

**A START IN  
LUXEMBOURG**

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# AMNESTY

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## The Lost Men of Budapest

### Eleven were tried— and five vanished

ON the 7th February, 1961, Budapest Radio announced that a number of people had been arrested as leaders of "an anti-State organisation." Eight of them were Roman Catholic priests. On 7th June, 1961, the trial began in Budapest of five

by **GEORGE MIKES**

of these prisoners, together with seven other Roman Catholic priests, monks, and lay-workers.

One priest, Istvan Tabody, was tried separately in closed session, on a charge of high treason and of leading an organisation to overthrow the régime. Tabody was believed at the time to be behind the apparently coherent resistance of seminarists in 1959. He has been in prison before.

The other eleven were charged with having attempted to organise a "Roman Catholic élite youth corps." to overthrow the régime and thereafter form a government to lead a "Christian Republic," which was to be created with the support of a "foreign power." They were alleged to have been planning the return of the means of production to private ownership, the restitution of the Church's former estates, and the restoration of the Monarchy.

To this end, the prosecution said, they had recruited former students of banned Roman Catho-

lic youth organisations, printed and distributed counter-revolutionary leaflets hostile to the régime and to the Soviet Army, and established relations with emigrés in Rome and Vienna.

From reports of the trial it seems that no evidence was adduced that proved that any of the defendants had been engaged positively against the State. Indeed the prosecution admitted that some of them had only been engaged in "spiritual activities against the

regime." Certainly no attempt was made to allege or prove any concrete facts.

Of the eleven accused, tried in open court, ten pleaded guilty. They went out of their way—as was once customary in the old-fashioned Communist show-trials—to heap abuse on themselves, to express horror at the realisation of how they had broken not only the laws of the State, but also the laws of their own Church, and they over-emphasised the humane treatment of the prosecution and the prison-authorities.

Mgr. Odö Lenard, a Piarist monk, alone denied the charges against him. Mgr. Lenard has

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### Comment

## SILENCE OUTSIDE COURT

**A**LL political trials are by definition dangerous. Their terms of reference must be arbitrary, their circumstances extraordinary, their climate of opinion highly charged. It is doubly necessary therefore that the eyes of free men should be on their proceedings, that justice may not only be done but be manifestly seen to be done.

Political trials are the business of the State, and the business of the State is the business of those who are citizens of the State.

It is immensely disturbing, then, that the Turkish Revolutionary Government should have now made legislation forbidding all public discussion about the Yassida trials, or what it calls "the question of the Revolution."

Any activity of any political party is now banned until "a later announcement." The proclamation bans "all gossip, or propaganda disruptive of national unity." It is clearly directed against any activities by supporters of the deposed Menderes régime, as the trial of that régime's leaders comes to an end.

But a trial that may not even be discussed—or even criticised—is little better than a secret trial. There are those who liked the Menderes régime no better than those who overthrew it, who may still deplore the manner of their retribution.

# Turkey Bans Talk of the Trials

**W**E take this with acknowledgment from *The Times* newspaper, whose correspondent in Turkey filed a startling story from Istanbul last week.

The Turkish revolutionary Government has issued a statement forbidding all public discussion or propaganda about the Yassada trials or what it calls "the question of the revolution".

The statement repeats a previous decree forbidding the carrying of arms by Turkish citizens, and says that the swiftest and severest penalties will be taken against infringements. It orders all administrative authorities throughout Turkey to act in a more resolute and dynamic manner against all propaganda or activities tending to mislead opinion or undermine public order.

All election propaganda and activities of political parties are forbidden until a later announcement.

The statement goes on: "In this period leading to the elections, no gossip, falsehood, or propaganda disruptive of national unity, whether its origin be outside or inside the country, will for a moment be tolerated." The printing and distribution of tracts about the new constitution or the coming elections will also be a punishable offence.

This drastic measure is presumed here to be dictated by the need for strict precautions against possible activities by supporters of the deposed Menderes regime in the closing stages of the Yassada trial.

