know who Reagan was for or against. They seemed to think that we as Central Americans were the source of their drug problems. However, we sang at folk festivals, not to politicised audiences, and we confronted them, asking them didn't they agree with us — no to intervention, that El Salvador should be free — and they stood up and sang with us. That says something about the music, and the situation. ■ Interview by Jan Fairley. Thanks to Pattie Cammadi.

A cassette of Yolocamba's music is available from ELSOC, c/o Carila, 29 Islington Park Street, London N.1.

El Salvador

Amanda Hopkinson
**Manlio
 Argueta**

'This is what you'll get next time,' said the pistol-waving policeman. 'Why don't you get out? We're sick and tired of poets in this country.' In 1972 Argueta left El Salvador for Costa Rica.

Manlio Argueta was born in 1935 in San Miguel, an important agricultural centre 140 kilometres south of San Salvador, the country's capital. Like everyone else wishing to continue their studies at that time, he had to leave his native town and move to the capital to go to university. There, his interest in literature combined with his concern for social conditions in El Salvador led him, in 1956, to join in the foundation of the University Literary Circle. He and the others involved: Roque Dalton, Roberto Armijo, and José Roberto Cea — all poets from El Salvador — together with Otto René Castillo from Guatemala, were determined to bring literature, and especially poetry, back into the service of life, dedicating their efforts to helping bring about fruitful change in the oppressive backwardness of El Salvadorean society. As Manlio Argueta wrote in an article published in *Index on Censorship* ('War and the writer in El Salvador', 2/1982):

'Other writers... have grown in the consciousness that an unjust society is anathema to the person who works not only with his intelligence but also with sensibility. They have found the conditions for their creative work in the revolutionary process which is now changing their societies, siding with the aspirations of the exploited majority of ordinary people.' (p 3).

This awareness led some of what was known as the '1956' generation of Salvadorean writers, such as Roque Dalton, to take a direct part in the armed struggle. Others put more emphasis on literature as an instrument for change, but even so, as in Argueta's case, this did not prevent them from being arrested as 'subversives' or warned as he was by a pistol-waving policeman: 'This is what you'll get next time. Why don't you get out: we're sick and tired of
Amanda Hopkinson is a freelance writer based in London.



CHRIS HUDSON, LONDON

poets in this country.'

By 1972, when the social conflict in El Salvador was becoming acute, this seemed wise counsel. Argueta left for Costa Rica, where he has taught literature at the university, and worked at the Universities of Central America publishing house, ever since. He had by now turned from poetry to novels 'for a larger canvas than could be covered in verse'. His first novel, *El Valle de las hamacas* ('The Valley of the Hammocks'), which won the Central American fiction prize when it first appeared in 1968, is set in a student environment, and reveals how the spirit of revolt is almost inevitable among the youth of El Salvador, faced with the blatant injustice all around. As one of the characters in the novel comments bitterly:

'To desire change is a reality in our country, never a means to an end, never a dream. We are all wide awake when we decide to risk everything for it... Idleness, leisure, were invented by the tourist

agencies; we are not all asleep by the roadside under a tree. For them, the value of our countries is an eternal contradiction: they are beautiful geographically, and their inhabitants are invisible. Central America is a dungheap because its inhabitants are invisible; but of course this dung is a fertiliser for a paradise on earth where even the fences flower and the birds flock to settle on the tourists' shoulders; that's what makes us so attractive.'

Costa Rica in the 1970s was a haven for refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and the Somoza regime in Nicaragua (Argueta worked in the publishing company with a Nicaraguan fellow-novelist Sergio Ramirez, now the country's vice-president) as well as many who had fled the military coups in the Southern Cone of Latin America. Argueta's novel, *Caperucita en la zona roja* ('Riding Hood in the Red-light Zone') published in 1977, was, among other things, a reflection of the debate among exiles about the place of the writer and intellectual in organised

Not in Central America

Manlio Argueta's latest novel *Cuzcatlán* follows his successful *One Day of Life*. In the new book, Argueta traces how some of the simple peasants from the country regions of El Salvador become members of the National Guard; no longer the victims of violence, they become instead the oppressors, although remaining victims of the larger struggle they are being used in. *Cuzcatlán* has already found publishers in the United States, Britain, Holland, and Spain. It is not, however, to be published in Central America, where its impact and audience would naturally be greatest. Argueta's

previous novels were brought out in Costa Rica by the University of Central America's publishing house, the only established publisher and distributor of books operating in the strife-torn region. This time, due to the uncertainties of the current political situation, and because of the new novel's theme, the university publishing house has decided it cannot take the risk of publishing it. If therefore Argueta is to reach his Central American audience at a price they can afford (shipping copies from Spain would be too expensive and there is no guarantee they would be allowed into the different countries), Argueta will have to publish and distribute *Cuzcatlán* himself. If readers of *Index* can offer practical suggestions of help, the magazine will be pleased to pass them on to him.

El Salvador Manlio Argueta

political struggle, the loneliness of having no country, and memories of brutality and prison experience. The book won that year's novel prize in the Cuban literary competition run by the Casa de las Americas.

With his third novel, *Un Día en la vida* (published in English by Chatto and Windus as *One Day of Life*), Argueta became known to a larger public outside Central America. In this book, written in 1980, Argueta moves away from the continuing dilemma of the relationship between the intellectual and direct action, and returns to his own country of El Salvador, recreating the life of the peasants, who have suffered not just over the past five years of mass killings but throughout the country's history. Argueta

tape-recorded stories told by Salvadorean refugees arriving in Costa Rica, and from these he drew the figure of Guadalupe, whose life of struggle is condensed in a classical way into the events of one day.

He wrote *Un Día en la vida*, working mainly at night, in four months. The interviews, he recalled recently, were so overwhelming that he felt he had to tone the material down for others to find it believable. The real Guadalupe was, he says 'far more courageous and steadfast than I could possibly make her in literature'. Reality is often too strange for fiction.

That the book was published at all was thanks to the courage of the printing-house at the Jesuit José Simeon Cañas University in El Salvador. 'We've had 13 bombs thrown

at us already, a fourteenth won't make much difference,' is how Argueta remembers their attitude. In El Salvador the book was only available from Catholic Church premises and bookshops, but later became more widely available in Central America thanks to an edition brought out in Costa Rica. It then managed to reach the English language market.

Firstly, a fellow lecturer at the university in Costa Rica, Bill Brow, a Quaker and pacifist, saw that the novel would be a good way of conveying the situation in El Salvador to outsiders, and translated it. This came to the attention of Readers International, a London-based concern publishing works of fiction from the Third World. They were unable to publish the Argueta book, but their interest sparked that of the American publishers, Random House, who printed 20,000 copies and then reprinted a further 60,000.

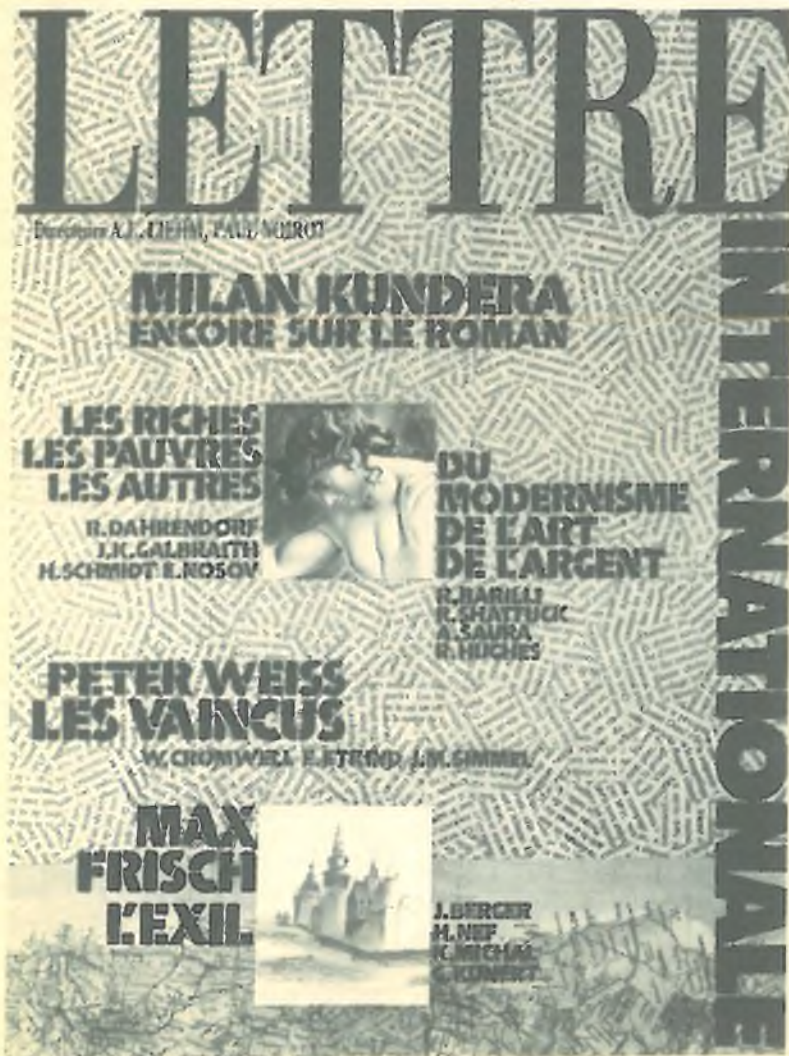
The response in Britain and in other European countries has been equally encouraging. Despite the media deluge on the wars in Central America, the individual voice, whether that of Guadalupe as conveyed by Argueta, or that of Rigoberta Menchu from Guatemala (see *Index on Censorship* 5/84 p 18) can still tell us more than a thousand despatches.

