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THE DIALECTICS OF TRANSNATIONAL
HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITY: A STUDY OF
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

by

Arthur Weston Blaser, B.A., M.A.

* * * *

The Ohio State University
1979

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To my mother
and the memory of my father
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Completion of this study was greatly facilitated by the following: Professors Alger, Hermann, and Sylvan, who provided constructive criticisms, the Mershon Center, which provided support for the field-work conducted in Europe; and representatives of nongovernmental organizations, who were forthright in their assessments of human rights activity.
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INTRODUCTION

Many people associate human rights with a "do-gooder" mentality, or moral crusade. Human rights groups, by this view, exist to bring together people who would set aside the cruel conflicts that ravage the world, and who would suggest ways in which all people can live together. The powerful, whose control of the world's resources has produced so many human rights violations, could then be convinced to promote humanitarian values so that all people would enjoy peace with justice.

This view corresponds neither with governmental initiatives undertaken in the name of "human rights," nor with the initiatives of the human rights groups which are analyzed in this dissertation. The practice of human rights work is an exercise in political conflict—not only a conflict between rights protectors and rights violators, but also a conflict between protectors who perceive "human rights" to mean very different things.

I. Preview. The analysis of one group of human rights actors, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with transnational human rights activity, will permit an understanding of who some of the major actors are and how they differ. The analysis will also help in answering five questions
which are at the heart of the study of world politics:

1. To what extent, and how effectively do nongovernmental actors pursue policies independent of national governments?

2. To what extent do individualist and collectivist values yield conflicting perceptions of political practices and possibilities?

3. To what extent do conflicts over the Cold War, Zionism, and apartheid shape transnational activities?

4. To what extent do rich, white, male, Europeans exercise a disproportionate influence over transnational political activities? and

5. How does transnational political activity today differ in quantity and quality from the activity of previous generations?

This chapter introduces the five recurrent questions. First, however, the base for the discussion must be detailed: What does "human rights" mean as used by nongovernmental organizations? How can we realistically describe and assess the organizations' human rights practices?

II. The Evolution of Human Rights. Close attention will be given to what many organizations describe as their human rights activities. Many of these activities are peculiar to the organizations' present time, place, and circumstances. Since there have been major differences in conceptions of
human rights from place to place and from time to time, "human rights" must be defined contextually.

A convenient starting point in tracing the evolution of human rights is Locke's positing of natural rights to life, liberty, and property. These were the rights enjoyed by the individual in a "state of nature," alone in a mythical forest. Since Eastern societies lacked Locke's notion of an atomic individualism, his justification of rights remained far from universal.

Naturalist justifications such as Locke's tend to fare poorly in the context of contemporary realities. The geographic areas with the greatest rights deprivation, and with the greatest impetus for change have experienced colonial free-floating maximizers of life, liberty, and property. Their liberation, and the implementation of their human rights, has usually been perceived to include the communal sharing, rather than the individual acquisition of property. A conception of universal human rights must be sensitive to the perspectives of different areas, rather than assuming the conceiver's context to be "natural."

Naturalism is implicit in many contemporary conceptions of human rights which attempt to transcend the limitations of a single culture or region. Selznick is one of a few analysts who have defended a naturalistic approach with explicit argument for its practical utility for social scientists. He recognizes the limitations of rigid laws of nature and of
strictly individualist approaches, suggesting:

"If we recognize the great diversity of cultures, with what variety and ingenuity communities have solved the problems of survival and designed valued ways of life, our parochial views will be modified and the richness of human experience appreciated. Above all, the easy tendency to treat our own ways as natural and to see them as stemming from human nature will be rejected. This understanding...would yield benign doctrines encouraging the transformation of social conditions in order to correct moral ills, shifting the locus of responsibility from the individual to organized society."

While rescue attempts such as Selznick's may permit the conceptualization of human rights to retain a naturalist bent and sensitivity to cultural context, these attempts alone are not sufficient. Nature varies not only from place to place, but also from time to time.

Human rights are not absolute. They are not self-evident. What we call human rights now differs greatly from past conceptions; the source of the greatest differences is historical development. Thus we now discuss the relation between nuclear power and human rights, a concern recently dealt with in the Review of the International Commission of Jurists. Elsewhere human rights concern is related to appropriate responses to natural disasters, and to environmental policies.

Human rights is very much a topic in transition. As depicted in Figure 1, the human rights movement can be seen as an amalgam of earlier concerns. There is considerable overlap between the human rights movement and past and future
Natural Law

Natural Rights

Civil Rights

Right of Liberation, Struggle

Socialist "Humanism"

The Cold War

Human Rights

Human Needs

KEY: Double line denotes period of movement's greatest strength. Single line denotes "life" of movement.

Figure 1
Human Rights as a Topic in Transition—
The Human Rights Movement as a Movement in Transition
movements with which it interacts; these are responsible for reactionary and revolutionary efforts conducted under the "human rights" banner. As society changes, so will the meaning of "human rights." There are possible seeds of the concept's destruction evident in a new emphasis on human needs. Claims of human rights may eventually have practical significance only insofar as these rights enable fulfillment of needs.

There are strong forces behind the old and new concepts and movements which may substantially alter the nature of rights. A United Nations seminar linked technology, which is seldom mentioned directly by human rights analysts and activists, to the following Articles of the Universal Declaration:

1. Right to Privacy (Article 12)
2. Right to Enjoy Democratic Government (Article 21)
3. Right to Work (Article 23)
4. Right to Rest and Leisure (Article 24)
5. Right to Health (Article 25)
6. Right to Food (Article 25)
7. Rights to Education and Culture (Articles 26 and 27)

Forces such as corporate multinationalism and cartelization have also had, and will continue to have great influence on the nature of rights.

These concerns dictate an avoidance of immutable definitions of rights. "Human rights" is nevertheless a vocabulary of theoretical and practical use, if only because it captures the aspirations, conflicts, and practices of a wide variety of governments and peoples.
But is the consequence a nihilistic relativism? Is there any alternative to following Lewis Carroll's Wonderland approach in which human rights means just what the analyst wants it to mean, nothing more, nothing less? Is the vocabulary of human rights comparable to "a ship adrift on the sea of political rhetoric, at the mercy of this or that ideological wind?"8 I think not.

