STUDY OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL: A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT TO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS

by

Philip R. de Gruchy, B.A.,A.C.I.S.,A.C.M.A.

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfilment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Political Science.

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 1997

© Philip R.de Gruchy 1997

National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Acquisitions et services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced with the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-21533-4

Canada

The University of Waterloo requires the signatures of all persons using or photocopying this thesis. Please sign below, and give address and date.

A STUDY OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL:

A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT TO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS.

Abstract. In the latter part of the twentieth century public interest groups and movements have become increasingly important to the political process. Because of their diversity, the impact of such entities can only be assessed following empirical studies of many individual organisations. This is a study of the history, organisation, mandate and current challenges to Amnesty International; it includes numerous excerpts from interviews with Canadian members. The final chapter gives the results of a survey of more than 500 members of the Canadian Section. In a series of tables it lists their level of education, income, occupation, and preferences for participating in differing kinds of Amnesty activity. The Appendices include a copy of the Statute of Amnesty International and of the By-Laws of Amnesty International Canadian Section (English Speaking).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Roger Clark, Cheryl Hotchkiss, Will Bryant, and Maren Kaitell of the Vanier Office of AICS(ES). Will Bryant was generous enough to read and check my initial draft for accuracy. I also thank the more than 500 members of Amnesty International who responded to the questionnaire, and those others who agreed to grant me taped interviews about Amnesty International. The contribution of these Amnesty members is an essential part of this thesis.

I thank Professor Sandra Burt of the University of Waterloo for her support and advice, and Margaret John, a past President of AICS(ES), for her early encouragement. Finally I wish to thank my wife, who in the past year has learned more about Amnesty International than she ever wanted to know, and my daughter Caroline for her assistance in coping with the eccentricities of a frequently hostile computer.

CONTENTS.

Acknowledgments v

Introduction 1

PART I. HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION.

Chapter 1. The History of Amnesty International 7

Chapter 2. The Organization of Amnesty International. 27

Chapter 3. Working within the Mandate. 52

Chapter 4. The Effectiveness of Amnesty International. 71

Chapter 5. Some Current Challenges. 87

PART II. THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

Chapter 6. Comments and Responses. 97

Chapter 7. Conclusions. 116

PART III. APPENDICES.

A. The 1995 Statute of Amnesty International. 125

B. Operating By-Laws of the Canadian Section (English Speaking). 129

C. The Questionnaire. 152

D. Tables of Responses to the Questionnaire. 155

Bibliography. 163

Listing of Amnesty International Documents. 164

Glossary. 165

LIST OF TABLES

2:1 Sections and Membership in Selected Years. 32

2:2 Membership of AICS(ES). 36

3.1 Country Missions Using Persons Drawn from the Membership. 59

6:1 Distribution of Questionnaires. 98

6:2 Respondents and their Provinces of Residence. 98

6.3 Respondents by Age Group. 100

6.4 Comparison of Age Groups of Respondents with Statistics of the Age Groups of the General Population. 100

6.5 Respondents having access to a Computer and those having an E-mail address classified by Age Group 101

6.6 Comparison of the Education Level of Respondents with Education Levels taken from National Statistics. 103

6.7 Comparison of the Income of the Respondents with levels of income of all Canadians. 103

6.8 Responses to the Question "Where were you born ?" 104

6:9 Responses by Occupation 105

6:10 Responses to the Question "Which Activities are the most important to you?" 108

6:11 Activities which had the least appeal to Respondents. 109

6:12 Respondents rate :The Activist". 110

6:13 An Analysis of the 48 Members who did not receive "The Activist" by years of their Membership in AICS(ES). 111

6:14 Belief of Respondents that they Influence the Decisions of AICS(ES). 112

6:15 Belief that Recommendations of AICS(ES) influence the International Movement. 112

6:16 Participation of Respondents in the Democratic Process. 113

APPENDIX D. LIST OF ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

D.1 How long have you been a member of Amnesty International ? 155

D.2 What is your principal role in Amnesty International ? 155

D.3 Have you ready access to a computer ? 155

D.4 Do you have an e-mail address ? 155

D.5 Do you take part in the political process as a member of a party ? 155

D.6 Which activities of Amnesty International are most important to you ? 156

D.7 Which activity of Amnesty International has the least appeal to you ? 157

D.8 Do you speak any language other than English ? 157

D.9 Have you ever attended an Annual General Meeting of the Branch ? Have you ever attended a Regional Meeting ? 157

D.10 Comments on Meetings 158

D.11 Have you ever discussed with other members resolutions to be submitted to an AGM ? Have you ever participated in the preparation of resolutions ? 158

D.12 Do you believe that resolutions submitted by groups influence the decisions of the English Speaking Branch ? 158

D.13 Do you believe that the policies of the International Movement can be influenced by recommendations from our branch ? 158

D.14 Have you ever visited a branch office ? 158

D.15 Do you receive a copy of "The Activist" ? 159
Analysis of the 48 respondents who did not receive "The Activist" by years of membership. 159

D.16 If you receive"The Activist" how do you rate it ? 159

D.17 How many letters have you written and how many replies have you received in the last year ? 159

D.18 What is your sex ? 159

D.19 What is your age ? 160

D.20 What is your province of residence ? 160

D.21 What kind of community do you live in ? 160

D.22 Where were you born ? 161

D.23 What is your personal income ? What is your family income ? 161

D.24 What is your highest level of education ? 161

D.25 What is your occupation ? 162

INTRODUCTION.

The latter part of the twentieth century has been marked by a proliferation of political interest groups seeking to influence governments. The groups play an increasingly important role in the democratic process. This is a study of Amnesty International, an organization which describes itself as "a worldwide voluntary movement that works to prevent some of the gravest violations by governments of people's fundamental human rights." [1] Closer examination reveals that it does not conform to the accepted image of a movement. It has a formal organization, structure, a precise and detailed mandate, and more than a million members..

I have prepared this study of Amnesty International as an insider who has been a member of the Canadian Section of Amnesty International (AICS(ES)) for more than 20 years. During this time I have served the organization in many roles; as a group leader; as a director and then chairperson of the executive; as a country coordinator; and a regional action network coordinator. I have twice represented the Section at International Council Meetings, and was a member of the organizing committee when the Canadian Section hosted the International Council Meeting in Montreal. I have participated in formal discussions with the Department of Foreign Affairs and on one occasion represented the Section as a witness before a parliamentary committee. There is of course a danger that an insider may present too subjective a view of the organization, but I have supplemented my personal experiences with a mailed survey as well as a series of taped interviews with other members of Amnesty International and I include excerpts from these interviews in my text.

In adopting this course of action I have been guided by the following comment made by Samuel J. Eldersveld :-

> Our experiments in the past few years with a questionnaire schedule applied identically and openly with all interviewees has given us a rich body of data on political leaders and union activists. It is my feeling that there is no substitute for this if one seeks rigor, objectivity, proof. If we do not meet these requirements for knowledge we will forever be making probabilistic statements about reality.[2]

The interviews were conducted during a five day stay in Ottawa where I was the group delegate from Group 9 at the Annual General Meeting. All the interviews in Ottawa were structured around nine identical questions,[3] and similar questions were asked at a further series of interviews with group members in Kitchener/Waterloo. In addition to the personal interviews I have sent a questionnaire to more than 1,900 members of AICS(ES), and in my sixth chapter I will comment on the responses to this questionnaire.

In chapter 1 I review the history of Amnesty International and identify the factors which have shaped its values, structure and activities. In chapter 2 I examine the structure and organization of the movement both internationally and in Canada, and in the third chapter I give examples of the ways in which members can select their activities and act on their own initiative while still adhering to an overall mandate. In the fourth chapter I examine the role of the leadership, the bureaucracy and the membership as they together attempt to influence the policies of the Canadian government, and in the fifth chapter I identify some current issues which are still to be resolved. The sixth chapter provides details about the way in which the survey of membership was made and analysis of some of the replies received from respondents to the questionnaire. I append a copy of the Statute of Amnesty International, a copy of the by-law governing the English speaking branch in Canada, a copy of the questionnaire, and a series of tables analysing the results of the questionnaire.

The importance of groups and movements to the political process can only be determined by examination of the many groups and movements that interact. Betty Zisk outlined this process.

> To understand the political interest group, we must begin with the specific group. How is it organized? Is it "democratic" ? Are group members solidly behind group projects ? Does it have wide support or is it a paper tiger ?[4]

Further questions may be added. Why do people join ? Why do they stay ? Why do people who share an interest fail to join. Disciples of Adam Smith would have us believe that people are rational and join movements solely because they expect to receive personal benefits that will exceed the costs they will incur. When I conducted my interviews my first question was "How long have you been a member of Amnesty International ? My second was "What led you to join Amnesty International." There was little evidence that people joined from rational choice. More typical was the answer of a lawyer from Toronto.

> I was living in a sort of cooperative house in Toronto. I was an articled law student. One of the guys who was living in the house asked if I would like to go to an Amnesty International meeting. I thought I'd go and see a movie or something like that. There was no movie at all there was a group meeting. I met a man who was doing refugee work for Amnesty. We introduced ourselves and I said I was a law student and he asked was I interested in doing some work with him and that was it. I got hooked and here I am seventeen years later.[5]

However people probably exercise rational choice when they decide to stay in a group or movement. Jeffrey Berry suggests that people join political groups because they feel that by doing so they have a more significant role in the political process.[6] People believe, that by participating in a group defending human rights, they have done their part in making the world a better place. They believe they fulfil two important roles, that of educating the public about the abuse of human rights and that of placing abuse of human rights on the agenda of governments.[7] Berry contends that education and wealth encourage membership in political groups, and that the most common reward for a group member is to have information not available to others.[8] A significant part of Amnesty's membership is made up of those who have been members for more than 10 years. The thesis will

attempt to either prove or disprove Berry's contention.

Since 1969, when Betty Zisk published her book on American Political Interest Groups, a number of studies have been made of larger social movements. There is D.Gail Kellough's study of women's groups,[9] Laurie E. Adkin's study of environmental politics in Canada,[10] and Anna Bramwell's study of the decline of environmental politics in the West.[11]

Each of these studies describes a movement that doesn't speak with a single voice. The women's movement has liberal feminist groups that seek the role of equality; more radical feminist groups that seek major change, and groups of service providers who seek support for maintaining women's shelters. The environmental movement includes groups with a wide range of objectives, the continued right to hunt and fish; the preservation of nature for artists and birdwatchers; the organic farm movement; some environmentalists believe they can best achieve their objectives through cooperation with the researchers employed in industry; other environmentalists believe their role is to confront industry. The Greens in Germany split, after early promise, into two factions: the "activists" who believe change can be effected by parliamentary action and the "fundamentalists" who believe that cooperation with any other parties is a betrayal of the movement.

Amnesty International differs from all of these movements in that it speaks with one voice. It has an overriding Statute which defines both its objectives and the methods by which these objectives can be attained. The thesis defines the way in which this structure has been achieved without an elite group assuming dictatorial powers. This is important, because if an interest group is to assist the democratic process, then it should be democratic within itself. In the questionnaire, four questions address the issue of democracy. The responses suggest that the membership believes the movement to be democratic. The underlying reasons for this belief provide an important addition

to the literature about public interest groups and movements.

Although I view the use of acronyms with disfavour, there are three acronyms that have become so widely used by members of Amnesty International that they have become a part of the Amnesty vocabulary. They will be used in the thesis. The supreme policy making body internationally is the International Council Meeting referred to as the "ICM". The headquarters bureaucracy in London, England, is called the "IS" which stands for International Secretariat, and the International Executive Committee is known by its acronym as the "IEC". My studies in Canada are limited to the English Speaking Branch of the Canadian Section "AICS(ES)". To avoid the use of this unwieldy acronym I refer to it throughout the text as the Canadian Section. In fact the Canadian Section consists of two independent branches, Amnesty International Canadian Section English Speaking Branch with a head office in Vanier near Ottawa and the smaller Amnistie Internationale, Section canadienne francophone with a head office in Montreal. A glossary of these acronyms is appended.

1. Amnesty International Report 1996. "London: Amnesty International Publications, 1996" Cover Page.

2. Samuel J.Elderveld. "American Interest Groups: A Survey of Research and Some Implications for Theory and Method" American Political Interest Groups; Readings in Theory and Research, ed. Betty H.Zisk, (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1969) pp 70,71

3. The questions were :-
   - How long have you been a member of Amnesty International ?
   - What led you to join Amnesty International ?
   - What special roles have you played in the section ?
   - What was involved in these differing roles ?
   - Are there activities within the section which especially appeal to you, and others which you try to avoid ?
   - Have you had reason, as a member, to work closely with members of the Canadian government, and if so under what circumstances ?
   - From your own experience do you believe the Canadian section of Amnesty International has influence on Canadian government policies ?
   - In your opinion will influence with government increase, decrease, or remain constant in the future ?
   - What is the future of the section taking into account the fall in membership in recent years ?

4. Betty H. Zisk, American Political Interest Groups; Readings in Theory and Research. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1969), p.81

5. Personal interview in Ottawa 7th June 1996.

6. Jeffrey M. Berry, The Interest Group Society (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1984) p.6.

7. Berry, p.7.

8. Berry. p.46.

9. D.Gail Kellough, "Pro-Choice Politics and Postmodernist Theory" Organizing Dissent ed William K.Carroll (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1992), pp. 81,100

10. Laurie E. Adkin, "Counter-Hegemony and Environmental Politics in Canada" Organizing Dissent. Ed. William K.Carroll (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1992), pp.135,156

11. Anna Bramwell, The Fading of the Greens: the Decline of Environmental Politics in the West. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994)

Chapter 1.

THE HISTORY OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

The Foundation of the Movement.

Amnesty International was founded in 1961 by Peter Benenson, a Catholic lawyer. Its initial purpose was limited to securing the release of some of the world's forgotten prisoners. Benenson was a founder member of "Justice", an organization of British lawyers which campaigned for the maintenance of the rule of law and the observation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. In November 1960 he was travelling to his office on the London Underground when he read in his morning newspaper that two Portuguese students had been arrested in Lisbon and sentenced to seven years imprisonment for raising their glasses in a toast to freedom. Deeply moved, Benenson left the train at Trafalgar Square and made his way to the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields where he meditated for several hours. It was there that the idea came to him that people could write letters to offending governments asking for the release of those imprisoned solely for their religious or political beliefs.

Benenson decided that he would, in 1961, launch a one year campaign to draw attention to the plight of such prisoners. He believed 1961 to be a good year for such an initiative because it marked the centenary of the freeing of slaves in the United States and the freeing of the serfs in Russia. He formed a nucleus group consisting of himself, Eric Baker, a prominent Quaker, and Louis Blom-Cooper, an internationally known lawyer. The three men spoke to their friends and gathered together an elite group of supporters, principally lawyers, journalists, politicians and intellectuals. David Astor, editor of the influential Sunday newspaper, *The Observer*, agreed to publish a full page article on behalf of eight forgotten prisoners[1]. These included Doctor Agostino

Neto who was later to become the first president of an independent Angola, Cardinal Mindszenty trapped in the United States embassy in Budapest, and Tony Abiaticlos, a Greek trade unionist jailed for his anti-regime activities. At Benenson's request the article was published on Trinity Sunday 28th May 1961. The results were spectacular. The following day the article was picked up by the *Tribune, Die Welt, Journal de Genève* and by other newspapers in Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Italy, South Africa, Belgium, Eire, Spain and India. [2]

Floods of letters and donations were received as well as information on thousands of other prisoners of conscience. At the end of the year it was decided to continue the campaign writing on behalf of a larger number of prisoners:

> In a piece of inspired improvisation, this concern was channelled by putting sympathizers in touch with others who lived nearby, and encouraging schools and churches to set up groups. Each group was to adopt individual prisoners and then start pestering the life out of the governments responsible. [3]

They would write to governments and to prisoners and to the families of prisoners. They would support the families with gifts and with money

It was from these beginnings that Amnesty International was born. The nature of the organisation had yet to be determined. Would it be democratic, or would it follow the pattern of the trade unions of the late 19th century and fall under the control of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy ? This is one of the questions I will attempt to answer in tracing the history of Amnesty International.

Amnesty International Holds a Poll.

Robert Michels has argued that "democracy attains its culminating point .... where people possess the right of the referendum and that of the initiative.".[4] In the Italian Socialist Party the referendum was practised for a certain time but Michels notes "its use was extremely restricted and

the results have been mediocre".[5] In England many trade unions made long use of referendums but eventually discontinued the practice because the leadership believed that they were prejudicial to the work of administration. There is a record of only one use of the referendum by Amnesty International. Nelson Mandela was adopted as a prisoner of conscience in 1962 when he faced charges of trying to organize a strike of African workers and attempting to leave the country without a passport. [6] His action dossier was allocated to an Amnesty group in Britain. In 1964, when Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment on a sabotage charge, the British group decided they could not continue to support him as a prisoner of conscience. This led to a widespread debate within the movement which was only resolved when Amnesty International polled all of its members. The overwhelming majority upheld the British group and maintained the rule that Amnesty should not adopt those who had used or advocated violence[7]. Membership in Amnesty grew rapidly in the late 1970s and the use of referendums became impracticable.

Early Problems lead to Benenson's Resignation as President.

The early leadership of Amnesty International included prominent jurists and others who had served in the British civil service. Peter Benenson, President of Amnesty International, personally appointed Robert Swann to be General Secretary. Both were old Etonians, and prior to joining Amnesty International Swann had worked for the British Foreign Office in Bangkok. In 1966 a report was prepared by the Swedish Section detailing British violations of human rights in Aden. The secretariat in London failed to release the report and Benenson became convinced that Swann had been susceptible to pressure from the Foreign Office. Although Swann denied the charge he was forced to resign. [8]

In 1966 an Amnesty mission was sent to investigate human rights violations in Nigeria and Rhodesia. The members of the mission included Sir Leary Constantine and his secretary, 19 year old Polly Toynbee. Subsequently she criticised the mission in these words:

> We stayed in the Federal Colonial Hotel outside Lagos. We sat around doing nothing but drinking and entertaining the press. We must have spent an enormous amount but never achieved anything. We never saw anyone important. We just got vague assurances that the prisoners were all right. [9]

The mission went on to Rhodesia. The white minority there had unilaterally declared its independence from Britain in the previous year. Subsequently they had made mass arrests of the African political elite. Polly Toynbee wrote that there was a

> ... seemingly endless supply of money. I could go to the bank and draw out two hundred pounds at a time. And there was no check on what I did with the money[10]

She received copies of correspondence which indicated that the money was coming from the British government and that Benenson was personally involved. In answer to a question in parliament, Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister admitted that there had been an approach to government for financial support, and that the government had thought it right to suggest possible donors who would be willing to help. [11]

Benenson, for his part, saw nothing wrong in taking British government money to help British subjects who were illegally imprisoned in Rhodesia by a rebel government. He said that his request and the government's agreement to forward funds had initially been kept secret at the request of the British government. The credibility of Amnesty International was severely damaged and in March 1967 the five-man executive invited Benenson to attend a special emergency meeting in Denmark.[12] Benenson refused to attend and submitted his resignation. The office of President was abolished and a new post of director-general, later to become secretary-general was created. Eric

Baker was provisionally appointed to this office. Peter Benenson had inspired others with his enthusiasm and energy and it was only by his efforts that Amnesty International was created. However the organization he had created was directed by its leader and not its members. In his book "*Against Oblivion*" Jonathan Power, a columnist of the *International Herald Tribune*, said this of Benenson:

> He was answerable to nobody and missions and initiatives in the early days were often undertaken on just his say-so. There was little in the way of organization or administration [13]

A Period of Rapid Growth.

The appointment of Baker established the principle that has since been followed of the Secretary General being appointed by the IEC. Following the Rhodesia scandal of 1966 it was determined that Amnesty International should be financed by subscriptions and donations from its world wide membership and that funds be neither sought nor accepted from governments. To safeguard the independence of the organization, all contributions are strictly controlled by guidelines laid down by the International Council (ICM). [14]

> Baker's level-headed industriousness did much to save Amnesty International from the early death widely predicted at the time. Between June 1967 and June 1968, the number of groups grew from 410 to 550; 293 of the 2,000 prisoners adopted were released.[15]

During the first twelve years of its existence, Amnesty work was limited to two techniques. The first was the adoption of a known prisoner of conscience, the second an "investigation case" technique whereby a group would initiate inquiries about a prisoner who was believed to be a prisoner of conscience. In the early 1970s the mandate was extended to include a campaign to abolish the use of torture.

The Campaign for the Abolition of Torture.

The campaign for the abolition of torture was initiated following events in Brazil where in 1969 the President had been given unlimited power to protect national security. Hundreds of citizens had their political rights suspended. Three judges of the Supreme Court were purged and a fourth forced to retire. State universities were hit by a wave of dismissals and the jurisdiction of the courts was restricted.[16] The remainder of 1969 and 1970 was marked by a series of terrorist acts including assassinations, bank robberies and kidnappings. The government responded with mass arrests, brutal treatment of the clergy and the widespread use of torture. In 1972 Amnesty International published a special report on "*Allegations of Torture in Brazil*"

> It was the first Amnesty Report focusing exclusively on torture, and it was longer than usual. It had been meticulously researched, containing a wealth of detail, and it attracted a large amount of press publicity. Governments asked for copies. [17]

In February 1973 Luiz Rossi, professor of economics and head of the faculty of philosophy, science and letters at Penapolis University, was arrested. Rossi was adopted as a prisoner of conscience, his case being allocated to two groups, the one in West Germany the other in France. Reports were received that he was being tortured and the membership took over sending a stream of letters until the first week in May. In May a letter was received from his wife, Maria Rossi saying that he was well. Three days later a further letter was received from Maria Rossi saying she had been instructed to send the first letter by the Prison Director Doctor Lucio Vieira. She said that the truth was that her husband had been subjected to prolonged physical torture and that he had been told that she and their children would be tortured if he didn't cooperate.

One of Amnesty's main contacts was a Brazilian lawyer, in exile in Paris. She came over to London for a weekend and met with Martin Ennals, the Secretary General at the time, and two

staff members Tracy Ullveit-Moe and Maggie Beirne. They were convinced that something had to be done urgently to relieve the wave of torture in Brazil. Ullveit-Moe suggested that an urgent action be launched and Professor Rossi thus became the subject of the first Amnesty Urgent Action. Several hundred protests were sent on his behalf and a further letter from Maria Rossi said that she believed Amnesty International had saved his life.

Professor Rossi was released in October 1973 and scheduled for trial in March 1975 on a charge of trying to restart the banned Communist party. By then he and his family had fled Brazil. [18]

The Campaign for the Abolition of Torture influences the Founding of a Canadian Section.

From the mid 1960s there were isolated groups of Amnesty International in widely separated parts of Canada. In the absence of a Canadian Section the International Secretariat was obliged to send identical mailings to each of these groups. Martin Ennals, the Secretary General, visited some of his friends in Canada and urged Canadians to form a national section.[19] In May 1973 representatives of groups from Hamilton, Montreal, Sackville, Toronto and Guelph met in the home of Peter Warren in St.Lambert, Quebec. It was agreed that a national section be formed and Dr.John P.Humphrey, of the Faculty of Law at McGill University was unanimously elected as President. Dr.Humphrey was a former Director of the Division of Human Rights in the United Nations. Robert Inch of Brandon, Manitoba was elected as Executive Director. [20]

One of the first activities of the newly formed section was to hold a major Conference for the Abolition of Torture at the University of Ottawa in November 1973. The date was planned to coincide with the 25th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The 5th article of this Declaration prohibits torture. In January an article about the conference and about torture was

published, in the Sunday supplement of newspapers in Central and Western Canada, by Susan Swann, a freelance journalist from Toronto. A national office for the Canadian Section was opened on January 1st 1974. Mrs. Sue Nichols, wife of the Minister of the Ottawa Unitarian Universalist Church was hired as a staff member. Her contract called for her to work a 15 hour week for $60 a month. She writes of her experiences:

> I'll never forget the first time I walked into the "NS" office. It was a completely empty room donated by the Ottawa UU congregation. I borrowed a chair and table, and began to sort through the boxes of papers which most members of the Executive had given me. Most of these were rather unorganized but of course they did contain some important items; cheques made out to AICS, letters to answer, useful IS documents etc. Most valuable was a list of the members. [21]

One of her first tasks was to publish a newsletter:

> The first copy of the newsletter was published on schedule in January. I typed stencils and ran off 500 copies on the congregations mimeograph, and corralled my children and some Ottawa group members to stuff, label, seal and stamp the envelopes. [22]

Letters began to arrive at the office. More than 800 came in one week. On one day during this week the office received more than 200. A member of the Ottawa Group, a Catholic Priest named Frank Bulivant, who had volunteered to help in the office, was pressed into service. The basement room of the UU Church continued to be used as the national office until the 1980s and during this period Mrs. Nichols remained as the senior member of an expanding staff.

<u>Mandate Extended to Work for the Abolition of the Death Penalty.</u>

The next major change to the mandate was the decision to incorporate abolition of the death penalty as one of Amnesty International's objectives. The first paragraph of Peter Benenson's 1961 article called for the elimination of executions. For a period of twelve years, Amnesty International not only failed to act on this recommendation but in 1964, at the annual conference, passed a

resolution which condoned judicial executions. The resolution called on governments to delay executions for political offenses for a period of six months after sentence had been passed or until an appeal to a higher court had been heard.[23]

Today it may appear inconsistent that Amnesty should have condemned a government for holding prisoners of conscience, but failed to condemn them for sentencing the same prisoners to death. This can only be understood when we recognize that Amnesty International was not yet perceived as a world-wide defender of a wide range of human rights, but was still a comparatively small struggling organization with a limited mandate. It was not until the Vienna ICM of 1973 that the mandate was expanded to include opposition to the death penalty.[24] It was a bold decision because the death penalty does not meet with the same universal disapproval as torture or the imprisonment of prisoners of conscience.[25]

At the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders in Toronto in September 1975, a resolution was presented in the name of Amnesty International and 25 other non-government organizations calling on all governments to cease employing capital punishment. The resolution further called on the United Nations General Assembly to promulgate a declaration that would urge its total world-wide abolition.[26]

In December 1975 Amnesty convened an International Conference in Stockholm to challenge the proposition that differences in cultural values and traditions were an obstacle to worldwide opposition to the death penalty. Participants came from more than 50 countries and the speakers on the opening day included Warren Allmand, the former Canadian Solicitor General. The Canadian Section was represented by Doctor Maynard Gertler. Since the Stockholm Conference, Amnesty International has worked systematically for the abolition of the death penalty.[27]

Disillusionment in the West leads many to join Amnesty International.

By the late 1960s the war in Vietnam initiated a mood of disillusionment in the West. This, together with the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in 1973, encouraged people to join Amnesty International. Margaret John, the country coordinator for Singapore and Malaysia, talks about this period in her life.

> We had spent a year out of Canada in Britain and during that year had read the international press in British newspapers. We were much more aware of political events and of repression in the World, particularly so about affairs in Chile. It was soon after the assassination of Allende. There were many students who were active on behalf of victims of oppression in Chile. This was in Cambridge.
>
> When we returned to Canada we were horrified by the amount of goods that were being taken by us into the house. The house was rather large and we were very prosperous compared to Europeans. We said this was appalling and wanted to give something back. What were we going to do ?
>
> Brian, my husband had a colleague who was involved in Amnesty International and he suggested that we get involved. So we did - this was at a community group in Hamilton.[28]

Martin Ennals was appointed Secretary General in 1968 and retained that office until July 1980. He was a man of left-wing tendencies and had previously served as the Secretary General of the National Council for Civil Liberties.[29] This was a period of steady development for Amnesty International. Human rights, which had been marginal in the determination of government policies now moved centre stage. However Amnesty still had its problems. In his farewell speech Ennals was critical of Amnesty's effectiveness in building groups in the Third World.

It was a point of principle to have sections in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, but the differences of culture, finance, attitudes towards non governmental organizations and means of expression, were not always appreciated in either practical or conceptual terms. [30]

Peter Benenson became reconciled with Amnesty International and addressed this same issue at the 15th ICM held in Rimini, Italy. He was questioned about the founding of Amnesty International, and asked whether in hindsight he would have done anything differently. He replied that he should never have used the term "prisoner of conscience". Conscience was a Christian Western concept which was incomprehensible in many world cultures.

Rapid Growth creates Problems.

Growth brought its own problems. In July 1980 Thomas Hammarberg, a journalist and correspondent for Swedish Radio replaced Martin Ennals as Secretary General.[31] He kept a deliberately low key image within the movement, which expanded rapidly. There was an increase in the size of the bureaucracy. This was reflected in the financial accounts. Amnesty budgeted £ 276,000 for IS salaries in the year 1975-76; by 1981 this figure had increased to £1,222,000. [32]

There are inherent dangers in the rapid growth of an organization. In 1911, Robert Michels observed that the stronger the organization, the lesser the degree of applied democracy. As membership grows, funds increase, publications become more important, the convening of party meetings becomes more complex and the demands upon officials grow. Control by the mass becomes control by a system of committees. In 1981 Jonathan Power raised a similar concern. He questioned whether Amnesty International would become more vigorous, or more careful and cautious. He feared that the cold logic of bureaucratic growth would make Amnesty itself a prisoner, "hemmed in by the inertia of size and the immobility of responsibility." [33]

In this thesis I argue that his fears were not realized in Amnesty International. Under pressure from the membership the mandate has been steadily extended. The membership has monitored the work of the secretariat to ensure that it meets the needs of the organisation For example the 14th

ICM in Montreal expressed concern that much needed to be done to improve the efficiency of the IS and instructed the IEC "to ensure that further measures to improve the structure and functioning of the International Secretariat be made without delay". [34] It was pressure from the membership that led to extensions of the mandate. This was true on one important issue; imprisonment for being a homosexual.