Argueta was pleased and somewhat baffled by the success of the book. He is quick to remind listeners that in El Salvador the fight against oppression has been going on for at least 50 years, even if people outside the region have only become aware of his country, the 'Tom Thumb' of Central America, during the last five. His work appeals, he hopes, not because of any particular fashion, but because it is based on experience and 'comes from within; it is not a description from the outside'.

He has no fears that he will run out of material for future books — 'So far, I've only set down about 10% of the stories going round in my head' — but what does worry him is that the years in exile outside El Salvador may have robbed his writing of its fidelity to the nuances and riches of the language spoken there. 'But when I read my latest novel, *Cuzcatlán*, to a friend visiting me from El Salvador, he was really delighted, and said I had no need to go back at all, the voices sounded so authentic.'

Argueta is even more pleased at the way in which the real-life Guadalupe (who had returned to El Salvador) reacted to *One Day of Life*. Unable to read herself, she was apparently astonished to hear her own story and expressions read out of a book, and amazed that anyone should be interested in her. That was early in 1983, since when there has been no further news of her, the region in which she lives being one of the worst affected by the fighting. ■

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El Salvador

Manlio Argueta

Blood relations

A short story set in El Salvador

Every weekend she has to travel by the six-thirty bus to San Salvador. She really enjoys the journey, staring out at the road. Sometimes she lets herself drift off among the *maquilishuat* bushes, the cashew or olive trees bordering the roadside. At others, she floats in the heat shimmering above the straight ribbon of asphalt, strung out like a steaming river, especially in the first 30 kilometres from San Miguel. Today though is different: she can't get over her surprise at this fourth meeting in as many weeks with the young man sitting across the aisle from her. So close that their knees bump accidentally, and but for the noise of the bus engine she might think the strange sound she can hear are his heartbeats. Her own or his, no matter which. It was only this fourth chance meeting with the stranger that made her feel worried. The second time he had been on the bus, she had noticed him, but thought no more about it. On the third occasion, she had wanted to ask him a question, but thought better of it. But today it seemed too much of a coincidence for the reading man to be there yet again. That's the way she thinks of him, because he never lifts his eyes from his book. Exactly the same on each of the four journeys. 'How on earth can he read when the bus is jolting around so much?'

Like two friends who in fact had never met. Suddenly she feels a great urge to be able to trust him, even though these repeated chance meetings make her uneasy. Particularly now that she has learned first aid and is working as a nurse in order to be more useful to her companions in life, to her friends in death.

Just imagining things, she is sure.

Above all, act naturally, she thought to herself as she got on the bus, avoid the gaze of the young man who was to travel with her this fourth time. As part of appearing natural, she had put on the red Mexican dress she was given for her last birthday by someone she preferred for the moment not to remember. She had never worn it before, ashamed of looking so elegant in the midst of so much poverty, hardship, hunger. And yet today she is dressed as though for some future celebration, and is wearing high heeled shoes that make her walk unsteadily. She has even put on some lipstick. She feels

happy, pleased with the way she looks.

I must be natural, she thinks almost out loud. She might even have said it, had she not suddenly realised there were others on the bus. To be natural then, she would have to ask her unknown companion some question or other. 'Do you think the bus is ready to leave?'

She has travelled any number of times now on this six-thirty bus. It really is odd that the reading man should be sitting opposite her again like this. Obviously, it occurs to her, he has to be in San Salvador before ten on Monday mornings, just like me.

'About another ten minutes, I should reckon,' the young man replies, without so much as glancing up from the book, simply twisting his head to one side to answer. Although that's the end of the exchange between them, she is pleased to think that she has managed to behave in a perfectly normal way when talking to a stranger.

Your fear of man should always be greater than your fear of God, her mother always used to warn her. Her grandmother, her aunts, her elder brothers and sisters all reinforced the message. She was enveloped in the shroud of mistrust that imprisons everyone who lives in El Salvador. Don't talk to strangers. Make sure you are introduced first, that's the only way to break down the barrier, and to gain the chance of finding a friend, or everlasting love.

She is beginning to feel more sure of herself. She considers herself someone who has seen and done a lot. She is 22, a good age for the young. The fact that she journeys back and forth every weekend between San Salvador and San Miguel is itself a great adventure. They were nearly always stopped by armed roadblocks, where they had to pay contributions. Roadblocks of subversives, she thinks, then quickly corrects herself, roadblocks of armed youths. A neutral way of saying it, so as not to offend her own conscience. Or so that she can get used to using either expression depending on the situation: at an army post, for example, when they interrogate the bus passengers; or when she is talking to her aunts as they take her to task yet again for her weekly trips between San Miguel and San Salvador. Why don't you stay put once and for all in the capital, they would scold her. But she always had an excuse ready: she needed the extra money, that was why she travelled to work at the weekends at the San Juan de Dios Hospital in San Miguel. She had once considered asking them whether they found her visits a nuisance, but thought better of it, because her aunts would only feel she was trying to provoke them. They were bound to tell her that a few extra pennies weren't worth the bother of travelling 140 kilometres between the two towns; that it was an unnecessary risk. Everyone lived in

the midst of terror, but it was far better not to be aware of it.

She felt pretty and happy. That's why she spoke to the reading man. It also allows her to smile broadly at him, and the red of the lipstick makes her lips shine still more in the sunlight streaming in through the bus window. Anyway she thinks, his voice, when he replied there were ten more minutes to go, had not seemed at all hostile. There is no way she can think of to carry on the conversation though. 'Perhaps he also feels one shouldn't talk to strangers.' To hide her embarrassment, she takes a sheet of paper from her bag. A letter from her sister. Badly written, on horrible blue paper, but it's nice to be able to read it over and over at her leisure. As she puts the letter away again, she steadies the bag on the lap of her Mexican dress. She looks down at the weatherbeaten skin of her arms. Since childhood she has worked out in the open, with her grandparents or parents, picking cotton or pruning coffee bushes. Trudging along the roads, a wide-brimmed hat pulled down to protect her face from the fierce glare of the sun. Then she looks up and stares out of the front of the bus, picking out details of the route she now knows by heart, which in this part of the journey climbs up among hills scorched from the summer heat, and blasted in patches by bombings. Suddenly she breathes in cool air, and, guessing where it comes from, peers down at the River Lempa, which the bus soon leaves behind. The breeze on her face has wafted up from the river, bringing with it a faint smell of lilies and fish. The young man opposite her is either reading or has dozed off. She can't be certain because she doesn't dare look at him directly or scan his face. 'Perhaps he's asleep... poor thing.' She couldn't have said why she thinks he is to be pitied.

The strength of this feeling stirs her heart, and she suddenly makes up her mind to look at him, as if to startle him or wake him up. At the same moment, he opens his eyes and looks over at her. For the first time, they are staring directly into each other's face. Now she knows it's no coincidence. It is her brother's face. Her own brother, who disappeared on 30 July 1975: more than five years since she had seen him, she can hardly recognise him. She decides not to say anything. Just smiles slightly. Better not to interrupt his reading, or his awkward attempts to rest as the bus lurches over the ruts of the highway.