At present we can describe the circumstances conducive to a dynamic, evolutionary conception of human rights. The primary requirement, one that is noticeably absent from early attempts, is a broad base of participation. American and French declarations of civil and political rights represent an advanced stage in comparison to the assertions of classical philosophers. The declarations were nevertheless narrow—not the rights of the whole society, but of a narrow, egoistic "man."9 Contemporary declarations go much further, including the participation and acknowledging the rights of people from a wide variety of countries.10

As human rights evolve, there will be many occasions when use of stipulative definitions is necessary. In the present context, the United Nations Declaration and Covenants on Human Rights reflect the aspirations (if not the practices) of most governments, and the goals of most human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs). While only a minority of current U.N. members were active in composing the initial Declaration, many new nations incorporated parts, or even
the entirety of the Universal Declaration in their Constitutions. While there are major differences in emphasis, as will be discussed later, there is a general agreement that different categories of rights included in the U.N. documents are indeed human rights.

Though participation in the composition of the Universal Declaration was limited, nongovernmental groups did assume an active role. Further, virtually all of the NGOs actively involved in promoting human rights (even those groups which consistently criticize the United Nations) frequently invoke the Declaration as a justification for their actions. Amnesty International introduces investigative reports with reference to appropriate articles of the Declaration. The Committee on International Law and Human Rights of the International Parliamentarians Conference on the Middle East Crisis used the Universal Declaration as the applicable human rights standard in assessing Israeli policies. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions began with the Declaration in its review of human rights standards. Thus, for an analysis of practical NGO activity, the Universal Declaration provides a satisfactory standard of "human rights." There are other human rights documents which could profitably be considered along with the Universal Declaration: among them the Geneva Conventions, regional rights Conventions, and NGO statements of purpose.
III. The Evolution of Nongovernmental Organizations and Transnational Human Rights Activity. Concern here is with a set of actors which has increased greatly in recent years. These actors can be described as nongovernmental, as having a transnational concern, and as having human rights activities.

The first two characteristics can be described with the aid of two continua: of the extent of governmental involvement, and of the territorial context (individual, local, national, international, supranational) of the activity. These continua are sketched in Table 1.

A glance at human rights activity reveals that rather than a clear dichotomy of nongovernmental and governmental organizations, a complex mix of governmental, quasi-governmental, private, and public groups is emerging. Within the "grey area" between governmental and nongovernmental are the Inter-Parliamentary Union (representatives of many governments acting collectively in a nongovernmental capacity), the Assembly of Captive European Nations, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (both proclaimed governments in exile). These groups are important actors in the realization or frustration of human rights.

The Union of International Associations' approach aids in determining what groups are, and are not international NGOs. It uses seven criteria in determining groups' eligibility: aims, members, structure, officers, finance,
Table 1
Two Dimensions of Human Rights Activity:
Some Examples

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relations with other organizations, and activities. (The aims must be genuinely international, with the intention to cover at least three countries; substantial contributions, and individual or collective participation must come from at least three countries; the organization must "lead an independent life," elect its own officers, and have been active for the last five years.) Most leading human rights groups (e.g., Amnesty International, the World Council of Churches, and World Jewish Congress) fulfill these criteria. In addition, as will be discussed in describing the sample, there are some important rights groups with memberships from a single country (e.g., the International Committee of the Red Cross and the American Association for the Advancement of Science). We are thus concerned with organizations in cells 2, 3, 5, and 6 of Figure 1, provided that they have major activities which focus on conditions in at least three countries.

National and international rights groups involve citizens in activities designed to implement human rights in other countries. Since the interactions of NGOs are not between national governments, but often between NGOs in different countries, or between an NGO headquartered in one country and another country's government, their activities are transnational. The relationship between transnational activities and governmental human rights, as will be discussed in Section VI A, is often a complementary one.
Human rights organizations are not a generic type. Most organizations do something which either promotes or demotes human rights. And since, as discussed earlier, the content of "human rights" changes over time, so, too, will the universe of human rights organizations. One might argue that, as sketched in Figure 2, there are no human rights NGOs per se, only a variety of NGOs, each with some activities that frustrate human rights, and other activities that facilitate their realization. At a given time, Amnesty International may generally promote human rights, but reinforce some patterns of rights violation (through a white, European dominance in leadership). Under some circumstances, leaders of corporations (such as General Motors) and of foundations may advance some human rights, and thus be properly included as human rights NGOs.

The dispute over where the boundary of the universe of rights NGOs should be drawn is major. The Bulletin of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign contains an example which illustrates this dispute: Noam Chomsky questions the International League for Human Rights's inclusion of the American Jewish Committee as an affiliate by arguing that the Communist Party has done far more to promote human rights. It is within a defined context that any group, be it Amnesty International, the American Jewish Committee, the Communist Party, or General Motors may be considered a human rights NGO.
Figure 2
Two Actors' Relationships to "Human Rights": A Selective, Conjectural Sketch
Rather than wallowing in the mire of what constitutes a "true" or a "false" human rights NGO, I have allowed the groups themselves to make the distinction. Thus, rather than analyzing how NGOs promote human rights, I focus on how they claim to promote human rights. These claims have brought an ever greater number of organizations into the universe; over time, a growing number of NGOs, including scientific, church, and labor groups, have come to perceive that their efforts, too, can be part of "human rights."

IV. The Universe and the Sample. The NGOs at the vanguard of the human rights movement are characterized by much more than their primarily nongovernmental character, their transnational concern, and their substantive focus. Starting with a scan of the Encyclopedia of Associations and Yearbook of International Organizations, and then with correspondence and perusal of groups' materials, an attempt was made to identify groups which were not-for-profit, non-aligned with formal political factions, explicitly designed for direct achievement of human rights goals, and essentially nongovernmental. Thus foundations and purely educational efforts (which may also facilitate the implementation of human rights) are excluded.

Governmental human rights activity is excluded, as is a very important part of nongovernmental activity: the vast range of networks which work to implement human rights within countries. In the United States, the American Civil
Liberties Union and Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) would be examples. On a world scale this means that most activity in "third world" nations is excluded. For example,

"There is a vast infrastructure of traditional women's organizations in Africa and Asia that scarcely connects with twentieth century women's NGOs. The experience these women have gained in national independence struggles and in organizing in the economic sphere is virtually untapped by NGOs." 19

Even where the third world activists have outside links (as with the Catholic Church in Latin America, which is the "only institution relatively free to organize among the poor"20), the activist groups are essentially autonomous and local. The efforts of such subnational and sometimes national groups, and the constraints under which they operate, are certainly worthy of a separate lengthy investigation. This study is limited to cases where the concern for human rights focuses on conditions in other lands.