Imprisonment for Homosexual Acts.

Action on behalf of those imprisoned for homosexuality was debated for many years by the membership. Resolutions advocating inclusion were regularly debated by Canadian members at Annual General Meetings. It was always accepted by Amnesty that a person imprisoned for his advocacy of the rights of homosexuals could be accepted as a prisoner of conscience. However a person imprisoned solely because he was a homosexual was denied the protection of the mandate.

Those favouring extension held that a person's sexuality was an attribute which did not differ from the attributes of colour or ethnic origin. Those opposing extension held that homosexuality was not viewed in this way by all cultures. They did not deny that imprisonment of homosexuals was a violation of a human right. However, Amnesty was and always had been selective in the type of violations it actively opposed. They believed that the spread of Amnesty International to countries in the third world was a more important issue and feared that the proposed change in the mandate could lose support for Amnesty in these countries jeopardizing Amnesty's existing work. It was better to limit the mandate to doing the things that Amnesty did well. For many years the issue was debated at group and section levels. Many sections voted to support the change and resolutions to that effect were submitted regularly to ICMs. However at the Council meetings these resolutions failed to secure the two thirds majority required for a mandate change.

In 1987 at the 18th ICM held in Brazil, the Dutch and Danish Sections introduced a proposal to extend the mandate to include imprisonment for homosexual orientation. The proposal was defeated in a working party. In the working parties where each country has one vote the smaller Third World Sections predominate. These are traditionally opposed to any extension of the mandate. The Dutch and the Danes could have reintroduced their proposal in the plenary where voting is weighted according to the size of the membership in each country. The large European Sections supported their proposal and the probability was that the resolution would have passed. However the European majority feared that by doing so they would split the movement. To avoid this the plenary passed a compromise resolution which asked "that the mandate review committee consider and report on the implications for the movement of including in the mandate persons imprisoned because of their homosexual orientation." [35]

Subsequently it was agreed by consensus of the ICM that the mandate could be so interpreted as to include those imprisoned because of their homosexual orientation. At the 22nd ICM in Ljubljana the mandate was amended to include those imprisoned "by reason of his or her ethnic origin, sex, colour, language, national or social origin, economic status, birth or other status,". Although the words "sexual orientation" do not appear in the mandate, "other status" is a sufficiently encompassing term as to incorporate "sexual orientation". However, there is a danger that "other status" could be interpreted very widely by the IS. It offers the possibility of an extension to the mandate without the specific sanction of the membership. The debate on sexuality is typical of many other issues. At each successive ICM there are those who argue for extensions of the mandate, and those who oppose extensions through a fear that they will destroy the unique character of the movement and prejudice the work already in hand.

The threatened loss of membership as a result of this inclusion did not occur and a western Canadian member made the following observation

> I'm gay and therefor concerned with discrimination against gays and lesbians on a personal level. Actually that is why I delayed joining Amnesty. I first considered it in 1975. I lived in San Francisco for a year and during that year I went to an Amnesty meeting. It wasn't in the mandate at that time and the meeting, I felt, was not successful in explaining Amnesty's purposes to me and so I declined to continue.....
>
> Had they explained that it is of course possible to change the mandate and that the group was interested in lobbying within Amnesty as recurrently happens then I might have stayed at that point.[36]

Amnesty International and the Violation of the Rights of Women.

A current issue being debated by some members is the violation of the rights of women. Women claim that the majority of human rights violations involve women or children. Traditionally most action by Amnesty International has been directed to the violation of the human rights of men. The problem is that the mandate makes no special provision for those categories of human rights violation which apply only to women. There is reason for this. Amnesty is always concerned that it might be perceived as imposing Western standards on people of other cultures. It therefore bases its actions on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the network of global and regional conventions, treaties and standards that support this declaration.

It can be held that the Universal Declaration and its supporting conventions and treaties have created a body of world law, which supports the rights of individuals rather than international law which determines the rights of nations. Unfortunately world law fails to create standards which are important for the full protection of women's human rights. This is an issue which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 7.

The Creation of Regional Action Networks.

The history of Amnesty International is not limited to a story of changes in the mandate. There has also been change in the methods used to accomplish the mandate. During the time of oppression by Idi Amin in Uganda it was not possible to adopt a prisoner in that country. Any person adopted would have incurred great personal risk. They might just have disappeared. Many people in Uganda simply "disappeared"and were probably killed by agents of the government. For a time Amnesty adopted a policy of having country adoptions with a focus on the general human rights situation rather than on individual cases. This country adoption technique was extended to a group of countries in Central America rather than to a specific country.

The problem in Guatemala differed from that in Uganda. There, the army would forcibly occupy lands in possession of Indian tribes and then give farms to new owners. When the army left, the original owners would forcibly reoccupy the land. The army would then return and the original owners would be arrested. There was obviously a human rights violation but it was one that Amnesty International could not act upon. Those arrested could not qualify as prisoners of conscience because they had committed an act of violence in reoccupying their farm. To meet this challenge Amnesty formed a special group known as Central America Special Action (CASA). CASA did not adopt individual prisoners but instead directed its criticism to government policies. Almost simultaneously Poland created a problem for Amnesty by adopting a policy of short term imprisonment, the prisoner being released before the prisoner adoption routine could be put in place. Amnesty met this challenge by forming a group known as the East European Regional Action Network. Groups with network responsibilities maintained permanent files on countries such as Poland. They could react quickly on short term arrests on no more than a single sheet of

information giving the names of those arrested. There was no need to provide groups with a list of the names and addresses of those to whom they should write, these groups already had the addresses which were regularly updated from the permanent list maintained by the section coordinator for the network[37] The Regional Action technique proved very successful and was extended until all countries were included in one or another of the regional action networks. Currently Canadian groups have a choice of working with any of 19 Regional Action Networks. Each of these networks has its own Canadian Coordinator.

The Regional Action Network is increasingly being used to meet Amnesty objectives other than the release of prisoners. Group 9 in Kitchener/Waterloo is a member of the South Andean Regional Action Network. Its members are writing letters to Peruvian authorities protesting the passage of an Amnesty Law in June of 1995. The effect of this law is to close thousands of cases of disappearances, extrajudicial execution and torture perpetrated by members of the Peruvian security forces all of which have been documented by Amnesty International.[38] As the mandate widens the Secretariat has the responsibility of devising techniques through which action can be taken by the membership rather than the leadership.

Summary

Amnesty International was founded in 1961 to secure the release of some political prisoners. Its policies were initially directed by its founder, Peter Benenson. There was a reorganization in 1967 at which time Peter Benenson resigned. The reorganization established two principles: first the that the office of President be abolished and that the most senior appointment, that of Secretary General, be made by members of an elected International Executive Committee; second, that Amnesty International not accept money from any government. Since 1967 the mandate of Amnesty

International has been expanded to cover a wider range of human rights violations. The initiative for change has come from the public and demands by the membership. The role of the International Secretariat is restricted by lack of funding. When new issues are introduced it undertakes research and promotes discussion amongst the membership. It tends not to search out new issues that can be discussed. It has a history of reaction rather than initiating action but this may be changing. In chapter two I will discuss the organization of Amnesty International and its mandate.

1. Jonathan Power, Against Oblivion (Glasgow: Fontana, 1981), pp.18, 19.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. pp19,20.

4. Robert Michels, Political Parties. ed 2. trans. Eden and Cedar Paul. (Toronto: Crowell-Collier, 1962, Originally published in Switerland 1915) p.307
The first German edition of Robert Michels's's work was published in 1911; the first Italian edition, in 1912; the first English edition, in 1915.

5. Ibid. p.308.

6. Power. p.23.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid p.26.

9. Ibid. p.27.

10. Ibid. pp.27,28.

11. Ibid p.29.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid. p.30.

14. Amnesty International Report 1996. (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1996) Preface.

15. Power. p.31.

16. Authoritarian Brazil. ed. Alfred Stepan. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) pp.. 14,15

17. Power. p.168.

18. Ibid. p.180.

19. Letter from Mrs Sue Nichols to Phil de Gruchy April 2nd. 1997.

20. Minutes of the Founding Meeting held in May 1973.

21. Letter from Mrs.Sue Nichols.

22. Ibid.

23. Power. p.56.

24. David Matas. No More. (Toronto: Dundern Press. 1994) p.186.

25. Ibid.

26. Amnesty International Report 1974/75. (London: Amnesty International Publications. 1975) p.26.

27. Amnesty International Report 1978. (London: Amnesty International Publications. 1978) pp. 22,23..

28. Personal interview with Margaret John in Ottawa, Saturday 8th June 1996.

29. Power. p.31

30. Power. p. 42.

31. Power. p. 33.

32. AI Report 1974/75, p. 147
Amnesty International Report 1981. (London: Amnesty International Publications 1981) p.392

33. Power. p.34

34. Report and Decisions of the 14th International Council. (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1981) p.53.

35. David Matas. "One Movement, One Message, Many Mandates ?" Amnesty International Bulletin, 25.3 (Ottawa: Amnesty International Canadian Section(ES), 1981) p. 20.

36. From a personal interview with the member in Ottawa 7th June 1996.

37. There was no need for a change in the Statute, or immediate action by the Council because the methods listed in Article 2 allowed for the use of the new techniques. The change was initiated by the International Secretariat but this would only have been done after consultations with the sections.

The Membership Department issued an internal memo in June 1985

(I) to provide some information about the technique which may be useful in discussions, especially at the forthcoming 17th International Council Meeting, on the role of this technique;

(ii) to give insight into the developments that have taken place in the use made of this technique.

(iii) to encourage debate at section level about the comments and recommendations on RANs which hae been made by various sections.

Sections were invited, rather than instructed to participate in RAN work. AICS(ES) participated in most RANs. Donna Reimer of St. John's Newfoundland, and I became the joint coordinators for the East European Regional Action Network(EERAN) In Canada. Internationally EERAN had 55 actions in 1984. AICS(ES) did not participate in all of these.

38. Action requested of participants in the "South Andean Regional Action Network" in June 1996.

Chapter 2.

THE ORGANIZATION OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.

The International Organization.

.The bi-annual International Council Meeting is the supreme governing body in Amnesty International.[1] It determines both policy and budget. Voting at Council Meetings is restricted to representatives of sections. There are locally governed sections of Amnesty International in 54 countries and members or subscribers in a further 138. Policies are determined by the membership although in practice only a very small proportion of the more than 1,000,000 members and supporters participate in this activity The Amnesty International Statute defines the objectives, mandate, methods and structure of the organization. Amendments to this Statute can only be made by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast at an International Council. Only Sections or the International Executive Committee are permitted to propose amendments. The proposed amendments must be submitted not less than 9 months before the Council meets, and must be supported in writing by at least five Sections. Initially, Council Meetings were held annually. However when the number of sections and section delegates increased this was no longer financially viable.

Depending on its size, each section sends between one and six voting delegates to the ICM where resolutions are initially discussed at one of four working parties. Working Party A discusses Mandate related Issues and Techniques, Working Party B handles Organizational Techniques and Amnesty International Groups. Working Party C concerns itself with International Decision Making and Development, and Working Party D with Finance and Fund raising. The working parties are held concurrently and in each working party each section has only one vote. Resolutions adopted

by the Working Parties are referred to a Plenary Session at which every delegate is entitled to vote. At the discretion of the Chairperson of the Plenary, a resolution defeated in a Working party by a very narrow vote may be reintroduced, but it will be discussed only after all other resolutions have been considered. Working Parties favour smaller, newer sections, and the Plenary favours the larger North American and European Sections. Between Council Meetings the movement is governed by an International Executive Committee which is elected by the delegates. Resolutions passed in the plenary are binding on the movement. However, because of the costs involved the Council can only meet for a limited time and as a result resolutions are often referred to the International Executive Committee for action. This Committee is required to report to the opening sessions of the subsequent Council Meeting.

The Executive Committee has nine members, three of whom are officers and the remainder directors. One member is elected by members of the secretariat, the other eight by delegates at the Council Meeting. To provide continuity, four of the eight are replaced each year. The Executive Committee consists entirely of volunteers. However, as committee membership does require full time participation and much foreign travel the members are compensated for loss of earnings during their term of office. Members of the Committee represent the whole movement and not individual sections of the movement. As voting rights are limited to representatives of sections, members of the International Executive Committee can neither vote nor introduce amendments to resolutions during the course of the Council. Because of their wide knowledge of the movement they are allowed to address the delegates. When difficulty is experienced in drafting an amendment, members of the committee may intervene by saying "If I were a voting delegate I would word the amendment in the following terms.....". A delegate will often propose an amendment in the words

of the Executive Committee member. This is a procedure used to expedite the making of decisions rather than one to inflict the views of the Executive Committee on the movement.

By convention, each of the six directors is elected from a separate world region. Officers are normally elected from those who have previous experience as directors. These conventions have worked to the detriment of the Canadian Section as Canada so far has been included in the North American World Region. By convention this region has always been represented by a member of the United States Section (AIUSA). In 35 years no Canadian has ever served on the Executive Committee though every section of similar size has been represented. Over the years members in Canada have attempted to address this deficiency. For example, at the 1996 Annual General Meeting of AICS(ES) in Ottawa a resolution was proposed by group 98 from Toronto to fund a Canadian candidate to go to the next ICM as a candidate for the International Executive Committee. Members were anxious not to defeat the resolution, but expressed concern about funding. The resolution was tabled until the 1997 Annual General Meeting.

The International Secretariat.

The day-to-day policies of Amnesty International are directed by an approximately 300 member International Secretariat located in London, England. This secretariat collects and verifies the information about human rights violations. It is responsible for publicity, writes the reports on offending countries, selects persons to serve on Amnesty missions and determines the countries to which missions will be sent. It has a major coordinating role in advising the membership of the ways in which they can most effectively promote human rights. The interdependence of the International Secretariat and the membership at large is often stressed at Amnesty meetings. The membership is entirely dependent on the accuracy of secretariat research, while the secretariat is effective only

because of the mass support of the membership.

Heading the Secretariat is the Secretary General who is appointed by the International Executive Committee. Both the Secretary General and the members of the Secretariat are required to comply with the rules set forth in the Statute. Serving the Secretary General are eight departments: the Secretary General's Office; the Administration Department; the Legal Office; the Documentation Centre; the Coordination Unit; the Campaign Unit; the Press and Publications Department; and the Research Department.

Over the 35 years of Amnesty's existence there have been significant changes in the nature of human rights violations, in public expectations of what Amnesty should do, and in the resources available to Amnesty. As noted in Chapter 1, Amnesty was initially a movement to secure the release of some forgotten prisoners: today it is recognized as the foremost defender of a wide range of human rights.

The Membership.

Over the years there has been much discussion about the meaning of membership. This discussion was renewed in Canada at the 1995 -1996 Annual General Meeting. A resolution was passed which reads in part

"Member" means an individual accepted for membership in the Corporation who:

(i) in accordance with the Statute of Amnesty International, may choose to work for the Corporation;

(ii) is registered on the membership rolls of the Corporation;

(iii) has made an annual financial contribution to the Corporation;

(iv) may choose to participate in any Branch activities;

(v) observes the policies and procedures of AICS(ES).

Prior to the adoption of this resolution those who limited their activity to donating money to the organisation were described as "supporters". There was concern that there may be some individuals who do not wish to be identified as members of Amnesty International but would like to support the organisation. For this reason a further resolution was adopted

BE IT RESOLVED that Operating By-law #1.01(k) be changed to read:

(k) "Supporter" means an individual or entity having made a financial contribution to the Branch within the last two fiscal periods who has specifically declined "Member" status.

It is emphasised that this is a Canadian definition of membership and it is not one which will necessarily apply in other sections. Amnesty International tends to be conservative in reporting the size of its membership. To give one example, there are in Canada some 300 Amnesty youth and student groups and multi-issue clubs. The members of these clubs are not formally registered Branch members, and for that reason their numbers do not appear in official statistics. The Canadian section and the international movement have no way of knowing how many people are writing letters on their behalf. For the past several years they have settled on the safe figure of more than 1,000,000 and this has never been challenged. The 1996 International Report states that

> At the beginning of 1996 there were more than 1,000,000 members and subscribers in over 192 countries. There were 4,354 local Amnesty International groups registered with the International Secretariat plus several thousand school, university, professional and other groups, in 92 countries. [2]

It follows that the members in the 138 countries which do not have section representation do not have a direct voice in the policies which are reviewed bi-annually at Council Meetings. Over time this problem has been addressed by an increase in the number of sections.

The policy of determining voting rights by section heavily favours western nations. In 1975 the were 22 sections from countries in the western world and only 11 from non western countries. By 1996 there were 25 sections from western nations and 29 from non western nations. However the balance of power remained with the west because their sections were generally larger and had more votes at the ICM.

TABLE 2:1.[3]
SECTIONS AND MEMBERSHIP IN SELECTED YEARS.
(Membership includes subscribers.)

Year	# of Members	# countries with Members	# countries with Groups	# countries with Sections
1975	97,000	78	?	33
1977	168,000	107	30	34
1979	200,000+	125	38	39
1981	250,000+	151	54	40
1983	500,000+	160	51	42
1985	500,000+	150+	55	45
1987	500,000+	150+	60	44
1989	700,000+	150+	62	43
1990	700,000+	150+	60+	46
1993	1,100,000+	150+	70+	48
1995	1,100,000+	170+	89	55
1996	1,000,000	192+	92	54

The International Council Meeting in Montreal, 1981.

Prior to 1981 all of the Council Meetings were hosted by European Sections in cities in Western Europe. The Council Meeting for that year was hosted by the Canadian Section in Montreal. The proposal to host the ICM in Montreal was questioned both by Canadians and

members internationally. The Canadian executive was concerned that it was presumptuous for a section in default of its international assessment to host the Council Meeting. There was a fear that the Canadian Section had neither the financial resources nor the personnel for such an undertaking. At the same time the inter branch organizing committee believed that it had a responsibility to make the proposal. The following is an excerpt from a memo I wrote on this subject in 1979.

> It is difficult for us to maintain credibility as an International Organization when we have for some 14 years held the ICM in various West European countries. This becomes increasingly true given the next phase of Amnesty's growth.
>
> Given two restrictions - experience in the host country and the cost of logistics and travel, an ICM outside of Europe can be viable only in Canada or the USA. The USA has not shown initiative in this, and this may be wise as they are one of two World Superpowers, and the holding of an ICM in the USA could be seen by some as a political statement.
>
> This clearly places responsibility on our shoulders. [4]

European Sections were concerned that the proposal was not viable and our committee was advised that many of them believed that Council Meetings should continue to be held in Western Europe. Among other things they were concerned about their travel costs. There was an alternate proposal that the 14th Council Meeting be held in Luxembourg which was anxious to act as host as 1981 marked an important anniversary for their Section and also the 20th anniversary of the formation of Amnesty International. The Canadians were aware of this and were prepared to withdraw their bid, but with a recommendation that they make a bid for the 1982 ICM. They would have welcomed this delay as it would have given them adequate time to complete their planning. However, the Luxembourg delegates withdrew their offer and Montreal became hosts by default.

The work of the organising committee, for the 14th Council in Montreal, was handled efficiently. The committee was particularly complimented on its security arrangements, and financially costs came in below budget. This was due in part to the assistance given by the Province

of Quebec, Mayor Drapeau and the City of Montreal, the First Unitarian Church of Montreal, which hosted a lobster dinner, and the artists of Quebec who, as their contribution, presented a spectacular show without cost at the French Pavilion on Ile Notre Dame. It has been said that each emerging section brings its own gift to the international organization. The Netherlands brought order, the Scandinavians democracy and on the initiative of a small group of members Canada brought a sense of space and distance. The concept of holding ICMs outside of Western Europe is now universally accepted. The 1987 ICM was held in Brazil, the 1991 ICM in Yokohama, and the 1995 ICM in Ljubliana.

Finances.

The central organization of Amnesty International is largely funded by contributions from the Sections. The ICM from time to time determines the complex formulae which are used to calculate each section's assessed contribution. The 1995 budget for Amnesty International was £15,473,000 or about $33,500,000 Cdn. In addition to the funds administered by the IS the individual and autonomous sections have their own secretariats and budgets. The combined estimated annual income of the various sections is estimated to be in excess of $134,000,000Cdn. The donations that sustain Amnesty International's work come from its members and the public. No money is sought or accepted from government, although in Canada donations to Amnesty International are tax deductible.

Thr International Mandate and the Unique Structure of the Canadian Section

The mandate, objectives, and methods of Amnesty International are set out in its Statute. Within the limits of this statute the various sections are autonomous and can and do set up their own internal governing structures. The Canadian structure is unique in that it has two equal branches

bound together solely by a Memorandum of Agreement. This was the result of intense lobbying in 1977. The Francophone members had wanted to have an independent section since the formation of the Canadian Section in 1973. However, the mandate at that time called for national sections.[5] It was deemed undesirable that two separate and equal bodies lobby government in any one country. In 1977 a joint committee was formed from French speaking and English speaking members of the section. This committee recommended that application be made to have two sections in Canada. The committee report was rejected at the Annual General meeting and a new committee was formed. This committee recommended two sections in even stronger terms. The driving force was in part Quebec nationalism but as well Francophone members questioned the wisdom of sending action files for French groups to Ottawa written in English when the alternate text in French could be sent directly to Montreal. The continual friction between French and English speaking members sapped activism on behalf of prisoners. The 12th ICM held in Cambridge refused permission for Canada to have two sections, but the movement was forced to accept two autonomous branches which came to act in every way as though they were separate sections. Once the new structure was completed both branches grew rapidly and currently they work harmoniously together. French representatives attend the Annual General Meetings of the AICS(ES) as observers and English representatives similarly observe the Annual General Meetings of Amnistie Internationale Section Canadienne.

As at December 31st 1995 AICS(ES) had 6,031 members and 61,682 donors. An analysis of these figures, together with figures for the previous two years are shown in Table 2.2.

TABLE 2.2

MEMBERSHIP IN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
CANADIAN SECTION (ENGLISH SPEAKING)

	Dec 31 1995	Dec 31 1994	Dec 31 1993
Donors	61,682	60,346	65,054
Members	6,031	5,926	7,871

BREAKDOWN OF MEMBERSHIP.

Groups only	1,806	1,796	2,123
Networks only	2,270	2,099	2,468
Groups & Networks	324	356	401
Choosing Affiliation	1,531	1,675	2,879
Total	6,031	5,926	7,871

> Many other people help Amnesty International through our Youth & Student Program and our outreach work. However, because they are not formally registered Branch members, their numbers do not appear in the official statistics.[6]

Initially virtually the whole of the membership consisted of members of small adoption groups, each one assigned the task of securing the release of three prisoners of conscience. In the mid 1970s there were 100,000 prisoners of conscience in Indonesia alone. All of these had served ten years of imprisonment without trial. There were vast numbers of prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union and in other Communist countries. The structures of Amnesty International were designed to meet this challenge.[7]

Changes in the Nature of Human Rights Offences and its Effect on Amnesty International.

The human rights challenge has moved to non judicial executions and to disappearances. These occur on a massive scale as witness recent events in Bosnia and Rwanda. The vast movement of refugees can also result in deaths on an unprecedented scale. Recently in Goma in Zaire up to 80,000 refugees died within weeks as the result of a cholera epidemic. In the 1995 Amnesty International Report there was reference to the more than eight and half million refugees or displaced persons in Africa alone. Torture is commonplace in India, China and many other countries, and this will be focus of a special Amnesty campaign in 1997.

In 1980 AICS(ES) had 30 adoption groups accredited by the International Secretariat and 22 smaller groups not yet accredited and not involved in adoption work. By 1996 there were 100 accredited groups, 5 groups waiting accreditation and 7 smaller action circles. This growth in the number of groups was mirrored in all sections of Amnesty International. At the same time the focus on human rights had secured a considerable reduction the number of "prisoners of conscience" world wide.[8] It was a success story, but success creates its own problems. There were no longer enough prisoners to go round. Initially the organization resorted to multiple adoptions, with more than one group adopting the same prisoner, but this failed to resolve the problem. At the same time there was a rapid expansion in other forms of human rights abuse.

Groups had to be assigned other tasks. They often found these less attractive than personal long term involvement with a known prisoner. Many groups found themselves with few assignments. AICS(ES) met the challenge by enroling some members in networks instead of accredited adoption groups. Today the two largest networks are the letter writing network in which members agree to write a specific number of letters annually, and the Urgent Action Network which

can respond within hours to a violation of human rights. This speed of response can save lives.

Smaller networks include the refugee network, the artists network, the legal network, the medical network, the teacher's network and the women's action network. Each Canadian network has its own leadership and works largely independently though remaining within the terms of the Amnesty mandate as set out in the Statute. There are also a number of smaller coordinating groups of which the most important is perhaps the one with the acronym MEC/MSP (Military, Economic and Cultural Relations / Military, Security and Police Transfers.) Amnesty International opposes the use and transfer of equipment whose sole practical purpose is the violation of human rights. Such equipment includes apparatus for executions, implements of torture as well as devices such as leg-irons, shackles and chains which result in the cruel treatment of prisoners. Amnesty International also asks that a country's human rights record be taken into account before allowing the transfer of military, security or police equipment, personnel or training.[9]

Annual General Meetings of AICS(ES)

The supreme body in AICS(ES) is the Annual General Meeting. Prior to 1980 these meetings were held in either Ontario or Quebec. Since then they have been held in every province in Canada with the exception of Prince Edward Island. The Annual General Meeting is conducted in two separate sessions, the Working Party and the Plenary. Resolutions defeated in the Working Party can be reintroduced in the Plenary at the discretion of the Chairperson. This very rarely happens. In the Working party each member present has one vote. In the Plenary, voting is limited to accredited delegates of either groups or networks. At the 1996 AGM, 195 voting cards were available to group representatives and 169 to representatives of networks.

> At General Meetings every accredited AI Group and AI Network is entitled to exercise one vote. Every accredited Group and Network is entitled to exercise one additional vote for every additional fifteen (15) registered members, or part thereof, above and beyond the first fifteen (15) registered members of the AI Group or AI Network. Votes shall be carried by Voting Delegates selected by each AI Group or AI Network. The number of Voting Delegates shall be limited to the number of votes to which that AI Group or AI Network is entitled) [10]

Proxy voting is permitted but no Voting Delegate may carry more than 10 votes. Only one group had more than 10 votes and had to be represented by more than one delegate.[11] The Letter Writing Network had 59, the Urgent Action Network 46, the Women's Action Network 19, and the Youth Campus Network 33.

Resolutions submitted to the Annual General Meeting all relate to Strategy and Action, Organization, and Finance. Only in exceptional circumstances would a resolution be submitted which referred to human rights abuses in a particular country. The danger is that through condemning one specific country Amnesty International might create the impression that it is more concerned about human rights abuse in one country than in another. At the 1996 Annual General Meeting of AICS(ES) 20 resolutions were debated. Of these 8 had been submitted by the Executive Committee, these included acceptance of the budget, approval of the auditors, and approval of the audited statements. Four were submitted by the staff of the Toronto Office, and 8 were submitted by groups. Several of the resolutions submitted by the Executive Committee were hotly debated and passed only subject to amendments. These included a resolution to adopt a Branch Plan for the years 1996 to 2000, a resolution redefining membership, and a resolution redefining the terms under which the executive could order a Special General Meeting.

All resolutions are reviewed in advance by a Resolutions Committee. Time at an AGM is at a premium and it can be wasted by debate on issues beyond the powers of the Branch. Resolutions

commencing "Be it resolved that the Canadian Government will..." or that "the IEC will ..." are tactfully reworded before submission. Sometimes several groups may submit somewhat similar resolutions on one specific issue. The Resolutions Committee will liaise with the groups by telephone in an attempt to create a common resolution. Members of the Resolutions Committee also stand ready to advise members on Branch policies, practices and guidelines relevant to the drafting of specific resolutions, and to advise them on the financial implications of their resolutions. The only intent is to expedite the working of the AGM. It does not appear to affect the flow of ideas or influence.

At the AGM the budget and the financial accounts for the year ended 30th September 1995 were debated at length. The accounts showed that $4,005,927 had been received as a result of mail solicitations and that the cost of mailing for funds was $1,828,773. Less than 46% of the monies donated was used for solicitations. In answer to questions from the floor, the Treasurer stated that this compared very favourably with other charitable organizations. However, members were still concerned at the high cost of soliciting for funds. They requested a further analysis showing the percentage revenue for each of the financial campaigns that had been launched during the year. The treasurer explained that this was not possible because it would involve a great increase in audit expenses.

Expenditures amounted to $2,615,223, of which $1,288,133 was sent to the international movement to meet the assessment on the branch. There was a small excess of revenue over expenditure for the year. In addition to monies contributed to the section, a number of groups have charitable status in their own right and collect monies which are not reported to the branch. Much of this group money is used for the relief of their adopted prisoners or the families of their adopted prisoners.

The membership is served by 24 paid staff members. Seventeen of these work in the National Office in Vanier, five in the Toronto Office and there is a part time employee in each of two regional offices, the one in Halifax, the other in Vancouver. Seven of the 24 paid staff members are part-time employees. [12] The membership is task oriented. Each person, and each small group has its own task. Ten people work together to secure the release of a prisoner. A doctor examines refugee applicants for evidence of torture, and a country coordinator gives evidence as a witness before a parliamentary committee. In each instance it is the individual or the small group which determines how the task will be performed. There are approximately 40 volunteers with the title of fieldworkers. These are all experienced Amnesty members available to groups to facilitate meetings on the various aspects of their work. There are fieldworkers in every province except New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

Guide to Writing Letters.