An indefinable sense of happiness sweeps over her. She smooths down her skirt again, tries to sit more comfortably in her seat, to lull herself as though rocked in her mother's arms. She decides to close her eyes, to begin to dream, for the first time in her long and flourishing life. ■

Translated by Nick Caistor

INDEX INDEX

ALBANIA

In December 1984, Amnesty International published a report on human rights abuses in Albania, describing the beatings, deprivation and injustice suffered by political prisoners. The report was pieced together from unofficial and official information, including accounts by former prison-camp inmates. Amnesty International said it had the names of 400 political prisoners in the country and that this represented only 'a fraction of the true number'.

ALGERIA

On 25 November, a Supreme Council of Information, entrusted with the task of defining the overall political orientation for all the information and media services of the country, was officially established by President Chaldi Benjedid. This institution, which has been placed under the direct authority of the President, will have as its aim to fundamentally reform the media services with regard to quality and efficiency so as to 'better express the objectives of the Algerian revolution and to defend its achievements'. The purpose of the council will also be to 'guarantee equality in access to information to all citizens in all regions of Algeria, to develop a truly national news agency for the safeguarding of national cohesion and to promote knowledge of Algeria abroad and to reinforce goodwill and peace in the world'. The institution is also entrusted with 'protecting various social groups and particularly the youth against all propaganda attacking the nation's identity and values'.

ARGENTINA

Nunca mas (Never Again), the book written by the Commission on the Disappeared after researching into nearly 9,000 documented cases of people who 'disappeared' in Argentina after being taken into custody during the military regimes of 1976-1983, was published at the end of November and quickly sold out. Among recent targets of continuing attacks on human rights and similar organisations, were the premises of the newly created Armed Forces for Argentine Democracy. Nobody was hurt, though substantial material damage was done.

At its November Congress in Buenos

Aires, the organisation FEDEFAM (Latin American Federation of Relatives of the Detained-Disappeared) reported that 90,000 people had disappeared in the past ten years in Latin America, many of them children.

BOLIVIA

The country's private radios were silenced at the beginning of December by the main trade union, the Central Obrera Boliviana, when it called a general strike. They were reportedly unable to transmit again when the strike had finished, since the government had granted wage rises of some 240%, which private radio owners said they found it impossible to pay.

BRAZIL

A crime reporter for *Correio Brasiliense*, Mario Rafael de Oliveira, was shot dead in the early hours of 12 November as he was leaving *Radio Planalto* in Brasilia. Oliveira was well-known for his accusations on the radio and in the newspaper that police death squads were active in the satellite towns around Brasilia. He is reported to have received repeated death threats, and to have survived an earlier attempt on his life. The local journalists trade union later issued a communique implicating the Brasilia police chief in the crime.

BRITAIN

The trial of Mr Clive Ponting, a senior official at the Ministry of Defence, started in January. Mr Ponting was accused of leaking information on the sinking of the Argentine warship the *Belgrano*, to an unauthorised person, Mr Dalyell MP. He was charged under Section 2 of the Official Secrets Act.

The Family and Youth Concern Society, a morality pressure group based in Milton Keynes, has succeeded in getting two sex guidance books for youngsters withdrawn from a leading bookshop, Hudsons, in Birmingham. The books, which have been on sale for some years are *Make It Happy*, by Jane Cousins (published by Penguin), and *Talking Sex*, by Miriam Stoppard (published by Pan). The Society describes the two books as 'subversive' and says they 'brutalise sex for some children'.

BULGARIA

Hristo Kulichev, pastor of Bulgaria's main Congregational Church in Sofia, has been threatened with imprisonment if he refuses to step down and make way for a Government appointee. This threat was made in a 4-hour discussion with the Committee for Religious Affairs (an

official Government body), who had summoned Pastor Kulichev on 3 December. Kulichev who enjoys the unanimous support of his congregation, refuses to stand down despite the threats, which have been extended even to his daughter. She has been told she could lose her place at university, where she is in the final year of her course.

CAMEROON

In mid-November Blaise Pascal Talla, a member of the directorate of the press group *Jeune Afrique*, was arrested in Douala by police, accused of possessing firearms.

Also in November Charles Ndi Chia, a journalist on the Limbe-based *Cameroon Times* was arrested and taken to Yaoundé in an apparent further attempt by the authorities to learn the name of the writer of an article in the paper's issue of 18 May. He and other journalists had already been arrested and questioned in June (*Index* 5/1984). A Sunday edition of the paper was banned in November following coverage of a controversial local chieftaincy dispute in Southwest Province.

Abdoulaye Mazouz, former Secretary-General of the Ministry of National Education, was reported in early January to be among more than 1,000 people held after the attempted coup in April 1984. Mazouz, deformed since birth, was deprived of his artificial leg after his arrest. He was then sentenced by a military tribunal to five years' imprisonment for aiding a fugitive. He was one of several prisoners reported to be in danger of death from malnutrition.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Abel Goumba, former Rector of the University of Bangui, and Patrice Endjimoungou, a former teacher, were amongst some 53 political prisoners freed by presidential decree in a New Year amnesty.

CHAD

Jean-Benoist Vion, a French journalist from the radio station TRL, was refused entry at N'Djamena airport on 23 November for arriving without a visa.

CHILE

Under the state of siege regulations re-imposed on 6 November, all the opposition press remains banned. Radio news on non-government stations is censored. The one independent magazine allowed to publish, *Hoy*, has to submit all its material for prior approval. The first issue published after the state of siege had six pages censored, the second

eight. The Pinochet government is also trying to control news sent out of Chile. The authorities called in all foreign correspondents at the end of November to review their official accreditation. Some journalists reportedly had cameras and files confiscated from their homes. A UPI correspondent in Santiago, Anthony Boadle, was expelled from the country at the beginning of December for allegedly sending a false report about anti-government protests at the end of November. Boadle returned to Santiago in January. Foreign priests have also come under pressure from the authorities (see this issue, p 3). With the banning of all meetings under the state of siege, the funeral of Matilde Urrutia, the poet Pablo Neruda's widow, became a huge anti-government demonstration, when 3,000 people gathered to accompany her remains to the cemetery.

The authorities have moved against moderate opposition political leaders, human rights workers, trade union leaders, students, and shanty town dwellers. More than 200 of those detained have been sent, without charge or trial, into internal banishment in remote areas of Chile. Among them were Fanny Pollarolo, a psychiatrist, active in human rights for many years, as well as being a leading member of the MDP (Movimiento Democrático Popular — Popular Democratic Movement), a left-wing coalition. Eight human rights workers with the Chile Human Rights Commission are reported by Amnesty International to have been banished in December after arrests in the northern towns of Iquique and Arica. They are: Germán Valenzuela Olivares, Ernesto Montoya Peredo, Emilio Llanos Nangato, Juan Restelli Portugues, Arturo Zegarra Williamson, Raúl Iturriaga Rodríguez, Samuel Cortes Iglesias, and Hector Merida Cespedes.

University lecturers and students have been hit by the repression. Following the arrest in early December of three lecturers and four students at the University of the North in Antofagasta, one of the teachers, Douglas Fuenteseca, and all the four students were sent into internal exile. Fifty-six students at Concepción University have been suspended from classes, and armed police are reported to be regularly stationed around the university campus.

In the afternoon of 3 January, members of the Central Nacional de Investigaciones, Chile's plain-clothes investigative police, raided the office of Vector, a non-government centre for socio-economic studies. Five people were taken away, and four of them, Ricardo Solari, Veronica Vallejos, Emilia Lopez and Marcelo Schilling were kept in detention. The CNI

agents removed most of Vector's files, documents, furniture and equipment.

The deputy editor of the pro-government newspaper *La Nacion* was held by a guerrilla group for a week before being released unharmed shortly before Christmas. Members of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front released Sebastiano Bertolone after photographs of him with the group's flag were published in newspapers throughout Chile, after the authorities apparently backed down and acceded to the guerrilla group's demands. The Front claimed that they had carried out the kidnapping in order to 'defeat the regime's attempt to censor news'.

The Chilean writer Enrique Lafourcade sought asylum in the Argentine embassy in Santiago at the end of November after his bookshop had been raided. Lafourcade's recent novel, *El Gran Taimado* (The Great Con Trick) contains criticisms of the current regime in Chile. Lafourcade spent a week in Argentina before returning to Santiago.