The nonrandomly selected "sample" of NGOs includes those which have the most significant human rights activities. Significance was determined by the scope of the organization's participation at international governmental organizations, perception of the organization by other groups' officials, and presence of the group in literature about NGOs or human rights. All of the groups which were mentioned frequently (by five or more NGO officials in two or more countries; in a majority of IGO documents scanned from conferences open to all NGOs in consultative status;
as a major human rights group in literature appealing to different audiences) are included in the core sample (see Appendix A). In addition, many groups are mentioned in passing by way of illustration. They are the less significant groups (such as the International Sakharov Tribunals) which are playing an increasing role in the human rights movement.

While the boundaries drawn are in part subjective, they accord with the boundaries suggested by other analysis and practitioners.

V. Methods for Analyzing Transnational Human Rights Activity. For most purposes, the individual organization is used as the unit of analysis. Since the number of organizations studied is small, and since they are not equal in all respects, care is taken to reveal the role of such major groups as Amnesty International in terms of the questions asked. In general, organizations' officials are able to speak (or write) for their organizations; so unless there are circumstances justifying a distinction between an official and her/his organization, they are treated as equivalents. Before examining the limits of the methods employed, the information sources will be discussed.

A. The Direct Contacts. Organizations were contacted directly through correspondence, through informal discussions, and through a series of focused interviews.
The series of focused interviews with NGO representatives was conducted in September through November of 1977. The individuals interviewed and their organizations are indicated in Appendix B. The length of the interviews varied greatly—according to the representatives' demands, and the depth of the group's human rights involvement. The variation was from twenty minutes (in two cases) to six hours, with most lasting forty-five minutes to one hour.

The questions covered in the interviews are listed in Appendix C. Not all questions were asked of all representatives interviewed. In some cases other sources provided more reliable evidence of the organization's concern or policies—for example, the importance of United Nations links is often more apparent from physical representation at the U.N. than from a representative's appraisal. Also, in the course of the interviews, the weakness of some questions became apparent. For instance, in cases where reports of financial sources would be most revealing (as with groups supported by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency or the Soviet government according to media reports) either no response or an evasive response was usually given. With such questions, some insightful bits of information were nevertheless obtained. These bits are included in the case studies of individual organizations (Chapter Two). Where findings are based solely on interview material, this is noted in the text.
In a few cases information has been gathered through correspondence or interaction with NGO officials. With some groups where a visit to the group headquarters was not feasible, as with the International Organization of Journalists in Prague, correspondence yielded a wealth of information. Some contacts with NGO representatives were made at human rights and other conferences. Finally, involvement in Amnesty International and other rights groups has helped in forming a perspective from which to analyze a wide variety of human rights activities.

B. Publications. Taken alone, publications would provide a sketchy and haphazard picture of the NGO world and human rights. For some groups, publications resemble advertisements; for others, "publications" consisted almost exclusively of internal communications; for still others, detailed research reports were the norm. The differences in approach were revealing.

In many cases publications include insightful information not evoked from interviews. For organizations where annual (or biennial or triennial) reports are available, the reports are in invaluable source. Equally useful are documents in which a group addresses itself to a specific problem: for example, the medical effects of torture, or the well-being of Indians in Brazil's Amazon Basin. There have been many conferences, some of them held under the auspices of Amnesty International or the United Nations,
which in their published proceedings and findings provide examples of what happens when NGO officials get together. Some United Nations documents in the NGO series reveal how, when, and how deeply NGOs delve into solutions to human rights problems. And finally, there are the secondary treatments of human rights and human rights organizations by journalists and activists. These information sources were used to the extent that they aided in answering the questions detailed in Part VI, or provided insight into the activities of an individual organization.

C. Limits to the Methods. Many of the sources of potential bias from the methods used in this study result from a conscious decision to sacrifice precise numerical data for richness of impressions. Since the analysis of transnational human rights activity is still in an exploratory stage, these methods are necessary to produce meaningful results with which to compose useful description.

Leege and Francis offer a useful classification scheme for the erroneous sources of variance:

(1) stable or systematic error (questions of validity), (2) unstable or random error (questions of reliability), (3) interpretative error (questions about standardization or appropriate group norms for comparison), and (4) personal error (questions about objectivity).

Each class of potential erroneous variance merits consideration.

1. "Stable or systematic errors occur because measurement is indirect, because we must infer from a set of
indicators to a concept." Specific validity problems encountered in the study will be dealt with in future chapters; here, one general threat to validity will be discussed.

Often, interviewees' responses and published reports are used as indicators; examples are the determination of groups' scope and tactics. To the extent that official want to present an inaccurate image of their groups, the results may reflect exaggeration or "fudging." (For example, the director of a group which operates from an apartment claimed that his organization designed policies in conjunction with African leaders so that human rights violations could be phased out.) This problem is best dealt with by seeking confirmation of responses elsewhere: from physical evidence (reports, staffers, etc.) that the group has the claimed scope and employs the tactics in question, and from reliable NGO and IGO sources familiar with the organization.

2. "Unstable or random errors tend to result...from idiosyncratic, unpredictable, or accidental responses to the measurement stimuli or situation." Without a doubt the interview instrument was different some time than others; it was far from the textbook ideal:

"Under ideal circumstances, an interviewer should be able to conduct an entire interview from initial introduction ('Hello, my name is...') to final remarks ('That completes the interview. We would like to thank you for...') without ad libbing a single word." To begin with, precision was sacrificed for richness in
selection of a focused interview rather than a more structured format. Length of the interviews and moods of both the interviewer and the interviewed varied greatly, as did the physical context of the interviews. Some were conducted in the midst of a busy office, others in public places, still others in private homes. In all situations, though, a critical minimum necessary level of communication was reached, enabling the simple comparisons made in this study. The variation meant that there were some situations where additional kinds of information were communicated—where NGO representatives speculated about not only what their groups did, but also about what their activities meant.