The statement also comes soon after the referendum on the new constitution, in which, in spite of a majority in favour, an unexpectedly large proportion of the electorate voted "No".

## Amnesty's New Travel Service

**ODYSSEY** is the practical extension of Amnesty. **ODYSSEY** is the name of the Travel Handling Department of the organisation. It is, in effect, a Travel Bureau, equally at the service of those who must move from country to country and those who wish to do so on the simplest and most innocent of occasions.

While **ODYSSEY** was created primarily for the purpose of arranging transport for those seeking asylum in another country, its services are equally available for everyone who is helping Amnesty in any way, even in the simplest way of subscribing to this journal.

In Britain **ODYSSEY** has appointed as its agents **CONVOYS LIMITED**, whose address is 6, Bouverie Street, London, E.C.4. (The 'phone number is FLEet Street 4060.)

A complete list of **ODYSSEY'S** agents throughout the world can readily be supplied through **AMNESTY '61**, whose address—we repeat again—is at 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.4.

## TAMIL LEADER FREED FOR UK VISIT

**M**R. S. J. V. CHELVANAYAKAN, Q.C., the 63-year-old leader of the Ceylonese Federal Party, flew into London last week from Colombo, for medical treatment. He had his wife with him.

Mr. Chelvanayakan, with thirteen other M.P.s. of his Federal Party, was put under house arrest on 18th April when the Ceylon State of Emergency was declared. The Federal Party was proscribed.

A week or so ago the Ceylon Defence Ministry said that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, had granted permission for Mr. Chelvanayakan to go to Britain (this you must still request in Ceylon) purely in order to see doctors. He had, said the Government of Ceylon, "agreed to abide by certain conditions during his absence".

When he arrived it was said on his behalf that he had indeed been under house arrest in Ceylon. "If it had not been for his need for urgent medical treatment he would never have been allowed into Britain." (Though what he meant was: out of Ceylon.) In any case, the Tamil leader was unable to tell the Press of the conditions under which he alleges the Tamils are living; he was too ill.

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# The Lost Men of Budapest

(Continued from page 1)

already spent six years in prison, from 1948 to 1953, for "anti-democratic conduct". The present case against him rests on a pamphlet he wrote during the 1956 uprising in which he advocated the need, should the insurrection fail, to "continue activity amid foreign bayonets". He admitted that such views were erroneous, but maintained that they did not constitute a crime. He firmly denied taking part in any anti-state activity. Accused of giving private religious instruction, he questioned why this was wrong.

All twelve accused were found guilty, and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 12 years to two years and a-half.

Although the trial was in public, the Hungarian press and radio carried no report of the proceedings, apart from the bare announcement of the trial, until the sentences were announced, with an official summary of the crimes said to have been proved against the accused. Only one Western correspondent was allowed into the trial, and no Western diplomats were admitted.

A disturbing feature of this case is the absence of any information about three priests and two laymen who were arrested in February of this year with five of the prisoners now convicted, and who have not so far been brought to trial. Since the announcement of their arrest nothing further has been heard of any of them.

The whole of mankind has no right to sentence one dissenter.

—JOHN STUART MILL



## WHAT CAN WE SAY FOR CHRISTMAS?

*We have the captives' card — all we need now are the words.*

**W**E are already looking half a year ahead to the time—when we shall try to persuade all Amnesty supporters to send a Card to those who will be spending Christmas in prison, for their conscience's sake.

The woodcut reproduction above is the principal suggestion for this Amnesty Card design.

The idea is to put the Cards up in boxes of twelve and packets of three. In each box and packet will be a list of twelve or three names and addresses of such prisoners. There will be 144 names in all, and each list will be balanced equally between prisoners in the East, the West, and Afro-Asia-Latin America.

But—there must be a message inside the card. This is where we are asking for help. We invite suggestions for this message.

Bear in mind: it must be short. It must be capable of adequate translation into French, Spanish, German, Russian and Chinese. It should convey the double theme: *You are remembered, and The night is darkest when the dawn is at hand.*

Please weigh in with suggestions as soon as possible. The Card must be with the printers by the end of August, to relate the costing to several currencies and postal-rates.