CHINA

The Fourth National Writers' Congress, the first since 1979, was held in Beijing in early January. The Chinese Writers' Association adopted a new constitution and re-elected the famous 81-year-old writer Ba Jin as its chairman for the second time. The new constitution calls for freedom of thought, democracy, and literary exploration which will probe all aspects of life, without merely sticking to worker, peasant and soldier stereotypes. However, writers are still 'led by the Communist Party and guided by Marxism', and they should adhere to 'the orientation of art and literature, serving the people and the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend', a reference to the liberalisation of arts and literature in 1957 which had been followed by a clampdown by the 'Anti-Rightist drive' the following year.

Observers in Beijing believed that this liberalisation was indeed encouraging, considering the pressure last year by 'leftist' elements in the Party with their 'Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign'. Liberalisation does not mean liberty; Chinese writers are still in a cage, but a larger one, according to observers.

COLOMBIA

Father Alvaro Ulcué, a priest who helped the Indians of the Cauca region with their land problems, was killed on 12 November. He was murdered the day after police forcibly evicted Indians from lands

traditionally held by them in the Cauca valley.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A Swedish television team, which wanted to interview the 1984 Nobel Prize for literature winner, Jaroslav Seifert, in Prague in December was refused an entry visa by the Czechoslovak authorities, according to an AFP report from Malmö.

In December, Charter 77 issued a document denouncing the 'suppression and distortion' of news coverage in Czechoslovakia. It said the mass media 'have become an exclusive propaganda tool, instead of offering our citizens an opportunity to share in the political life of the state of the world'. Among the most recent examples of press distortion, Charter 77 listed the coverage of the famine in Ethiopia, and the 'delayed, laconic and false' coverage of Jaroslav Seifert being awarded the 1984 Nobel Prize for literature.

In January, on its eighth anniversary, Charter 77 announced that it had appointed three new spokesmen for the next year. They were Jiří Dienstbier, 47, a former journalist, Eva Kantůrková, 54, a writer, and Petruška Šusterová, 37, an office worker. Before the announcement, Mr Dienstbier and Mrs Šusterová were detained by police, together with Václav Havel and the outgoing spokesmen Václav Benda, Jiří Ruml and Jana Šternová. Charter 77 reviewed its activities over the past eight years in a statement signed by the new spokesmen. It reaffirmed its aims which include scrutiny of the constitution and laws, respect for human civil rights and justice.

The Czech writers Eva Kantůrková and Zdeněk Urbánek became in January the first laureates of the Tom Stoppard Prize for new original works of literature. The prize was awarded to them by a group of banned writers living in Czechoslovakia.

EAST GERMANY

Bonn has spent nearly £95 million in 1984 on buying freedom for thousands of West Germans, according to the West German daily *Die Welt*. The East Germans included 2,115 political prisoners bought out between January and the end of November, 1984. This was a record annual figure since Bonn began paying for the release of such prisoners in 1963. The Bonn Ministry for Inner German Relations, however, declined to comment on the report.

In an unprecedented development, members of the independent

Czechoslovak and East German peace movements last November issued a joint protest note against the deployment a year ago of new Soviet missiles in their respective countries. The East German signatories include Katja Havemann, the widow of the prominent East German dissident Professor Robert Havemann. The Czechoslovak signatories include Václav Havel, the playwright, Ladislav Lis and Jaroslav Šabata.

ECUADOR

At the beginning of December, the Ecuadorean government expelled two Italian priests, Guiliano Valloto and Graziano Mazon for 'subversive activities', despite protests from the Papal Nuncio and local Catholic authorities.

EGYPT

On 26 November, hundreds of Egyptian riot police occupied al-Azhar university — a 1000-year-old centre of Islamic learning — ending four days of protest on the campus and arresting some 300 students. The student protests erupted after a student was killed by a police van. Witnesses said that at least 20 students were injured when police opened fire to break up a crowd of stone-throwing medical students. Many of the students called for the full implementation of Islamic Law.

The Attorney-General has banned further newspaper comment on allegations that over half of the 281 Muslim fundamentalists charged with murder and plotting against the state after the assassination of President Sadat in 1981 had been tortured. A court document on the trial of the fundamentalists specifically charged the security police with the torture of Omar Abdul Rahman, the blind spiritual leader of the fundamentalists.

Pope Shenoudah III, the patriarch of Egypt's Coptic Orthodox Christians, was allowed to return to Cairo after 40 months of internal exile. He was able to lead thousands of worshippers in a Christmas Eve mass. President Mubarak lifted restrictions imposed on the priest a few days before Christmas. President Sadat had stripped Pope Shenoudah of state recognition of his office and confined him to the Wad Natrum monastery in the desert (*Index* 5/1983).

Most Egyptian opposition parties, as well as a number of publishers, journalists and lawyers said that they would boycott the International Book Fair in Cairo because Israel was to take part for the first time in three years. More than 1000 publishers from 49 countries plan to

exhibit and sell their books at the fair, which began on 22 January. Seven Egyptian publishers have announced that they would boycott the fair in protest against Israel's participation for the first time since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

EL SALVADOR

The Archbishop of San Salvador, Mons Rivera y Damas, has condemned a renewal of political threats and assassinations at the start of 1985. Among those killed at the beginning of the year was Pedro Rene Yanes, the head of President Duarte's team to investigate political corruption. His murderer was killed, and was found to be a prominent member of the right-wing ARENA party.

GUATEMALA

The body of university lecturer Rudy Gustavo Figueroa who had been missing since October, was found early in December. Figueroa, who taught in the Economic Faculty, was a leader of the University of San Carlos Workers' Union, which in November held a strike for better wages. As reported in *Index/Index* 1/85, his is the third recent death among lecturers at the university, a prime target for paramilitary forces.

GUYANA

Hearings of the four libel suits brought by government officials against the *Catholic Standard* newspaper have been postponed several times, and are now due on 25 February. The postponements are largely due to additions to the prosecution's charges, and are seen by the defence as further harassment of one of the few remaining independent news sources in Guyana.

HAITI

Between 14 and 100 people are said to have been arrested in Haiti during November, in the most severe crackdown on alleged opponents of the Duvalier regime since 1980. Those known to have been arrested include several rural education workers, a Protestant church worker, a doctor, and a number of agronomists. These arrests, together with other recent rights violations, have led three US human rights groups, Americas Watch, the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, and the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, to ask the US State Department not to grant Haiti certification in their annual human rights report. Continuing US aid to Haiti is dependent on it obtaining a positive certification.

HUNGARY

According to reports reaching the West in January, the request by Hungarian dissident György Krassó to have the strict police surveillance imposed on him last November lifted, has been turned down (*Index* 5/1984, 1/1985). An article in the *London Times* on 8 January described the restrictions placed on Krassó as 'a form of restrictive custody tantamount to strict isolation'. Dissidents in Hungary feel there is a danger that this kind of police pressure might be used more often. Nearly 300 people signed a letter of protest and sent it on 14 December to the Hungarian authorities. A similar letter was sent to the representatives of the signatories of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe treaty, who were attending a conference in Budapest in early December.

INDIA

Brahma Chellaney, an Indian reporter with the Associated Press News Agency, was charged with sedition in December (*Index* 1/1985). He also faces charges of violation of news censorship regarding events in Punjab, after reporting that Sikhs had been shot with their arms tied behind their backs during the army invasion of the Sikhs' holiest shrine, the Golden Temple, in Amritsar. The Supreme Court had extended his bail, on condition that he fully cooperated with investigators.

The Norwegian journalist Oddvar Lind of the Norwegian News Agency NIB was denied a visa to cover the general election at the end of December. The authorities cited the 'negative content' of his reporting during the last five years as a reason for their refusal.

IRAN

In a reply to the charges of gross violations of human rights during the last session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, the Iranian ambassador to the UN replied that 'we do not pretend to respect human rights principles, because for us the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its covenants are not the criteria for judgment and decision'. The ambassador added that the declaration and its covenants 'do not concern us in the least'. 'Our aim is to follow the principles of Islam. We believe that capital punishment and other types of Islamic punishments cannot be considered as acts of torture', the ambassador said.

ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

On 5 November, Israeli military authorities forbade Palestinian journalist, Raymonda Tawil, from leaving the Occupied Territories. Tawil was planning to travel to Italy on 6 November. Senior Israeli Defence Ministry sources said that Tawil was barred from travelling for unspecified security reasons and for 'the accumulation of her activities which are hostile to the state'. Tawil claims that her travel ban is related to a confrontation she had in a recent political debate with the Israeli Knesset member, Abba Eban, in a French TV broadcast.