Events made some questions sound different at different times, especially due to the way in which some events coincided with the interview schedule. In September of 1977, New York and Washington NGO officials generally responded that President Carter's policies facilitated the implementation of human rights. In November, Geneva officials offered contrary assessments (based in large part on the U.S. withdrawal from the International Labor Organization).

3. "Interpretative errors...stem from the difficulty of deciding what norm to use for comparison of performances by individuals or groups." For example, in discussing the presence of a split between the rich and poor as evidenced by human rights NGOs, is the standard to which they are to be compared the unequal status quo of control by the powerful?
The standard I use instead is the one implicit in their use of a human rights vocabulary: the standard of absolute equality. Similarly, ideological positions taken by groups are compared to each other, rather than to the ideologies of the societies in which they operate. In every case the norm of comparison is made explicit, and it is usually one that is implicit in the groups' rights activities.

4. Personal errors have shaped many inquiries into human rights; they will continue to do so, since the substance of human rights is "up for grabs." Usually these errors take the form of assuming that NGOs of one's own country, ideology, or class support human rights, while many other groups are in fact "front organizations" not worthy of serious attention. Since this study encompasses all groups using a human rights vocabulary, and admits to the possibility of a future concept and movement beyond "human rights," parochial attachment to terms is not a serious obstacle.

As should be clear from the questions posed, however, this analyst generally supports "human rights" as defined by current practices, believes that these rights must be universal* in order to be meaningful, and believes foremost that human rights has always been and will continue to be

---

*By "universal" I mean shared by people of all cultures, races, and faiths. Human rights cannot be peculiarly Western; nor, since the world contains very different cultures, can human rights (which include cultural rights) be viewed as a single uniform standard.
an arena of conflict. This conflict is at long last being conducted on the terms of the majority of the world's people, as indicated by many recent developments at the United Nations and elsewhere. I view this as an encouraging sign. In the course of this study, my perspective is not only made explicit; I will argue that some of the results indicate that it is more tenable than contending perspectives.

As the discussion of methods indicates, the findings are infused with what I consider a healthy dose of subjectivity. Critical judgment was exercised at every step of the research. Where this judgment was primarily intuitive, I have so indicated.

VI. The Major Questions in Detail: At the Core of World Politics. This study includes an integration of what has previously appeared as scattered bits of information about human rights NGOs (in Chapter Two). Transnational human rights activity is much more than several dozen small non-profit groups dedicated to the Universal Rights, with consultative status at zero to four IGOs, with quarterly publications and annual subscriptions. This activity is part and parcel of world politics. Some major questions of world politics can aid in framing propositions regarding the nature of NGO work on human rights.

Some reference will be made to Figure 3 in detailing these propositions. Figure 3 indicates the simple fact that human rights organizations influence, and are influenced by
Some factors fostering or restraining conflicts

Size of NGO

Resources

Age

Constituency

Economic System

**Figure 3**
NGOs, Conflicts, and Human Rights
their context. An NGO generally examines rights on the basis of some members' shared values. Some of the NGO's rights work reinforces (and is reinforced by) national governments. Western, white males ("haves") may have disproportionate influence. These characteristics do not exist in isolation; they overlap. (The Western, white males leading NGOs may also be sources of national governmental influence.) The degree to which these characteristics are present is determined by such factors as the NGO's size, constituency, and resources. The presence (or absence) of these characteristics determines the meaning of human rights for the NGO.

At this stage, conclusive scientific tests to prove the presence or absence of these dynamics would be misleading. What is presented is evidence in behalf of propositions which, in many cases, would have to be supplemented by studies of other NGOs and of a wide variety of actors before reaching the status of proof. The propositions differ: some describe conditions, others trends. Together they provide a picture of dynamic human rights movement. As will become evident, the propositions overlap, too; many of the described trends are mutually reinforcing.

A. To what extent, and how effectively do nongovernmental actors pursue policies independent of national governments? Transnational human rights activity is one important arena where the conflict between national governments and transnational actors is being waged.26 The stakes
in the battle are high: claimed consequences of a victory by transnational actors range from world peace to the legitimation of exploitation by private interests.

The relationship between governmental and nongovernmental units is not always conflictual, however. There are some respects in which NGOs act consistent with, or even in reinforcement of national governments. Evidence that this is the case for human rights NGOs suggests the proposition:

P1. Transnational human rights activity generally reinforces the role of national governments.

Four types of reinforcement and their suggested frequencies are distinguished in Table 2.

Table 2
Reinforcement of National Governments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct Manipulation</td>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g., infiltration, bribery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pervasive Influence</td>
<td>moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g., preponderant aid source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtle Influence</td>
<td>moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g., significant aid source; dependence for information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonance of Interests</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g., conception of solutions requiring government action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many links between national governments and human rights NGOs are apparent. Governmental funding enables the International Rescue Committee to fulfill the human rights of refugees (through resettlement). Funding from many governments
enables some organizations to retain some independence, or at least to avoid dependence on a single government. Even in these cases national governments will often find the human rights NGO's activities useful in achieving policy objectives.

Many NGOs with important rights activities have verged on being fronts for powerful national governments. At one time the United States government was the leading financier for the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and CIA contacts were represented in the Congress. There have been instances where governments have not controlled an entire organization, but have controlled specific NGO programs or missions.

Most of the ways in which the growth of national governmental influence is facilitated by the human rights NGOs are indirect, however. A large majority of regional or global rights NGOs have national memberships; some give each national delegation an equal amount of voting power. The tactics used very seldom are such as would pose a threat to the sovereignty of national governments; usually national governments are urged to behave in certain ways. Sometimes the attention to national units becomes a preoccupation: potential influence for human rights goals among peripheral groups is ignored.

This does not mean that the substance of world politics or of human rights activity is ultimately up to the discretion of national governments. The nature of the national
governmental actions which NGOs engender makes them worthy of a detailed examination. Thus, P2. Transnational human rights activity influences the nature of national governmental policies.

This proposition suggests that human rights NGOs are significant actors as they interact (rather than compete) with national governments. This proposition is an impossible one to test conclusively, since no governmental institution is ever willing to attribute the credit for its humanitarian actions to other agents. There is an impressive record, though, of "happenstance": of international human rights documents adopted following NGO lobbying, of governmental decisions to parole political prisoners following NGO campaigns, and of governmental "hardball" following barrages of NGO publicity.