A major feature of Amnesty's work is the writing of letters to major officials of foreign governments. The National Office of AICS(ES) provides a letter writing guide to members. The member is told to be brief, to be polite, and to assume the government concerned is open to reason and discussion. There is advice on the correct salutation to be used when writing to presidents, prime ministers, ambassadors, or kings, and advice on the correct complementary phrases to be used in closing letters to foreign government officials. However, it is advice only. The letter is composed, often with much soul searching, by the individual member. Should there be a response, the member may become involved in a long exchange of correspondence. The individual member may request and receive guidance but will rarely be told precisely what to write. As a result Amnesty International has aspects of a democratic movement rather than an oligarchic structure.

Generally the membership is critical of emphasis on structure. Too many reports and too many meetings is a frequent criticism, there is a belief that time spent on organization saps the activism available for the real work of opposing human rights violations. Individual members can and do make their contribution independent of staff direction.

Membership Initiative.

An often quoted example of membership initiative is that of a group in Sweden which, failing to obtain any response to their letters, telephoned the Soviet mental hospital where their prisoner was being held and recorded a remarkably frank conversation with the doctor in charge. Although their prisoner was not released the Swedish members did succeed in highlighting the Soviet policy of detaining dissidents in mental hospitals.[13]

In a variety of ways Canadian members similarly act on their own initiative. In 1995, Brian Howlett, an advertising professional in Toronto, wrote and produced a print advertisement, a 30 second public service radio announcement, and a 30 second public service television announcement in support of Amnesty's human rights work. Across Canada individual members have solicited local stations for the donation of air time to broadcast these commercials. Donna Reimer of St. John's, Newfoundland produced and distributed a "European Newsletter" to groups with European prisoners from January 1986 to November 1989. This gave news of group activities and duplicated copies of more than 300 press articles about human rights abuse in Europe. Much of the information was gained from an exchange of correspondence with Birte Lindell, a country coordinator in the Danish Section. Ken Hawkins, a retired manual worker wrote a letter a month for 15 years to his group's adopted prisoner in an isolated prison camp in Indonesia. He never received a reply and when the prisoner was finally released, Ken Hawkins heard that he had only received two of the letters, but

perseverance pays - those two letters brought hope. [14]

These are just a sample of the many hundreds of acts of individual initiative taken by Amnesty members. Most of the stories will never be known because the members live in isolation from each other. In response to a question about the quality of membership Margaret Johns, a country coordinator, replied :

> Well its very difficult to say because one always judges Amnesty by the members one happens to know.
>
> My contact is pretty limited to the group I am advising at the moment which is in St.Albert. This is a superb group, very active, very effective, very concerned, utterly reliable, persistent and imaginative.[15]

The St. Albert group has 16 members, and, other than for Margaret, probably nobody knows what imaginative things those members are doing.

Two Special Attributes of Amnesty Members.

Amnesty International says this of the contribution of its members:

> From the very beginning Amnesty International has relied on ordinary citizens to build a movement that would reflect the worldwide concern for human rights. It has deliberately organized itself so that anyone, anywhere can take part some way in the vital work for prisoners. It has insisted on being an open, democratic movement.[16]

W.T Stanbury construes this as no more than emotive rhetoric. He claims that

> In general terms, it is reasonable to assume that people join interest groups because the expected benefits of doing so exceeds the expected costs.[17]

He urges governments to be sceptical about public interest groups who demand an opportunity to participate in a particular policy-making process because their demands are almost certainly based on the desire to exercise influence over outcomes in a way that will benefit their members.[18] It is true that Amnesty does attempt to influence outcomes. It does so in respect of trade, in respect of refugee policies, and in the campaign against capital punishment However it

is difficult to see what tangible benefits the Amnesty member derives from this. There are no tangible benefits and it would be difficult to prove that the intangible benefits exceed the cost and the effort that individual members incur.

In response to Stanbury, Susan D. Phillips comes to the defence of Amnesty International and ridicules the belief that the ultimate benefits it derives do not differ from those of the Tobacco Council or the Petroleum Association.[19] In her article she also speaks of the freedom members have to join:

> The reason that public interest groups are public is that their memberships are comprised of individuals (or groups of individuals) as opposed to corporations and entrepreneurs and have few restrictions on who can join. In comparison a person who is not an actuary (or close to becoming an actuary) cannot join the Canadian Institute of Actuaries... [20]

Amnesty International differs from most interest groups because its members derive no tangible benefits and because they have the freedom to join or leave the organisation whenever they wish.

Contribution of Members.

The members of Amnesty International have an important role to play. They write the many thousands of letters to human rights abusers. Amnesty International provides a wide range of appeals to which the member may respond. In each instance the appeal is based on research done by the Secretariat in London, England. It follows that all appeals will relate to human rights abuses that fall within the mandate. Communication from the centre to the periphery is voluminous and a common complaint of group members is that they receive too much information. Often one member of a group will be called on to summarize information for the benefit of the others. Amnesty is less successful in sustaining a reverse flow of communication that will tell the centre

what the members are doing. The need for this reverse flow and the difficulty in creating it differentiates Amnesty from many other interest groups. In Amnesty International it is important that the leadership know at all times what the membership is doing.

Refugee work is an exception to the general flow as information is received by the network member directly from the refugee applicant rather than from the Secretariat. Members of the Refugee Coordination Network then ask the staff member in charge of refugee program whether the circumstances fall within the Amnesty mandate. When a negative reply is received from the Ottawa staff member there is of course no restriction on the member from taking action as a concerned individual rather than as a member of Amnesty International. The following is an excerpt from an interview with a member of the Refugee Coordination Network who lives in Montreal.

> there was the case of a Saudi girl who came to Canada. She was in Montreal and she goes under the alias of "Nada" and I interviewed her, and John and I and Janet were all convinced that she was a genuine refugee case, but the IS said we could not support the case. Now I fought them, I fought them believe me, but anyway the point is we realized that we couldn't get that kind of help.
>
> We turned around, we called ourselves the Muffin Committee - about six women in Montreal. We organized a conference in which we talked about the issues, the special issues of women refugees and how the government has to learn to look at them differently. A woman who has been raped doesn't want to talk about this, particularly if her husband is in the room and he doesn't know. There is a kind of formality about a refugee hearing which can be very threatening.
>
> We had a very good positive meeting with the government. They listened to us and whether it made a difference it was a very good experience, a very good experience. It was not an Amnesty experience.[21]

Nada was eventually accepted as a refugee but not through the efforts of the Muffin Committee. However another woman refugee who was in hiding did come forward and was accepted as a result of the conference with government.

Democracy and the Importance of Membership Initiative.

In the 35 years of its existence Amnesty has developed a precise mandate and the ability to have many thousands of members work effectively within that mandate. The freedom of members to act on their own initiative is very important. In 1911 RobertMichels advanced the so called iron law of oligarchy:

> It is organization which gives birth to the domination of the elected over the electors, of the mandataries over the mandates, of the delegators over the delegators. Who says organization says oligarchy.[22]

He believed that interest groups inevitably become less democratic as they become more organized. Since that time political scientists have looked for exceptions to the iron law. In the 1930s Seymour M.Lipset claimed that the International Typographers Union was a rare exception to the iron law because the union mirrored state democracy in that there were two distinct parties within the union. There is no evidence of differing parties within Amnesty International, but it may well be another exception to the iron law. Amnesty does mirror the state in that there are many special interest groups within the organization. These interests have to be brokered by the leadership. Members have both wide discretionary powers in selecting the issues they will pursue, and opportunity for innovation in the methods they will adopt. However they are still required to act within the Amnesty mandate. The objects and the mandate are defined in the first section the Statute. They read in part

> ..to oppose by all appropriate means irrespective of political considerations :
>
> a) the imprisonment, detention or other physical restrictions imposed by any person by reason of his or her political, religious or other conscientiously held beliefs or by reason of his or her ethnic origin, sex, colour, language, national or social origin, economic status, birth or other status, provided that he or she has not used or advocated violence (hereafter referred to as 'prisoners of conscience'; AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL shall work towards

the release of and shall provide assistance to prisoners of conscience);

b) the detention of any political prisoner without fair trial within a reasonable time or any trial procedures relating to such prisoners that do not conform to internationally recognized norms;

c) the death penalty, and the torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of prisoners or other detained or restricted persons, whether or not the persons affected have used or advocated violence;

d) the extrajudicial execution of persons whether or not imprisoned, detained or restricted, and "disappearances", whether or not the persons affected have used or advocated violence.[23]

It is important that the terms of the mandate be known, not only to the membership, but also to the governments of those countries which commit human rights offenses. The demands which Amnesty makes on these governments are limited and clearly defined. A demand for the release of a prisoner of conscience will not be followed by a demand that the prisoner be allowed to leave the country, or take up his seat in parliament, or be allowed to form a trade union. Amnesty International believes that offending governments are more likely to accede to clearly defined and limited demands than they would be to demands which might prove to be open ended.

Amnesty International will act only within the terms of its mandate, but it is often difficult to determine whether a specific human rights violation does or does not fall within the terms of the mandate. For example in the early 1980s Group 14 in Pointe Claire, Quebec was asked to act on behalf of a worker arrested during a strike at a cement works in the Sind in Pakistan. Strikers barricaded the entrance to the works and when the police advanced on them with lathis, press reports stated that "the workers threw stones towards the police". The group petitioned the IS stating that this was violence and that the worker could not be considered a prisoner of conscience. The Secretariat replied that it was not violent to throw stones towards the police, this was merely a way

of deterring the police from advancing any further. Had the press reports stated that the workers threw stones at the police, then the worker could not have been considered a prisoner of conscience.[24]

The rulings of the Secretariat are continually open to challenge by the membership. The most contentious cases are referred to a Borderline Committee of three members, usually lawyers from amongst the membership.

Coping with Growth and Changes to the Mandate.

The mandate is not static. It is subject to the resources available to Amnesty International, the public expectation of what the organization should do, and the changing pattern of human rights violations over the years. It is difficult to measure the growth of Amnesty International. Much has been written about multinational corporations and their growth can be measured by increase in profits; increase in assets, or increase in the number employees. Less is known about multi-national public interest groups and we do not yet have yardsticks by which growth can be measured. The table 2.2 shows that 9% of the branch membership consisted of those who wrote letters or took other supportive action, 91% were associate members who contributed only by their donations. If 9% of the 1,000,000 world wide membership act in the same way we have 90,000 people contributing to the work of Amnesty International by their actions and not just their donations. Although this is only an estimate it does indicate a rate of growth that few corporate structures could have sustained without major changes to their objectives and their methods of achieving them. Irrespective of its achievements in the field of human rights Amnesty International is a truly remarkable organization to have maintained a structure able to support the level of growth shown in Table 2:1.

Summary.

The supreme governing body of Amnesty International is the bi-annual International Council Meeting. There are autonomous sections in 54 countries and voting at the Council is restricted to representatives of these sections. The day-to-day administration of Amnesty is conducted by an International Secretariat which has its headquarters in London, England. The objectives and methods of attaining those objectives are defined in Amnesty International's Statute . A copy of the full Statute is included in the Appendices. The Statute may only be amended by vote of the Council and there are strict rules as to how this may be done. The Canadian Section was founded in 1973. It has two autonomous branches, one English speaking, one French speaking. The application of the Mandate and the effect it has on individual members is examined in Chapter 3.

1. The first International Council Meeting was held in 1967.

2. Amnesty International Report.1996 (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1996) p.360.

3. Figures extracted from the relevant Amnesty International Reports for the selected years.

4. This memo was written to the ad hoc organization committee formed for the event. We met in Montreal. Some members spoke only English, some only French and one only Spanish. Those who spoke more than one language translated for the others..

5. This in part relates to the way in which the section was formed. The French speaking group in Montreal resulted from a visit two young French Canadians made to Africa. They intended to form an independent Press Agency to give coverage of news that was not reaching the press. The venture failed but on their way back through London they visited the offices of Amnesty International. Greatly impressed, they determined to form a Section in Quebec. With financial help from the Catholic Church they rented an Office in Montreal and appointed a paid secretary François Martin. This group grew very rapidly to over 200 members.

   In English speaking Canada small groups were formed in Hamilton, Montreal, Ottawa, Sackville, Toronto and Guelph. In May 1973 representatives of these groups met in the home of Peter Warren in St.Lambert, Quebec and agreed to form a Canadian National Section of Amnesty International. The Francophones were not represented at this meeting and it is possible the two organizations did not know of each other.

   By June 1975 Mrs. Mary Beattie, Chairperson of the Executive Committee reported that there was a combined membership of 1,269 in the Canadian Section.

6. 1995-1996 Annual Report of Amnesty International Canadian Section (ES) p.6.

7. Today prisoners of conscience on this scale exist only in China.

8. Between 1975 and 1979 Indonesia alone released 32,989 political prisoners.

9. A.I.Report 1996. p.3.

10. By-Law 7.2.

11. Group 90 from Ajax/Pickering.

12. 1995-1996 Annual Report of Amnesty International, Canadian Section (ES). p.4.

13. Jonathan Power. Against Oblivion. (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1981) p.49.

14. Sue Hill, "Ken Hawkins" The Activist. (Ottawa: Amnesty International Canadian Section(ES), Dec/Jan 1995,96.) p.4.
Ken Hawkins, a one time farm worker, became a much loved member of the Canadian Section. Initially a volunteer who made coffee for the office staff, he so increased his skills that he became one of the most effective of the country coordinators.
The article by Sue Hill marked a very rare occasion on which the Activist published an obituary for a member of the section.

15. Interview in Ottawa, Saturday June 8th 1996.

16. Amnesty International Report 1984. (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1984) p.5.

17. W.T.Stanbury, "A sceptic's guide to the claims of so-called public interest groups" CPA 36. 4 (1994) p.586.

18. Ibid p.604.

19. Susan D.Philips, "Of public interest groups and sceptics: a realist's reply to Professor Stanbury" CPA 36.4 (1994) p.606.

20. Ibid. p.610. .

21. Interview in Ottawa, Friday June 8th 1996.

22. Robert Michels, Political Parties. 2nd Ed.Trans. Eden and Cedar Paul. Introduction by Seymour Martin Lipset 1961 (London: Cromwell-Collier, 1962), Originally written by Michels 1915. p.365.

23. See appendices.

24. The group agreed to work on behalf of the prisoner, Mubarek Hussein. They wrote letters to the President of Pakistan, Mahammad Zia-ul Haq and to members of the Rohri Cement Workers Union. The prisoner was released within months of his being adopted as a prisoner of conscience.

Chapter 3.

WORKING WITHIN THE MANDATE.

The Mandate.

There has been no major change in the structure of Amnesty International since 1967. More groups and more sections have been added but the structure remains essentially unaltered. Within this structure the movement has shown a remarkable ability to assimilate change in both its mandate and its methods. Unlike other social movements, it contains no smaller groups within itself pursuing objectives different from its mandate.. Changes to the mandate are accepted only after widespread discussion amongst the membership, and even then only when a substantial majority favours change. There is a sense of a true democracy in which the members have taken ownership of the mandate.

A Case Study.

Members of Amnesty International are very much aware of the parameters of the mandate and are careful to respect them. This is illustrated by a case in which I became personally involved.[1]The Action File was given to Group 56 in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1982. In May of that year, 24 year old Sarah Evans had just opened the Scotia Maps Gallery in Canongate in Edinburgh when two Czechs entered and said that they and four friends wanted political asylum. The six said they had left the cruise liner "Estonia" with a one day pass when it docked in Leith. They had left their passports on board. They had then made their way to the Royal Mile in Edinburgh only to find that most shops were closed because it was the Victoria Day Holiday. Sarah Evans, a member of Amnesty International, phoned the Canadian Consul in Glasgow and was advised to get in touch with the Immigration officer at the airport. They in turn told her to take them to a police station

where they could sign an application for asylum. She organized two taxis and took them to the police headquarters at Fettes. The police took a statement from her and asked that she leave. Later in the day she phoned the police and was told that their application had been denied and that they had been returned to the ship. She was therefor surprised when the group of Czechs returned to the gallery later in the day. They had evaded custody on the way back to Leith. Sarah contacted Kay Butcher, also a member of Group 56 of Amnesty International and she took them to a Minister of the United Reformed Church who arranged unofficial sanctuary until the "Estonia" had sailed. The Home Secretary now ruled that the Czechs could stay for six months in Britain while they looked for permanent asylum either in Australia or Canada. In a statement to the press, Miss Evans stated that it was purely coincidental that the group had approached her, and emphasised that Amnesty was not at that time taking up the case. However the Amnesty position changed once the ship had sailed. The Czechs were in danger because they faced imprisonment from the Czech authorities if they were returned to Czechoslovakia. In a letter to the Canadian Section Kay Butcher carefully explained how the limits of the mandate had been applied:

> I am secretary of an Edinburgh Amnesty Group, but because Amnesty in London must be careful not to contravene regulations they were unable to do anything until the 6 Czechs had decided not to return to the boat and the boat had sailed. Then the Czechs were in danger because they faced imprisonment from the Czech authorities. So you will see that at first we had to make it clear to the press that Amnesty was not involved but now that the Home Office has allowed them to stay whilst their case is considered the situation has changed.[2]

Changing Needs Cause Amendments to the Mandate

Working within the mandate is complicated because its requirements are frequently modified to address new needs. The public expectations of the role of Amnesty International have changed. In the early years it was perceived as an organization which could help free some prisoners of

conscience. Today it is seen as the leading non-government organization responsible for monitoring human rights abuse. It is criticized for not confronting all kinds of human rights abuse, including many which fall outside of its mandate. It cannot ignore these criticisms because its effectiveness is directly linked to its credibility with the public.

There is a continuous process of change in the pattern of global human rights abuse. The end of the cold war heralded a watershed change in this pattern. Since 1985, for example, a large number of new states have been formed. Typically, each of these has its own internal political, economic, and nationalist problems, all of which can lead to human rights violations.[3] This change alone places an enormous strain on an organization with limited financial resources and a limited number of researchers. For example, in the early 1980s Sharad Bhargava, a member in Quebec, questioned the IS on the lack of case sheets relating to China and India. He suggested that the organization was not impartial. The Secretariat replied that regrettably it was true that there was a lack of uniformity but this was not due to bias. The Secretariat had one researcher allocated to India, and one to China. Unfortunately both women were on maternity leave at the time. It is difficult for the Secretariat to move researchers between countries because an expert on human rights violations in Brazil cannot at short notice become an expert on India. The effectiveness of the organisation is limited by the resources at its disposal.

The Annual Report on Human Rights Violations.

Each year Amnesty issues a report on the human rights record of most countries throughout the world. In its 1984 report it warned the reader the record must not be regarded as comprehensive. The organization did not have the resources to carry out the research and activities it would wish. Among the countries where the information available to Amnesty International was insufficient to

allow an entry in the report were Botswana, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Jordan, Liberia, Mongolia, Qatar, the Seychelles, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela and the Yemen Arab Republic.[4] The 1996 report included entries for all these countries except Qatar and the Seychelles. The Yemen Arab Republic had joined the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to form the Republic of Yemen, for which there was a report.[5]

The increased coverage results largely from a better use of resources rather than from a large increase in staff. Amnesty International still has less than 60 researchers responsible for monitoring human rights violations in more than 150 countries.[6]

Demands on the Secretariat.

The demands on the Secretariat will increase as the membership comes to recognize a need to act on a wider range of human rights violations. The membership, for its part, must recognize the limitations of the Secretariat and accept a wider role to free the Secretariat for these additional tasks. They will need to be convinced that the added responsibilities of the organization can only be met through a spreading of the work load. Speaking to an audience of coordinators in Ottawa in June 1996 Derek Evans, the Assistant Secretary General of Amnesty International, said that what Peter Benenson started in 1961 was a campaign to secure the release of prisoners of conscience. Very quickly the campaign became a movement, one which addressed the human rights issues at that time. He added that after 35 years Amnesty International still sees itself as a movement and refuses to become an organization. Membership is linked together by common beliefs as to who they are, and as to what they should do. It is much more difficult to change the direction of a movement than to change the policies and direction of an organization.

Responding to Technological Change.

Resources are not limited to people. In the 1960s, public interest groups largely depended on carbon copies of typed letters for internal communications. Many hypotheses have been advanced for the proliferation of interest groups since the early 1970s. One important factor that was overlooked in these hypotheses was the availability of copying machines, personal computers, and more recent technological developments. The Urgent Action Network, which responds to human rights emergencies, is based in the Toronto Office. Members of the Network agree to respond to a an agreed number of appeals each year. They may express a preference for appeals for action with specific governments, or for specific types of person, for example medical practitioners or clergy. Nearly one fifth of the members of this Urgent Action Network receive the appeals allocated to them by e-mail.[7] This means that writers are responding in as little as three hours after the International Secretariat has issued the call to Canada for the urgent action.

Using these new technologies volunteers in the networks and adoption groups create their own newsletters, and some of these are now distributed by e-mail. The following is an excerpt from an e-mailed group newsletter :

> Amnesty International has posted on its Web Site (http://www.amnesty.org) an interactive presentation, designed to be down loaded onto a floppy disk, to commemorate the brutal crackdown seven years ago in Tiananmen Square. It is part of the organization's growing use of electronic media in the fight for human rights. Amnesty hopes that, in particular, the presentation will reach a Chinese audience which may not have previously had access to information on international human rights standards and on human rights violations.
>
> The AI disk presentation is easy to download and copy and.... contains information in Chinese and English on universally recognized basic rights and freedoms, and on AI concerns in China.[8]

Through such technological developments, peripheral volunteer groups can initiate their own human rights program free from central direction. It will be they, rather than any central authority, who will determine the Chinese groups to be targeted.

Support of the United Nations.

The member states of the United Nations have adopted certain fundamental principles governing the field of human rights. Many of these have been ratified by international treaty. Unfortunately the United Nations lacks the power to enforce compliance with these treaties. Amnesty International does not attempt to address all violations of the human rights defined by the United Nations. Its strength consists in its ability to investigate, to publicise, and to protest violations against certain of these rights. These include the right to life, the right not to be tortured, and the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. [9]

Every year the movement becomes larger and more diverse, with long-established sections working alongside fledgling groups such as those in Eastern and Central Europe and Southern Africa.[10] In addition, special networks of people such as lawyers, medical workers, trade unionists, journalists and students are organized to use their expertise and influence to promote human rights.[11]

Research and Missions.

Prior to 1993, Amnesty International demanded that the International Secretariat be responsible for all research. The International Council Meeting held in Boston in 1993 recognized that Amnesty had to respond in new ways because of globalization and the changing pattern of human rights violations. Initially, change was directed to the research function and the utilization of research resources outside of the secretariat. A study made in 1993 had revealed a number of gaps in Amnesty's research. It revealed that there was a need for greater flexibility to react to changing

situations and priorities and to ensure that Amnesty International's research resources were in fact allocated according to need. To accomplish this, it was agreed that a written strategy would be prepared for every country and that these written strategies be reviewed every six months. Financially it was not possible to resolve these issues merely by appointing more researchers. Although there had been an increase in the number of researchers from 42 in 1983 to 59 in 1996 they have been unable to fully research the violations taking place in some 160 countries. Limited financial resources preclude any further increase in staffing. Traditionally most research was done in London in response to petitions received in the London office. The future demanded that research be done increasingly in the countries in which violations were being committed. It was agreed that there should be more missions and that participation in these missions should be drawn more frequently from the membership as opposed to the secretariat. Some members, such as the Winnipeg lawyer David Matas, had served Amnesty well on missions. The current need is to draw up an inventory of specialist resources which are available within the wider membership. When missions are planned the secretariat should ask themselves whether specialists were being used from the membership ? And if they were not why not ?[12]

The following table shows how effective the IS was in obtaining mission participants from the membership over a two year period.

TABLE 3.1 [13]

COUNTRY MISSIONS USING PERSONS DRAWN FROM THE MEMBERSHIP.

	1993	1994	1995
Number of country missions	75	79	102
People days spent on missions	<1250	<1800	>2750
Number of non IS people involved	27	42	57
Percentage of effort supplied by non IS members	36%	53%	56%

The International Secretariat has a triple responsibility: communication with offending governments; communication with the media; and communication with the membership. Amnesty International Publications produces a monthly newsletter and an annual report documenting Amnesty's work and its concerns throughout the world. This report includes a detailed country-by-country report of human rights violations and abuse. A wide range of special Amnesty International Reports and documents are also published. These may relate to countries with a particularly bad record on human rights, for example China, or to specific issues such as women's rights. "*Human Rights are Women's Right*" published in 1995, outlined the deprivation and terror suffered by millions of women. In recent years, the secretariat's outreach has been supplemented by an official AI Site on the World Wide Web, located at http://www.io.org/amnesty/.

Membership Activities Vary Section by Section.

The activities of the membership vary from section to section. Traditionally in the West there has been an emphasis on letter writing, whereas in the newer, third world sections the cost of a postage stamp may well represent a significant part of a family's weekly earnings. Doctor Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet physicist and human rights activist, commented on these differences when he

and his wife Yelena Bonner visited Ottawa in 1989.[14] He was asked whether the new developments in the Soviet Union might lead to the establishment of Amnesty groups in that country. He replied that there would have to be conditions. Amnesty must recognize that although Soviet citizens could write letters on behalf of prisoners of conscience, it would not be possible for them to provide physical or material help. This, not only because of the level of welfare in the Soviet Union but also because there were restrictions on private citizens sending out aid. There are other ways of advancing the cause of human rights other than by writing letters or sending aid. African groups have worked to disseminate a knowledge and understanding of the African Charter and People's Rights. For example, members in Côte d'Ivoire with the support of local musicians and singers produced and continue to distribute a cassette of songs explaining the charter in several languages spoken in Africa. In Sierra Leone, Amnesty International members, with the support of local communities, have had passages of the Charter read in churches and mosques.[15]

In Poland, to publicise "disappearances" a children's art centre staged an exhibition of graphic arts. It attracted outstanding works from young people in more than a dozen countries. Bermuda holds an annual Amnesty Jazz festival. In Hong Kong the Amnesty International Newsletter is translated into eight languages: Bangla, Chinese, Hindi, Korean, Nepali, Tamil, Thai and Irdu. [16]

Restriction on Members Working to Correct Human Rights Violations in Their Own Country.

In some countries membership of Amnesty International is an act of courage. In 1994 groups in Sudan ceased activities following the banning of all political parties, trade unions, and non-governmental organizations. To protect its membership Amnesty provides the following guidelines:

> No group or national section shall be involved in work for or appeals on behalf of an individual prisoner or group of prisoners imprisoned or detained in the country or territory of that group or national section.[17]

In most countries such action would not endanger the member, but Amnesty believes it would be wrong in principle to have two classes of membership differentiating between safe and so called dangerous countries. Some "own-country work" is permitted. A section can ask that the government of its own country sign, ratify or accede to international treaties in the field of human rights. It can ask that government refrain from changing legislation relating to the death penalty. The Canadian Section did in fact strongly oppose proposed legislation to reintroduce the death penalty in Canada. No action may be taken by a national section on an individual case of the death penalty in its own country without prior sanction by the International Executive Committee. A section may at its own request be provided with and distribute Amnesty International publications and documents concerning its own country. This action is a part of its international and not its national work. This aspect of material support may be changing because of globalization. While it is true that the many in India cannot easily afford stamps, there are at the same time tens of millions in that country who enjoy a standard of living comparable to that in the West. The diverse needs of new and differing sections place an increasing strain on the resources of the International Secretariat.

When Ian Martin, the then Secretary General, retired in June 1992, he noted that the movement had passed on to its secretariat the growing burden of its expectations. He was reluctant to accept the message that opportunities would inevitably be lost unless the movement itself provided greater resources. From his perspective it seemed that only 70% of the agenda set by the movement could be met within the limits of the resources available. By extraordinary commitment,

the secretariat accomplished 90% of the agenda only to find that the movement then focused heavily on the 10% that was not achieved.[18]

The Urgent Action Network.

Canadians have a special role in the international Urgent Action Network. Urgent Actions are most frequently issued by the International Secretariat towards the end of the working day. It is already too late for the European Sections to respond, and because of the difference in time zones Canada is usually the first country to respond. The Canadian Urgent Action Network is based on the Toronto Office; the United States Urgent Action Network is based on the West coast. The importance of the Urgent Action Network may be judged by the Amnesty response to the actions of the Chinese government in Tiananmen Square in mid 1989. In the first five days after June 4th when the killings began Amnesty International estimates that it had organized 250,000 letters and telegrams to the Chinese government. By mid September this total had risen to well over three million.[19]

Electronic mail enables the Toronto Office to receive Urgent Actions from London only 5 minutes after they are prepared. [20] In 1995 the Canadian Section responded to 275 Urgent Actions and 160 EXTRAs; that is, to actions more urgent than Urgent Actions. The network was threatened by budget cuts, and cuts in staff time prompted an increase in the use of volunteers. These are not necessarily situated in Toronto; with the help of E-mail one volunteer assists from her home hundreds of miles away. An appeal to network members for funds brought in donations of stamps, cheques and cash and the network was maintain d. [21]

The Medical Network.

Although many sections involve themselves in medical issues, only two sections, those in Canada and Denmark, have Medical Groups. Torture ceased to be an abstract issue for Canadian

physicians in the 1970s with the arrival of large numbers of tortured refugees from Latin America. Two Canadian doctors, Philip Berger, and Federico Allodi, participated in a conference on torture held in Greece. On their return, the Medical network of Amnesty International was formed in 1978.[22] Medical practitioners have a significantly higher risk of suffering human rights abuse than others. They are detained for their political beliefs, for treating patients suspected of belonging to opposition groups and for treating bullet wounds without holding the victims; they are detained for providing medical care to the rural poor, and for attempting to improve services at rural hospitals. Many have become victims of death squads or of incursions into hospitals.[23] The death or imprisonment of a doctor in a country with limited medical resources can have a serious impact on the health of the whole community.