There is, to be sure, no reward. Except, we hope, in some way, for those who receive the Cards, and realise their meaning.

# THOSE WHO LIVE IN LIMBO

**T**HE last issue of *Amnesty* told of those least-known of political prisoners—the Africans of South Africa who have not been jailed but “banished.”

Accused of opposing the *apartheid* laws—but never charged, let alone tried or sentenced—some 100 people since 1948 have been torn from their families and exiled to the most barren deserts of the Union.

Since that issue more news has come of their condition.

In 1953 and 1954, for opposing the imposition of Bantu Authorities, altogether 20 men and three women were deported. Five men have already died in exile, and sixteen are still living in exile.

Only two have ever been released, and both died soon after.

Information already received shows that at least two of the men who died in exile were receiving *no* government allowance and had *no* employment. They were old and ill, and it can be accepted that they died of sheer starvation.

The condition of the families left in the Matala reserve is pitiable. In some cases their men have not been heard of for years. Children cannot go to school; some drift away to the local town or to the farms, to earn £1 or £1 10s. a month. In some cases the huts of the deportees were burnt down and demolished by the Bantu Authorities' Chief immediately after the deportation, and their cattle confiscated.

## From those who got away

**S**IR,—Last week “Appeal for Amnesty 1961” issued an appeal for £5,000.

The most important feature of the Amnesty movement is its Library. In this a volunteer staff are building up a card-index record of every Prisoner of Conscience in the world. Without this information it is impossible to direct pressure for the release of named prisoners.

The Library, if it is to work effectively, collecting information and verifying it, will need eventually a paid staff—and a regular income. To obtain this it is proposed to launch an International Financial Appeal in the Autumn throughout the 30-odd countries where AMNESTY '61 supporters are gathering groups. But obviously to organise such

an Appeal needs a good deal of preparatory work. This costs money. That is why “Appeal for Amnesty” urgently requires £5,000.

We who sign this letter have all found asylum in Britain. We believe that there must be many more like us who have reason to express their appreciation for the hospitality which this country has shown. We ask them—and all who abhor the persecution of men for their ideas—to subscribe speedily and generously to “The Prisoner of Conscience Appeal Fund,” c/o Hoare's Bank, 37, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Yours faithfully,  
André Deutsch,  
George Mikes,  
Joseph Trueta,  
Vicky,  
George Weidenfelt.

This is what  
**AMNESTY**  
is all about

**T**HE organisation known as **APPEAL FOR AMNESTY 1961**, was launched by a group of lawyers, writers and publishers in London, all of different backgrounds, political attitudes and religious views.

It aims for the release of all people, in whatever country, who are held prisoner for the opinions and their conscience, who are physically restrained from expressing genuine non-violent views.

It aims to build up in all countries a publicity campaign which will set a tide of opinion running in favour of all Governments—of whatever shade of opinion, in whatever part of the world—guaranteeing the freedom of men to express their opinions and practice their faiths, however opposed to their nation's Establishment.

Membership of the founding group is reserved to those who are determined to ensure that the conduct of **APPEAL FOR AMNESTY 1961** remains wholly impartial—between countries, parties, politics, ideologies, religions. Its aim is not to speak for non-Communist prisoners in Communist lands, nor for Communist prisoners in other totalitarian lands, but to agitate for the rights of both—and, indeed, those who are neither.

The Joint Directors are: Eric Baker, former Joint Secretary of the Quaker Centre in Delhi and Secretary of the National Peace Council in London; and Peter Benenson, who in 1956 took the initiative which led to the formation of “Justice,” the all-party body of lawyers to uphold the Rule of Law.

There is a tremendous lot more to be said about **APPEAL FOR AMNESTY 1961** that cannot be said in this column.

If you want to know more, as we hope you do, write to Mitre Court Buildings or 'phone London Central 7867/9429.