Such influence is a result of the approach of the contemporary human rights movement: a far cry from the earlier crude attempts to implement human rights through world government or a union of the "free." First, some human rights NGOs have made governmental power centers responsive, if not responsible to them. The NGOs pose effective constraints which governments dare not violate without losing standing in world or domestic opinion (government and public). As will become increasingly evident in succeeding chapters, different NGOs with different scopes and constituencies will pose different constraints
on governments in the name of "human rights"—for instance, the U.S. government is responsive to human rights groups in ways which sometimes increase, sometimes decrease "Cold Warriorism."

Second, in specific cases the NGOs do pressure national governments by establishing and publicizing human rights norms. Groups including Poets, Essayists, and Novelists (PEN) International, Amnesty International, and the World Peace Council play a watchdog role which means that national governments have considerable incentive to play Trudeau's Doonesbury game of competing for the most improved human rights climate.

B. To what extent do individualist and collectivist values yield conflicting perceptions of political practices and possibilities? While there is currently a search for universal human rights, people will necessarily approach these rights from conflicting sets of values. A community's values determine the basic assumptions which will be used in analyzing society and social change. Two heads, each of which would contain several distinct sets of values, are individualism and collectivism. Some key terms which may aid in identifying the presence or absence of a set of values are listed in Table 3.
Table 3
Individualist and Collectivist Value-Sets:
Key Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individualist</th>
<th>Collectivist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western, liberal</td>
<td>Eastern, Marxist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bourgeois</td>
<td>proletarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberty/libertarianism</td>
<td>equality/social justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;rule of law&quot;</td>
<td>class struggle/national liberation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choice/free enterprise</td>
<td>socialism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though the rhetoric of individualists may promise liberty and social justice, while the collectivists may promise that true freedom for the individual can be, and should be realized through united efforts, the assumptions from which the two schools begin in using these terms lead to different conceptions of politics, of history, and of society. These basic assumptions can be summarized as follows: Individualists assume that individuals are by nature autonomous, that history is made by individuals rationally choosing between different policies, and that social change is the result of cooperation. Collectivists assume that individuals are by nature social, that history is in part determined by social, cultural, and/or economic forces, and that social change results from conflict between groups or classes.

Since conflicting values are a "given" in world politics, and since the purpose of this study is to consider human rights groups within their competitive political
context, the third proposition is:

P3. Transnational human rights activity reflects the conflict between individualist and collectivist values.

This conflict may take the form of a concern with different rights and with different rights violators within a society. Thus, among the prime individualists:

"There is a vast difference in the United States between the importance attached to those rights concerned with the fulfillment of vital needs and those concerned with the integrity of the person and political and civil liberties...It is (also) true for such nongovernmental organizations as Amnesty International, the International League for Human Rights and the International Commission of Jurists, whose fact-finding and publicizing activities provide much of the impetus for the human rights movement." 29

As further support, Weiss finds that most reports of human rights NGOs emphasize civil and political rights at the expense of attention to vital human needs.

There are now some groups which proceed from other values—which stress rights to employment or to national self-determination. Because of different assumptions about human nature and history, these groups devote less attention to civil and political freedoms than do the Western NGOs.

It cannot be overstated that the conflict is not just between two categories of NGOs which simply choose to focus on different rights. Instead, the conflict is intricately interwoven with centuries of historical and cultural development. There are, of course, many different values which
can be identified in human rights NGOs. Within the collectivist head, for example, there are scientific Marxist groups as well as some very old and traditional NGOs.

C. To what extent do conflicts over the Cold War, Zionism, and apartheid shape transnational activities?

Cleavages in world politics are noticeable in the actions of governmental leaders, and in events at international governmental organizations. Three of the most pronounced cleavages have been the Cold War, and the splits over Zionism and apartheid. The differences which fuel these splits may be in part differences of values; what is of special concern here is the extent to which a human rights vocabulary is used in partisan pursuit of improving one faction's standing in the Cold War and other disputes.

To what extent is "human rights" used as a selective weapon to reward or punish key actors in struggles over the Cold War, Zionism, and apartheid? Since the NGOs are political, and are involved in the major conflicts of world politics,

P4. Transnational human rights activity is part of the Cold War, and offers significant evidence of conflicts over Zionism and apartheid.

To describe a transnational human rights activity as part of the Cold War is to argue that it is used to advance the relative influence of the Soviet or American government, while playing little or no regard to the implementation of
a uniform human rights standard. Many NGOs have been created precisely to counter the influence of an opposing camp. Some existing NGOs resort to Cold War campaigns to gain financial and constituency support for other human rights efforts. It has been suggested by some analysts that the increasing concern with human rights by Western NGOs is designed specifically to add new life to a fading Cold War.

Acts of commission and omission indicate that Zionism has become a watershed for many human rights groups. NGOs with very similar definitions of human rights take glaringly inconsistent stances in judging Israel's record on human rights. Some declare that Israel exemplifies the realization of important human rights goals; others declare that the process of Israel's creation and expansion has involved unparalleled violations of human rights. Still others choose to ignore Israel/Palestine altogether.

Most human rights NGOs have settled the conflict over apartheid—recognizing that it necessarily conflicts with freedom and equality. Some evidence of the conflict remains, however. There are strong global political actors with material interests in South Africa; where feasible (which has been seldom) they have induced NGOs to downplay the systematic nature of apartheid by retaining South African affiliates, or to focus on Black African human rights violations—an implicit tactical defense of apartheid.
D. To what extent do rich, white, male, Westerners exercise a disproportionate influence over transnational political activities? One of the chief criticisms leveled against the international political structure is that it is inegalitarian.

Some analysts hoped that with the emergence of new and important nongovernmental actors, the previously deprived could play a greater role in world affairs. However, with many new actors, such as the multinational corporations and the facilitators of tourist and cultural exchanges, the "haves" took more, and the "have-nots" were forced to settle for whatever trickled down. The result has been that NGOs have been among the actors depriving people of human rights to well-being and to nondiscrimination.

The preceding propositions suggest that the pursuit of human rights is not immune from the conflicts of international politics. It should not be surprising, therefore, that those with the most resources can make the most extensive use of the human rights vocabulary:

P5. Wealthy, white, Western males dominate transnational human rights activity.