There are about 90 physicians in the Medical group and about half that number of psychiatrists, nurses, dentists and social workers. Each member of the group is encouraged to write one letter a month on behalf of a medical colleague suffering abuse in another country. In addition the group write letters to physicians and medical associations asking that doctors refuse to participate in torture.

> AI has evidence that doctors have examined detainees prior to torture to ensure that they could survive it or to find sensitive foci. We know they have monitored the torture process so that they could stop it if the detainee was in danger of dying or had to be resuscitated. We know they have "patched up" torture victims so that they could endure further torture sessions or be made presentable for a court appearance. And we know they have provided false certificates stating that a prisoner was in good health or, if a prisoner has died, have certified a false or misleading cause of death.[24]

Doctor Don Payne, a Toronto psychiatrist, is the coordinator of the Medical Group. In an interview he tells of the special appeal that the Medical Network has to doctors and others in small towns and rural areas:

This contact is often their only contact with Amnesty International and for them to do things in the outside world. This is true of about 80% of them.[25]

Doctor Payne is recognized as a leading world expert in accurately detecting evidence of torture. Since new legislation on refugees was enacted in 1979 he has personally examined and given expert testimony before government on behalf of some 1,200 refugee claimants. Currently he routinely examines about 3 new claimants a week. In nearly every instance the government accepts his evidence that the claimant has been tortured. When questioned about this he says that lawyers are aware of his reputation and would hesitate to ask for his testimony if the claim was false.

> The Group cooperates to provide an education program for members of Refugee Determination Boards. The program will continue and Board members are becoming more understanding of refugee stories.
>
> Recently, however, Boards have become more restrictive in accepting refugees.... The agreement that a refugee be accepted is not determined by evidence of torture but only on the real fear of the refugee to go back. The Refugee Board may rule that the situation in the offending country has changed, or that there is no need for fear because torture is restricted to only certain parts of the country.[26]

Doctor Payne is one of the very few members of Amnesty to speak of personal rewards. He explains:

> Considerable intellectual stimulation is provided as your awareness of geography, politics, and cultural issues throughout the world expands. Such stimulation is often lacking in day-to-day medical practice. The courage of many of our colleagues, who hold to their beliefs despite persecution, is an inspiration both individually and to the profession as a whole. [27]

<u>The Campaign Against Torture.</u>

Jim Joyce is the Coordinator for the Campaign Against Torture. He teaches at a Quebec CEGEP and is neither a medical practitioner nor a member of the Medical Group, He first worked for Amnesty International as a volunteer when the Council Meeting was held in Montreal.

Following the Council Meeting he coordinated work at group level for a Czech prisoner Eva Kantůrcová.[28]

> I got fascinated with that case and worked on it for the group, and got involved with the group. When the Campaign for Torture had need of a coordinator this was advertised by the Section. I applied, was appointed and have continued to do that work since the 1981 campaign.[29]

Following the 1981 campaign a number of groups have accepted opposition to torture as one of their special tasks, and Jim coordinates their work. He acts as an intermediary between these groups and the International Secretariat. After 15 years of work in this field he has become one of the world's experts on torture and emphasises the social as opposed to the medical aspects. He says that the effects of torture are not limited to the victim but may extend to the family.

> Giving people electric shocks on the genitals will make them sexually dysfunctional and that in turn will create family problems - problems of sexual impotence between husband and wife. So that although the person is out of jail the effects of the torture will continue to affect them.
>
> This is also true at the level of refugee work. It's a complicating factor that people carry, an additional burden to the cultural shock of coming in to Canada.[30]

The person who has been tortured may not be willing to speak about it for many years and when they are ready to do so may be more comfortable to talk with the lay person than with a medical practitioner. Mr. Joyce speaks of this need.

> The person they open up to must be a good listener. I want them to know, that because I am not a medically trained person, they must make contact with doctors after talking to me because at some point after they've opened up they will have additional memories. I'm not going to be able to be there next time.[31]

<u>Work in Canada to Support Refugees.</u>

The Legal Network was founded in 1979 and is composed of private and public lawyers, law students, paralegals, legal academics, judges and other members of the legal community who wish

to use their skills and influence to further the aims of Amnesty International. [32] In part their work entails support to members of the Refugee Network. Members of this network respond to refugee related Urgent Actions, monitor Canadian Immigration policy and do individual case work on behalf of refugees who are in danger of being sent back to their country of origin to face persecution.[33] Amnesty International sees asylum in a foreign country to be the ultimate human right when every other safeguard has failed. In February 1994 it called on the U.N. Commission for Human Rights to take urgent and strong measures to ensure that governments put a stop to the human rights violations that cause refugees to flee. [34] These measures have not been taken and at the end of 1994 the UN High Commission for Refugees estimated the world-wide total of refugees to be in excess of 23,000,000.[35] In their individual case work members of the Refugee Network attempt to ensure that convention refugees have priority over economic refugees in gaining admission to Canada.

Often those who have left their country are the people who attempted to stop human rights abuse in their country before they left. They have a well founded fear of persecution if they return. The 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees prohibits states from forcibly returning refugees to countries in which they might suffer serious violations of their human rights. Amnesty International monitors the implementation of this customary international law which is binding on all states. It publicizes the many instances in which states fail to meet this obligation.

Summary.

There is a convention whereby political scientists classify the organizations which lobby governments as being either groups or movements. Although Amnesty International describes itself as a world-wide voluntary movement, its strong central control and explicit mandate give it many of the attributes of a group. There is widespread literature on multinational corporations and the time

has come for this to be matched by literature about multinational interest groups. There is a need to know about organizations which evaluate the political process from a viewpoint other than the importance of developing a global economy. In its organization, Amnesty International may be unique rather than representative of other international movements. Unlike the other movements it has a centrally controlled mandate which it applies equally to all its member sections. It has similar problems to the Vatican which has to consider the varying priorities and viewpoints expressed by Roman Catholics in different counties. In Amnesty, as the Latin American sections developed, there was a demand that the organization equally condemn human rights abuse by groups opposed to government and human rights violations committed by government. European sections were reluctant to take this step, fearing that by so doing they would grant recognition to the anti-government groups. In some ways this mirrors the difficulty that faces the Vatican in reconciling the views of Catholics in Eastern Europe with the liberation theology of the church in Latin America.

In the next chapter I will examine the effectiveness of Amnesty International, and the contribution made by the leadership, the bureaucracy and the wider membership towards achieving Amnesty's objectives.

1. The group in Scotland requested my assistance in finding a sponsor to enable 18 year old Milan Paterman to come to Canada. Milan was eventually sponsored but not through my efforts.

2. Letter of June 9th 1982 from Mrs.K.Butcher to Phil de Gruchy. Mrs Butcher enclosed a number of press cuttings related to the case. They included the following
Ian Rennie. "Out of Hiding" Daily Express 20th May 1982
"Minister tells of Efforts to Help Czechs" Evening Standard 18th May 1982 p.7.
Ian Metcalfe. "Don't Send Us Home" Daily Record 20th May 1982.

3. From my notes taken at a Coordinators Meeting held in Ottawa on the 6th June 1986. The principal speaker was Derek Evans, the Assistant Secretary General of Amnesty International.

4. Amnesty International Report 1984 (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1984), p.4.

5. Amnesty International Report 1986 (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1986), From Table of Contents pp.vi-viii.

6. At the Coordinators Meeting on the 6th June Derek Evans stated that the number of researchers had been increased from 42 in 1983 to 59. He added that the total paid staff of the International Secretariat is about 270.

7. 1995-1996 Annual Report of Amnesty International Canadian Section ES p.10.

8. Excerpt from a Newsletter distributed by Group 14 (West Island, Montreal) in June 1996. This newsletter is distributed partially by mail and by E-mail to those with E- mail addresses.

9. A.I.Report 1984. p.1.

10. See Table 2:1.

11. Amnesty International Report 1995 "London: Amnesty International Publications. 1995" p.13.

12. Derek Evans at Coordinator's Meeting 6th June 1996

13. Derek Evans.

14. Doctor Sakharov expressly asked to meet with representatives of Amnesty International. Roger Clark and Bernard Cyr, the President of Amnistie Canadienne met with Doctor Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner at their hotel. The Amnesty party included several members of the Canadian Secretariat, representatives of the press and two country coordinators. These were Angela Dempsey, a past Coordinator for the Soviet Union and myself as the Coordinator of the East European Regional Action Network. The quotes

from Doctor Sakharov are taken either from my notes or the subsequent article I wrote for the Group 14 Newsletter.

15. AI Report 1995. P.21.

16. Ibid. p.13.

17. Amnesty International Canadian Section (English Speaking) Manual. 1981 p.170.

18. Excerpt from a letter from Ian Martin, Secretary General , about his resignation. Quoted by Canadian Staff Member Geoff Richardson in a bulletin to Canadian Coordinators dated January 1992.

19. Amnesty International Report 1990. (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1990), pp 9,10.

20. Urgent Action Newsletter April 1993. (Toronto: Toronto Office, Amnesty International 1993) p.1.

21. 1995-1996 Report of AICS(ES), p.10.

22. Donald Payne. "The Medical Network: Saying "No" to human rights abuses." CMAJ vol 141 "Toronto, 1989" . p.238.

23. CMAJ p.237.

24. Ibid.

25. Interview with Doctor Payne in Ottawa on Saturday 8th June 1996.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Eva Kantůrková was a novelist and a member of P.E.N. In a Christmas Feuilleton in December 1977 she reminisced about an earlier Christmas and asked whether this small nation (Czechoslovakia) , like another (Judea), could produce a savior. Although she was not immediately arrested she became a target for later action. She was arrested in May 1981 and became very ill in prison. She was released in March 1982 after an appeal by P.E.N., but the charges against her were not dropped and group 14 continued to write letters on her behalf.. This was an action file of particular appeal to a teacher of English.

29. Interview with Jim Joyce in Ottawa on Sunday 9th June 1996.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Amnesty International Legal Network Letter. "Ottawa: Winter 1996" p.2.

33. Anna Pelosi. "AI's Refugee Network: What Is It and What Does it Do", Group 14 Newsletter June 1996.

34. Amnesty International Report 1995. p.28.

35. Ibid. p.25.

Chapter 4.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

The Relationship of the Canadian Section with the Canadian Government.

At the 13th International Council, held in Vienna in 1980, Amnesty International reiterated its belief that the protection of human rights is an international and not merely a national responsibility.[1] Sections have no special obligation in relation to violations of human rights in their own country, and Amnesty International has set guidelines to ensure that local interests and pressures neither influence nor appear to influence the impartiality of Amnesty judgements.[2] These guidelines require that no section be involved in work for an individual prisoner in its own country.

As a result much of the influence that Amnesty International has on the Canadian government results either from pressure by the International Secretariat, or by members from sections in countries other than Canada. To clarify the roles of leaders and members, let us examine Amnesty's reaction to a hypothetical human rights violation in Canada.

Let us assume that during a riot in a federal prison in British Columbia prison guards enter a cell and administer a beating to a prisoner who is not involved in the riot. Prisoner "X" in an adjoining cell observes this and informs the prison governor. By doing so he has placed himself at risk and for his protection the governor arranges that prisoner "X' be transferred to a federal prison in New Brunswick. The prison guards in British Columbia inform their colleagues in New Brunswick. When prisoner "X' arrives in New Brunswick he is taken to an isolated cell where he is severely beaten. He complains to his Member of Parliament who in turn telephones the Ottawa Office of Amnesty International.

The Member of Parliament will be told that the Ottawa office cannot accept the prisoner's petition, will be told the reason for this, and will be asked to pass the information to the IS in London, England. The Secretariat will provide the Member with a telephone number and possibly the name of a person to contact.

In London the researcher responsible for Canada will attempt to verify the information. Does this incident conform to a pattern of previous incidents in Canada ? Press reports will be checked , and questions may be asked of other non-government organizations such as the John Howard Society in Canada. There will probably be some communication between the International Secretariat and the Canadian Government. Should there be a need for further investigation the researcher may request that the Secretary General authorize a mission to Canada. No Canadian would be acceptable as a member of the mission.

In the event that the evidence confirms that there has been a human rights violation, and that quiet diplomacy fails to achieve Amnesty's objectives, then the researcher has various options. A press release can be issued, or there can be a threat of a press release, or an action file can be prepared. This action file will be sent to groups outside of Canada either directly or in larger sections through the national section office. The ultimate action by the IS would be the international publication of a special report of the violation or violations which had taken place.

Members of the International Executive would normally not be involved, although a member with knowledge of Canada might be utilized as a resource person. When action is taken internationally the Canadian section may request, for its own information, a list of those whose cases have been taken up by Amnesty International. This information will be provided subject to considerations of security and confidentiality.[3] The interests of individuals are paramount and

information will not be provided if it would endanger the victim of abuse or reveal the names of those have petitioned the movement. There is no record of information being withheld from the Canadian section but impartiality requires that the same rules apply to all sections.

The country by country section of Amnesty International's Annual Report will inform Canadian members of the concerns that Amnesty has with Canadian government, and the appendices will contain information about missions to Canada. The Annual Report is widely read by members of the Canadian civil service. When I have had occasion to meet with government officials it is usual for them to produce their copy of the report, and the sensitivity of government to the report may be judged by their reaction to the following examples of human rights violations in Canada.

Examples of Human Rights Violations in Canada.

Most serious was the 1984 Report on conditions in Archambault Prison in Quebec.[4] The report stated that in 1982 Amnesty had received reports that Canadian prisoners convicted of common crimes had been subjected to torture or ill treatment after a riot at Archambault Prison. The riot had been triggered by an abortive escape attempt by two prisoners. Several guards had been taken hostage. In the riot three prison guards and two prisoners had died. In April 1983 Amnesty sent a mission to Canada to investigate. The members were Hélène Jaffé of the French Section, and a staff member of the IS. The Canadian authorities granted Amnesty International access to prison employees, prisoners and records. The mission received sworn statements about torture and ill treatment from 17 prisoners and interviewed six of them. They also interviewed prisoners' families, lawyers and prison officers. The mission concluded that there were reasonable grounds to believe that torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of prisoners had occurred.

The most serious allegations were that there had been beatings, that tear gas had been sprayed directly into prisoners mouths, that prisoners had been kept naked in their cells for periods from a few days to as long as three weeks. Prisoner's food had been adulterated, and they had been deprived of sleep. Three prisoners had been choked by having wet towels wrapped tightly around their heads.[5] Amnesty International issued a "*Report on Allegations of Ill-treatment of Prisoners at Archambault Institution, Quebec, Canada*" and asked the Canadian Government to conduct a full inquiry. An inquiry was established and it found that, although prisoners had fabricated or exaggerated some allegations, there was "reliable corroborative evidence" that ill treatment had occurred. In his report on the inquiry the Correctional Investigator made a number of recommendations for improving procedures to prevent future ill treatment of prisoners. The Canadian government notified Amnesty International in July 1984 that it intended to implement these recommendations. During the investigations, Jean Claude Berheim, a director of the *Office des droits des detenu(e)s* commented on the treatment of prisoners at a news conference. As 10 prisoners were still to stand trial for murder it was held that he was guilty of contempt of court and was liable to five years imprisonment. Franca Sciuto, a member of the International Executive Committee attended his trial because Amnesty believed there may have been a violation of his right to freedom of expression. Had he been imprisoned, it is possible that he might have become a prisoner of conscience.[6] All of these activities involved direct contact between the international movement and the Canadian government without the involvement of the Canadian Section.

The 1993 report also criticized Canadian treatment of criminal prisoners. It stated that two criminal suspects, both of them Chinese immigrants, were ill-treated by members of a police Emergency Response Team in Vancouver.

> Amnesty International wrote to the BC Police Commission in September expressing concern that the degree of force described was not reasonable when it included kicking a man who was apparently offering no resistance. It stated that such action could amount to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment.[7]

The report gave details of the reply received from the Police Commission and noted that the British Columbia Attorney General had ordered an independent inquiry into municipal policing which would include a review of Emergency Response Team procedures. In the 1995 report Amnesty provided information about the Canadian inquiry into the conduct of members of their peace keeping force in Somalia, and also of the results of an investigation by a police ethics commissioner in relation to ill-treatment of Mohawk Indians in a land dispute in 1990. [8]

Exceptions to the Own Country Rule.

There are exceptions to the rule that Canadian members cannot lobby the Canadian government or take other actions in support of the Amnesty mandate in Canada. The issue of the death penalty provides two examples. Canadians can work to prevent the extradition of a criminal if the criminal is threatened with the death penalty on his return to another country, and Canadians can work to bring Canadian legislation into line with international laws, or to prevent legislation in Canada which will deviate from international norms.

The widespread use of the death penalty in the United States creates a special problem both for the Canadian Section and for the Canadian government. In its 1995 report Amnesty noted that

> The U.N. Human Rights Commission found that Canada had violated its obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) when in 1991 it extradited Charles Ng to California, USA, where he faced a capital murder charge, without seeking assurances that he would not be executed if convicted. At the time of his extradition, California's sole method of execution was the gas chamber, which the Committee said constituted cruel and unusual punishment prohibited under the ICCPR. [9]

In 1992 Amnesty had appealed to Canada not to extradite Charles Ng without seeking assurances that he would not be executed. This case illustrates the difficulty that the Canadian Section faces because of the long undefended border between Canada and the United States. It would appear that any United States murderer facing a possible death penalty in his own state could easily find a safe haven in Canada. Asylum could not be claimed under the terms of the 1951 Geneva Convention because this excludes the right of asylum to anyone who has committed a serious non political crime outside the country of refuge prior to his admission to that country as a refugee.[10] However although no claim could be made for refuge, Canada's obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights would prevent any extradition unless the United States gave guarantees that the prisoner would not be executed. The murderer could not be tried in Canada for an offence committed in the United States, and the alleged murder is not an offence committed in Canada. Legally, however, the alleged murderer could be detained indefinitely on the orders of the Canadian Attorney General as being a danger to the Canadian public.

The case would be reviewed periodically and if the United States refused to change its position the detention order would be renewed. The indefinite detention of large numbers of United States murderers in Canada at public expense would not be perceived favourably by the Canadian public. This illustrates the difficulty of defending the moral position in which the rights of murderers take precedence over the rights of the Canadian taxpayers. In rebuttal, Amnesty can claim that it is working actively even if unsuccessfully for the abolition of the death penalty in the United States and that this will eventually resolve the problem. In Canada Amnesty works not for abolition but against the threat of reintroduction of the death penalty.

The Canadian Parliament Debates a Motion to Reintroduce the Death Penalty.

In June 1987 a motion was presented to the Canadian parliament to reinstate the death penalty. This penalty had been abolished for ordinary crimes in 1976. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney spoke out against reinstatement. He argued that the death penalty did not deter crime. Canada's murder rate had reached a fifteen years low since 1976. In 1986 the murder rate had declined by 20%[11] in one year.

Letters were sent to Canadian Members of Parliament by the IS asking that they vote against reintroduction of the death penalty. This international action by Amnesty International was supplemented by intense efforts on the part of members of the Canadian section. Although there was no compulsion for them to act, they enthusiastically wrote letters to the press, sought interviews with their parliamentary representatives in local riding offices and held workshops open to the public at community centres and church halls throughout the country. In a free vote the motion to reinstate the death penalty was defeated by a vote of 148 to 127.[12]

Reasons for Opposition to the Death Penalty.

The question of the death penalty was discussed when Yelena Bonner and Doctor Andrei Sakharov met with representatives of the branch early in 1989.[13] Yelana Bonner said that Doctor Sakharov always lost popularity in the Soviet when the subject of the death penalty was introduced. Doctor Sakhorov then enumerated the following reasons for opposition to the death penalty. There was always the possibility of a judicial mistake, and statistics in countries where the death penalty had either been introduced or abolished showed no change in the rate of crime. Criminals were not deterred by the death penalty because they assumed they would not be caught. The effect of introducing the death penalty in the criminal code was to devalue other parts of the code, and finally

he believed that the incorporation of the death penalty as a part of the judicial system crippled the moral values of the whole society.

In workshops on the death penalty different members cited one or other of these reasons in support of their opposition to reintroduction. The official position of Amnesty International is that it

> seeks to save the lives of those facing the ultimate form of cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment[14]

There are other exceptions to the own country rule. For example sections will attempt to influence policy in support of those suffering human rights violations in other countries. An important exception in Canada is the right of Canadian members to intervene on refugee issues. Members of the Canadian Refugee Network regularly work to prevent refugee applicants being returned to countries in which they have a well founded fear of suffering human rights violations.

A Case Study of a Refugee Case.

Most of the work done by Canadian members concerns human rights violations in other countries. Often this will involve no more than the writing of letters to offending governments, and providing local publicity about Amnesty concerns. Members can provide local newspaper articles, or hold demonstrations, or maintain information tables in shopping centres. At times the Amnesty group can become more deeply involved. While the following case study is unique it is not atypical of the depth of involvement of Canadian members. Most long-standing groups can cite exceptional action cases in which they have been involved.

This case is important in that it demonstrates the interaction of various parts of the Amnesty organization. It commences with an action file that was issued jointly to Group 14 in Pointe Claire, Quebec and to a group in West Germany. The action file stated that Bernabe Videla Torres was one

of 21 persons arrested in Chile. He was charged with membership in the Communist Party and with committing an offence against the state. The file further stated that Bernabe had a brother living in Montreal. The facts were only determined later. There had been no conspiracy against the state and prior to their arrest the 21 did not know each other. Some time earlier Bernabe had spoken out at a meeting protesting the economic conditions of copper miners in the Antofagasta area. His name was noted by the CNI, the Chilean secret police, and was available to them when they decided to invent false evidence of a conspiracy against the state.

The CNI came early in the morning. Bernabe and his wife were still in bed. His two children were getting dressed for school. The police made no attempt to identify themselves - just said "Come with us". Bernabe's wife started to protest but he told her to be silent and went down to the plain van outside. As he got in he saw another badly beaten man already on the floor of the van. Before he could really understand this he was thrown to the floor and the police used their boots on him as the van drove around town. He was taken to a police safe house where he was tortured for several days. During the first 48 hours he was given neither food nor water. Initially he was asked no questions. This was only a softening up period. Subsequently he would have told them anything they wanted to know, but there was nothing to admit and both he and the torturer knew this.

He now received a visit from a doctor who gave him strong coffee and who in friendly conversation told him how much they admired him for the way he had stood up to torture - much better than his wife. In fact his wife had not been arrested.

The wife left at home noted a uniformed policeman outside of her house. Walking around the town she saw police outside other houses. In this way the various families were able to make a list of those arrested. However they didn't know where they had been taken. They went to the

Bishop of Antofagasta but he initially had no information. After the initial period of torture it appeared that one of those arrested would die, and the CNI sent for a priest to give him the last rites. In fact he did not die, but as a result the Bishop and thus the families learned of what was happening.

In the Action File, it was stated that the information had been received from the families. In fact it was probably received through the Vicaria, the Catholic Human Rights Organization in Chile. With Eric Dhiel, a group member and teacher of Spanish, I went through the Montreal telephone directory, and we contacted the only man named Videla. The immediate reaction was very suspicious and negative. "Who are you ? What do you want ?" Eric explained that we were members of Amnesty International and explained what Amnesty International was. He gave Eduardo the telephone numbers of Amnesty International in Montreal and Ottawa, asked that they identify me as a member and when he was satisfied call back. We waited nervously but eventually the call came. From Eduardo we learned that there were in fact three brothers besides Bernabe. Two, Eduardo and Nelson were in Canada, and the third, Hugo, was still in Chile. We also learned that Bernabe had made application to come to Canada on the basis of family association. The application had been denied because there was insufficient proof of its authenticity. He had been told he could reapply when he had received further documents from his brothers. He had been rearrested before he could meet this requirement.

We in the group wrote letters to Chilean authorities asking for Bernabe's release, and letters to Rod Blaker, our local Member of Parliament. Nelson and Eduardo wrote letters to their M.P.s. We also wrote to Ottawa to Sue Hill, Amnesty's country coordinator for Chile. She raised the issue through the desk officer at External Affairs, and also contacted other human rights organizations having concerns in Chile.

In February 1981 the group received a letter from the Minister of Immigration saying that Bernabe's case was under review and that we would receive further information in six to eight weeks Meantime, through Eduardo, we were in contact with Bernabe's wife in Chile. Torture had been discontinued at the conclusion of the initial five day pre-detention period. However she had a new fear. The prisoners were to be taken by road to Santiago, and given the record of "disappearances" in Chile she feared they would be executed in the desert en route. Organizations other than Amnesty International arranged that there be a reception for the police transport when it arrived in Santiago. The intent was to provide some protection by creating publicity about the event.

Bernabe arrived safely in Santiago but he had a new fear - he was being investigated by another organization known only by its acronym. We telephoned the researcher at the IS and found that this was in fact a German Protestant human rights organization in Chile. We were able to reassure Bernabe's wife and through her, Bernabe himself.

Bernabe was tried and sentenced to 541 days of internal exile in Nipas, a wine growing area near the border of Argentina. He shared accommodation in a wooden building with a local priest, and subsequently his wife and children were able to join him there.

The action continued through the work of a Toronto lawyer, himself a member of Amnesty International. A study of Chilean law disclosed that if a person in internal exile was granted immigrant status to another country then he must be allowed to leave. Through pressure on External Affairs, and following several phone calls by the lawyer to the Canadian Embassy in Chile, it was arranged that an embassy member travel to Nipas to talk with Bernabe. This in the face of bitter complaints from the Embassy about the state of the roads they would have to drive over.

Bernabe and his family were accepted as immigrants and members of the group had the pleasure of meeting him and his family when they arrived in Canada.

The Privileged Relationship of Amnesty International with Government.

Amnesty International enjoys a privileged position when human rights issues are discussed by the Canadian government. It is regularly invited to participate in government discussions involving human rights. There is a price to pay. The information which it provides must at all times be accurate. Otherwise the privilege could be lost. Most frequently it is the Secretary General who speaks for the branch. The 1995-1996 Annual Report listed some of his activities.

> These included participation in a round-table on Canada China policy (June 27), the proposed International Criminal Court (ICC), Canada's role in the Organization of American States (OAS), and a meeting of OSCE Parliamentarians (hosted by Canada in July). In view of trips to China and Indonesia by the Canadian Commissioner for Human Rights (Max Yalden), there has been a series of meetings designed to place AI concerns on the agenda of matters discussed. [15]

The Secretary General was also involved in the human rights training of Foreign Affairs officials and with a group of officers with the Department of National Defence.

There are in the Canadian Section some 38 volunteer members named as Country Coordinators. Each specializes in either a single country or a small group of countries. They maintain close contact with the relevant researchers in the International Secretariat, and independently study media reports to become experts on the background of their countries. Many of them have held their positions for long periods and in the course of time have gained considerable respect from the desk officers in the Department of Foreign Affairs. Desk Officers usually move to differing posts after a period of three to four years. Here, Margaret John the coordinator for Malaysia and Singapore, speaks of her relationship with a new desk officer.

When there is a new desk officer I telephone and introduce myself, welcome him to his new position, and explain that I have had a good constructive relationship with his predecessors. I tell him I would like to continue that relationship, and tell him I would like to discuss what that relationship entails.

I suggest that on a low level of communication we exchange information without request. For example if Foreign Affairs receives a fax from the post in Singapore about the death penalty, or some arrest, or an important political development then that fax will also be faxed to me. I can then decide what should be done about it. I will do the same with some of our material - send it to the desk officer - no request[16].

Sometimes Mrs. John receives information which is of great importance to the International Secretariat and sometimes she can provide material important to Foreign Affairs. She goes on to talk about the need for making special requests on behalf of Amnesty International.

There is always a request for information on anything that has a Canadian angle. For example when a person is adopted by a Canadian group I will want some action. Maybe only an inquiry about that prisoner in Singapore, or at a slightly higher level a request for that person's release.

Finally I would ask for rather more high level approaches from the Canadian government. To the Singapore High Commissioner in Canada, or through the Canadian post in Singapore to the Singapore government.[17]

She notes that in approaches to Foreign Affairs it is important that they determine the action they will take. Her role is to show the need for action, but to let them choose the method with which they feel most comfortable. It is important that they feel ownership of the action. Finally it is important to say "thank you" when action is taken:

I always say "thank you" and always phone afterwards to express my appreciation. I think that kind of follow up is very important. I don't think we should take others' efforts for granted.[18]

The Canadian Section is represented on the NGO/government annual consultations on the UN Commission on Human Rights. These consultations take place in late January prior to Canadian government representatives participating in the annual meeting of the United Nations High

Commission on Human Rights in Geneva in March. The section is represented in the initial regional meetings by country coordinators for the major countries in the region, and in the later consultations by the Secretary General and staff members. Typically, section participation is a two-step process, commencing with multi-lateral meetings involving the government and some 50 non-government organizations. Subsequently there is a bilateral meeting between Amnesty representatives and members of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Prior to these consultations the section is briefed by the International Secretariat with up to the minute details about countries for which Amnesty has particular concern. As a result Amnesty representatives are often better informed on human rights violations than are their government counterparts. In 1996, Amnesty had particular concerns on China, Turkey, Indonesia and East Timor, Colombia and Nigeria.

The work of Canadian members in networks and the specialized groups involves in both direct communication with government, and indirect communication through influencing Canadian public opinion. The Legal Network, the Medical Network and the MEC/MSP Group are examples of members trying to directly influence government. The activities of Youth and Student Groups are an example of indirect influence: they offer plays, classroom presentations and information tables to influence their peers. The 1995-96 Annual Report noted that there are now more than 300 such Youth and Student Groups in Canada. Other specialized groups reach out to differing segments of the community. The Trade Union Outreach Coordinator produces a quarterly Labour Action Sheet using a computer and printer donated by the Canadian Labour Congress, the Religious Network distributes quarterly mailings to many religious communities throughout Canada.