On 5 November, Advocate Hussain Abu Hussain sent a message to the Israeli PM Shimon Peres protesting his treatment at Ben Gurion Airport by the Israeli secret service men. Hussain said his personal papers and client's files were confiscated by the security men upon his return from France where he attended an international conference for jurists.

Fatmeh Ja'afari, 37, a Bethlehem resident, was sentenced on 12 November by Ramallah Military Court on charges of carrying illegal literature. The literature Ja'afari was carrying consisted of 14 copies of *Al-Bayader Al-Siyassi* magazine and 33 copies of *Al-Awdeh* magazine. Both magazines are published in Jerusalem and are available on Jerusalem newstands.

On 11 November, Israeli authorities summoned journalist Afif Salem of Nazareth and questioned him about political articles in his magazine, *Al-Adab*. The authorities claimed that the journal supported the PLO and threatened to close it down.

A Bir Zeit University student was killed and at least 8 others injured on 21 November when Israeli troops fired live ammunition into crowds at a reportedly peaceful demonstration on the campus. Sharif al-Tibi, 24, an engineering student from Gaza, was shot in the chest. He died of his wounds while lying in a car waiting to pass a military checkpoint.

Israeli authorities prevented the well-known Palestinian artist, Sulaiman Mansour, from travelling to Sweden on 30 November on 'security' grounds. Mansour, the vice-chairperson of the League of Artists in the Occupied Territories, attempted four times in one week to cross the Allenby Bridge to Jordan but was stopped by the authorities who imposed a ban on any outside travel by the artist. Swedish television broadcast a special programme on Mansour's case.

On 5 December, Israeli military authorities renewed a town arrest order on Mousa Jaradat for 6 months. Jaradat, a correspondent for *Al-Fajr* newspaper is from the Hebron area. It is his third successive town arrest.

ITALY

Domenico Del Rio, a reporter of the daily *La Repubblica* accredited to the Vatican, was barred from travelling with the Pope during his tour to Latin America in January. The Vatican's decision was criticised by other lobby correspondents at the Vatican as an attack on press freedom. Mr Del Rio was known to be critical of the Pope's numerous trips abroad.

IVORY COAST

Journalists on the government paper, *Fraternité Matina*, were reported in late December to have been instructed by the Presidency to cover only the final verdict of the corruption trial of 23 highly-placed civil servants.

LEBANON

On 31 December, eight assailants kidnapped the American priest who heads the Catholic Relief Services office in West Beirut. Reverend Lawrence Martin Jenco, 50, was seized near the American University of Beirut as he was returning to work from his home. Father Jenco, a member of the Servite order from Chicago, has been the CRS programme director in Lebanon since October.

LIBERIA

Rufus Darpoh, a prominent freelance journalist and former editor of the *New Librarian*, detained without charge since June 1984 (*Index* 5/1984), was reported in late November to have been released.

Aletha Jenkins, editor-in-chief of the *New Librarian* was fined \$500, and Jenkins Scott, Dean of the Supreme Court Bar, was banned from practising law in Liberia for two years. They were convicted at the end of November on criminal contempt charges, arising from an interview published in the *New Librarian*.

The University of Liberia, closed since 22 August 1984 (*Index* 6/1984) was reopened on 28 November. Ezekiel Pajibo, acting president of the University's Liberian National Students Union, was arrested on 3 December. He was accused with three members of the Liberian People's Party (LPP) of 'clandestinely writing and circulating anonymous leaflets designed to

assassinate the character of government officials and create chaos' in Liberia. Pajibo admitted preparing a stencil under the title 'Students Interest Committee', but said it was 'solely aimed at rallying students' support for the presentation of grievances to government'. Pajibo had been one of five student leaders sentenced to death in 1981 for violation of the ban on student politics, but reprieved by President Doe. (*Index* 2/1982.)

MALI

All lecturers and officials of the teachers' union (Syndicat National de l'Education et de la Culture) continued to be detained by the state police, despite the release some weeks before of Mani Kamara, a philosophy lecturer, Mamadou Toungara, an employee of the National Teachers' College, and two other lecturers. The detentions result from suspicion that some union members were responsible for the publication and distribution of anti-government tracts circulating in the capital, Bamako.

MOROCCO

Amnesty International has adopted as a prisoner of conscience a former teacher in a hospital for lepers who is serving a 20-year sentence because of his opinions and non-violent political activities. El Hassan El Bou, 30, was teaching in Ain Shosh Hospital in Casa Blanca when he was arrested in May 1976. He was one of a number of people arrested and accused of being a member of an illegal society of radical socialists known as the *Frontistes* and of plotting against the internal security of the state. He and other *Frontistes* were eventually brought to trial in January 1977 after they had gone on hunger strike in protest against detention without trial.

MOZAMBIQUE

Sister Teresa Della Pezze, an Italian nun, was killed on 3 January after guerrillas attacked the convoy of private vehicles, escorted by the army, in which she was travelling between Nampula and Nacala in the north-east of the country.

NAMIBIA

Tony Weaver, a reporter for the *Mail Africa Bureau* in Windhoek, whose articles on the war have on occasion exposed atrocities committed by Koevoet (a special police counter-insurgency unit), was refused accreditation to fly with a large group of journalists to Oshakati and witness the release of the 74 Kassinga detainees who have been held for six and a half years; he was also told that henceforth the *Africa Bureau* would

be given no access to military facilities, press conferences or trips to the war zones. Also in October the president of the South Africa Catholic Bishops Conference, Archbishop Hurley, was charged with falsely accusing Koevoet of committing atrocities against civilians in Namibia. In November an issue of *Dateline: Namibia* (No 5 1983) — a Lutheran newsletter published in the USA — was banned. It contained extracts of a speech by the general secretary of the Council of Churches in Namibia dealing with repression and violation of human rights in Namibia.

Gwen Lister, BBC correspondent in Namibia and former political editor of the *Windhoek Observer* (Index 1/1985) was arrested on 14 December under South Africa's Official Secrets Act and the Post Office Act, after disclosing the contents of a 'top secret' police document to other journalists in Windhoek: an application to intercept all mail addressed to her, sent to her post-box in Windhoek apparently in error. Three Windhoek-based journalists were interviewed by the police after they had written stories about the document in that day's South African newspapers. She was released on 16 December on bail and after surrendering her passport, and appeared in court on 18 December. No charges were laid and the case was postponed to 31 January.

NICARAGUA

Censorship, which had been relaxed prior to the November elections, has again hit the opposition daily *La Prensa*. Editor Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Jr left for exile in Costa Rica in December, declaring on arrival that 'I didn't want to stay there and work to fill up files at the censorship office'. *La Prensa* will continue to appear, thanks to the efforts of other members of the Chamorro family, its proprietors. In December, the family filed a suit against government censorship claiming that 180 articles, photos, cartoons and headlines had been censored during the first 12 days of that month. In January, the newspaper failed to appear on two occasions because of the amount of material censored by officials.

Relations between the Sandinista regime and the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy worsened with the expulsion of education minister Father Fernando Cardenal from the Jesuits. Cardenal refused to leave his government post as instructed by the Vatican, and was dismissed from the order. Prior to this incident, the government had told *Radio Católica* that it must submit for approval the texts of homilies it regularly broadcasts on Sundays, in an attempt to control the views of

church officials hostile to the government.

Salomon Calvo, a correspondent for *Radio Impacto* of Costa Rica in Managua, was arrested for 'counter-revolutionary activities' in the Nicaraguan capital on 29 December. He is to be tried by the Popular Anti-Somoza Tribunals for sending reports which 'distorted Nicaraguan reality, and threatened the country's security'. The Sandinista government claims that *Radio Impacto* is a CIA financed operation, designed to be heard within Nicaragua rather than in Costa Rica.

NIGERIA

Duro Onabule, editor of the *National Concord*, called in for questioning by the Nigerian Security Organisation (NSO) on 9 November (Index 1/1985), was called in again on 16 November and held in detention until late November. Steve Raymond, a reporter with the Plateau Publishing Company, publishers of the *Nigerian Standard* newspapers, was charged in early December with publishing 'injurious falsehood' and granted bail. Rufai Ibrahim, former acting editor of *The Guardian*, was picked up from his residence in Kuru by the NSO and held from 22 December.