Often human rights groups have tried to remedy the inequities, but have instead served to aggravate them. Some groups take on a missionary character, representing the enlightened and free, which will bring freedom to the uninitiated. Far more common, however, is the NGO which
realizes the inequities, but also recognizes the great political and resource constraints to increasing its staff or constituency.

Dominance will be determined by looking at the leadership, headquarters location, and membership of the NGOs. The standard for comparison will be absolute equality since it is to be expected that human rights NGOs will be less stratified than other NGOs, and hoped that they will eventually include human rights not only in their objectives, but also in their constitution. What P5 suggests, though, is that the magnitude of violations of the rights of the "have-nots" is not solved in large sectors of the human rights movement, and thus may not be solved by that movement.

E. How does transnational political activity today differ in quantity and quality from the activity of previous generations? The great growth of nongovernmental organizations is well known. Along with a quantitative growth has come change in the nature of transnational activity. At first, nongovernmental organizations limited their activity to the arcane and esoteric. In many countries they were unheard of: either not deemed necessary, or perceived as anti-governmental. Due to changes in world politics and changes in how people think about world politics, more nongovernmental groups were created in more fields, and in many cases the old and new NGOs identified ways in which their efforts could have greater practical importance in achieving their goals.
Human rights NGOs prove the rule rather than the exception.

P6. Transnational human rights activity is increasing in quantity. Interestingly, this increase appears to have been of two kinds: 1) there are many rights NGOs of recent origin, including some of the best known and most effective groups; and 2) many NGOs formerly self-described as peace, women's, or labor groups have added new items to their agendas, and in doing so have also become "human rights NGOs."

To set fixed bounds of the human rights NGO universe, and to count the precise number of groups partly or completely in that universe over time would be an immensely time-consuming and not very productive task. What is feasible is examination of the most noteworthy human rights groups, and identification of the date of commencement for each group's rights activities. This is how P6 is investigated in this study.

There are some noteworthy examples of human rights activity in the 19th Century and in the first half of the 20th. One might observe that what most human rights groups did then, and what human rights groups do now, are very different.

P7. Transnational human rights activity has undergone changes in approach, in tactics and in philosophy. Of course, there has been some continuity. Indeed some
reference will be made to persisting "traditional," as opposed to "contemporary" approaches denoting generational differences.

Some suggested differences are listed in Table 4.

Table 4
Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to Human Rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional approach</th>
<th>Contemporary Approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Emphasis on supra-national action: a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, stronger World Court, etc.</td>
<td>1. Emphasis on international action: e.g., human rights provisions in trade agreements; U.N. Covenants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Uses calls to action, declarations, resolutions</td>
<td>2. Uses lobbying and pressure designed to achieve such specific policy objectives as the release of a single political prisoner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Idealist philosophy</td>
<td>3. Realist philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Stresses attitudinal change</td>
<td>4. Stresses changes of practice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The influence of groups with essentially traditional approaches began to decrease around 1960, when the influence of groups with contemporary approaches began to increase. Certain patterns are noticeable: many of the earlier groups were created due to circumstances connected with World War I or II. They were part of a climate of abstract moralism, conducive to the preparation of declarations without clout. The contemporary groups (and the old groups which now use contemporary approaches) gained influence and
access to national and international governmental policy-making processes during and immediately following crises in Vietnam, Chile, and elsewhere.

VII. Structure of the Study. The questions and propositions are investigated by looking at human rights NGOs individually and comparatively. In Chapter Two, literature which is relevant to this study is reviewed briefly. Then each NGO in the core sample is sketched. Some general details for each are presented in a series of tables, followed by descriptions which give insight into the seven propositions.

In Chapter Three, the discussion of the scope and methods of the rights NGOs reveals the role and importance which groups assign to national governments, the perspectives from which human rights are viewed, and whose rights the NGOs find worth investigating.

Chapter Four details the means used for assessing the status of the world within the NGOs' scope, and the success of their methods. Far from being a neutral reading of world affairs, assessment by rights NGOs reveals the major conflicts tapped by some of the propositions.

Then in Chapter Five, the means by which individual NGOs become a part of "human rights" is discussed: how do they, or do they not, coalesce into a human rights movement?

Finally, the propositions are summarized in Chapter Six, and the implications of the propositions for determining the real impact of human rights are discussed.
Thus this dissertation provides an in-depth survey of NGO human rights activity. The survey is of importance in its own right, and as it sheds light on some major questions of world politics.
Notes


22. ibid, p. 142

23. ibid.


25. Leege and Francis, p. 142.


WHO ORGANIZES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

There are hundreds, perhaps thousands of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with some human rights-related activity. This chapter briefly summarizes what we know about the work of these groups, and then sketches the activities of the most active and influential ones.

I. A Literature Review: Where and How Have NGOs' Human Rights Activities Been Described? By and large published information on human rights NGOs is widely scattered and without a common theme. There are two references which provide a surface view of most NGOs with important transnational activities: the Yearbook of International Organizations and the Encyclopedia of Associations.¹ For more depth, but less comparability, the Human Rights Internet provides a wealth of information; there are also forthcoming surveys of human rights groups which, while limited in scope to a portion of the sample in this study, appear promising.²

Very little has been written which analyzes trends in human rights groups. Often rights NGOs are grouped as among the "other influences" (following national interest, Presidential leadership, and bureaucratic "pulling and hauling") on national governmental policymakers.³ With
increasing interest in transnational relations involving nongovernmental actors, there have been numerous recent articles and books from which inferences about the activities of human rights transnationalism might be drawn.

A concern with human rights transnationalism per se is even more recent than the surge of interest in transnationalism in general. Lissner has systematically studied voluntary development activities of a variety of agencies, some of which have overlapping interests with human rights groups. He argues that,

"helping people is a political art, just as politics is a way of helping people. To bring out this fact, it is necessary to demythologize organized altruism as well as to rehabilitate the positive meaning of politics."\(^4\)

Another analysis of a group of human rights-related organizations is Hero's; he has written a cogent overview of private, non-profit organizations, primarily as they affect the U.S. policy-making process.\(^5\)

Human rights nongovernmental organizations are the subject of recent analyses in law journals; Weissbrodt's is the most comprehensive and penetrating.\(^6\) The NGO presence at the United Nations, which has led to considerable controversy, has been proficiently summarized and evaluated by the polemicists.\(^7\) These sources provide a general background to the nature of nongovernmental human rights activities. All of them are written by Westerners; thus the usual assumption is that nongovernmental groups provide a valuable independent source of policy and information.
Some studies have dealt with the activities of single organizations. Wiseberg and Scoble have detailed the activities, assumptions, and biases of Amnesty International and the International League for Human Rights. There are laudatory book-length works on Freedom House, the World Jewish Congress, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of interest more for informative description than for critical analysis. The Red Cross has many internally published works which are remarkable for their introspection; one of the contributors to their Joint Committee for the Reappraisal of the Role of the Red Cross has developed a fascinating and thorough analysis of the Red Cross's problems, successes, and potential.