Summary.

The leadership and the bureaucracy have a vital role in the work of Amnesty International but it remains essentially a grassroots movement dependent on the mobilisation of its many members and supporters in every province of this country. Within the movement members have freedom to choose the field of activity that appeals to them. The future is a time of challenge for Amnesty International, a challenge not only to its leadership and to its bureaucracy, but a challenge also to its membership. In the next chapter I will examine some of these challenges in greater detail.

1. "Guidelines on National Sections' Activities Concerning violations of Human Rights in Their Own Countries." were adopted at the 13th Council Meeting. The preamble to these guidelines states that "Amnesty International was founded in the belief that the protection of human rights is an international and not merely a national responsibility."

2. Amnesty International Canadian Section (English Speaking) Manual. 1981.

3. Ibid.

4. Amnesty International Report 1984. (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1984) pp. 133,134.

5. Ibid p.133.

6. Ibid p.134.

7. Amnesty International Report 1993 (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1993) p.87.

8. Ibid.

9. Amnesty International Report 1995. (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1995) pp. 92,93.

10. "The Politics of Hijacking" Guardian Weekly 155,10 (1996), p.12.

11. Amnesty International Report 1988. (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1988) p.99.

12. Ibid.

13. See Endnote 13 Chapter 3.

14. Amnesty International Report 1993. p.15

15. 1995-1996 Annual Report of Amnesty International Canadian Section ES p.18.

16. Personal interview with Margaret John in Ottawa 7th June 1996.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

Chapter 5.

CURRENT CHALLENGES.

The Rights of Women.

A current issue being debated by the members is the violation of the rights of women. Women claim that the majority of human rights violations involve women or children. Traditionally most action by Amnesty International has been directed to the violation of the human rights of men. Amnesty International's mandate makes no special provision for those categories of human rights violation which apply only to women. This in part reflects Amnesty International's concern that it may be perceived as an organisation which imposes Western standards on people of other cultures. It therefore bases its actions on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and on the network of global and regional conventions, treaties and standards that support this declaration. Between them they have come to constitute not only international law, but also world law. Unfortunately this world law fails to provide standards which are important for the full protection of women's human rights. In situations where these rights are being abused it often fails to provide recommendations on remedies which are available to women and girl-children.[1]

At the Fourth UN World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995 the issue of human rights was included in the conference agenda for the first time. Amnesty International was represented at this Conference by a six person delegation. This delegation asked governments to

* Reaffirm their commitment to universality and indivisibility of the human rights of women.
* Recognize and end state violence against women, bring perpetrators to justice, and compensate the victims.
* Protect the human rights of women and girl children during armed conflict.
* Protect the human rights of women activists.

* Ratify and implement international treaties that have an impact on the human rights of women. Work towards eradicating violence like female genital mutilation, in the family and in society[2]

Amongst other agreements they agreed to combat and eliminate all forms of violence against women in private and public life, to recognize rape in armed conflict as a war crime, and to accept gender persecution as a recognized ground for refugee status. As a result of the Beijing Conference representatives of 189 countries reached agreement on a *Platform for Action* which agreed to actively promote and protect the human rights of women.[3] However there was no agreement on any form of enforcement mechanism that could be applied to a state that failed to fulfil its responsibilities.

Amnesty International recognizes a key role for itself and similar non-government organizations in helping to ensure compliance with the human rights sections of this platform. There is a problem because there is no international agency to deal with this kind of work. Amnesty would have to provide finance and resources to monitor the actions of governments in the new areas that relate to the rights of women. What are the rights of women ? For example, in the legal sense, female mutilation is not a violation of any legally established international right.[4] This makes it difficult both to monitor and to oppose. Traditionally Amnesty International has opposed actions by government but some violations of women's rights, for example bride burning in India, which results not from government action but from government inaction. It would clearly be within the mandate for Amnesty to oppose the burning of women by officials of the Indian government or on government instructions. This is not the problem; the burning of brides is illegal in India and it is a criminal offence to burn a bride. Unfortunately the Indian government sometimes fails to enforce this law. Clearly, bride burning is a violation of the rights of a woman. It is less clear to define the practical steps Amnesty can initiate to end the practice.

Where should Amnesty draw the line ? There are other violations to the rights of women besides genital mutilation and bride burning. Should Amnesty bring its resources to bear on these two and ignore debt bondage, slavery, forced abortions, and forced sterilization ? [5] These are not going to be easy problems for the organization to resolve.

Human Rights in a Global Economy.

The rights of women are only one of the issues confronting Amnesty International. At the 1995 Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Section the relationship of trade and human rights was identified as one that required further detailed study. [6] The AGM challenged the expressed belief of the Canadian Government and of International corporations that trade of itself would lead to improvements in human rights. Other organizations in Canada and elsewhere had assembled a significant body of information which contrasted this government view. The assembly asked that Amnesty should focus on this information and determine an action strategy which could be accomplished within the organization's existing guidelines.

Pierre Sané, the current Secretary General of Amnesty International, addressed the Canadian Coordinators in April 1996. He said that the issue for Amnesty International is not trade or human rights, not trade and maybe human rights tomorrow, but human rights period. The case for human rights can be put in very practical and economic terms - human rights are good for business. Any government which establishes an insuperable barrier between those with power and those without inevitably fosters a climate of instability. The fact that business people are generally only interested in this year's balance sheet but lack respect for human rights should raise a warning. A country which tortures and kills its citizens with impunity is a country in which the rule of law has disappeared. A respect for the rule of law and contracts is essential to business. He did not ask that

corporations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization withhold their investments from such countries. They should instead use them for leverage.

> They should adopt codes of conduct and insist to the government with which they deal that human rights matter to them. And they should do this not just because it is right but because to do otherwise is strategically an unsound business decision. [7]

This leadership position is a long way from the original mandate of working for individual prisoners of conscience because it was morally right to do so. Some members are prepared to go further. Patrick Kavanagh is a member of the Canadian Section who has returned to Canada after living for three years in China. The Canadian Section, in *The Activist*, publishes his views on the role of Amnesty International. The Section insists that his remarks not be reprinted in whole or in part without this qualification.[8]

Kavanagh sees Amnesty International involved in a struggle between an emerging international human rights system which he defines as world law, and an East Asian model which stresses the priority of economic over political rights, combined with a Confucian ideal of harmony achieved through submission to authority. In his view the Universal Declaration of Human Rights set the cornerstone of an international human rights system which comprises dozens of global and regional conventions, treaties, and standards. These have been woven into national codes so that we no longer speak of international law but of world law. The aim of world law is modest. It seeks to withhold a measure of power from the state and deliver it to the individual. This provides the individual with a measure of defence against official abuse. The East Asian model places the state interest above individual liberties. It is a model which jeopardizes all human rights conventions and it is one which is gaining support even among Canada's parliamentarians both federal and provincial.[9]

Some years ago I appeared as a witness before a parliamentary committee. I had the opportunity to hear another witness, Frank Petrie, the President of the Canadian Export Association. He represented 300 executives of private firms working on committees covering various export issues. On the issue of human rights and trade he said:

> I get very nervous when we mix human rights and trade. I look at Canada as the country store in a small town. I think the operator of that country store, the proprietor, does not refuse to sell to somebody because he beats his wife or because he is a racist or because he swears. He has to sell to everybody.[10]

Kavanagh believes that such attitudes could lead to a debased world law. In such a world, there could be exalted human rights standards but no government would have the courage to uphold them.[11] Amnesty International never calls for a total ban on trade as a remedy for human rights abuse, but it advocates that human rights always be a consideration in trade between two countries.

Patrick Kavanagh is not the only member to express concerns at the excesses of a global economy. A recent newsletter of the Legal Group focused on trade, human rights and corporate codes of conduct. [12] It held that trade practices in the third world can be influenced by action taken in the United States and Canada. A current poll in the United States indicates that Americans will not buy from a retailer they know to be sourcing from sweatshops. An important victory for human rights was recently achieved by an American retailer, the Gap.

Mandarin, a Taiwanese firm supplying J.C.Penney, Eddie Bauer, Dayton-Hudson, Wal-Mart as well as The Gap, has been accused of abusing its 900 mostly female workers and paying "starvation wages". In June 1995 the company fired 186 workers from its El Salvador plant in the San Marcos Free trade Zone for their involvement in the area's first union. At about the same time, union leaders were kidnapped and tortured by unknown assailants. [13]

Representatives of "The Gap" met with the National Labour Committee and agreed to a meeting of union members in the office of the Salvadoran Labour Ministry. They discussed the reinstatement of the fired workers. Under pressure from "The Gap" it was agreed that independent human rights monitors should be free to monitor the source plant's compliance with "The Gap's" sourcing principles and guidelines. This is the first time a company has allowed external evaluation of its adherence to codes of conduct. However, the agreement was strongly opposed by the US National Retailers Association.

"The Gap" also agreed to translate its Code of Conduct into Spanish and to post it in its source plants. This too met with objections from other industry members. Mandarin is not legally bound by these agreements but if a fair settlement is not reached "The Gap" will no longer do business with the company.

The conduct of industry in undeveloped countries is coming increasingly under scrutiny. A draft United Nations Code of Conduct on Transnational Corporations has been prepared and in 1991 the US Senate set out standards of behaviour for US companies operating in China. This code includes a ban on US corporate involvement in goods produced by China's extensive prison labour system. [14]

The action taken in support of workers in the third world currently falls outside of Amnesty's mandate The organization accepts petitions for many forms of human rights violation, but a petition for loss of employment is not something it will act upon. This may have to change, and if it does so Amnesty may be called on to target transnational retailers as well as governments. It may have to develop techniques for action in this field. In an interview with John Argue, a country coordinator from Vancouver, I asked if he envisaged greater contact between Amnesty and business in the future. He replied:

> Yes I think so. I think just the realization that as human rights issues are changing around the World, the possibility of lobbying for change exists with business and multinationals, the real governments of the World. So volunteers will increase their knowledge of how to influence business attitudes and actions that have effect in the countries where human rights abuses occur.[15]

The Challenge of Responding to Crisis Situations.

The widening focus on human rights is driving Amnesty International towards change. It is not certain that the organization has the resources to accomplish all that people perceive as its legitimate goals.

Events in Bosnia, Rwanda and Burundi have placed great strain on Amnesty International. In the past it has not seen that it had a major role in war situations as these were more the concern of the Red Cross. However, the nature of war is changing. Currently there are no wars between states but there are some 40 intra-state conflicts. These are conflicts very productive of human rights excesses. For example, Urgent Actions were devised as a response to human rights abuse against one individual or a small number of individuals; a call to action could be made on one or two 8" X 10" sheets and it was clear to whom an appeal should be made. The events in Rwanda and Bosnia have required as many as ten large packages of information distributed over a period of time. It is difficult to advise members of the way to respond to these crises as there may be no central authority to which an appeal can be made. In the crisis area there may a complete disruption of the communications network - no telephones, no mail service. It may be difficult to determine the right response in a crisis; there should be some evaluation of the effectiveness of differing responses, but given the urgency to take prompt action there is often no time for evaluation. [16]

The challenge of a crisis is twofold: the problem of dealing with the crisis itself and the stress caused to the rest of the movement's activities by the redirection of a large part of its resources to the crisis. To give just one example, the Branch Secretary General, Roger Clark, participated

in three missions to the Great Lakes area of Africa in 1996. It was inevitable that his absence from Ottawa should have an effect on Branch activities. In chapter 4 I indicated that it was the Secretary General who most frequently speaks for the Branch. His long experience assists Amnesty in negotiations with the Canadian government. In his absence other staff members must fulfil his role, they may do it less well and in the process be forced to neglect their normal duties.

Summary.

Amnesty has survived many challenges in the past but it has never been more challenged than it is today. How will it achieve change ? The evidence is that it is a democratic movement dependent on the initiatives taken by its wide membership. The future of Amnesty International may well be a test of democracy in action. Much will depend on the membership. The final chapter will survey the responses to the questionnaire which provide a profile of the membership of the English Speaking Branch, and its preferences and its resources as Amnesty International prepares to face the challenge of the future.

1. Cheryl Hotchkiss. "The human rights of women and the Platform for Action" The Activist. (Ottawa: Amnesty International Canadian Section (ES), Feb/Mch 1986) p.7.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. David Matas speaking at a workshop "Ljubliana and Beyond" in Ottawa June 1995.

It is important to distinguish between human rights abuse and human rights violations. There is a violation only where there has been contravention of a law. Female genital mutilation in Canada is a human rights violation because of the recent amendment to the Criminal Code made by Bill C-27. There is no similar international law or generally accepted convention. The United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment is binding only on the signatories. Twenty three African countries have not yet signed the Convention. These include Angola, Eritrea, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan and South Africa have signed but not ratified their agreement.

Only countries which sign Article 22 of the Convention accept the right of the international Committee against Torture to consider individual complaints of violations. Only one African country, Algeria, has signed Article 22. Amnesty International reserves the right to act against abuse not covered by law. For example it calls for total abolition of the death penalty even though the death penalty contravenes no internationally accepted law. Amnesty International may eventually include opposition to female genital mutilation in its mandate. It will do so only after a full discussion of the issue and after acceptance by a resolution by an International Council Meeting.

Davis Matas's workshop was a part of the process of bringing this and similar issues before the membership. A part of the democratic process within the movement.

5. Ibid.

6. Resolution 21: Human Rights and Trade. AICS(ES) 1995 Annual General Meeting, Victoria, British Columbia, June 1955.

7. Pierre Sané. "Human Rights are everybody's business" The Activist. (Ottawa: Amnesty International Canadian Section (ES), June/July 1996) p.8.

8. Patrick Kavanagh. "China's threat to human rights" The Activist. (Ottawa: Amnesty International Canadian Section (ES), Feb/Mch 1996) p.6.

9. Ibid.

10. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade. Issue no.14 dated Aug 19th 1986. p.13.

11. Kavanagh p.6.

12. Legal Network Newsletter "Ottawa: Winter 1996."

13. Craig Forcese. "Overcoming the Gap: New "The Gap" Code of Conduct Plugs Holes" Legal Network Newsletter. (Ottawa: Winter 1996)

14. Ibid p.2.

15. John Argue in a taped interview in Ottawa, June 1996.

16. Marilyn McKim speaking at a Workshop on Crisis Response. Ottawa June 1996.

Chapter 6.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

Distribution and Response.

Questionnaires were sent to groups and individuals as shown in Chart 6:1. My intent was to reach a cross section of the members of AICS(ES). Sixty eight percent of the questionnaires were sent from Waterloo, thirty two percent were distributed with the regular Network Newsletters that are mailed from the Ottawa (Vanier) office. There was no mailing to the large Urgent Action Network which receives Newsletters from Toronto Office and not from Ottawa. Nevertheless, I expected that a large number of responses would be received from members of the popular Urgent Action Network, as many Amnesty group members are also members of this network. The majority of members of Amnesty International are people who send donations to the organisation but do not take part in other activities. Prior to 1996 these members were referred to as "supporters". Though they are now included in the "membership" it was inappropriate to include them in this survey since their membership is limited to financial support. In this study I have focussed on group or network involvement. Packets of 10 questionnaires were sent to each of the 112 groups or writing circles in the branch. A large reply paid envelope was included with each package and each was coded with the group number. Other questionnaires were distributed singly, the majority with reply paid envelopes. Approximately half of the groups that responded used the reply paid envelopes but few returned all 10 questionnaires. Some groups distributed all or some of their questionnaires to group members and asked the group members to return them under separate cover. By the 15th March 1997 I received five hundred and seven responses, a response rate of 26%. Responses received after that date were ignored.

TABLE 6:1
DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRES.

SOURCE	DESTINATION	PACKAGE	TOTAL
WATERLOO	GROUPS	112 x 10	1,120
WATERLOO	FIELDWORKERS & COORDINATORS	SINGLE COPIES	210
OTTAWA	LETTER WRITING NETWORK	SINGLE COPIES	400
OTTAWA	TEACHER'S NETWORK	SINGLE COPIES	200
OTTAWA	OTHER NETWORK LEADERS	SINGLE COPIES	20
TOTAL			1,950

Table 6:2 gives the geographical distribution of these responses.

TABLE 6:2

RESPONDENTS AND THEIR PROVINCES OF RESIDENCE.

PROVINCE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	%
NEWFOUNDLAND.	10	7	17	3.4%
NOVA SCOTIA.	4	8	12	2.4%
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.	0	4	4	0.8%
NEW BRUNSWICK.	2	4	6	1.2%
QUEBEC	6	21	27	5.4%
ONTARIO	96	150	246	49.4%
MANITOBA	4	13	17	3.4%
SASKATCHEWAN	8	16	24	4.8%
ALBERTA	8	17	25	5.0%
BRITISH COLUMBIA	44	66	110	22.1%
YUKON	0	3	3	0.6%
THE TERRITORIES	2	5	7	1.4%
TOTAL	184	314	498	100.0%
5 DID NOT DISCLOSE THEIR PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE AND 4 THEIR SEX.				

The Questionnaire.

The questionnaire was designed to support four areas of this study; a demographic comparison of the age distribution of amnesty members with that of the general public; a study of members' special characteristics and of the resources they bring to the organisation; a study of the benefits which encourage continued membership; and finally a study of the members' belief that they can influence the policies of the organisation.

Demographics

David Foot contends that confident predictions can be made on the basis of two keys.

> The two keys to these forecasts are the number of people in each age group and the probability that each person will participate in a given behaviour. Express the number of people doing a certain thing as a percentage of the number of people in the population and you get the activity participation rate for the society as a whole. [1]

According to Statistics Canada, in 1996 there were more people in the age ranges 30 to 50 than in other age ranges. Each year this age group, which is often referred to as the "baby boomers", grows one year older, so that ten years from now we can expect there will be more people in the age ranges 40 to 60 than in other age ranges. This is the age range from which Amnesty International draws a majority of its members. More than 50% of Amnesty members are between the ages of 40 and 65. (See Table 6:3). In table 6:4 I compare the age distribution of Amnesty members with that of the general population.

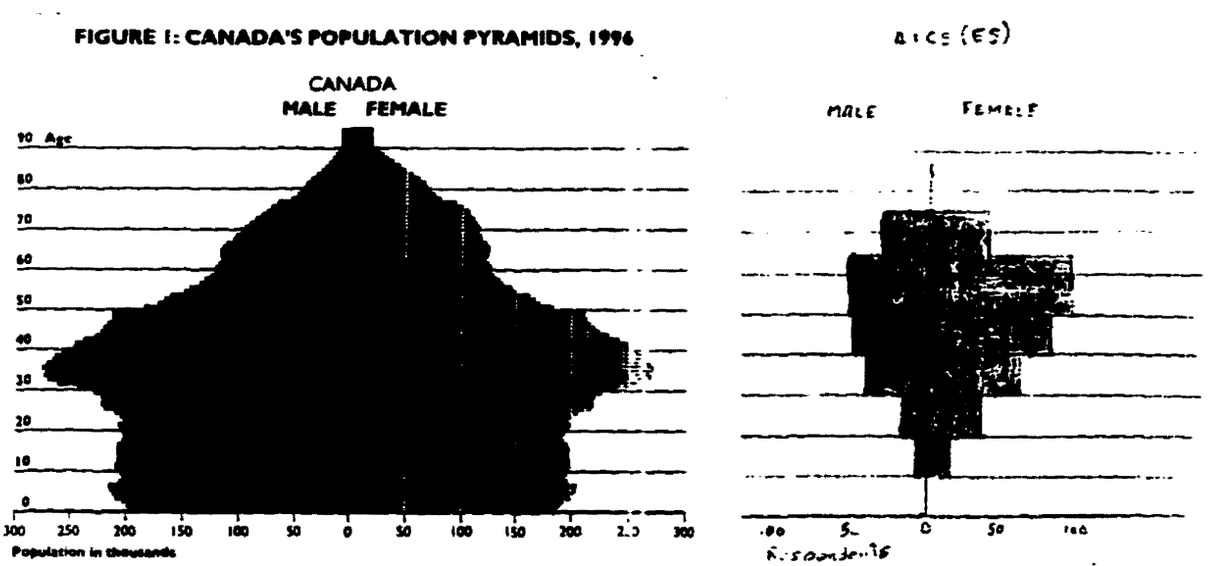
TABLE 6:3

RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUP.

	UNDER 21	21 TO 30	31 TO 40	41 TO 50	51 TO 65	OVER 65
MEN	6	18	39	46	48	30
WOMEN	16	34	57	79	87	42
# RESPONDENTS	22	52	96	125	135	72
AS A PERCENTAGE	4%	15%	19%	25%	27%	14%

TABLE 6:4

A COMPARISON OF THE AGES OF AMNESTY MEMBERS WITH THE AVERAGE AGE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION.



Members' Resources

From these graphs it might be assumed that Amnesty is entering a period favourable to growth in membership. In a recent study[2] David Foot contends that when we attempt to foretell the future demographics explain about two-thirds of everything. This is questionable, but even assuming Foot is right, one third of the future of AICS(ES) will still be determined by other factors. One factor to be examined is the current use by Amnesty members of computers and E-mail. Table 6:5 shows that the majority members below the age of 65 have access to a computer. It also shows that while 58% of members between the ages of 21 and 50 have E-mail addresses, in the age range 51 to 65 only 38% have E-mail addresses . This would suggest that 10 years from now a much higher percentage of Amnesty members will use E-mail.

TABLE 6:5

RESPONDENTS HAVING ACCESS TO A COMPUTER AND THOSE HAVING AN E-MAIL ADDRESS CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUP.

AGE	UNDER 21	21 TO 30	31 TO 40	41 TO 50	51 TO 65	OVER 65	TOTAL
WITH ACCESS	16	44	80	107	91	28	366
NO ACCESS	6	8	16	20	43	42	135
WITH E-MAIL	11	34	54	70	51	13	233
NO E-MAIL	11	18	41	56	82	55	263

The widespread availability of E-mail addresses will offer Amnesty members quicker and cheaper methods of disseminating information. However, care will have to be taken that those who do not have E-mail addresses and even some who do not have access to a computer are not alienated from the movement.. E-mail also offers the opportunity of easier access to those who violate human rights. Where in the past a member might send a letter to the President and possibly the Minister of Justice of an offending country, in the future with little additional effort the member will be able

to E-mail many ministers, executives of companies and executives of companies in Canada trading with the offending country. This is an option which requires study both by the bureaucracy and the membership at the national and international level. At some level the additional lobbying could become counter-productive.

Amnesty is not alone as it confronts the challenge of the next decade. Many hundreds of movements and action groups face similar challenges. To recognize this is to recognize the pressing need for further studies of the interaction between governments, business, and action groups.

Characteristics of the Membership.

Although demographics favour growth in the membership of AICS(ES), it would be unwise for its members to sit back and await the golden age of recruitment. Foot admits that predictions are also affected by such social factors as marital status and ethnicity. For example, if a group recruits only from those who have studied in university, education levels would have to be factored into the prediction of future growth.. Accurate predictions require a study of the special characteristics of the group members if they differ from the characteristics of the general population. Responses to the questionnaire identify some special characteristics that identify Amnesty members. In table 6:6 I compare the education level of the members of Amnesty International with average national levels in 1996. In Table 6:7 I make similar comparisons with respect to income.

TABLE 6:6 [3]

COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATION LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS WITH EDUCATIONAL LEVELS TAKEN FROM NATIONAL STATISTICS.

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION	UP TO GRADE 9	UP TO GRADE 12	COLLEGE OR TECH DIPLOMA	UNIV. UP TO UNDERGRAD	POST GRAD. STUDIES
MEN	3	11	21	64	87
WOMEN	4	20	46	103	140
TOTAL	7	31	67	167	227
% OF RESPONDENTS	1%	6%	13%	34%	46%
% NATIONALLY	14%	43%	UNAVAILABLE	UNAVAILABLE	<11%

TABLE 6:7[4]

A COMPARISON OF THE INCOME OF RESPONDENTS WITH LEVELS OF INCOME OF ALL CANADIANS.

	BELOW $20,000	$20,000 TO $50,000	$50,000 $75,000	$75,000 TO $100,000	OVER $100,000
PERSONAL INCOME . AI MEMBER	153	201	67	13	3
PERCENTAGE AT EACH LEVEL	35%	46%	15%	3%	1%
FAMILY INCOME. AI MEMBER	28	139	95	62	31
PERCENTAGE AT EACH LEVEL	7.8 %[5]	39.2%	26.8%	17.5%	8.7%
FAMILY INCOME NAT. AVERAGE	12.1%	40.4%	26.4%	12.5%	8.7%

As previously mentioned Berry contends that education and wealth are factors which encourage individuals to join groups. Tables 6:6 on education levels supports this contention, but Table 6:7 shows that the income of Amnesty members at differing levels of income mirrors the national statistics.

Table 6:8 examines ethnicity and shows the strong predominance of those of European descent in AICS(ES).[6] Since Amnesty contends that human rights are a universal concern, AICS(ES) should ask itself why it fails to attract as members individuals who are not of European descent.

TABLE 6:8

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "WHERE WERE YOU BORN ?"

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA.	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	%
CANADA	363	71.7%
UNITED STATES	27	5.3%
BRITAIN	66	13.0%
WESTERN EUROPE	22	4.3%
EASTERN EUROPE	7	1.4%
REST OF THE WORLD	21	4.2%

There were no respondents from Central or South America, nor were there any from the Caribbean, in spite of the fact that 16% of the immigrants to Canada during the years 1981 to 1991 came from these regions.[7]

Members of Amnesty International are engaged in a wide range of occupations, some are manual labour, such as forester, carpenter, longshoreman, and auto-worker, but white collar occupations predominate Table 6:9 lists the number of respondents in each of the major categories that emerged from the study:

TABLE 6:9

RESPONSES LISTING OCCUPATIONS

PROFESSOR, TEACHER, OTHER EDUCATORS	109	22%
RETIRED	98	20%
STUDENTS	56	11%
HOMEMAKERS	22	5%
WRITERS, JOURNALISTS, EDITORS	22	5%
LAWYERS, LAW STUDENTS	11	2%
LIBRARIANS, LIBRARY WORKERS	10	2%
NURSES	9	2%
ACCOUNTANTS	7	1%
SOCIAL WORKERS	6	1%
UNEMPLOYED	6	1%
ENGINEERS	5	1%
PHYSICIANS	5	1%
ADMINISTRATORS	5	1%
INDEPENDENT BUSINESS OWNERS	5	1%
NOT IN ANY OF THE ABOVE CATEGORIES	119	20%

Berry defined the four major roles of an interest group as follows. Representing their constituents before government; affording individuals the opportunity to participate in the political process; educating the public about political issues; and agenda building by bringing to light new issues.[8] The preponderance of educators amongst members of AICS(ES) would support Berry when he contends that educating the public on political issues is an important role for a group.

Benefits offered by Amnesty International to its members.

The questionnaire listed 20 possible activities in which members were able to participate. Respondents were asked to identify the activity which appealed the most, and then in descending order the next four that appealed to them. They were also asked which activity had the least appeal.

The responses are listed in Tables 6:10 and 6:11. Respondents overwhelmingly selected the four activities that related directly to people rather than to issues. They prefer writing letters in response to urgent appeals on behalf of individuals rather than writing letters asking governments to change laws or policies. Actions on behalf of individuals rank 1,2 and 3 in their preferences, work in regional action networks, which only sometimes include actions for individuals, ranked much lower in their list of preferences. This is a factor that must be considered as Amnesty International widens its mandate. Can an issue such as opposition to female genital mutilation be combatted by an appeal on behalf of individuals ? Is it an activity that can be delegated to the membership for action or will lobbying be confined to statements from the Secretary General or members of the Secretariat ? Would the movement be adversely affected by a change in the methods used to achieve its mandate ?. The primary purpose of Amnesty International, as declared in its mandate, is to oppose human right abuse. Nowhere in the mandate is there mention of offering benefits to membership. However if members receive no benefits will membership continue to fall ? Will a fall in membership prejudice the work Amnesty International is currently doing to oppose human rights abuse ?

The first three columns in Table 6:10 give details of respondent's first preference. They show the numbers of respondents who selected a particular activity, the percentage of respondents who selected that activity, and a ranking of respondent's preferences in descending order. The second three columns are based on the respondent's first five choices, each choice being given equal value. Once again they show the number of respondents selecting an activity, the percentage, and a revised ranking based on the percentages in column 5. There are certain activities that appeal strongly to some individuals but have less appeal to the membership in general. The first three columns identify support for these activities and this is important because it identifies a resource

available to AICS(ES). It is, for example, important that there are 21 who enjoy organising. The second three columns reflect the wider perception of the value of various activities. Of special significance is a comparison of the rankings in column 3 with those in column 6. To give an example "organising" ranks 5th in column 3 but only 15th in column 6. It is an important activity for a minority but of lower importance to the general membership. Significantly, activities which involve working on behalf of an individual rank 1, 2, and 3 in both columns 3 and 6, illustrating the previously mentioned strong preference for working for named people rather than other activities.

"Attending group meetings" ranked 7th in column 3 but 5th in column 6. From this it may be inferred that companionship is an important benefit to at least a part of the membership.

TABLE 6:10

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION WHICH ACTIVITIES ARE MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU?