The appeal filed by the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) challenging the constitutionality of Decree No 4 (Index 4.5/1984) was dismissed by the appeal court in December.

PAKISTAN

In December, two weeks after the announcement of a referendum in order to seek an endorsement of President Zia's Islamic policies and a new five-year term for himself as leader of the country, more than 130 opponents of the referendum were arrested in Karachi and other areas of Sind province.

PANAMA

A woman reporter and a photographer from the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* have accused members of the national security guard of severe beatings which put them in hospital. The two reporters, Lisette Carrasco and Aurelio Jimenez were covering a demonstration on 15 December, when they say they were set on by a number of guards.

PARAGUAY

Police raided the house of lawyer Dr Angulo Gaston, who was working on behalf of the banned independent newspaper *ABC Color* on 29 November. They impounded copies of a 46-page report on the closure of the newspaper, which included a

critical study of the Supreme Court's ruling in the case. Eight employees from *ABC Color* who had apparently been compiling this report were taken away for questioning, and held for a day at police headquarters.

The weekly *Aquí* was closed indefinitely by court order at the beginning of January. The magazine was closed on the grounds that it 'offended morality, the security of the state, and broke Defence Law No 209 concerning public order and individual freedom'.

PERU

The new Dean of the Peruvian College of Journalists, Juan Vicente Requejo, said at the beginning of December that there was reason to believe that one of the bodies found in a mass grave at Pucayacu, near Huanta, in August, was that of Jaime Ayala, the correspondent in Huanta of the left-wing Lima daily, *El Diario de Marka*, who had disappeared after being seen for the last time entering the Marines barracks in the town.

A reporter and a cameraman with Channel 2 TV of Lima were kidnapped on December 8 by members of the recently active urban guerrilla group, Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA). Vicky Peláez and Percy Raborg were later released unharmed after Channel 2 agreed to transmit an MRTA cassette calling on the authorities to show detained MRTA guerrillas to the press.

Guillermo Thorndike, campaigning editor of Lima's biggest-selling tabloid, *La República*, received a death threat after the former Director of the Civil Guard had accused him on TV of links with terrorists and drug traffickers in a plot to destroy the police force. Thorndike had given prominence to evidence of corruption and theft which led to General Juan Balaguer's dismissal.

The trial continued in January of the three peasants who are accused of murdering eight journalists at Uchuraccay in January 1983. The proceedings have already produced a number of shocks, including an assertion that the killings did not take place on 26 January 1983, and were not committed in Uchuraccay. There have also been protests from the novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, who headed an earlier official enquiry into the deaths, that he was detained against his will for a day when he was called to appear as a witness in the case. He has also accused the judge of trying at all costs to prove that the government was involved in the killings.

In January, Amnesty International published a *Briefing* which details more than 1,000 cases of people 'disappearing' after being taken into custody in the remote Ayacucho department since it was placed under military rule late in 1982. One of the recent cases was teacher Elsa Montes Castillo, who is reported to have been detained by the Civil Guard in the town of Ayacucho on 30 November. Though her relatives had contact with her until mid-December, Civil Guard authorities suddenly claimed they had no knowledge of her whereabouts, thus arousing fears for her safety.

PHILIPPINES

On 19 October 1984, Alexander Orcullo, editor of *Mindaweek* (a weekly magazine) was reported shot dead by armed gunmen in front of his family in Davao City. Local residents are reported to believe that Mr Orcullo was killed by paramilitary groups with official approval.

Vicente Villordon, aged 46, a radio commentator whose daily broadcasts frequently criticised the government and big business, was shot dead by gunmen at the end of December.

On 26 December 1984, the Supreme Court in Manila declared illegal a 1982 military raid on the offices of the opposition newspaper, *We Forum*, and ordered the government to return the printing presses and other items seized by soldiers.

The award-winning film of Lino Broka 'Bayan Ko-Kapit Sa Patalim' (My Country — To Hold on to a Knife) was refused public release in December. The chief government censor said that the film contained 'subversive songs and negative allusions to the Philippines'. Mr Broka's film had earlier received public acclaim in Europe.

POLAND

According to *Uncensored Poland* news bulletin, seven people from different parts of the country were arrested in October and November for 'printing illegal publications' or disseminating false information in print.

The government has objected to those in Wrocław, Cracow and Warsaw who want to form civic groups in order to monitor 'police terrorism and abuse of power by the security forces'. Government spokesman, Jerzy Urban, said these people tried to create 'anti-state structures on the pretext of setting up human rights observers'. Those who joined the groups would risk prosecution, he said.

Poland's state-controlled press, normally averse to reporting events embarrassing to the regime, has

provided extensive coverage on the murder trial in Torun of four secret police officers, accused of the murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko (Index 2/1984, 1/1985).

According to the recent reports by the US-based Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, restrictions on people's activities have not been removed, even though Martial Law was lifted in 1983. On the other hand, according to the Polish Helsinki Committee (based in Poland), abuses of the law have increased significantly.

RUMANIA

A report by the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights in October 1984, describes Rumania as 'one of the most egregious offenders of human rights in Eastern Europe'. The Ceausescu regime orchestrates every aspect of Rumanian society — the flow of information, religious activities, cultural affairs, the unions, and foreign and domestic policies in general. An extensive network of security police, known as *Securitate*, is by some estimates the largest per capita security police anywhere and ensures that even the slightest stirrings of organised opposition are crushed, the report says.

SAUDI ARABIA

The Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Saudi Arabia announced in December that the Saudi authorities have recently waged a campaign of mass arrests and pressing political charges against the detainees. Dozens of people have been reportedly taken into custody since September. Among the defendants are many members of the intelligentsia and the clergy, the majority of whom, the Committee alleges, are not known to have any specific political commitment. Routine torture during interrogations has also been widely reported. However, the Saudi ambassador to France said in a letter to the French daily *Le Monde* that there are no political prisoners in Saudi Arabia.

SENEGAL

Three students — Saliou Niang, Oumar Ba and Ibrahim Ka — believed to have been held without charge or trial since their arrest between 21 and 30 December 1983, were released on 20 November, pending trial.

SIERRA LEONE

Royston Wright, Reuters correspondent in Freetown, was picked up by the police and taken to the CID, in December, possibly in connection

with an article in the London bulletin, *Africa Confidential*, about corruption and mismanagement in Sierra Leone.

Christopher Koker, acting editor of *New Shafi* newspaper, was one of four people held at the Pademba Road prison (Index 1/1985) reported in early January to have been released.

SOUTH AFRICA

Prince Madikizela, a lawyer from Umtata in the Transkei bantustan area, who had represented a number of opponents of apartheid, was banished from Umtata to Bizana on 10 October, after being held by the police.

Vuyisile Madikizela, a hospital doctor, was arrested on 20 November at his home in the Ciskei by security police, who also took away newspaper clippings and books. After questioning at Alice Police Station he was transferred to Mdantsane and placed in detention. He was released, uncharged, on 3 December.

On 28 November *subpoenas* were issued to at least 12 South African journalists, ordering them to testify in court about alleged offences during recent unrest in connection with the introduction of the new tricameral parliament (Index 1/1985), or face severe prison sentences. The editors of Cape Town's three daily newspapers — *Die Burger*, *Cape Times* and *Argus* — were also ordered to submit all photographs and negatives taken during unrest at the University of the Western Cape on 14 September.

Kate Philip, President of NUSAS (National Union of South Africa Students) and Guy Berger, university lecturer in journalism, both detained in early November were released, uncharged, on 27 November and 7 December respectively. Leaders of COSAS (Congress of South Africa Students) arrested at the end of October — Brenda Badela, Andile Mntushe and Siseko Lutywantsi and Mono Badela, a journalist — were released from detention, uncharged, during the latter half of December. Thami Mperwa, a member of AZASM (Azanian Students Movement) was also reported to have been released, uncharged. Siphon Ngwenya, another AZASM member, Geinamuzi and Simon Tseko Nkodi, President and Secretary of the Vaal branch of COSAS, arrested in the Vaal and Soweto areas in late September or early October 1984, remained in detention (Index 1/1985).

Thami Mali, teacher and Chairman of the Transvaal Regional Stay-Away Committee, was released on bail on 7 December. He and Peter Makgoba, Soweto Regional Chair-

man of COSAS, who was charged with subversion in connection with the two-day stay-away in November 1984 (Index 1/1985) were expected to appear in court again on 31 January 1985.