The literature which is most helpful in answering the questions at the core of this dissertation, and which is most helpful in sketching the activities of human rights groups, comes in small bits and pieces. Sometimes it is the policy statements which are left uncirculated; other times it is the "propaganda" which is disseminated for mass consumption. It may be the remarks of organization officials which reveal what the group really does; at other times the claims must always be taken with some skepticism, for there are sources (some of them credible) which would link many NGOs to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency or to the Kremlin.

Finally, the print media have been increasingly diligent in following the activities of NGOs. While the press
necessarily presents only the world "news," often the announcement of a report or a controversial remark, it can occasionally give perspective to divisions within rights NGOs.

II. Sketching Transnational Human Rights Activity. Who organizes for human rights? People do. As suggested previously, human rights means different things to different people. It is not surprising, therefore, that human rights groups include some that were created to defend veterans, to protect journalists, and to educate people about the United Nations. The human rights tie-in for each group will be a central part of its description.

The typology used for human rights organizations contains eight types; the main groups discussed under each type are listed in Table 5: other groups of less importance are also mentioned in the body of this chapter. Two criteria used in grouping the NGOs are composition and major concern. These criteria are admittedly crude, since groups like B'nai B'rith International, grouped according to composition (religious - Jewish) could also be grouped according to major concern (discrimination - minority rights). The International University Exchange Fund, grouped according to composition (youth and student) could be grouped according to two major concerns (relief or discrimination). (See Table 6)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Labor Organizations</th>
<th>F. Writers, Journalists, and Artists Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WFTU</td>
<td>IOJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICFTU</td>
<td>IFJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCL</td>
<td>IPI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFL-CIO</td>
<td>IAPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International PEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Religious Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WJC</td>
<td>WPPC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance Universelle</td>
<td>IAAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B'nai B'rith</td>
<td>WSI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pax Romana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCC</td>
<td>ICRC/League of Red Cross Societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCC</td>
<td>ICVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPC</td>
<td>IRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FWCC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCRP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFOR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Women's Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAW</td>
<td>MRG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICW</td>
<td>ASS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFUW</td>
<td>IITC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILPF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIDF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Youth and Student Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUS</td>
<td>AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUEF</td>
<td>WPC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISMUN</td>
<td>IFHR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freedom House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human Rights Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CNFP - HRWG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Professional Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICSU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IADL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPTL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6
Classification of NGOs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Limited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>A,B,C,D,E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>G,H,I</td>
<td>D,E,F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These NGO sketches identify the activities in which a wide variety of groups use a human rights vocabulary, and includes evidence of the tensions identified in Chapter One. While some general information on the structure of each group is included in the tables preceding each section, other sources offer this information in much greater detail.  

In Tables 7 through 14, the headquarters and regional membership of each group are identified. This helps in determining the extent to which nongovernmental human rights activity is the product of a few states, of a few people, or of people with a select worldview.

The date of formation of the NGOs allows for analysis of different approaches to rights, and to the circumstances which foster the NGOs' creation.

The tactics employed and human rights outputs help in considering the limited means with which NGOs promote human rights (considered in detail in Chapter 3) and the extent to which they reinforce or pose an alternative to national governments.
Finally, for each type, information establishing the NGO's human rights concern is included. For instance, for press groups this is the way in which they define "free information."

Instances establishing the existence of conflicts in NGOs may appear to denigrate them. This is not the case. Where major conflicts have not been identified, this is generally due to: 1) a traditional approach which evades the most pressing rights issues; 2) the group's having controlled access to information about its role in, and ways in which it is affected by conflict; or 3) inactivity.


"Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests."

The existence of trade unions also plays an important role in the realization of other economic rights, especially Articles 22 through 25. These articles declare rights to social security, to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work, to equal pay for equal work, to just and favorable remuneration, to rest and leisure (including holidays with pay), and to a standard of living adequate to provide health, food, clothing, housing, and medical care.
All human rights are of interest to unions: in many countries it is their members who are tortured, who are imprisoned without trial, and who are denied access to the news media. Thus Amnesty International has issued a separate report on unionists in prison, and unions have facilitated Amnesty's work, either by adopting imprisoned trade unionists, or by circulating petitions for Prisoner of Conscience (POC) year, 1977.\textsuperscript{13}

There are some major limitations to trade unions' activity. Their prime concern is necessarily with their constituents, thus an emphasis on recognition for and implementation of members' rights. While many unions do recognize ways in which the structure of the world economy perpetuates rights violations, some groups may seek benefits at the expense of the nonunionized and unemployed workers.\textsuperscript{14}