ACTIVITY	FIRST CHOICE	%	RANK	IN FIRST FIVE	%	RANK
RESPONDING TO APPEALS FOR URGENT ACTION	172	37	1	299	14	1
WORK FOR AN ADOPTED PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE	81	18	2	241	11	2
RESPONDING TO APPEALS IN THE "ACTIVIST"	47	10	3	201	9	3
CAMPAIGNING AGAINST TORTURE	22	5	4	172	8	4
ORGANISING AT BRANCH, REGIONAL OR NATIONAL LEVEL	21	5	5	66	3	15
COORDINATION AT GROUP OR NATIONAL LEVEL	17	4	6	46	2	17
TAKING PART IN GROUP MEETINGS	15	3	7	168	8	5
OPPOSING THE VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN	12	3	8	155	7	6
OUTREACH IN MALLS, SCHOOLS, RELIGIOUS GROUPS	11	3	9	144	7	7
GROUP WORK IN REGIONAL ACTION NETWORKS	10	2	10	79	4	11
CAMPAIGNING AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY	9	2	11	130	6	8
PUBLICITY - NEWSPAPERS, T.V., RADIO.	8	2	12	74	4	12
WORK ON INVESTIGATION CASES ASSIGNED TO A GROUP	6	1	13	69	3	13
FUND RAISING	6	1	14	96	4	9
PARTICIPATING IN PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS	6	1	15	84	4	10
GROUP WORK ASSISTED BY A COORDINATOR	5	1	16	30	1	18
WORK WITH ARTIST'S, TEACHER'S OR OTHER NETWORKS	4	1	17	69	3	14
OTHER ACTIVITIES AS SPECIFIED	4	1	18	17	0	19
ATTENDING REGIONAL OR NATIONAL MEETINGS	2	0	19	49	2	16
GROUP MEETINGS FACILITATED BY A FIELDWORKER	1	0	20	15	0	20

TABLE 6:11

ACTIVITIES WHICH HAD THE LEAST APPEAL TO RESPONDENTS.

ACTIVITY	#	%
FUND RAISING	60	28
PUBLICITY, NEWSPAPERS, T.V., RADIO	23	11
PARTICIPATING IN PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS	20	9
CAMPAIGNING AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY	16	8
OUTREACH IN SCHOOLS, MALLS, RELIGIOUS GROUPS	15	7
ATTENDING REGIONAL OR NATIONAL MEETINGS	13	6
COORDINATION AT GROUP OR NATIONAL LEVEL	12	6
ORGANISING AT BRANCH, REGIONAL OR NATIONAL LEVEL	10	5
PARTICIPATING IN MEETINGS LED BY FIELDWORKERS	9	4
WORK WITH ARTIST'S, TEACHERS OR OTHER NETWORKS	7	3
THE 10 FURTHER ACTIVITIES	29	13

Tables 6:11 and 6:12 show that there is still some ambivalence amongst members on the issue of the death penalty. Although 130 respondents included the campaign against the death penalty in their five preferences, the abolition of the death penalty ranked fourth amongst their aversions.

In addition to the question about preferences the questionnaire included two questions about the AICS(ES) publication "*The Activist*". Berry contends that

> Each organization has its own benefit structure that affects its ultimate success in attracting and maintaining members.[10]

In this connection he stresses the value of a "topnotch newsletter". Ninety percent of respondents receive "*The Activist*".[11] Table 6:12 indicates that it is highly rated.[12]

TABLE 6:12

RESPONDENTS RATE "THE ACTIVIST"

EXCELLENT	VERY GOOD	SATISFACTORY	NEEDS IMPROVEMENT	OF LITTLE VALUE
83	262	90	6	1

Some of the forty eight members who do not receive *"The Activist"* made the comment that they believed they should be receiving it. The following is an excerpt from an interview with a group member in Kitchener/Waterloo which lends credence to their comment.

> We really need properly run housekeeping support in Ottawa. It has always been bad, sometimes worse. We have lost members and we have lost the enthusiasm of members because the people who serviced the members have not really done their job. Members have received no receipts or sometimes two receipts, or people have joined and not received *"The Activist"*. The best thing that ever happened in Ottawa was Tom Morris who reduced sheets and sheets of paper (sent to groups) to three or four well written sheets. [13]

The difficulty may well result from too small a staff in Ottawa. Staff has been radically reduced in recent years due to lack of funding. There are an increasing number of organisations competing for donations. Information about group membership is channelled from volunteer group contacts to Ottawa and it may not always be reliable. It may involve repeated phone calls from the office to groups and can be time consuming. Although the maintenance of membership records is very important the Ottawa Office does have many other priorities. It has to produce *"The Activist"*; maintain the list of donors; represent Amnesty at government level; and inform the media on requests about the Amnesty position on a wide range of human rights abuses in many countries. The membership should be understanding of these problems. However, the complaints about the distribution of *"The Activist"* should not be ignored. Table 6.13 shows that many long term members are not receiving *"The Activist"*.

TABLE 6:13

AN ANALYSIS OF THE 48 MEMBERS WHO DID NOT RECEIVE THE "ACTIVIST' BY YEARS OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN AICS(ES)

LESS THAN ONE YEAR	1 TO 3 YEARS.	4 TO 5 YEARS	6 TO 10 YEARS	OVER 10 YEARS	# OF YEARS UNKNOWN	TOTAL
16	12	9	4	5	2	48

The "Activist" should be distributed to all members. Several comments by respondents in the margins of the questionnaire indicate that there are members who believe they should receive the "Activist" but are not in fact doing so. It is possible that they have been struck off the membership roles for not making an annual financial contribution or it is possible they have been struck off the membership role erroneously. Table 6:13 shows that a number of long term members have been struck off the records, and if this has been done erroneously it indicates a serious haemorrhage of Amnesty resources.

Is the Movement Democratic ?

A common impulse among voluntary organizations is to create democratic organizational structures to govern themselves. They usually have founding by-laws which prescribe a procedure whereby some body represents the members.[14] This is true of Amnesty International. Copies of the international statute and of the by-laws of AICS(ES) are appended. However many doubt that such documents lead to real democracy within the organization.

Just as it is true that interest groups almost always appear on the outside to be democratic, it also seems that they are almost always oligarchic on the inside. [15] Berry comments that

Although interest groups are generally oligarchic, groups differ in the amount of influence the rank and file or the board of directors have within the organization. In some lobbies, members do actually exert some significant and direct influence on organizational decisions, yet these differences are not easily explained by the way lobbying organizations are designed. [16]

Respondents to the questionnaire were asked whether they believed the resolutions made by groups influenced the decisions of Amnesty International. The responses listed in Tables 6:15 and 6:16 express their confidence that they believe they have real influence

TABLE 6:14

BELIEF OF RESPONDENTS THAT THEY INFLUENCE THE DECISIONS OF AICS(ES).

	BELIEF THEY HAVE INFLUENCE		NO INFLUENCE		DON'T KNOW	
MEN	153	88%	7	4%	14	8%
WOMEN	256	87%	12	4%	25	9%
TOTAL	409	88%	19	4%	39	8%

The question "Do you believe that the resolutions submitted by groups do influence decisions of the English speaking branch made provision only for "yes" or "no" answers. The "don't knows" were all write in answers. The question about the international movement had provision for four answers, "major Influence", "some influence", "no influence" and "don't know"

TABLE 6:15

BELIEF THAT RECOMMENDATIONS OF AICS(ES) INFLUENCE THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

	MAJOR INFLUENCE		SOME INFLUENCE		NO INFLUENCE		DON'T KNOW	
MEN	7	4%	133	75%	2	1%	36	20%
WOMEN	29	9%	207	67%	2	1%	69	23%
TOTAL	36	7%	340	70%	4	1%	105	22%

Members were asked about their participation in the submission of resolutions. Their responses are shown in Table 6:16.

TABLE 6:16

PARTICIPATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

	YES	NO
HAVE YOU EVER ATTENDED AN A.G.M.?	255	245
HAVE YOU DISCUSSED A RESOLUTION TO BE SUBMITTED ?	320	178
HAVE YOU EVER HELPED TO PREPARE A RESOLUTION ?	159	341

Prior to the Annual General Meeting copies of all resolutions are sent to groups for discussion and Table 6:16 shows that these discussions do take place. Respondents listed attendance at Regional or General Meetings as one of their least favoured activities. Nevertheless, more than half of the respondents have attended an Annual General Meeting and in their comments the questionnaire indicated they had been favourably impressed.[17]

Summary.

The responses to the questionnaire indicate that demographics favour an increase in the membership of Amnesty International. This increase may not be realized if a changing mandate fails to offer benefits to the membership. Amnesty members are well educated, but financially their earnings conform to the national average. They are mainly white collar workers with a preponderance of educators in their number. Their preference is for activities which can improve the life of a named individual, and they believe that they can have influence on the policies of the movement.

1. David Foot, Boom, Bust & Echo. (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1996), p.7.

2. Ibid. p.6.

3. Educational Attainment and School Attendance (No.93.328). (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1993) p.11.
The national figures given in this report were based on 1991 statistics. The categories used by Statistics Canada differed a little from those used in the questionnaire. They were :-

Up to Grade 9	14.3%
Up to grade 13	42.6%
Some post secondary education	31.7%
With a university degree	11.4%

The table shows that 93% of the respondents had some post secondary education versus 43% of the general population.

4. The national average of family income is taken from the Canada Year Book for 1997. Canada Year Book 1997. (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1996), Table 6.11 p.177.

5. This percentage is probably lower than it should be. 42 respondents who reported a personal income of less than $20,000 did not answer the question about family income.

6. See also table D:21 in the appendices

7. Canada Year Book 1997. p.67

8. Jeffrey M.Berry, The Interest Group Society. (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Co. 1989), pp 6.7.

9. Only 213 respondents answered this question. The remaining categories had four or less respondents. Surprisingly no respondent recorded the campaign against torture as the least attractive activity in spite of the trauma involved in this work. Table D:7 gives a full list of responses.

10. Berry. P.56.

11. See Table D:15

12. For an analysis by gender see Table D:16.

13. From a taped interview in Waterloo September 1996.

14. Berry. p.66.

15. David B.Truman, The Governmental Process. 2nd.ed (New York: Knopf, 1971) pp. 139-155.

16. Berry. p.67.

17. See Appendix D. Table D:1

Chapter 7.

CONCLUSIONS.

Motivation.

There are two reasons for my selecting this subject for my thesis.. The first is my interest in the effect of industrial development on the political process. In the latter half of the 19th century the development of a railway network in Europe led to the creation of manufacturing units with many employees. This in turn led to the development of trade unions and of ideological parties serving the interests of the workers. In the latter half of the 20th century cybernetics have taken us back to a world of smaller industrial units. Political power has passed to brokerage parties at the expense of ideological parties, and in turn this has led to the growing influence of public interest groups and movements. I believe it is important that today's public interest groups be subjected to the same level of scrutiny that Robert Michels applied to the German Socialist Party in 1911.

My second motivation was my interest in Amnesty International. I have a long standing concern that no history of Amnesty International has been written since Jonathan Power wrote "*Against Oblivion*" in 1981. No history has ever been written of the Canadian Section, which was founded in 1973. Many who lived through that history have already died and there is a danger that it may never be recorded. This thesis is not advanced as history but it does provide some data that will be of value to a future historian.

Initially my research concentrated on a comparison of events of the late 19th century with today's events in the latter part of the 20th century. Later I gave emphasis to my " insider" experience of the Canadian Section of Amnesty International. In the final phase of my research I moved to a more balanced narrative that included something of both themes.

I joined the Canadian Section in 1974, a year after its foundation. I have a copy of the minutes of the first general meeting of the Canadian Section and know, or have known many of those who were present at the meeting. I have attempted to supplement my knowledge of Amnesty International with the knowledge of other members. To do so I followed the guidelines suggested by Betty Zisk and based on her own field research.. I conducted a number of taped interviews, and distributed more than 1800 copies of a questionnaire to members of AICS(ES). Distribution took place in late September and early November 1996 and I processed 507 responses by the time I cut off in mid March. The following are my findings.

The Movement.

Amnesty International differs from other social movements because it seeks to influence government in the international arena rather than a national arena. Chapter 4 commenced with the reiteration of Amnesty's belief, expressed at the 13th Council, that human rights are an international and not merely a national responsibility. Although members of the Canadian environmental movement are concerned about global warming and the deforestation of Brazil, their primary concern is the Canadian environment. Similarly the women's movement in Canada has as its prime concern the rights of women in Canada. Amnesty differs in that Canadian members mostly lobby representatives of foreign governments about human rights violations in their countries. The mandate of Amnesty International specifically requires that most human rights issues in Canada be addressed only by members of sections in countries other than Canada. This limitation, prohibiting work on one's own country, has affected the structure of Amnesty International. It is important that the members in the many countries who petition the Canadian government do so with one voice; that they express the same clearly defined concern. As Robert Michels notes:

> Organization is the weapon of the weak in their struggle against the strong.....The chances of success in any struggle will depend upon the degree to which the struggle is carried out upon a basis of solidarity between individuals whose interests are identical.[1]

To achieve this solidarity Amnesty has developed a strong central bureaucracy based in London, England, and a very specific mandate which details the objectives of the organization and the methods that may be used to attain these objectives.

Democracy within the Movement.

The danger in such an organization is that control will pass from the members to an oligarchy of bureaucrats. However, the survey reported here of AICS(ES) membership indicates their belief that the organization remains democratic. There is an established chain of decision making which allows discussion of an issue at group level. The group can submit a resolution to the Annual General Meeting recommending change at the international level, that recommendation if accepted will be presented at the next ICM by representatives of the Canadian section. More than half of the respondents to the questionnaire had attended at least one Annual General Meeting; more than 60% had discussed resolutions to the AGM, and more than 30% had participated in the drafting of resolutions. More than 75% believe that branch resolutions can influence the international policies of Amnesty.

Those who favour public interest groups stress the value of a group in providing a channel of communication between the people and government. It is important to find that the members of Amnesty International believe that the organization expresses their views and not the views of a self serving oligarchy. Amnesty goes beyond the creation of a link between a people and a government, and instead provides a channel of communication between many people and many governments. Members believe they have an important role in the political process and that they can fulfil this role

by communicating their concern about human rights to all offending governments. Many respondents send more than one letter a week to foreign governments. The preference of the members of Amnesty International is to work on behalf of a named individual who is suffering, or is about to suffer some form of human rights abuse. In the 1960s their efforts were limited to securing the release of those defined in Amnesty's Statute as "prisoners of conscience"[2] an activity members found to be very rewarding. From 1973 onwards the mandate has been progressively widened. Many new activities now asked of members fail to provide the same level of satisfaction. Lobbying to change a law provides less satisfaction than lobbying to save a life. This is true even though a change in law may save many lives.

Effectiveness of the Movement.

Amnesty International has been successful in that, outside of China, there has been a massive reduction in the number of "prisoners of conscience" and that there has been a similar reduction in the incidence of "disappearances" in Latin America. The campaign to abolish the death penalty has met with some success.

> By the end of 1955, 56 countries and territories had abolished the death penalty for all offences and 15 for all but exceptional offences, such as wartime crimes. At least 30 countries and territories which retained the death penalty were considered abolitionist in practice, in that they had not executed anyone for the past 10 years or more and had made an international commitment not to carry out executions.[3]

However, Amnesty also had to report that in 1996 the number of executions reach a record high of over 4,200 of which more than 3,500 took place in China.[4] The use of torture is practised in many countries and western governments have failed to ban completely the design, manufacture and trade of torture equipment. The US government has authorized the sale of millions of dollars of security equipment, including thumbscrews and thumb-cuffs, to many governments which

systematically practise torture and other grave human rights violations.[5]

Amnesty International has much work to do in opposing human rights violations already included in its mandate. At the same time segments of the public and of the membership are calling for a widening of the mandate to cover additional offences. Before making any such extension Amnesty must consider the availability of resources to meet the new challenge and individuals perception of the costs and benefits incurred in membership.

Characteristics of Membership.

This study of Amnesty International is based on the experience of AICS(ES) and the conclusions reached about the membership refer only to membership in AICS(ES). It would require many further studies to determine whether the characteristics of the Canadian members differ from those of members in other sections. Canadian members are highly educated, 80% have a university degree, and more than 20% list their occupation as being that of an educator.

In recent years AICS(ES) has suffered a loss in membership but demographically it has the potential of a rapid increase in membership. The "baby boomer generation" is moving in to the age group where people join groups and movements. However there is no certainty that they will join Amnesty International in preference to Habitat for Humanity or the John Howard Society. Amnesty has to demonstrate that the rewards from joining their organisation exceed the costs involved. Members will join if they believe that they can play a significant part in the political process. The responses to the questionnaire show they are most rewarded when they can work to better the lot of a named individual. Overwhelming members like to respond to urgent actions, to prisoner adoptions, and to appeals in "*The Activist*". It is axiomatic to hold that Amnesty International was created for the benefit of those who suffer human rights abuse and not for the benefit of the

membership, but if the membership, failing to obtain benefits, deserts the movement it is those who suffer human rights abuse who will be placed at risk.

Responses to the Questionnaire.

Although responses to the questionnaire provided much valuable data they did not provide all of the information that I expected. For example, I wanted to know if there had been a change in the ethnic make up of membership over the passed ten years. This was to be determined by correlating the responses to two questions "Where were you born ?" and "How long have you been a member of Amnesty International ?" This proved impossible because only 10 respondents said they had been born in Asia, and not a single one claimed to be born in Latin America. I discussed this with a member in Vancouver, and asked whether ethnic Chinese were joining Amnesty International in that city. His impression was that immigrants from China did not join, but that first generation Chinese, born in Canada, were more likely to do so. The responses listed in Table 6.8 are accurate but they may not provide accurate data about the ethnic origin of the membership of AICS(ES).

There were 184 responses to the questionnaire from men, 314 from women. (Table 6.2). From this it might be assumed that women make up 63% of the membership. This might be a false assumption. For example, it might be the case that men are more averse to responding to questionnaires than are women. It is certainly an area for further study.

Table 6.4 is included to show support for David Foot's contention that the future of AICS(ES) will be two thirds determined by demography. The current membership falls predominantly in the age group 40 to 65 and David Foot contends this will remain true. There is no evidence in the survey to support this. The history of Amnesty shows that there was a big surge in

membership in 1973 consequent on the death of Allende in Chile. The survey provides no data on membership by age group in 1973 and the current analysis of membership by age group may depend in part on the aging of members who joined at that time. These are just three of the issues that indicate a need for further research.

The Challenge to Political Scientists.

This study demonstrates the challenges that confront Amnesty International. They are not necessarily the challenges that face other groups and movements. Most political scientists will concede that public interest groups and movements have an impact on the political process. They disagree on the value of that impact and it is unwise for them to generalize. Differing organizations have differing impacts; some are beneficial, others less so. This is a study of one organization. Its message is that there is need for empirical studies of many other groups that claim to work in the public interest.

1. Robert Michels. Political Parties. (London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1962). Translated from the original German and first published in English in 1915.

2. See Appendix "A" paragraph 1(a). of the Statute for a definition of the term "prisoner of conscience".

3. Amnesty International Report 1996. (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1996), p.347.

4. "Executions soared in 1996". The Saturday Record. (Kitchener, Ontario: April 5th 1997), p.A6.

5. Amnesty International Report 1996. p.10.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A

STATUTE OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

As amended by the 22nd International Council, meeting in Ljubljana, Slovenia, 12 to 20 August 1995

OBJECT AND MANDATE

1. The object of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is to contribute to the observance throughout the world of human rights as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

   In pursuance of this object, and recognizing the obligation on each person to extend to others rights and freedoms equal to his or her own, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL adopts as its mandate:

   To promote awareness of and adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other internationally recognized human rights instruments, the values enshrined in them, and the indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights and freedoms;

   To oppose grave violations of the rights of every person freely to hold and to express his or her convictions and to be free from discrimination, and of the right of every person to physical and mental integrity, and, in particular, to oppose by all appropriate means irrespective of political considerations:

   a) the imprisonment, detention or other physical restrictions imposed on any person by reason of his or her political, religious or other conscientiously held beliefs or by reason of his or her ethnic origin, sex, colour, language, national or social origin, economic status, birth or other status, provided that he or she has not used or advocated violence (hereinafter referred to as 'prisoners of conscience'; AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL shall work towards the release of and shall provide assistance to prisoners of conscience);

   b) the detention of any political prisoner without fair trial within a reasonable time or any trial procedures relating to such prisoners that do not conform to internationally recognized norms;

   c) the death penalty, and the torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of prisoners or other detained or restricted persons, whether or not the persons affected have used or advocated violence;

   d) the extrajudicial execution of persons whether or not imprisoned, detained or restricted, and "disappearances", whether or not the persons affected have used or advocated violence.

METHODS

2. In order to achieve the aforesaid object and mandate, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL shall:

   a) at all times make clear its impartiality as regards countries adhering to the different world political ideologies and groupings;

   b) promote as appears appropriate the adoption of constitutions, conventions, treaties and other measures which guarantee the rights contained in the provisions referred to in Article 1 hereof;

   c) support and publicize the activities of and cooperate with international organizations and agencies which work for the implementation of the aforesaid provisions;

   d) take all necessary steps to establish an effective organization of sections, affiliated groups and individual members;

   e) secure the adoption by groups of members or supporters of individual prisoners of conscience or entrust to such groups other tasks in support of the object and mandate set out in Article 1;

   f) provide financial and other relief to prisoners of conscience and their dependants and to persons who have lately been prisoners of conscience or who might reasonably be expected to be prisoners of conscience or to become prisoners of conscience if convicted or if they were to return to their own countries, to the dependants of such persons and to victims of torture in need of medical care as a direct result thereof;

   g) provide legal aid, where necessary and possible, to prisoners of conscience and to persons who might reasonably be expected to be prisoners of conscience or to become prisoners of conscience if convicted or if they were to return to their own countries, and, where desirable, send observers to attend the trials of such persons;

   h) publicize the cases of prisoners of conscience or persons who have otherwise been subjected to disabilities in violation of the aforesaid provisions;

   i) investigate and publicize the disappearance of persons where there is reason to believe that they may be victims of violations of the rights set out in Article 1 hereof;

   j) oppose the sending of persons from one country to another where they can reasonably be expected to become prisoners of conscience or to face torture or the death penalty;

   k) send investigators, where appropriate, to investigate allegations that the rights of individuals under the aforesaid provisions have been violated or threatened;

   l) make representations to international organizations and to governments whenever it appears that an individual is a prisoner of conscience or has otherwise been subjected to disabilities in violation of the aforesaid provisions;

   m) promote and support the granting of general amnesties of which the beneficiaries will include prisoners of conscience;

   n) adopt any other appropriate methods for the securing of its object and mandate.

ORGANIZATION

3. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is an organization based on worldwide voluntary membership and it shall consist of sections, affiliated groups and individual members.
4. The directive authority for the conduct of the affairs of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is vested in the International Council.
5. Between meetings of the International Council, the International Executive Committee shall be responsible for the conduct of the affairs of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL and for the implementation of the decisions of the International Council.
6. The day-to-day affairs of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL shall be conducted by the International Secretariat headed by a Secretary General under the direction of the International Executive Committee.
7. The office of the International Secretariat shall be in London or such other place as the International Executive Committee shall decide and which is ratified by at least one half of the sections.
8. Responsibility for AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL work on violations of human rights in any country or territory, including the collection and evaluation of information, and the sending of delegations, lies with the international governing bodies of the organization, and not with the section, groups or members in the country or territory concerned.

SECTIONS

9. A section of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL may be established in any country, state or territory with the consent of the International Executive Committee. In order to be recognized as such, a section shall (a) prior to its recognition have demonstrated its ability to organize and maintain basic AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL activities, (b) consist of not less than two groups and 20 members, (c) submit its statute to the International Executive Committee for approval, (d) pay such annual fee as may be determined by the International Council, (e) be registered as such with the International Secretariat on the decision of the International Executive Committee. Sections shall take no action on matters that do not fall within the stated object and mandate of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. The International Secretariat shall maintain a register of sections. Sections shall act in accordance with the working rules and guidelines that are adopted from time to time by the International Council.
10. Groups of not less than five members may, on payment of an annual fee determined by the International Council, become affiliated to AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL or a section thereof. Any dispute as to whether a group should be or remain affiliated shall be decided by the International Executive Committee. An affiliated adoption group shall accept for adoption such prisoners as may from time to time be allotted to it by the International Secretariat, and shall adopt no others as long as it remains affiliated to AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. No group shall be allotted a prisoner of conscience detained in its own country. Each section shall maintain and make available to the International Secretariat a register of affiliated AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL groups. Groups in a country without a section shall be registered with the International Secretariat. Groups shall take no action on matters that do not fall within the stated object and mandate of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. Groups shall act in accordance with the working rules and guidelines that are adopted from time to time by the International Council.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP

11. Individuals residing in countries where there is no section may, on payment to the International Secretariat of an annual subscription fee determined by the International Executive Committee, become members of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL with the consent of the International Executive Committee. In countries where a section exists, individuals may become international members of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL with the consent of the section and of the International Executive Committee. The International Secretariat shall maintain a register of such members.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL

12. The International Council shall consist of the members of the International Executive Committee and of representatives of sections and shall meet at intervals of not more than two years on a date fixed by the International Executive Committee. Only representatives of sections shall have the right to vote at the International Council.
13. All sections shall have the right to appoint one representative to the International Council and in addition may appoint representatives as follows:

10 — 49 groups:	1 representative
50 — 99 groups:	2 representatives
100 — 199 groups:	3 representatives
200 — 399 groups:	4 representatives
400 groups and over:	5 representatives

Sections consisting primarily of individual members rather than groups may as an alternative appoint additional representatives as follows:

500 — 2,499 members:	1 representative
2,500 members and over:	2 representatives

Only sections having paid in full their annual fee as assessed by the International Council for the two previous financial years shall vote at the International Council. This requirement may be waived in whole or in part by the International Council.

14. One representative of each group not forming part of a section may attend a meeting of the International Council as an observer and may speak thereat but shall not be entitled to vote.
15. A section unable to participate at an International Council may appoint a proxy or proxies to vote on its behalf and a section represented by a lesser number of persons than its entitlement under Article 13 hereof may authorize its representative or representatives to cast votes up to its maximum entitlement under Article 13 hereof.
16. Notice of the number of representatives proposing to attend an International Council, and of the appointment of proxies, shall be given to the International Secretariat not later than one month before the meeting of the International Council. This requirement may be waived by the International Executive Committee.
17. A quorum shall consist of the representatives or proxies of not less than one quarter of the sections entitled to be represented.
18. The Chairperson of the International Council and an alternate shall be elected by the preceding International Council. The Chairperson or, in his or her absence, the alternate, shall preside at the International Council. In the absence of the Chairperson and the alternate, the Chairperson of the International Executive Committee or such other person as the International Executive Committee may appoint shall open the proceedings of the International Council which shall elect a Chairperson. Thereafter the elected Chairperson, or such other person as the Chairperson may appoint, shall preside at the International Council.
19. Except as otherwise provided in the Statute, the International Council shall make its decisions by a simple majority of the votes cast. In case of an equality of votes the Chairperson of the International Council shall have a casting vote.
20. The International Council shall be convened by the International Secretariat by notice to all sections and affiliated groups not later than 90 days before the date thereof.
21. The Chairperson of the International Executive Committee shall at the request of the Committee or of not less than one third of the sections call an extraordinary meeting of the International Council by giving not less than 21 days' notice in writing to all sections.
22. The International Council shall elect a Treasurer, who shall be a member of the International Executive Committee.
23. The agenda for the meetings of the International Council shall be prepared by the International Secretariat under the direction of the Chairperson of the International Executive Committee.

INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

24. a) The International Executive Committee shall consist of the Treasurer, one representative of the staff of the International Secretariat and seven regular members, who shall be members of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, or of a section, or of an affiliated group. The regular members and Treasurer shall be elected by the International Council. Not more than one member of any section or affiliated group or member of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL voluntarily resident in a country may be elected as a regular member to the Committee, and once such member has received sufficient votes to be elected, any votes cast for other members of that section, affiliated group or country shall be disregarded.
    b) Members of the permanent staff, paid and unpaid, shall have the right to elect one representative among the staff who has completed not less than two years' service to be a voting member of the International Executive Committee. Such member shall hold office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election. The method of voting shall be subject to approval by the International Executive Committee on the proposal of the staff members.
25. The International Executive Committee shall meet not less than twice a year at a place to be decided by itself.
26. Members of the International Executive Committee, other than the representative of the staff, shall hold office for a period of two years and shall be eligible for re-election for a maximum tenure of three consecutive terms.
27. The Committee may co-opt not more than two additional members who shall hold office until the close of the next meeting of the International Council; they shall be eligible to be reco-opted once. Co-opted members shall not have the right to vote.
28. In the event of a vacancy occurring on the Committee, other than in respect of the representative of the staff, it may co-opt a further member to fill the vacancy until the next meeting of the International Council, which shall elect such members as are necessary to replace retiring members and to fill the vacancy. In the event of a vacancy occurring on the Committee in respect of the representative of the staff, the staff shall have the right to elect a successor representative to fill the unexpired term of office.
29. If a member of the Committee is unable to attend a meeting, such member may appoint an alternate.
30. The Committee shall each year appoint one of its members to act as Chairperson.
31. The Chairperson may, and at the request of the majority of the Committee shall, summon meetings of the Committee.
32. A quorum shall consist of not fewer than five members of the Committee or their alternates.