On 10 December detention orders against George Sewpershad, lawyer and President of the Natal Indian Congress, were withdrawn (Index 6/1984, 1/1985) but he and five others were immediately charged with treason and then held in Durban Central Prison.

On 23 November Muntshutshu Johannes Rantete, author of *The Third Day of September*, was arrested by the security police and held incommunicado. His book, an eyewitness account of civil unrest and South African police and military response in the Sebokeng township area, was published in early November; ten days later copies were seized by the security police and in December it was formally banned. Rantete was released, uncharged, in mid-December.

Bans were also imposed on 7 December on the November issue of *UDF News*, a newspaper published by the United Democratic Front; on a publication released by the anti-militarist *End Conscription Committee*; on *The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx* by Alex Callinicos, and on a *Girls* 1985 Calendar. Of the 1,305 publications submitted to the Directorate of Publications in 1984, 949 were found to be 'undesirable' and banned.

On 19 December, the Johannesburg offices of the British ITN (Independent Television News) were raided by security police, and 33 video cassettes were seized. The subjects of the cassettes included recent unrest and police action in black townships, meetings of the UDF, the August 1984 elections, and the funeral in Maseru (capital of Lesotho) in December 1982 of members of the banned ANC (African National Congress), who were killed in a raid by South African commandos.

In late December the American TV company, CBS, was refused an entry visa to South Africa in order to cover Senator Edward Kennedy's visit in early January.

SRI LANKA

The Bishop of Mannar, the Right Rev. Thomas Savudaranayagam, accused the security forces of being responsible for the killing of Father Mary Bastian, a parish priest of St Anne's Church Vankalai, in early January. The bishop described the killing as a 'cruel, inhumane, and unthinkable act against a man of God'. Also in early January the Government imposed limited press

censorship on the island, banning reporting of anti-terrorist operations by army and police.

SUDAN

Fathi Mohamed el-Hassan, a student at the Egyptian University in Khartoum, and Abdelrahim Khogal, a teacher, were among about 40 people arrested in Khartoum and Omdurman in late November/early December on political grounds. They are reported to have been tortured while under interrogation by State Security officers. Over 30 people were reported still to be held a fortnight later.

Sadiq el Mahdi, a former prime minister and leader of the four million-strong Ansar (Mahdist) sect, was released, with 16 prominent supporters, on 18 December. They had been detained without charge or trial since 25 September 1983 (Index 1/1984).

Mahmoud Mohamad Taha, leader of *al-Ikhwan al-Jamhourion* (the Republic Brothers Movement) and a famous theological scholar, aged 76, was publicly executed on 18 January. Taha and 50 of the Movement's members had been released in December, after 18 months in detention since their arrest in June 1983 (Index 6/1983). The Movement immediately published a pamphlet calling for the Islamic Shari's law, introduced by President Numeiri in 1983, to be replaced by a 'liberal, spiritual legal system', and urging an alternative political solution in the south. Taha and four of his followers — including Abdulatif Omer Hasaballah, a journalist — were rearrested; at a one-day trial on 5 January, presided over by a judge appointed by the President, they were found guilty of treason. Death sentences were confirmed on 17 January. Taha's four followers were granted a reprieve on 19 January when they were said to have repented of their opposition to Islamic law.

TAIWAN

Three executives of the *Progressive Time* weekly, an opposition magazine, were sentenced by the Taipei District Court in early January to eight months in jail each for 'defaming' former Kaohsiung mayor Wang Yu-ung. They included Tsai Jen-chien, publisher; Miss Yang Tsu-chun, director, and Chen Yu-hsin, editor.

The Taiwan government admitted early January that some of its intelligence officials had been involved in the murder last October of Henry Liu, a Chinese-American journalist and author (see Index 1/1985 under 'USA'). Mr Liu was reported to have written critical

articles about the Nationalist Chinese Government (KMT) and was finishing a critical biography of Taiwan's former President Chiang Ching-kuo. Those involved in the assassination plot included the Intelligence Bureau chief, Colonel Chen Hun-men and two underworld figures. Vice Admiral Wong Shi-lin, director of Taiwan's military intelligence bureau was also dismissed from his post without explanation.

TUNISIA

In mid-December, an entire issue of *Al-Mustaqbal*, the publication of the Democratic Socialist Movement, was seized before distribution. L'Agence Tunis Afrique Press pointed out that the seizure of *Al-Mustaqbal* was due to 'damaging attacks' in the editorial against the ruling Destourian Party, whose members were described as 'fascists' and 'instigators of terrorist practices'.

Two Tunisian weeklies as well as one international weekly published in France have been banned for 6 months. The bilingual Franco-Arab magazine, *Réalités*, was banned after publishing an interview with a fugitive Tunisian politician; *Al-Mawqaf*, the organ of the Democratic Socialist Movement, was suspended for a third term of 6 months.

At a conference of Tunisian journalists in Tunis on 23 November, journalists addressed the question of the numerous attacks on press freedom in the country. The Tunisian section of the League of Human Rights set up a special commission on press freedom following the banning orders imposed on *Réalités* and all the publications of the *Jeune Afrique* Group. The government-controlled section of the Tunisian press was invited but did not attend.

TURKEY

In October last year the bimonthly review *Yeni Gundem* was banned for publishing an interview with the writer Aziz Nesim, chairman of the Turkish Writers Union. Also banned were *Video-Sinema* and seven foreign publications, including *The Middle East Magazine*. Three members of the editorial board of *Video-Sinema* were also prosecuted for publishing articles about the famous film director Yilmaz Güney, who recently died in Paris. The authorities also threatened to prosecute Uğur Munci, a specialist on the 'Agca affair', for publishing a series of articles in *Cumburiyet* on Agca's assassination attempts on the Pope in 1981.

Istanbul Martial Law Court No 1

decided to release in November the President of the Turkish Peace Association, Mr Mahmut Dikerdem (68), who had been sentenced to 8 years imprisonment (see *Index* 1/1984). Five of his colleagues were also released. They included Mr Orhan Apaydin (56), former President of the Istanbul Bar Association; Professor Melih Tümer (60), a former Social Democrat MP; Mr Ismail Hakki Oztörün (37), a publisher; Mr Niyazi Dalyancı (44); and Mr Gundogan Gorsev (53), a retired Air Force officer and publisher.

Mr Asiz Nesim and 18 other members of the Turkish Writers Union were acquitted in January of the charge of converting a legally founded trade union into a clandestine communist organisation (see *Index* 5/1984).

UGANDA

Anthony Ssekweyama, editor of the opposition paper *Munnansi* (see p 44), was charged with sedition after his arrest on 6 November. He is reported to be detained at Luzira Upper Prison.

Sam Kiwanuka and Francis Kanyeihamba, journalists on the *Uganda Pilot*, who had been arrested in April, were acquitted in court in November. However, shortly before their release, they were re-arrested. They were believed to be held in Luzira Upper Prison. Drake Ssekeba, editor-in-chief, and Sam Katwere, chief sub-editor of *The Star*, were also reported arrested on 8 November.

Ronald Mugima, a lecturer at Makerere University, was one of three people reported to have been arrested in a café in Kampala on 29 November. He has not been seen since, and his whereabouts are not known.

Reverend Mutaqindwa, an Anglican minister, Asa Kiiza, a retired veterinary surgeon, Dr Aston Bonde, a medical practitioner and Ms Kaseregenya, matron of Buhinga hospital, were among a group of about 40 people reportedly arrested by the army in Port Portal, western Uganda, in mid-October. They are believed to be held in Muholi military barracks.

UNITED STATES

Richard Sandza, a *Newsweek* reporter based at the San Francisco bureau, said in January that he had been threatened by computer buffs because he had written a story revealing secrets about their infiltration of sophisticated computer security systems. The article appeared in the 12 November issue of *Newsweek*. Mr Sandza said he had received threats and harassing phone calls and has been told that his credit

card numbers, home address and Social Security number have been stolen from the computerised files of TRW, the nation's largest credit operation, and 'posted' electronically nationwide along with requests to 'nail this guy'.

URUGUAY

The exiled political leader, Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, who had been arrested on his return to Uruguay in June when he hoped to stand as presidential candidate for the Blanco party (see *Index* 3/1984) was released from detention on 30 November, after the candidate of the Colorado party, Julio Sanguinetti, had triumphed in the polls.