# TRUJILLO IS GONE—BUT THE JAILS ARE STILL IN BUSINESS

## In Dominica a Dictator's son continues to silence the people

**L**ITTLE enough is yet known of the political prisoners in that small and troubled Caribbean State, the Dominican Republic, where the dictatorship so recently changed hands after the assassination of President Trujillo. The fate of the ones named here is still unknown; it is feared they may not have met the same death as so many of their compatriots.

Eugenio Perdomo, Manolo Ganzalez and Dr. Manuel Tejada Florentino were all imprisoned without trial in 1960. Dr. Florentino is, or was, a distinguished Dominican doctor; until his arrest he was Director of the Cardiological Section of the Salvador Gautier Hospital in Ciudad Trujillo.

Rafael Castillo, Parmenio Erickson, Tomas Erickson, Jose Erickson, Rolando Alvarez Abreu, Luis Perozo, Rafael Perozo, Juan Perozo were accused of several contraventions of the law and imprisoned without trial. Neither their sentence nor their whereabouts has been made public.

Dr. Amiro Perez, Antonio Canto Sosa, Salomon Jorge and J. Canto Sosa were imprisoned, and released, in 1960. Shortly afterwards they were re-arrested and returned to jail without any announced reason.

Dr. Rafael Augusto Sanchez, a well-known Dominican advocate, was imprisoned in 1960. There are now rumours of his assassination in prison. Similar rumours are current about Ramon Imbert Rainieri, a Dominican business man.

Information from the Republic suggests that Rhadames Trujillo, the late President's son, personally executed 43 political prisoners early in June 1961, in the Army base of San Isidro, as retribution for the murder of his father.

## AMNESTY has been sent THE NAMES.

of 16 women and 19 men imprisoned in the Dominican Republic between June and July, 1961.

## LETTER FROM AN AMBASSADOR

Embassy of the Dominican Republic, London.

18th July, 1961.

**D**EAR SIR,—I have pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter of the 15th July, together with a copy of your booklet, "Forgotten Prisoners," and the last issue of your fortnightly international paper "Amnesty."

As you will well understand, I have no detailed information about the case you mention in your letter, but in order to help you in whatever way I can I am forwarding the contents of your letter to the appropriate authorities in the Dominican Republic, and I hope to be able to let you have their comments, although you will realise that since air mail takes some time between the Dominican Republic and London, I will not be able to let you have them within a week.

I was very interested to hear of the work of your group and you must be congratulated on your high aims and the impartiality you show. For all your impartiality, however, I cannot help feeling that through your humanitarian purpose some interested sources have been able to induce you to accept, albeit unwittingly, information which is not in accordance with facts as they are today in the Dominican Republic.

Yours truly,  
**HECTOR GARCIA-GODOY, Ambassador.**

## LETTER TO AN AMBASSADOR

**A** LETTER was sent by *Amnesty* on 15th July to the Dominican Ambassador in London, asking whether Señor Don Manuel Tavarez, a noted lawyer of his country, could be classified as a "prisoner of conscience."

There has been information that Sr. Tavarez was arrested in 1959, and tortured, for allegedly having been involved in a plot to depose the late President. His wife and sisters-in-law were reportedly murdered by police.

Despite the change of régime, it seems that Sr. Tavarez remains in La Vitoria prison. *Amnesty* asked for the Ambassador's comments. They are printed below.

## —YOU CAN'T TRUST LUCK—

*So everyone can help to  
get the paper out*

**M**AYBE something should be said about this journal, this paper, called AMNESTY. In an age of compression and suppression, of the dog-days of journalism, of the diminution of minority organs and the digestion of the lesser by the greater, it is something to witness the arrival of a new thing, however small.

AMNESTY is the organ—if you can apply a title so ambitious to a production so simple—of the new group called APPEAL FOR AMNESTY 1961, whose aims and objectives, hopes and plans, are outlined on page four.

### People will be the profits

Obviously AMNESTY has a narrow target, and a specialised point of view. It exists as the evident voice of its organisation, AMNESTY 1961 is a non-profit-making affair, whose successes will always be measured in terms of human liberty rather than in financial book-keeping.