33. The agenda for meetings of the Committee shall be prepared by the International Secretariat under the direction of the Chairperson.
34. The Committee may make regulations for the conduct of the affairs of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL and for the procedure to be followed at the International Council.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

35. The International Executive Committee may appoint a Secretary General who shall be responsible under its direction for the conduct of the affairs of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL and for the implementation of the decisions of the International Council.
36. The Secretary General may appoint senior executive staff in close cooperation with the International Executive Committee, and may appoint all other staff as are necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.
37. In the case of the absence or illness of the Secretary General, or of a vacancy in the post of Secretary General, the Chairperson of the International Executive Committee shall, after consultation with the members of that Committee, appoint an Acting Secretary General to act until the next meeting of the Committee.
38. The Secretary General or Acting Secretary General and such members of the International Secretariat as may appear to the Chairperson of the International Executive Committee to be necessary shall attend meetings of the International Council and of the International Executive Committee and may speak thereat but shall not be entitled to vote.

TERMINATION OF MEMBERSHIP

39. Membership of or affiliation to AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL may be terminated at any time by resignation in writing.
40. The International Executive Committee may deprive a section, affiliated group (Article 10) or a member (Article 11) of membership of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL if in its opinion that section, affiliated group or member does not act within the spirit of the object, mandate and methods set out in Articles 1 and 2 or does not organize and maintain basic AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL activities or does not observe any of the provisions of this Statute. Before taking such action, the section, affiliated group or member and, when the deprivation of membership of a section is considered, all other sections will be informed in writing of the grounds on which it is proposed to deprive it or such person of membership, and such section, affiliated group or member shall be provided with an opportunity of presenting its or such member's case to the International Executive Committee. Once the International Executive Committee has decided to take such action in respect of a section, affiliated group or member, the section, affiliated group or member may appeal to the Membership Appeals Committee. This committee shall consist of five members and two alternate members who shall be elected by the International Council in the same manner and subject to the same conditions as provided for in Article 24 a) for the International Executive Committee. Once deprived of membership, a section, affiliated group or member may no longer use the name of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.

FINANCE

41. An auditor appointed by the International Council shall annually audit the accounts of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, which shall be prepared by the International Secretariat and presented to the International Executive Committee and the International Council.
42. No part of the income or property of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL shall directly or indirectly be paid or transferred otherwise than for valuable and sufficient consideration to any of its members by way of dividend, gift, division, bonus or otherwise howsoever by way of profit.

AMENDMENTS OF STATUTE

43. The Statute may be amended by the International Council by a majority of not less than two thirds of the votes cast. Amendments may be submitted by the International Executive Committee or by a section. Proposed amendments shall be submitted to the International Secretariat not less than nine months before the International Council meets, and presentation to the International Council shall be supported in writing by at least five sections. Proposed amendments shall be communicated by the International Secretariat to all sections and to members of the International Executive Committee.

AI Index: POL 20/01/95
Amnesty International Publications, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom
Printed by Redesign.

APPENDIX B
BY-LAWS OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, CANADIAN SECTION. ENGLISH SPEAKING.

ARTICLE ONE

INTERPRETATION

1.01 In all By-laws, resolutions and minutes of the Corporation where the context so requires or permits:

(a) "Act" shall mean the Canada Corporation Act, and every other Act or Statute substituted therefor, and in the case of such substitution the reference in the by-laws, resolutions and minutes of the Corporation to non-existing Acts or Statutes shall be read as referring to the substituted provisions in the new Act or Statute;

(b) "Corporation" shall mean AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CANADIAN SECTION (ENGLISH SPEAKING);

(c) "Executive Committee" means the Executive Committee of the Corporation constituted and governed by the provisions of Article Five hereof;

(d) "Letters Patent" shall mean the letters patent incorporating the Corporation and shall include any supplementary letters patent issued to the Corporation;

(e) "Amnesty International Group" ("AI Group")" means local groups of members carrying out responsibilities of local groups as defined by the corporation and in accordance with international guidelines, formed and functioning within the provisions of Article 4.02 hereof;

(f) "Member" means an individual accepted for membership in the Corporation and who:

(i) is committed to work for the Corporation in accordance with the Statute of Amnesty International;

(ii) is registered on the membership rolls of the Corporation;

(iii) has made an annual financial contribution to the Corporation;

(iv) is affiliated as a member of at least one AI Group or Network of the Corporation; and

(v) observes the policies and procedures of AICS(ES).

(g) "Network" means a network of Members formed and functioning in accordance with the provisions of Article 4.03 hereof;

(h) "Secretariat" means the secretariat of the Corporation constituted and governed by the provisions of Article 7 hereof;

(i) "Standing Order" means a procedural resolution of the Corporation implemented pursuant to Article 9 hereof;

(j) "Statute of Amnesty International" means the current statute of Amnesty International as adopted and/or amended at an International Council Meeting of Amnesty International;

(k) "Supporter" means an individual or entity having made a financial contribution to the Branch within the last two fiscal periods.

(l) "Voting Delegate" means any Member who shall have the right to vote at any General Meeting in accordance with the provisions of section 4.12 hereof and who has registered to attend such General Meeting pursuant to relevant Standing Orders;

(m) With respect to gender, inclusive pronouns will be used. 'Inclusive' means the use of gender non-specific singular pronouns where applicable unless gender-specific pronouns are applicable.

ARTICLE TWO

HEAD OFFICE

2.01 The Executive Committee from time to time may determine the location of the head office of the Corporation in the municipality in which it is situate pursuant to the Letters Patent incorporating the Corporation and as from time to time changed under the provisions of the Act. The Corporation may also have an office or offices at such other place or places as the Executive Committee may from time to time appoint or the business of the Corporation may require.

ARTICLE THREE

SEAL

3.01 The corporate seal of the Corporation shall have inscribed thereon the name of the Corporation and be in such form as is impressed hereon or in such other form as the Executive Committee may from time to time adopt.

ARTICLE FOUR

COMPOSITION

4.01 Members

Any person who satisfies the definition of Members may be a Member of the Corporation.

4.02 AI Groups

Members proposing to form an AI Group shall apply to the Secretariat for accreditation. All AI Groups shall annually pay such assessments to the Corporation as may from time to time be levied.

4.03 Networks

The Networks of the Corporation shall be those networks created by the Corporation to perform specific functions and to carry out specific responsibilities within the Statue of Amnesty International. All Networks of the Corporation shall be created by Standing Orders.

4.04 Coordinators and Consultants

(a) The Executive Committee may appoint coordinators and consultants as it shall from time to time consider necessary or desirable.

(b) Every coordinator and consultant shall be responsible to the Executive Committee to perform the specialized functions of the Corporation delegated and entrusted to him/her by the Executive Committee.

(c) The Executive Committee shall strive to appoint a coordinator or consultant for each of those countries of which a prisoner of conscience shall have been adopted by an AI Group. In addition, the Executive Committee shall strive to appoint a coordinator or consultant for each substantial area of activity of the Corporation including but not limited to a coordinator of the campaign for the abolition of torture, a death penalty abolition coordinator and a coordinator for every Network.

4.05 Dissolution, Withdrawal, Termination and Resignation

(a) Dissolution and Withdrawal of Accreditation of Groups:

The Secretariat may dissolve any AI Group which formally requests dissolution, or may withdraw accreditation from any AI Group. The Secretariat shall report to each Annual General Meeting on all dissolutions and/or withdrawals of accreditation which have taken place since the previous Annual General Meeting.

(b) Termination of the Appointment of Coordinators and Consultants:

By a two-thirds majority vote of its members the Executive Committee may terminate the appointment of any coordinator of consultant in accordance with the terms of a resolution or resolutions of the Executive Committee and shall report such action immediately to all AI Groups, Coordinators and Consultants and to the International Secretariat of Amnesty International.

(c) Termination of Individual Memberships:

The Executive Committee, by a two-thirds majority vote of its members, may terminate the membership of any member who contravenes the definition of membership.

Before taking such action the Executive Committee shall, after appropriate steps have been taken at the group level, inform such members in writing of both the grounds on which it is proposed to deprive them of their membership and their right to present their case to the Executive Committee.

Where the Executive Committee passes a resolution to terminate membership it shall report such action immediately to the individual and to the relevant Amnesty International Group or Network Coordinator.

(d) Resignation:

Any member may resign as a Member of the Corporation by notice in writing to his/her AI Group or Network Coordinator.

4.06 Appeals

Members proposing to form an AI Group who are refused accreditation by the Secretariat may appeal the Secretariat's decision to the Executive Committee.

AI Groups which have had their accreditation withdrawn by the Secretariat may in the same manner appeal the decision to withdraw their accreditation.

Coordinators may appeal the decision of the Executive Committee to terminate their appointment to the next Annual General Meeting.

Members whose membership has been terminated by the Executive Committee may in the same manner appeal the decision of the Executive Committee to terminate their membership to the next Annual General Meeting.

Within 45 days of actual delivery of a decision of the Executive Committee or the Secretariat, pursuant to Article 4.05, a Member, Group or Coordinator affected by the decision, may appeal the decision by delivery of written notice of appeal to the Secretary General at the Secretariat. Pending the determination of the appeal, the decision of the Executive Committee or Secretariat shall prevail.

4.07 Meetings of the Members

(a) Annual: An Annual General Meeting is to be held at such place within Canada and on such days in each year as may be decided by a previous Annual General Meeting, but no later than the maximum time permitted by the Act for the holding of an annual meeting (the "Annual General Meeting"). All AI Groups and all Members entitled to notice pursuant to Article 4.08 shall be given copies of the minutes of the previous Annual General Meeting and of any subsequent Special General Meetings, the proposed agenda for the Annual General Meeting and the audited financial statements of the Corporation for the past financial year. The Annual General Meeting shall consider and decide upon the acceptability of the above

mentioned documents, and shall approve a budget for and appoint the Corporation's auditors for the next fiscal year, and set the place and dates of the Annual General Meeting that will be held in two years.

Where no such nomination has been received by the conclusion of the Annual General Meeting, or where the Annual General Meeting has chosen a site but the members have subsequently withdrawn their offer to host the Annual General Meeting, The Executive Committee shall set the date and place of the Annual General Meeting that will be held in two years. Immediately upon so doing the Executive Committee shall inform the membership of its decision.

(b) Special: Subject to any restrictions in the Act or Letters Patent a special general meeting may be convened by order of the majority of the officers of the Executive Committee, or on the requisition of not less than twenty-five (25) Members from at least ten (10) or more AI Groups and Networks, submitted in writing to the President care of the Secretariat (the "Special General Meeting"). A Special General Meeting shall consider every matter submitted to it by the persons ordering or requisitioning such Special General Meeting. All AI Groups and Network Coordinators /Co-groups entitled to notice pursuant to Article 4.08 shall be given the proposed agenda and all relevant documents.

(c) Purpose: Annual and Special General Meetings (collectively referred to as "General Meetings") are the governing body of the Corporation and, subject to the provisions of the Act, the Letters Patent and the By-laws of the Corporation, are entitled to make all decisions concerning all of the activities and organization of the Corporation.

4.08 Notice of General Meetings

Not less than sixty (60) days before the date of any General Meeting a written notice stating the date, hour and place of meeting and the general nature of the business to be transacted shall be given to every AI Group, member of the Executive Committee, Fieldworker and Coordinator.

4.09 Attendance and Participation

(a) Every Member who has registered to be in attendance thereat in accordance with the relevant Standing Orders is entitled to attend General Meetings together with all other persons otherwise entitled under the provisions of the Act, the Letters Patent or the By-laws of the Corporation to be in attendance. Other persons upon invitation from the

Chairperson of the General Meeting or of the Executive Committee or with the consent of the meeting may be admitted to the General Meeting.

(b) So as to facilitate the representation of AI Groups and AI Networks at General Meetings every AI Group and AI Network shall, upon application therefor to the Secretariat, be entitled to receive financial assistance as provided in any Standing Order relative thereto to have at least one Voting Delegate who is also a member of such AI Group or AI Network in attendance at the General Meeting.

(c) All Members in attendance at a General Meeting have an equal right to address the chair. Voting delegates shall have the right to move and second motions. Members of the Executive Committee, and those Area Support Team members designated to represent their region, Coordinators, Fieldworkers and those members designated to represent Regional Meetings may move and second motions from their respective constituencies.

4.10 Quorum

A quorum for a General Meeting (unless a greater number of Members is required to be represented by the Act or by the Letters Patent or any other By-law of the Corporation) shall be at least one Voting Delegate from each of at least fifty percent of the AI Groups and Networks accredited by the Corporation. No business shall be transacted at the General Meeting unless a quorum is present; quorum shall be deemed to exist unless otherwise determined.

4.11 Right to Vote

At General Meetings every accredited AI Group and AI Network is entitled to exercise one vote. Every accredited AI Group and AI Network is entitled to exercise one additional vote for every additional fifteen (15) registered members, or part thereof, above and beyond the first fifteen (15) registered members of the AI Group or AI Network. Votes shall be carried by Voting Delegates selected by each AI Group or AI Network. The number of Voting Delegates shall be limited to the number of votes to which that AI Group or AI Network is entitled.

(b) At each General Meeting only Voting Delegates shall be entitled to vote save that the Chairperson of such Meeting shall exercise the casting vote in the event of an equality of votes.

4.12 Voting at Meetings

(a) Every question or resolution submitted to a General Meeting shall be determined by a majority of votes unless otherwise specifically provided by the Act or these By-laws.

(b) Every such question or resolution shall be decided in the first instance by a show of voting cards unless the Chairperson of a General Meeting requires a poll. Following a show of voting cards, the Chairperson of the General Meeting may require, or any four Voting Delegates present may demand a poll. Unless a poll shall be so required or demanded a declaration by the Chairperson of a General Meeting that a question or resolution has been carried or not carried, as the case may be, and any entry to that effect in the minutes of the General Meeting shall be conclusive evidence of the result without proof of the number or proportion of votes recorded in favour of or against such question or resolution. A demand for a poll may be withdrawn by the Voting Delegates who made it at any time prior to the taking of the poll.

4.13 Proxy

(a) The Voting Delegates of an AI Group or AI Network may carry by proxy the votes of one (1) other AI Group or AI Network.

(b) No proxy shall be valid for more than one (1) meeting of the Members but may continue to be valid in the event such meeting shall have been adjourned unless the proxy shall otherwise have been revoked.

(c) All proxies shall be submitted prior to the commencement of the General Meeting for which such proxies have been issued. The Chairperson of the meeting shall determine the validity of every proxy.

(d) The Executive Committee may proscribe the form of proxy. Any proscribed form of proxy shall be sent to all AI Groups and Network Coordinators/Co-groups at the time notice of meeting is given pursuant to Article 4.08 hereof.

4.14 Powers of the General Meeting

Ultimate authority for the conduct of the affairs of the Corporation is vested in the general meeting. The General Meeting, while in session, shall exercise the rights and powers authorized by, and not contrary to, the Act and Letters Patent, and may transact any business of the Corporation, including all business otherwise to be exercised by the Executive Committee.

4.15 Rules of Order

The Rules of Order for governing the conduct of General Meetings shall be as established by Standing Order.

4.16 Representation to the International Council Meeting

(a) The President, or in the event that the President is unable to attend, the Vice-President, shall attend the International Council Meeting as a delegate;

(b) The Treasurer or his/her delegate shall attend the International Council Meeting as a delegate;

(c) The Secretary General or his/her delegate as determined by the Executive Committee shall attend the International Council Meeting as a delegate;

(d) All remaining representatives to the International Council Meeting of Amnesty International shall be elected by the Annual General Meeting in accordance with the criteria and procedures of the relevant Standing Orders or resolution of the Annual General Meeting. In the event that any elected representative is unable to attend, the Executive Committee shall choose an alternate from the runners-up in descending order in the said election. In any other event, the Executive Committee may appoint an alternate.

(e) Only one staff member, in addition to the Secretary General or his/her delegate may be elected as an International Council Meeting delegate. In the event that more than one staff person is elected to attend the International Council Meeting only the staff member receiving the most votes may actually be a delegate.

ARTICLE FIVE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

5.01 Composition

The Executive Committee shall consist of five (5) officers (President, Chairperson of the Executive Committee, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer), one (1) Director at large (Staff Designate) and five (5) Directors at large (the "Directors") elected as herein provided. (the "Executive Committee")

5.02 Election of Directors and Officers

At the Annual General Meeting in the year of the International Council Meeting the Voting Delegates shall elect two (2) Officers (Chairperson, Secretary) and three (3) Directors to hold office for two years. At the Annual General Meeting of the following year the Voting Delegates shall elect the other three (3) Officers (President, Vice-President, Treasurer) and two (2) Directors to hold office for two years. Every two (2) years the Secretariat shall nominate one (1) of its number (other than the Secretary General) as Director (Staff Designate) to serve on the Executive Committee.

At the 1994 Annual General Meeting the Voting Delegates shall elect two (2) officer positions (President, Treasurer) and two (2) Directors, all to hold office for two years.

5.03 Qualification

Subject to the restrictions described herein, only Members are eligible for election or appointment to the Executive Committee.

No person shall serve on the Executive Committee in any combination or positions for more than six consecutive years. No person may hold more than one position on the Executive Committee at the same time.

5.04 Quorum

Seven (7) members of the Executive Committee including the President or Chairperson of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any duly called meeting of the Executive Committee.

5.05 Powers of the Executive Committee

Between general meetings the Executive Committee shall have full power and authority to manage and control the affairs and business of the Corporation, subject to the Act, the Letters Patent, the By-laws, Standing Orders, and any other resolutions passed by general meetings.

5.06 Functions and Methods

The functions of the Executive Committee shall include the promotion of the interests and objectives of Amnesty International as set out in the Statute of Amnesty International, and the adoption of appropriate methods for the securing of the objects of the Corporation.

5.07 Duties of Officers

(a) President: The President shall be ex officio a member of all committees of the Corporation and of all committees of the Executive Committee. He/she or his/her nominee shall preside as chairperson at all General Meetings or any part thereof.

(b) Chairperson of the Executive Committee: The Chairperson of the Executive Committee shall be ex officio a member of all regular standing committees of the Executive Committee. He/she shall preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee.

(c) Vice-President: The Vice-President shall, in the absence or inability of the President, perform all the duties of the President and have all the authority vested in the President by these By-laws of the Corporation and the Act. If the Vice-President shall exercise any such duties or authorities the absence or inability of the President shall be presumed with reference thereto. The Vice-President shall also perform such duties and exercise such powers as the President may delegate from time to time or as the Executive Committee may prescribe.

(d) Secretary: the Secretary, or in his/her absence his/her nominee, shall be custodian of the seal of the Corporation; he/she shall issue all notice and call all meetings under the direction of the Executive Committee or as otherwise provided in the By-laws; he/she shall attend and act as Secretary of all General Meetings and all meetings of the Executive Committee; he/she shall perform such other duties as may be

prescribed from time to time by the Executive Committee; and he/she shall keep or cause to be kept a set of books wherein shall be recorded minutes of all proceedings at General Meetings and Meetings of the Executive Committee and such non-financial information as is required by the Act to be kept in books and records of the Corporation.

(e) Treasurer: The Treasurer shall insure that all the financial records of the Corporation are kept and perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may prescribe.

5.08 Vacancies

(a) The position of a member of the Executive Committee shall ipso facto be vacated upon the occurrence of any of the following events:

(i) If he/she is found to be a mentally incompetent individual or become of unsound mind;

(ii) If he/she ceases to be a Member;

(iii) If by notice in writing delivered to the Corporation, he/she resigns his/her office; or

(iv) If he/she is absent without good reason from two (2) consecutive meetings of the Executive Committee.

(b) So long as a quorum of the Executive Committee remain in office, any vacancies from time to time occurring by reason of the above, or any increase in the number of the Executive Committee under the provisions of the Act, or death, or removal by resolution of an Annual or Special General Meeting without election by it of a replacement, or otherwise, may be filled by appointment by such members of the Executive Committee as remain in office. A person appointed by such members of the Executive Committee as remain in office to fill a vacancy on the Executive Committee shall hold office (subject to the Letters Patent and these By-laws) for the balance of the unexpired term of the member of the Executive Committee whose position thereon he/she has been appointed to fill.

5.09 Meetings

(a) Place and Time: Subject to any restrictions in the Act or the Letters Patent the Executive Committee shall meet at least three (3) times a year at such place as it may from time to time by resolution decide or as the person or persons convening the meeting shall direct.

(b) **Convening:** Any five (5) members of the Executive Committee may at any time convene a meeting of the Executive Committee.

(c) **Notice:** Notice of meetings of the Executive Committee shall be given to each member of the Executive Committee not less than seven (7) clear days before the meeting is to take place; provided, however, that meetings of the Executive Committee may be held at any time without formal notice being given if all its members are present, or if a quorum is present and those of its members who are absent either before or after the meeting signify their consent in writing to the holding of such meeting in their absence. Notice of any meeting or any irregularities in any meeting or in the notice thereof may be waived by the members of the Executive Committee.

Where a meeting of the Executive Committee is held within seven (7) days of the election or appointment of a member of the Executive Committee, the meeting shall not be found to be void by virtue of any failure to give notice to the members.

(d) **Attendance:** Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be open to all members of the corporation. At the discretion of the Executive Committee a meeting, or a part thereof, may be closed. At the Chairperson's discretion, members attending may speak to the meeting of the Executive Committee.

5.10 Nominations

The Executive Committee shall appoint in each year a nominating committee to receive nominations of candidates for the Executive Committee and representatives to the International Council Meeting (the "Nominating Committee"). The Nominating Committee shall invite from the Members nominations to be considered by the Nominating Committee and it shall be the duty of the Nominating Committee to encourage such nominations. The Nominating Committee shall present all nominations received, and may present a recommended list of candidates to the Annual General Meeting. It shall also be the responsibility of the Nominating Committee to endeavour to provide at least one (1) nomination for each vacant position on the Executive Committee and nominations for representation to the International Council Meeting.

5.11 Voting

All matters and questions arising at any meeting of the Executive Committee shall be decided by majority of votes unless otherwise provided in the Act, the Letters Patent or these By-laws. There are two circumstances that allow the Chairperson of the Executive Committee to cast a vote;

(i) the Chairperson may cast the deciding vote on a tied motion;
(ii) the Chairperson may choose to vote against a motion if that vote will create a tied motion (therefore defeating the motion, since a tied motion is defeated).

5.12 Liability of Members of the Executive Committee

Members of the Executive Committee may rely upon the accuracy of any statement or report prepared by the Corporation's auditors and shall not be responsible or held liable for any loss or damage resulting when acting upon such statement or report.

No member of the Executive Committee of the Corporation shall be liable for the acts, receipts, neglects or defaults of any other member of the Executive Committee, or for joining in any receipts or other acts for conformity, or for any loss or expense happening to the Corporation through the insufficiency or deficiency of title to any property acquired by order of the Executive Committee for or on behalf of the Corporation, or for the insufficiency or deficiency of any security in or upon which any of the moneys of the Corporation shall be invested, or for any loss or damage arising from the bankruptcy, insolvency or tortious act of any person with whom any of the moneys, securities or effects of the Corporation shall be deposited, or for any loss occasioned by any error of judgement or oversight on his/her part, or for any other loss, damage or misfortune whatsoever which shall happen in the execution of the duties of his/her office or in relation thereto unless the same shall happen through his/her own dishonesty or be occasioned by his/her own wilful neglect or default.

5.13 Indemnity of Members of the Executive Committee

Every member of the Executive Committee of the Corporation and his/her executors and administrators and estate respectively shall from time to time and at all times be indemnified and saved harmless out of the funds of the Corporation from and against:

(a) all costs, charges and expenses whatsoever which such members of the Executive Committee sustain or incur in or about any action, suit or proceedings which is brought, commenced or prosecuted against him/her for or in respect of any act, deed, matter or thing whatsoever made, done or permitted by him/her in or about the execution of the duties of his/her office or alleged to be so except such costs, charges or expenses as are occasioned by his/her own wilful default or neglect.

(b) all other duly authorized costs, charges and expenses which he/she sustains or incurs in or about or in relation to the affairs of the Corporation except such costs, charges or expenses as are occasioned by his/her wilful default or neglect.

5.14 Remuneration:

No member of the Executive Committee shall be paid any remuneration for acting as a member of the Executive Committee. The members of the Executive Committee shall be paid such sums in respect of their out-of-pocket expenses incurred in attending General Meetings, meetings of the Executive Committee of meetings of other committees, or otherwise incurred in performing their duties, as the Executive Committee may from time to time determine.

ARTICLE SIX

COMMITTEES

Any General meeting or any meeting of the Executive Committee may establish such committees, standing or ad hoc, as it determines. To be eligible to serve on any such Committee, a person must be a Member.

ARTICLE SEVEN

SECRETARIAT

7.01 Secretariat:

The Executive Committee may establish a Secretariat which may consist of a Secretary General and additional staff as may from time to time be determined by the Executive Committee ("Secretariat"). The Secretariat shall be responsible to the Executive Committee for the implementation of the decisions of the General Meeting and the Executive Committee.

7.02 Secretary General

The Secretary General shall be responsible, under the direction of the Executive Committee, for the Administration of the Secretariat and such additional responsibilities as may be delegated to the Secretary General by the Executive Committee.

7.03 Vacancy

In the case of the absence or illness of the Secretary General, or of a vacancy in the post of the Secretary General, the President may appoint an acting Secretary General to act until the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

7.04 Attendance

The Secretary General will attend all General Meetings and may speak thereat.

7.05 Remuneration

The Executive Committee may fix the remuneration to be paid to the individual members of the Secretariat. No member of the Secretariat while serving as such shall be eligible for election as either an Officer or Director of the Corporation, other than as the Director (Staff Designate).

7.06 Liability and Indemnity

Members of the Secretariat shall be subject to the same conditions of liability and indemnity as are laid down in this By-law for members of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE EIGHT

AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS

8.01 Enactment

By-laws of the Corporation may be enacted and such By-laws repealed or amended by By-law of the Corporation enacted by a two-thirds majority of the Voting Delegates at any General Meeting, provided that due notice of motion to enact, repeal, or amend such By-law has been given, and provided further that the enactment, repeal or amendment of such By-law shall not be enforced acted upon until the approval of the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs has been obtained, as required under Section 155(2) of the Canada Corporations Act.

8.02 Submission of Amendments

Motions to enact, repeal or amend the By-laws of the Corporation may be submitted by the Executive Committee or an AI Group. Such motions shall be submitted to the Secretariat not less than ninety (90) days before the General Meeting at and by which they are to be determined.

8.03 Notice of Amendments

Notice of any motion to enact, repeal or amend the By-laws of the Corporation shall be given to every AI Group, member of the Executive Committee, and Coordinator sixty (60) days prior to the General Meeting at which such motion shall be considered by the Voting Delegates in attendance thereat; provided, however, that amendments to any such motion to enact, repeal or amend the By-laws of the Corporation shall be considered at such General Meeting without prior notice of the amendments to such motions having been given.

ARTICLE NINE

STANDING ORDERS

9.01 Standing Orders of the Corporation relative to any matter of procedure or organization of the Corporation not otherwise dealt with by, nor inconsistent with, the Act, the Letters Patent or the By-laws of the Corporation may be implemented by ordinary resolution of General Meetings and shall remain in force until expressly amended or repealed. Every resolution to implement a Standing Order shall be expressly designated as such. the Standing Orders of the Corporation shall be consecutively numbered and copies of those Standing Orders in force from time to time shall be available to all Members.

ARTICLE TEN

EXECUTION OF DOCUMENTS

10.01 Execution Under Seal

All deeds and other documents to which the seal of the Corporation shall be affixed shall be signed by any two of the officers of the Corporation and when so signed, sealed and delivered shall be an act of the Corporation.

10.02 Copies of By-laws etc.

Copies of By-laws, resolutions or other proceedings of the Executive Committee or General Meetings of the Corporation may be certified under the corporate seal of the Corporation by an officer of the Corporation.

10.03 Other Documents

All other contracts, agreements, engagements or instruments may be signed by such officer, Director, agent or attorney as the Executive Committee may from time to time by resolution appoint to perform such duties or, failing appointment, by any one of the persons authorized to sign documents under the seal of the Corporation as provided in Article 10.01 above.

10.04 General

The Executive Committee shall have power to appoint from time to time by resolution any officer or officers or any person or persons on behalf of the Corporation either to sign instruments in writing generally or to sign specific instruments in writing both under seal of the Corporation and otherwise.

ARTICLE ELEVEN

FISCAL YEAR

11.01 The fiscal year of the Corporation shall be October 1 - September 30..

ARTICLE TWELVE

INVESTMENTS

12.01 Such individual or individuals as may be authorized by resolution of the Executive Committee or by an instrument or instruments in writing signed by any two officers shall have authority on behalf of the Corporation to purchase, acquire, sell, assign, transfer, exchange, covert or convey any and all shares, stocks, bonds, debentures, rights, warrants or other securities to be purchased or acquired by or owned by or registered in the name of the Corporation and to sign and execute all purchase orders, assignments, transfers, conveyances, powers of attorney and other instruments that may be necessary for the purpose of purchasing, acquiring, selling, assigning, transferring, exchanging, converting or conveying any such shares, stocks, bonds, debentures, rights, warrants or other securities.

12.02 All of the shares or securities held from time to time by the Corporation carrying voting rights of any company or companies may be voted at any and all meetings of shareholders, bondholders, debenture-holders, debenture stockholders or holders of other securities (as the case may be) of such other company or companies and in such manner and by such individual or individuals as the President shall from time to time determine. In the absence of such determination by the President any officer may from time to time execute and deliver for and on behalf of the Corporation instruments of proxy and arrange for the issuance of voting certificates and other evidence of right to vote in such name or names as they determine.