USSR

In October Iosif Zisels, Yakov Rosenberg and Leonid Shrayner, campaigners for the preservation of Jewish culture, were arrested in the Ukrainian town of Chernovtsy and charged with 'circulating anti-Soviet slander'. In August, two members of a Hebrew study circle, Yakov Levin and Mark Nyepomnyashchy, were arrested in Odessa on the same charge.

It was reported on 24 November that two Baptists had been arrested in the Kazakh town of Issyk. Egor and Andrei Volf were accused of printing more than 30,000 Bibles on an underground press.

On 26 December *Izvestia* accused two members of the Associated Press news agency in Moscow of helping a Soviet doctor to try to defect from the Soviet Union. Dr Andrei Rukusuev, a specialist in alcoholic diseases in the city, had been sentenced in April to 8 years' imprisonment for 'treason' after he had tried to cross the Hungarian border into Austria without official papers.

It was reported in late December that Merab Kostava, a Georgian Helsinki monitor serving a five-year term, had begun an unlimited hunger-strike in his labour camp to protest against cancellation of his visits. Earlier in the month nine Georgians were arrested in Rustavi and accused of working for the US Central Intelligence Agency. They were charged with 'treason', which carries the death penalty. In December it was also reported that three members of a group calling itself 'Women for the Independence of Georgia', arrested earlier in the year, had been sentenced to imprisonment.

YEMEN (SOUTH)

Amnesty International has adopted as a prisoner of conscience Tawfiq

'Az'azi, a former magistrate in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. He is reported to have disappeared in March 1972. Tawfiq 'Az'azi allegedly disappeared after he refused to convict and sentence a number of political detainees who appeared before him in court. He ruled that they had committed no offence under the Penal Code and ordered their release.

YUGOSLAVIA

A conspiracy trial of six Belgrade dissident intellectuals which began on 10 November 1984 was still being held in January 1985 (*Index* 4, 5, 6/1984, 1/1985). One of the accused described the trial as being 'worse than the darkest visions of Orwell's 1984'. Milovan Djilas, the veteran dissident and once one of Tito's closest associates, wrote about the trial in the French daily *Le Monde* (19.11.84) that, 'I am a hundred, a thousand times more guilty than any of the six....'

According to *Politika* on 11 January, a group of 14 young people were charged with 'hostile activity' for singing Croatian nationalist songs in the Adriatic port of Split. The accused allegedly 'insulted the personality of the late President Tito'.

ZAIRE

It was reported in early December that Citoyenne Kalimba, wife of the headmaster of the Luzolo Institute (a secondary school in Miyamba) had been arrested, together with her two small sons by military police on 2 August. Her husband was apparently wanted by the police for a suspected political offence, that of possessing an opposition newspaper. Another teacher, Kabongo, was reported arrested at the same time and is believed to be still held.

Kin-Kiey Mulamba, Reuter correspondent in Zaire and a teacher of journalism at Kinshasa University, was arrested on 2 January after issuing a story about the recall of Zaire's envoys to the United Nations and Belgium. He was allowed home soon after questioning. Bossongo Boyeme, part-time BBC correspondent, was held for questioning.

ZIMBABWE

Ton Gerrits, a Dutch journalist, was arrested on 4 January at the Zimbabwe-Mozambican border, suspected of spying for South Africa. He was freed the next day, but his film and tape recordings were seized.

This *Index/Index* goes up to 11 January.

INDEX on CENSORSHIP

PAKISTAN

Raza Kazim

Raza Kazim, an international commercial lawyer, was arrested in January 1984. He is reported to be in his mid-fifties. According to Amnesty International, Raza Kazim was due to have gone on trial in camera on 27 January 1985 before a Special Military Court in Attock Fort in the Punjab. He was recently charged with 'conspiracy' to wage or attempt to wage war or abet waging war, against Pakistan' (under Section 121A, Pakistan Penal Code), and with 'sedition' (Section 124A, PPC).

In August 1984 his wife filed a writ of *habeas corpus* in view of his detention without charge, but her case was dismissed by the Lahore High Court. The Court ruled that since the Martial Law Administrator of Punjab province had taken cognizance of her husband's case, and as he was in military custody awaiting trial before a military court, her petition 'stood abated' (nullified).

Raza Kazim is reported to be suffering from serious heart trouble. When he was transferred from his prison to a military hospital in Rawalpindi in July last year, he was reported to have fainted.

According to Amnesty, he has been denied access to defence counsel. He has been held in solitary confinement, with no access to regular visits from his family or friends.

In 1981, Raza Kazim was reported to have been detained for a few months for an article published in an Urdu language publication which he edited. The article was reported to be critical of the continuation of the Martial Law in Pakistan. Raza Kazim, like many other lawyers in Pakistan, has been particularly vocal in calling for a return to civilian rule. In October 1983, for instance, lawyers throughout the country, especially the members or supporters of the National Coordination Committee of Lawyers, took part in the nationwide day of protest against the Martial Law. About 100 lawyers were reported detained in Karachi alone during that day; most were later released.



Raza Kazim

YUGOSLAVIA

Dr Ivan Zografski

This is how the *Amnesty International Newsletter* of February 1985 describes one of its 'Prisoners of the Month':

'Dr Ivan Zografski is a retired medical specialist, aged 70. He is serving a five-and-a-half-year prison term, has had all his property confiscated and is to be expelled from Yugoslavia after his imprisonment — all because of casual conversations in which he is alleged to have criticised the country and its leaders.

'A Bulgarian national who has lived in the Yugoslav city of Sarajevo since 1972, Dr Zografski was arrested in October 1983 because of remarks he was alleged to have made during private conversations 'at his home, in the home of friends and in cafés and restaurants', according to

Tanjug, the official Yugoslav press agency. He was tried before the district court of Sarajevo, where he was accused of criticising conditions in Yugoslavia, insulting past and present Yugoslav leaders and denying the existence of the Macedonian nation. (Macedonia is one of the country's six republics, with a language very like Bulgarian.)

'The court convicted him under Articles 133 and 157 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code (creating 'hostile propaganda' and 'damaging the reputation of Yugoslavia'). Sentence of six and a half years' imprisonment (later reduced on appeal by a year), property confiscation and expulsion from the country was announced on 17 January 1984.

'Dr Zografski, a specialist in traumatology, is reported to be working as a physician in Sremska Mitrovica prison, where he is serving his sentence. Although two of his sons, who live in Bulgaria, were allowed to visit him briefly in prison, they were reportedly not permitted to speak Bulgarian — and neither speaks or understands Serbo-Croat. Dr Zografski is said to be in poor health, with diabetes and heart and liver complaints.'

It should be added that the case of Amnesty's Prisoner of the Month is typical not only of Yugoslavia but the whole Central and Eastern Europe. Reports on violations of freedom of expression reaching the West deal mostly with people who are widely known, such as dissident writers. But that is only the tip of an iceberg. For each known case there are tens — and sometimes hundreds — of cases where unknown people are arrested and sentenced for casual remarks made in pubs, private houses or workplaces. These cases are often comical but they invariably end in unsung tragedies. There exist no statistics of such 'political criminals' but the prisons of Central and Eastern Europe are full of them. This should be borne in mind while reading about Dr Ivan Zografski of Yugoslavia. KK

Fifth International Sakharov Hearing

**The Fifth International Sakharov Public Hearing will be held at the
London Press Centre, 76 Shoe Lane, EC4
on April 10-11, 1985**

These dates fall shortly before the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, and the Hearing will concentrate on the development of the human rights situation since then in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The question of the future of the Helsinki Accords will be considered.

The Sakharov Hearings have acquired a substantial history. The first was in Copenhagen in 1975, then Rome (1977), Washington (1979), and Lisbon (1983).

The topics which will be presented and discussed by chosen speakers at the Fifth Hearing will include changes in Soviet internal policies from 1975-1985, particularly changes in the laws, policy on dissent, treatment of religious and national minorities, Helsinki monitoring groups, censorship, radio-jamming, emigration.

The Executive Committee of the Sakharov Hearing seeks the co-operation of governmental, non-governmental and private bodies concerned with the Helsinki process, as well as of human rights organizations. Evidence may also be taken from private individuals who have special experience of human rights violations in any of the signatory countries to the Accords. Special emphasis will be given to the question of the steps, if any, which are available to secure greater compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

The Executive Committee invites papers on the suggested topics. Reasonable travel and accommodation expenses may be defrayed for participants at the sole discretion of the Executive Committee.

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