The paper is being produced on a shoestring, and sold at a price which about covers the cost of its production. It is being edited by a rota of volunteer Editors chosen by the Amnesty Journalists' Group, which acts as its Editorial Board. It has at its disposal a good deal of very expensive talent operating, for once, for nothing.

Up until now the running of the Central Office, the files and archives and administration, have been on a voluntary basis, but AMNESTY'S own development has overtaken this *ad hoc* business, and the Back Room has now to be expanded greatly if it is to be as efficient as it is dedicated.

### Expansion is the object

Clearly, therefore, it needs money. Not to bolster up failure, but to reinforce unexpected success. AMNESTY'S hope is expansion, as big and as swift as possible, and expansion, even in the most self-evidently good causes, is expensive.

Anyone who would like to give us some money, therefore, will never be discouraged, and the address—(see page four)—is, as ever, at 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.4. There is a permanent welcome there for all men of goodwill, and an especially warm one for the rich and generous.

## CLAPHAM forms a “THREE”

**A** MEETING was held in Clapham last Friday of those interested in forming a local “Three.” The initiative was taken by members of the Parish Church, and the meeting was publicised in *Focus*, the parish newspaper, which carries an article on Appeal for Amnesty in its current issue.

The aims and methods of Appeal for Amnesty were outlined by Mrs. Marsh, who is in charge of the Central Library for the Collection of Information about Prisoners of Conscience, and who told the group something about the work of the Central Office in dealing with the mass of information about individual prisoners that is constantly flooding in.

A local Three was found at once, and an application has been made to the Threes Centre for the names of the three prisoners who will become our responsibility.

The Clapham Inter-racial Club has asked for a speaker and there is little doubt that as a result further volunteers for the Three will come forward from this Club. The Parish Church has also pledged continued support and help.

As soon as the prisoners' names are received a second meeting will be arranged and active work will start. A tentative plan of action has been worked out under which two people will be made responsible for each prisoner; it will be their task to plan and direct the campaign on behalf of that prisoner in consultation with other members of the group, and it will be for them to apply to the other members for their active help as and when it is needed and to co-ordinate the efforts being made on behalf of their prisoner.

# SEVEN NATIONALITIES MEET AT THE CAFE CROSSROADS

## Amnesty '61 gets swiftly off the mark in Luxembourg

PERHAPS the most exciting development of the Amnesty Campaign has been the speed with which it has been possible to organise the first International Meeting of its various National Section organisers.

The idea of an International Meeting, to co-ordinate plans, was born early in the morning of 1st July. Eric Baker was returning from a visit to Germany where he had been contacting Amnesty supporters. Peter Benenson met him in Brussels, so that the two could meet various Belgian groups and start organising in Switzerland.

Eric Baker reported from Germany that there was a need to let those organising the National Section know what was happening in other fields of the Amnesty Campaign, and particularly how they were going about forming National Sections in France and Belgium.

A decision was taken at once to

hold an International Meeting. The wheels started to move quickly and on Saturday evening, 22nd July, in the Cafe Carrefour, representatives came together from Belgium, Eire, France, Germany, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States. (The number of those participating had been limited by questions of expense.)

There was a heavy agenda for the meeting. High on the list were decisions about the international and impartial control of the permanent organisation of the Amnesty Movement—of those parts of the organisation which will remain in being after the end of Amnesty Year.

(Communiqué next column)

## Communiqué from Luxembourg

LUXEMBOURG, Tuesday—The organisers of the national sections of AMNESTY—who included Mr. Sean MacBride, former Foreign Minister of Eire, Mr. Louis Kiebooms, M.P. for Antwerp, Mr. Peter Benenson, Director of Amnesty, Mr. Nicolas Jacob and Mr. Gabriel Javsisca from New York—announced at the end of their meeting here today:—

That Amnesty will concentrate on drawing attention impartially to Prisoners of Conscience throughout the world, always naming one from the West and Afro-Asia whenever mentioning a name from the East and vice-versa. It calls for an amnesty for those sentenced to

prison solely for their beliefs and liberation for those detained without trial.