ARTICLE THIRTEEN

NOTICE

13.01 Method of Giving

Any notice, demand, copy of resolution or other documents to be given by the Corporation pursuant to any provisions of the Act, the Letters Patent, or the By-laws, or any resolution of a General Meeting or of the Executive Committee to a Member, to an AI Group, or to any other person shall be sufficiently given if mailed by ordinary mail or delivered to his/her last address as recorded on the books of the Corporation or if delivered personally to the person to whom it is to be given. Every such notice, if mailed, shall be deemed to have been given on the date of mailing or delivery. Any member of the Executive Committee may change the address on the books of the Corporation of any Member, or person in accordance with any information believed by him/he to be reliable. The accidental omission to give any notice to any Member or person, or any error in any notice not affecting the substance thereto, shall not invalidate any action taken at any meeting held pursuant to such notice or otherwise founded thereon. Any notice may be included in any periodic publication of the Corporation.

13.02 Adjourned Meetings

The Chairperson of the General Meetings with the consent of the Voting Delegates and subject to such conditions as the meeting may decide may adjourn the same from time to time and from place to place and no notice of such adjourned meeting need be given except when a meeting has been adjourned for thirty (30) clear days or more or is not adjourned to a fixed time and place in which event notice of the adjourned meeting shall be given as in the case of the General Meeting. Any business may be brought before or dealt with at any such adjourned meeting which might have been brought before or dealt with at the original meeting in accordance with the notice calling such original meeting.

13.03 Computation of Time

In the absence of provision to the contrary where a given number of days or other period of notice is required to be given, the day of giving the notice shall be excluded, and the day for which notice is given and statutory holidays and non-juridical days shall be included in such number of days or other period.

13.04 Proof of Service

A certificate of the President or the Secretary or other duly authorized officer of the Corporation in office at the time of the making of the certificate or of any agent of the Corporation as to facts in relation to the mailing or delivery of any notice shall be conclusive evidence thereof and shall be binding on every person entitled to such notice.

ARTICLE FOURTEEN

AUDITORS

14.01 Each Annual General Meeting shall appoint an auditor to audit the accounts of the Corporation to hold office until the next Annual General Meeting provided that the Executive Committee may fill any casual vacancy in the office of the auditors. The remuneration of the auditor shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE FIFTEEN

RELATIONSHIP WITH AMNISTIE INTERNATIONALE SECTION CANADIENNE (FRANCOPHONE)

15.01 The relationship between the Corporation and its French-speaking equivalent in Canada shall be governed by the following guidelines, as in the "Memorandum of Agreement" passed in London, Ontario, 2 June 1978 as amended;

I **WHEREAS** the Annual General Meeting in Guelph, 1977 decided the principle of the creation of two autonomous bodies within Amnesty International in Canada, and the revision of the constitution accordingly;

WHEREAS the committee formed for this purpose has deliberated and has concluded that is impossible to create two autonomous Branches within a single Corporation;

WE PROPOSE the creation of two fully autonomous bodies in Canada, and these two bodies will function according to the statutes of Amnesty International.

II **WHEREAS** the present reality shows the necessity of cooperation between these two fully autonomous bodies, and,

WHEREAS the two bodies acknowledge that their energy should be directed toward attaining the objectives of Amnesty International;

WE PROPOSE the following Memorandum of Agreement between the two bodies;

1. With respect to representation at the International level, the two bodies agree that:

   a) at the international level the delegates be seated together under the same name;

   b) before any international meeting, delegates from the two bodies and/or the two Executive Committees meet to discuss the agenda.

2. With respect to taking a position on Canadian issues or making presentations to the Canadian authorities, the two bodies agree to consult before formalizing their positions.

3. The two Branches will continue to exchange minutes of important meetings.

4. The presidents of the two Branches or their delegates will be in regular contact.

5. The presidents or their delegates will inform their respective decision-making bodies of important relevant decisions taken by the other Branch.

6. The two presidents or their delegates will consult their respective decision-making bodies should joint action be deemed advisable.

7. In the case of breakdown in the above procedures or in the event of disagreement on a given issue, each Branch will delegate a number of its bilingual representatives to further discuss the issue and attempt to find a solution for presentation to the appropriate decision-making bodies.

ARTICLE SIXTEEN

DISSOLUTION OF CORPORATION

(a) The Corporation can only be dissolved by law by a decision of the International Executive Committee or by a decision of a General Meeting taken with a quorum of one-third of its members and by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

(b) If, after the Corporation ceases to operate or is dissolved and after satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities, there remains any property (including information) whatever, that property shall become the property of Amnesty International and shall be disposed of by a decision of the International Executive Committee.

ARTICLE SEVENTEEN

METHODS OF OPERATION

(a) The Corporation shall operate, and shall ensure that its groups and members shall operate, in accordance with the International Statute, working rules and guidelines of Amnesty International.

(b) In order to achieve the aforesaid object, the Corporation shall use the methods which are expressed in Article 2 of the Statute of Amnesty International, insofar as applicable, as amended from time to time, as incorporated herein by reference and according to the rules established by the International Council of Amnesty International.

(c) In view of the methods of Amnesty International as presently expressed in Article 2 of its Statute, the Corporation shall, subject to the Statute of Amnesty International and the guidelines and working rules adopted by the International Council:

i) at all times maintain an overall balance between its activities in relation to countries adhering to the different world political ideologies and groupings;

ii) take all necessary steps to establish an effective organization of Amnesty International groups registered with the Corporation and of individual members.

APPENDIX C.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CANADIAN SECTION
Membership Survey
In each section circle the answer you believe most applicable
Do not sign your name to the questionnaire.

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A MEMBER OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ?

Less than 1 year 1-3 years 4-6 years 6-10 years More than 10 years

IS YOUR PRINCIPAL ROLE IN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL THAT OF A

Group Member Network Member
Fieldworker Coordinator at Branch Level
Other
(Circle only one response)

DO YOU HAVE READY ACCESS TO A COMPUTER ? Yes No

DO YOU HAVE AN E-MAIL ADDRESS ? Yes No

THERE ARE MANY ACTIVITIES ASSOCIATED WITH WORKING FOR AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL FROM THE FOLLOWING LIST INDICATE IN ORDER THE FIVE MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU
(1 for the most important, 2 for the next important and so on through 5, mark X against the one which would have least appeal to you.)

Responding by letter or telex to appeals for urgent action. ...
Working for a group adopted prisoner of conscience. ...
Investigation cases assigned to a group ...
Working for regional action networks ...
Campaigning against the death penalty ...
Meeting with other members at group meetings ...
Participating in meetings led by field workers ...
Working to oppose violations of the human rights of women ...
Working for other networks - artists, religious or teachers ...
Attending regional conferences or the general meeting ...
Fund raising ...
Coordination at national or group level - identify which one ...
Publicity - writing articles for newspapers, speaking on radio or appearing on TV ...
Campaigning against torture ...
Group work involving help from a coordinator ...
Organisation at group, regional, or national level ...
Outreach - work in malls, schools or with religious groups ...
Group organized public demonstrations ...
Reading and responding to appeals in the "Activist". ...
Other please specify ....

DO YOU TAKE PART IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AS A MEMBER OF A POLITICAL PARTY ?
yes no

DO YOU SPEAK ANY LANGUAGE/S OTHER THEN ENGLISH ?

yes no If yes please specify .....

HAVE YOU EVER ATTENDED A GENERAL MEETING OF THE BRANCH ?

yes no If yes describe your experience

.....

HAVE YOU EVER ATTENDED A REGIONAL MEETING OF THE BRANCH ?

yes no If yes describe your experience

.....

HAVE YOU EVER DISCUSSED WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL THE RESOLUTIONS TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING ?

yes no

HAVE YOU HAD A PART IN PREPARING A RESOLUTION TO BE SUBMITTED TO AN ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING ?

yes no

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED BY GROUPS DO INFLUENCE DECISIONS OF THE ENGLISH SPEAKING BRANCH ?

yes no

TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE POLICIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT CAN BE INFLUENCED BY RECOMMENDATIONS FROM OUR BRANCH ?

major influence some influence no influence don't know

HAVE YOU EVER VISITED A BRANCH OFFICE ?

The Ottawa Office (Vanier) yes no

The Toronto Office yes no

The Pacific Regional Office yes no

DO YOU RECEIVE A COPY OF THE ACTIVIST ? yes no

IF YES HOW DO YOU RATE IT ?

Excellent Very Good Satisfactory Needs improvement Of little value

HOW MANY LETTERS HAVE YOU WRITTEN AND HOW MANY REPLIES HAVE YOU RECEIVED IN THE LAST YEAR ?

	Letters written	Replies received
To victims of human rights abuse or their families.	.....	.....
To foreign governments or their embassies.	.....	.....
To Canadian Members of Parliament or Canadian government officials	.....	.....

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE ASKED TO ESTABLISH A PROFILE OF OUR MEMBERSHIP
(place tick against the appropriate answer)

WHAT IS YOUR SEX ? Male ( ) Female ( )

WHAT IS YOUR AGE ?

Under 21	( )
21 to 30	( )
31 to 40	( )
41 to 50	( )
50 to 65	( )
Over 65.	( )

WHAT IS YOUR PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE ? .....

WHAT KIND OF COMMUNITY DO YOU LIVE IN ?

Urban	( )
Suburban	( )
Rural	( )

WHERE WERE YOU BORN ?

Canada	( )
United States	( )
Britain	( )
West European Country	( )
East European Country	( )
Middle East	( )
Africa (excluding Egypt)	( )
Asia (excluding Middle East)	( )
Central America or Caribbean	( )
South America.	( )
Australasia	( )

WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION ? .....

WHAT IS YOUR PERSONAL INCOME ?		**YOUR HOUSEHOLD INCOME ?**	
Below $20,000	( )	Below $20,000	( )
$20,000 to $50,000	( )	$20,000 to $50,000	( )
$50,000 to $75,000	( )	$50,000 to $75,000	( )
$75,000 to $100,000	( )	$75,000 to $100,000	( )
Over $100,000	( )	Over $100,000	( )

WHAT IS YOUR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ?

Up to and including grade 8.	( )
Up to and including grade 12.	( )
Some technical or community college diploma	( )
University studies to undergraduate degree.	( )
Some post graduate studies.	( )

****

Thank you for your assistance in compiling this questionnaire.

Appendix D.

LISTING OF ALL RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A MEMBER OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ?

LESS THAN 1 YEAR	1 TO 3 YEARS	4 TO 6 YEARS	6 TO 10 YEARS	OVER 10 YEARS	TOTAL
38	88	86	119	167	498

2. WHAT IS YOUR PRINCIPAL ROLE IN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ?

GROUP MEMBER	NETWORK	FIELDWORKER	COORDINATOR	OTHER	TOTAL
371	49	20	28	27	495

3. DO YOU HAVE READY ACCESS TO A COMPUTER ?

AGE	UNDER 21	21 TO 30	31 TO 40	41 TO 50	51 TO 65	OVER 65	TOTAL
YES	16	44	80	107	91	28	366
NO	6	8	16	20	43	42	135

4. DO YOU HAVE AN E-MAIL ADDRESS ?

AGE	UNDER 21	21 TO 30	31 TO 40	41 TO 50	51 TO 65	OVER 65	TOTAL
YES	11	34	54	70	51	13	233
NO	11	18	41	56	82	55	263

5. DO YOU TAKE PART IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AS A MEMBER OF A POLITICAL PARTY ?

YES	112	NO	378	TOTAL	490

6. WHICH ACTIVITIES OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU ?

ACTIVITY	1ST CHOICE	%	RANK	IN FIRST FIVE	%	RANK
RESPONDING TO APPEALS FOR URGENT ACTION	172	37	1	299	14	1
WORKING FOR AN ADOPTED PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE	81	18	2	241	11	2
RESPONDING TO APPEALS IN THE "ACTIVIST"	47	10	3	201	9	3
CAMPAIGNING AGAINST TORTURE	22	5	4	172	8	4
ORGANISING AT BRANCH, REGIONAL OR NATIONAL LEVEL	21	5	5	66	3	15
COORDINATION AT GROUP OR NATIONAL LEVEL	17	4	6	46	2	17
TAKING PART IN GROUP MEETINGS	15	3	7	168	8	5
WORKING TO OPPOSE THE VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN	12	3	8	155	7	6
OUTREACH IN MALLS, SCHOOLS OR WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS	11	3	9	144	7	7
WORKING FOR REGIONAL ACTION NETWORKS	10	2	10	79	4	11
CAMPAIGNING AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY	9	2	11	130	6	8
PUBLICITY - WRITING ARTICLES FOR NEWSPAPERS SPEAKING ON RADIO OR T.V.	8	2	12	74	4	12
WORK ON INVESTIGATION CASES ASSIGNED TO A GROUP.	6	1	13	69	3	13
FUND RAISING	6	1	14	96	4	9
GROUP ORGANISED PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS	6	1	15	84	4	10
GROUP WORK INVOLVING HELP FROM A COORDINATOR.	5	1	16	30	1	18
WORKING FOR OTHER NETWORKS - SUCH AS ARTISTS, THE RELIGIOUS NETWORK OR TEACHERS.	4	1	17	69	3	14
OTHER ACTIVITIES AS SPECIFIED	4	1	18	17	0	19
ATTENDING REGIONAL OR NATIONAL MEETINGS	2	0	19	49	2	16
PARTICIPATING IN MEETINGS LED BY FIELDWORKERS	1	0	20	15	0	20

7. WHICH ACTIVITY OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAS THE LEAST APPEAL TO YOU?

FUND RAISING	60
PUBLICITY - WRITING ARTICLES FOR NEWSPAPERS, SPEAKING ON RADIO OR T.V.	23
GROUP ORGANISED PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS.	20
CAMPAIGNING AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY.	16
OUTREACH IN MALLS, SCHOOLS OR WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS	15
ATTENDING REGIONAL OR NATIONAL MEETINGS.	13
COORDINATION AT GROUP OR NATIONAL LEVEL	12
ORGANISING AT BRANCH, REGIONAL OR NATIONAL LEVEL.	10
PARTICIPATING IN MEETINGS LED BY FIELDWORKERS.	9
WORKING FOR OTHER NETWORKS, SUCH AS ARTISTS, TEACHERS OR RELIGIOUS NETWORK	7
RESPONDING TO APPEALS FOR URGENT ACTION.	4
WORK ON INVESTIGATION CASES ASSIGNED TO A GROUP.	4
WORKING FOR REGIONAL ACTION NETWORKS.	4
RESPONDING TO APPEALS IN THE "ACTIVIST"	4
OTHER ACTIVITIES AS SPECIFIED	4
TAKING PART IN GROUP MEETINGS	3
WORKING FOR AN ADOPTED PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE.	2
GROUP WORK INVOLVING HELP FROM A COORDINATOR	2
WORKING TO OPPOSE THE VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN	1
CAMPAIGNING AGAINST TORTURE	0
TOTAL	213

8. DO YOU SPEAK ANY LANGUAGE OTHER THAN ENGLISH ?

	FRENCH	SPANISH	GERMAN	ITALIAN	OTHER
230 RESPONDENTS SPEAK A SECOND LANGUAGE	176	44	33	9	66

79 RESPONDENTS SPOKE 3 LANGUAGES, 16 SPOKE 4 LANGUAGES, AND 5, MORE THAN 4 LANGUAGES

9. HAVE YOU EVER ATTENDED AN ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE BRANCH ?
HAVE YOU EVER ATTENDED A REGIONAL MEETING ?

	YES	NO
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING	255	245
REGIONAL MEETING	234	268

10. COMMENTS WERE REQUESTED OF THOSE ATTENDING THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETINGS AND THE REGIONAL MEETINGS.

COMMENTS ON ANNUAL GENERAL MEETINGS AND REGIONAL CONFERENCES WERE FAVOURABLE

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETINGS,.
39% OF THOSE COMMENTING BELIEVED THE AGMs WERE EXCELLENT, 12 OF 200 MADE ADVERSE COMMENTS.

REGIONAL MEETINGS..
30% OF THOSE COMMENTING SAID THE REGIONAL CONFERENCES WERE EXCELLENT, 5 OF 190 MADE ADVERSE COMMENTS.

11. HAVE YOU EVER DISCUSSED WITH OTHER MEMBERS RESOLUTIONS TO SUBMITTED TO AN AGM ?
HAVE YOU EVER PARTICIPATED IN THE PREPARATION OF RESOLUTIONS ?

	YES	NO
HAVE YOU DISCUSSED RESOLUTIONS ?	320	178
HAVE YOU HELPED TO PREPARE RESOLUTIONS ?	159	341

12 DO YOU BELIEVE THAT RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED BY GROUPS INFLUENCE DECISIONS OF THE ENGLISH SPEAKING BRANCH ?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
MEN	153	7	14
WOMEN	256	12	25

13. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE POLICIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT CAN BE INFLUENCED BY RECOMMENDATIONS FROM OUR BRANCH ?

	MAJOR INFLUENCE	SOME INFLUENCE	NO INFLUENCE	DON'T KNOW
MEN	7	133	2	36
WOMEN	29	207	2	69

14. HAVE YOU EVER VISITED A BRANCH OFFICE ?

	YES	% YES	NO	% NO
THE OTTAWA (VANIER) OFFICE.	100	22%	362	78%
THE TORONTO OFFICE.	123	26%	350	74%
THE PACIFIC REGIONAL OFFICE.	57	13%	394	87%

15. DO YOU RECEIVE A COPY OF THE "ACTIVIST" ?

	YES	% YES	NO	% NO
DO YOU RECEIVE THE "ACTIVIST"	452	90%	48	10%

ANALYSIS OF THE 48 RESPONDENTS WHO DID NOT RECEIVE " THE ACTIVIST" BY YEARS OF MEMBERSHIP.

LESS THAN ONE YEAR	1 TO 3 YEARS	4 TO 5 YEARS	6 TO 10 YEARS	OVER 10 YEARS	YEARS UNKNOWN	TOTAL
16	12	9	4	5	2	48

16. IF YOU RECEIVE THE "ACTIVIST" HOW DO YOU RATE IT ?

	EXCELLENT	VERY GOOD	SATISFACTORY	NEEDS IMPROVEMENT	OF LITTLE VALUE
MEN	21	96	41	2	0
WOMEN	62	166	49	4	1
TOTAL	83	262	90	6	1
TOTAL BY %	19%	59%	21%	1%	0%

17. HOW MANY LETTER HAVE YOU WRITTEN AND HOW MANY REPLIES HAVE YOU RECEIVED IN THE LAST YEAR ?

NO STATISTICS CAN BE PRODUCED FOR THE NUMBERS OF LETTERS SENT AS MANY RESPONDENTS COULD NOT REMEMBER. TYPICAL ANSWERS WERE "SOME", "LOTS" ,"NOT MANY", "I CAN'T RECALL"

MANY MORE LETTERS WERE SENT THAN WERE RECEIVED. 82 RESPONDENTS SENT MORE THAN 50 LETTERS DURING THE YEAR, BETWEEN THEM THEY SENT 9,818 LETTERS.

REPLIES RECEIVED	# WHO RECEIVED REPLIES	# OF REPLIES RECEIVED
FROM VICTIMS OR FAMILIES	54	109
FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENT	204	561
FROM M.Ps. OR CANADIAN GOVERNMENT	145	466

18. WHAT IS YOUR SEX ?

THERE WERE 188 MEN, 314 WOMEN, AND 5 RESPONDENTS WHO DIDN'T ANSWER THE QUESTION. FOR ANALYSIS BY PROVINCE TABLE D.20.

19. WHAT IS YOUR AGE ?

	UNDER 21	21 TO 30	31 TO 40	41 TO 50	51 TO 65	OVER 65
MEN	6	18	39	46	48	30
WOMEN	16	34	57	79	87	42
RESPONDENTS	22	52	96	125	135	72
PERCENT	4%	15%	19%	25%	27%	14%

20. WHAT IS YOUR PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE.

PROVINCE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	%
NEWFOUNDLAND	10	7	17	3.4%
NOVA SCOTIA	4	8	12	2.4%
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	0	4	4	0.8%
NEW BRUNSWICK	2	4	6	1.2%
QUEBEC	6	21	27	5.4%
ONTARIO	96	150	246	49.4%
MANITOBA	4	13	17	3.4%
SASKATCHEWAN	8	16	24	4.8%
ALBERTA	8	17	25	5.0%
BRITISH COLUMBIA	44	66	110	22.1%
YUKON	0	3	3	0.6%
THE TERRITORIES	2	5	7	1.4%

21. WHAT KIND OF COMMUNITY DO YOU LIVE IN ?

	# RESPONDENTS	PERCENT
URBAN	283	55.9%
SUBURBAN	122	24.1%
RURAL	101	20.0%

22. WHERE WERE YOU BORN ?

	# RESPONDENTS	%
CANADA	363	71.7%
UNITED STATES	27	5.3%
BRITAIN	66	13.0%
WESTERN EUROPE	22	4.3%
EASTERN EUROPE	7	1.4%
MIDDLE EAST	5	1.0%
AFRICA (EXCLUDING EGYPT)	2	0.4%
ASIA (EXCLUDING MIDDLE EAST)	10	2.0%
CENTRAL AMERICA/CARIBBEAN	0	0.0%
SOUTH AMERICA	0	0.0%
AUSTRALASIA	4	0.8%

23. WHAT IS YOUR PERSONAL INCOME ?
WHAT IS YOUR FAMILY INCOME ?

	BELOW $20,000	$20,000 TO $50,000	$50,000 TO $75,000	$75,000 TO $100,000	OVER $100,000
PERSONAL INCOME	153	201	67	13	3
FAMILY INCOME	28	139	95	62	31

70 RESPONDENTS DID NOT REPORT THEIR PERSONAL INCOME, 152 DID NOT REPORT THEIR FAMILY INCOME. THE FIGURE FOR FAMILY INCOME "BELOW $20,000" IS PROBABLY LOW BECAUSE 41 RESPONDENTS WITH PERSONAL INCOME AT THIS LEVEL FAILED TO REPORT THEIR FAMILY INCOME.

24. WHAT IS YOUR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ?

	UP TO GRADE 8	UP TO GRADE 12	COLLEGE OR TECH. DIPLOMA	UNIV. UP TO UNDERGRAD	POST GRAD. STUDIES
MEN	3	11	21	64	87
WOMEN	4	20	46	103	140
TOTAL	7	31	67	167	227
PERCENTAGE	1%	6%	13%	34%	46%

25. WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION ?

PROFESSOR, TEACHER, EDUCATOR	109
RETIRED	98
STUDENTS	56
HOMEMAKERS	22
WRITERS, JOURNALISTS, EDITORS	22
LAWYERS, LAW STUDENTS	11
LIBRARIANS, LIBRARY WORKERS	10
NURSES	9
ACCOUNTANTS	7
SOCIAL WORKERS	6
UNEMPLOYED	6
ENGINEERS	5
PHYSICIANS	5
ADMINISTRATORS	5
INDEPENDENT BUSINESS OWNERS	5
NOT IN ANY OF THE ABOVE CATEGORIES	119

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berry, Jeffrey M. The Interest Group Society. 2nd ed. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman &Co., 1989.

Blane, Andrew, What Makes Amnesty International Work ? 3rd.Ed. Colombo, Sri Lanka: Amnesty International Publications, 1986.

Carroll, William J., ed. Organizing Dissent. Victoria: Garamond Press, 1992.

Foot, David K. Boom, Bust & Echo. Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1996.

Hayes, Michael T. "Interest Groups: Pluralism or Mass Society ?" Interest Group Politics. Ed. A.J.Cigler and B.A.Loomis, Washington, D.C: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1983. 110-125.

Lipset, Seymour M., Trow, M., Coleman, J. Union Democracy. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1956.

Matas, David. No More. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994.

Michels, Robert. Political Parties. Trans. Eden and Cedar Paul. London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1962.

Phillips, Susan D. "Of Public Interest Groups and Sceptics: A Realist reply to Professor Stanbury." CPA 36.4 (1993) 606-616.

Power, Johnathan. Against Oblivion. Glasgow: Fontana Paperbacks, 1981.

Salisbury, Robert H. "Interest Groups: Towards a New Understanding" Interest Group Politics. Ed.A.J.Cigler and B.A.Loomis, Washington, D.C: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1983, 354-369.

Stanbury, W.T. "A Sceptics Guide to the Claims of So-called Public Interest Groups" CPA 36.4 (1993) 580-605.

Stepan, Alfred. ed. Authoritarian Brazil. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

Truman, David B., The Governmental Process. New York: Knopf. 1971.

Zisk, Betty H. The Politics of Transformation. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers. 1992.

----- ed. American Political Interest Groups. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1969.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS.

Amnesty International Annual Reports. London: Amnesty International Publications, for the years 1974 to 1996.

Amnesty International Bulletin. Ottawa: Amnesty International Canadian Section (English Speaking), from January 1988 to December 1994. The Bulletin ceased publication at the end of 1994 and was replaced by the Activist.

The Activist. Ottawa: Amnesty International Canadian Section (English Speaking), from February 1995 to March 1997.

Delegates Kit for the 1996 Annual General Meeting. AICS(ES).
Including the 1995-96 Annual Report.
The Branch Plan 1996-2000.
The 1996 AGM Resolutions
The 1996 Finance Documents
Guidelines for Resolutions.

Report and Decisions of the !4th International Council of Amnesty International 1981 held in Montreal together with notes from the organizing committee.

Amnesty International Canada Letter Writing Guide. Ottawa: AICS(ES) 1981

Amnesty International Manual. Ottawa: AICS(ES) 1981.

EERAN Newsletters. St.John's Newfoundland: from January 1986 to end of publication in November 1989.

Minutes of the Founding Meeting of the Canadian Section Sackville, NB. 1974
The meeting was held in St Lambert, Quebec in May 1973 but minutes were revised several times and the final draft was not agreed until May 1974 immediately prior to the 1974 Annual Meeting.

A Report of the 2nd Annual General Meeting held in May 1974.

Manuals for Coordinators and Fieldworkers.

Action documents for the South Andean Regional Action Network for 1996 and 1997.

Group 9 and Group 14 Newsletters, sundry newsletters from Networks recent copies of "Contact" the communications document between Ottawa and groups.

GLOSSARY*.

AI.

Amnesty International, a worldwide voluntary movement that works to prevent some of the gravest violations by governments of people's fundamental human rights.

AICS(ES).

This stands for Amnesty International Canadian Section (English Speaking).

Branch.

Amnesty International in Canada is organized in two "Branches": the Francophone Branch and the Anglophone Branch. Each has its own membership, budget and programs, although they engage in various cooperative activities. The two Branches together form a Section: a national AI structure that supports and coordinates AI activities in a country.

ICM.

The International Council Meeting, a biennial assembly of representatives of the international movement. AI's supreme governing body that makes fundamental decisions about the mandate, organization, budgets and policy. This body also elects the International Executive Committee. The most recent ICM was held in Ljubljana, Slovenia in 1995.

IEC.

Is elected by the ICM. It governs the movement between Council Meetings.

IS.

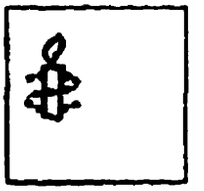
International Secretariat, the headquarters in London (UK) of AI's global operations. It is the international centre for research, publications, media and publicity, and campaign planning.

MEC/MSP

MEC (military, economic, and cultural relations) refers to the outreach to the military, police, and business, inviting cooperation with our AI's human rights work. MSP(military, security, and police transfers) refers to the export of military, security and police equipment to governments that might use these to violate human rights within AI's mandate

* These definitions are taken from the International Report for 1966, the 1995-96 Annual Report of Amnesty International Canadian Section (ES), and from What Makes Amnesty International Work ? By Andrew Blane.

Amnesty International



Canadian Section (ES)
National Office: 214 Montreal Road, 4th Floor, Vanier, Ontario K1L 1A4
Tel:(613)744-7667 Fax: (613)746-2411
Toronto Office: 440 Bloor St W, 2nd Floor, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1X5 Tel:(416) 929-9477 Fax: (416)929-0539
Pacific Regional Office: 3664 East Hastings, Ste4, Vancouver, B.C. V5K 2A9 Tel: (604)294-5160 Fax: (604)294-5130

TO: Office of the Political Science Department, University of Waterloo

FAX NO: 519 746-5622 **DATE: 6 May 1997**

FROM: Bonnie Harnden

Total Number of pages including this cover sheet:

If you do not receive all the pages, or if they are not fully legible, please contact me at 613-744-7667 ext. 235

MESSAGE

RE: Phil de Gruchy's Thesis

This is to inform you that Mr. de Gruchy may use the Statute of Amnesty International and the By-laws of Amnesty International Canadian Section (English Speaking) as inclusions in his thesis.

B. Harnden

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

FAX: (44) (171) 956 1157
Tel: (44) (171) 413 5500

TO : P R de Gruchy
c/o Political Science Dept. University of Waterloo,
Canada

FROM : Debbie Sohan
Publications Program
Amnesty International, International Secretariat

DATE : 8 May 1997

DESTINATION FAX NO. : 9 00 1 519 746 5622

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET : 1
If you do not receive all the pages, or they are not fully legible, please call us as soon as possible on 00 44 171 413 5547

COMMENTS / MESSAGES

Dear P R de Gruchy,

Many thanks for your fax of 5 May 1997 requesting copyright permission as regards the statute of Amnesty International.

We are happy to give you permission to copy this, with the following conditions:

1. That it is granted solely or the one-time use of the material for the reasons you have specified.

2. That you reproduce the material in full, without deletions and that the extracts be presented in a way that does not compromise the impartial, non-partisan character of Amnesty International's information and organisation

3. That the extracts are fully credited and that the credits include the full title and also the Amnesty International index number.

May we take this opportunity to wish you every success in your studies, and we look forward to receiving a copy of your thesis once it is completed and bound.

With best wishes
Debbie Sohan

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom
Tel: (44) (171) 413 5500 Fax: (44) (171) 956 1157
E-mail: amnestyis@amnesty.org Web Home Page: http://www.amnesty.org