The first step will be to draft a request to all governments for the text of their relevant national laws, and to inquire what judicial safeguards are available for an accused charged with offending any such law. They will ask whether the government will issue a visa to an "international observer" to attend the trial of any such accused.

All national sections will launch a simultaneous financial appeal in October to raise money to send aid to the families of those imprisoned for their beliefs, to endow the International Library of Names of Prisoners of Conscience with sufficient funds to check the facts and make on-the-spot inquiries, and to finance representations about oppressive laws to be made to the Council of Europe, the Organisation of American States, the Monrovia and Casablanca groups, the Arab League, the Colombo Pact and the Warsaw Pact powers.

The text of these representations will be prepared by the Secretariat and agreed at the London Planning Meeting on October 8th. For the present the Secretariat will work from 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.4.

There will be a special AMNESTY WEEK from December 24th-31st to raise funds. Each national section will organise special collections in churches and social organisations during that period.

### CORRESPONDENCE

Amnesty's International Headquarters is at 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.4. United Kingdom. Tel. CENTRAL 7867/9429.

The address of a National Section (or where these do not yet exist, of those trying to form them) will be sent on application to the International Headquarters. To save time: General Correspondence must be addressed as AMNESTY '61.

# What are the Frontiers of Freedom ?

**W**HAT is the widest area of individual liberty that is practicable in a democratic polity? What, in short, is the Highest Common Factor of freedom?

At the end of this year a serious international effort will be made to define this imponderable, but immensely important, principle. The gathering to be held at Leiden, in Holland, from 27th to 30th December proposes, as an urgent and important contribution to the cause of democracy, to try to re-state in the light of today's special conditions, the basic principles governing man's relations with Society.

It is a big task, and inevitably it cannot be achieved at one colloquy. It is intended to begin by selecting five issues of importance, which have been spotlighted by the Amnesty Campaign.

These five questions will be argued:—

1. What methods may a citizen legitimately employ to change his Government or its policy?
2. What are the legitimate limits to the free expression of opinion?
3. What are the legitimate limits of civic exemptions or privileges based on conscience?
4. What obligation has one State to admit the citizens of another?
5. Is the State ever entitled to deprive a

citizen of his nationality, or to withdraw its protection from him?

It is proposed to tackle these questions by selecting five groups of seven men or women of distinction from different, but relevant, callings, from various countries.

The seven callings asked to participate are: Lawyer, Political Scientist, Moral Philosopher, Senior Civil Servant, Social Worker, Editor or Publisher, and Writer—or painter, sculptor, composer, architect.

To relate the discussion to practicalities, it is intended to introduce into each group an average of three "living examples" of those who have claimed special privileges or exemptions in society for themselves. For example: the first group would hear a follower of Gandhi, a Hungarian from the 1956 uprising, a French farmer who barricaded the roads. The second would hear a cleric who objected to any printed reference disrespectful to the name of God, a member of a group, such as the Jews, who objected to the printed defamation of his group.

The final conclusions, it is hoped, will be ready by Easter 1962, for publication during that year.

The initiative for convening this colloquy is being taken by APPEAL FOR AMNESTY 1961, to which all communications about the conference should be addressed, at 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.4.

## A CONCERT FOR ANGOLA

**T**HERE is no way of assessing the prisoners—nor the dead, nor the vanished—in the dark and secret side of Africa: Angola. But we do know that more than 103,000 refugees from that tormented place have reached the Congo.

To raise funds for the refugee centres the Africa Bureau has arranged a Concert in the Prince's Theatre, London, at 7.45 p.m. next Sunday.

It will be a distinguished concert in its own right. Three of the important artists who are giving their services free are FOU TS'ONG (piano), MANOUG PARIKIAN (violin) and OSIAN ELLIS (harp).

Get in touch with the AFRICA BUREAU, at 65, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1. Phone: TAT 0701.