Here our concern is limited to: 1) the International Secretariats in our core sample: the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour, and the World Federation of Trade Unions; 2) the functional International Secretariats, including chemical workers, meatcutters, food and beverage workers, and scientific workers; and 3) regional and national labor groups, including the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) which have engaged in major human rights activity. Table 7 provides general information about the most important groups.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>HEADQUARTERS</th>
<th>CHAPTERS</th>
<th>LINKS</th>
<th>TACTICS</th>
<th>MEMBERS</th>
<th>RIGHTS CONCERNS</th>
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<td>ILO</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
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<td>Lat Am 20</td>
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<td>Africa 14</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Africa 13</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 32</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>WCL (1920)</td>
<td>Brussels (The Hague)</td>
<td>Lat Am 33</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>R, S</td>
<td>National confederation</td>
<td>Creation of economic, social, cultural, and political institutions that will ensure the full development of each and every man</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>AFL-CIO (1955)</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>C, L, P, R, 3</td>
<td>13,600,000 members including 106 nat'l unions</td>
<td>Strong support of the Carter Administration's human rights objectives; demands that they be universal, not selective; support of a strong, free, and democratic trade union movement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources for Tables 7-15: Yearbook of International Organizations, Encyclopedia of Associations; Tactics and rights concerns drawn from these sources, interviews, and organizations' publications. *Organization provides the group's acronym (Appendix A) and founding date; Headquarters in parentheses are past headquarters for groups; Chapters includes only those in Latin America, Europe, and Africa, and refers to countries represented; links refers to consultative status; for tactics--A=relief aid, C=individual casework, F=festivals and conferences designed to reach beyond group's membership, L=government lobbying, M=investigative missions, P=official protests, S=reserve studies, T=tribunal, 3=training or other program to increase third world representation. Concerns are listed as phrased by organization representatives whenever possible. *=chapters in South Africa & Rhodesia/Zimbabwe; $=affiliate in South Africa; +=affiliate in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe; %=affiliate in Eritrea; #=Cuban affiliate in exile; @=at least 2 affiliates in West Europe and at least 2 in East Europe.
1. The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) claims 155 million members in 62 countries. Most of its membership is from socialist countries; one estimate is that over half is from the Soviet Union alone. Outside the socialist bloc, India, France, and Italy, WFTU membership is estimated at five percent of workers affiliated with trade unions.¹⁵

The Federation campaigns to promote numerous human rights causes, at the United Nations and elsewhere. For instance, a recent issue of the WFTU's monthly World Trade Union Movement covers structural unemployment in Britain, the imminence of fascism in Turkey, U.S. exploitation of "irregular" immigrants (migrant labor), French domination of New Caledonia, perfection of colonial domination in Puerto Rico, the suspension of Constitutional guarantees in Nicaragua, practices of the Chilean secret police, resistance of French women to capitalist exploitation, and the implementation of "everyday democracy" in socialist enterprises of the German Democratic Republic.¹⁶ A United Nations statement suggested the WFTU's desire for association with the 1978 World Conference against Racism, condemnation of apartheid and of corporate support for apartheid regimes, land reform in developing and numerous capitalist developed countries, and practical programs to create jobs for young people in capitalist and developing countries.¹⁷ Cooperation with other NGOs has included support for a European conference on migrant workers (with the
International Association of Democratic Lawyers and other groups\(^{18}\), and attempts at a common boycott of Chilean products (sought with cooperation of other labor groups\(^{19}\)).

The WFTU clearly conceives of the battle for human rights as a struggle against capitalism and imperialism, to be concluded when all countries match the achievement of the socialist bloc. Many Western observers would argue that:

"Although Moscow has occasionally experienced some slight difficulties controlling the organization, particularly in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the WFTU has generally served Soviet interests."\(^{20}\)

Other observers would cite these difficulties as evidence of some WFTU independence from Soviet control.

2. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) resulted from cooperation between the American Federation of Labor and noncommunist labor groups which had become disillusioned with the WFTU. The cause was a WFTU refusal to endorse the Marshall Plan. ICFTU policy, said to be determined by free, rather than government controlled unions, is made by the confederation, by regional groups such as the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization (ORIT), and by national centers.

The ICFTU's Secretariat on Human and Trade Union Rights has specified parts of the United Nations Universal Declaration as being of "special concern" all later part of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, rather than the Covenant on Economic and Social Rights. Trade unions,
protected by the "civil liberty of freedom of association" are seen as the necessary means for implementation of economic and social rights. Debate from a 1975 World Congress plenary session indicates members' rights concerns: racism in Southern Africa, genocide in Burundi, imprisonment of unionists in Ethiopia, Chilean fascism, the impending end to Spanish fascism, effectiveness of the International Labor Organization, and recent Amnesty International reports. Some disagreement was apparent on issues of rights of all peoples in the Middle East (evident in speeches of the Tunisian, Israeli, and Lebanese representatives.)

Practical activities of the ICFTU have included boycotts of South Africa and recent support of sanctions against Chile. (ORIT has delayed its participation in the latter activity.) In countries where free trade union activity is banned, the ICFTU supports clandestine union organization. (Exiled Spanish unionists worked with the ICFTU during Franco's reign.) The Confederation has filed many complaints of unfair labor practices with the International Labor Organization. In combination with other NGOs, such as Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists, the ICFTU has supported trial observation in cases where union members have been detained.

The ICFTU has engaged in limited cooperation with other labor groups. As for the WFTU, however, a French representative argued:
"Appeals launched by the World Federation of Trade Unions are only aimed at infiltration of the free trade union movement. One cannot defend liberty with those who have destroyed it. The WFTU is playing its game according to the old communist rules."24

The countercharges leveled against the ICFTU are that it is dominated by Western Europeans and North Americans, and that it serves the interests of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. North American involvement in ORIT has been estimated at ninety per cent,25 and a former C.I.A. secret operations officer reported that,

"The ICFTU and its regional organizations are promoted, both from the top and from the bottom, by having Agency-influenced or controlled unions and national centres affiliate."26

3. The World Confederation of Labor (WCL) considers the ICFTU and WFTU to be "trade union expressions of the East-West divide."27 It hopes to provide a third force, representing the interests of unionists in the developing south against the developed north. This is the result of lengthy introspection leading to a change in name and approach from the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions:

"The evolution from a European, denominational IFCTU quietly certain of its own truth to a WCL tormented by the search for its geographical dimensions, but in particular its ideological and political dimensions, stretched to its very limits in its desire to respond, in spite of its shortcomings, to the appeal from workers around the world, especially in the Third World."28

With these constraints, the WCL perceives difficulty in cooperating with the ICFTU, whose goal of amalgamation is
resented by WCL affiliates in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Quebec, and greater difficulty in cooperating with the WFTU, with whom the WCL would discuss unionists' rights in Poland, and the status of workers and dissidents in Poland and the Soviet Union. 29

The WCL has studied the effects of multinational corporations on realization of human rights. Some members viewed multinationals as instruments aggravating disparities to be fought, while other members viewed them as net contributors to peoples' welfare whose abuses must be countered. Unfortunately,

"It is often within each of the organizations that the contradictions exist...It happened that on the occasion of conferences or meetings within the IGO (sic), the WCL affiliated organizations made contradictory propositions. What is more serious is that it also happened in the action." 30

One solution to the abuses committed by multinationals suggested was renovation of international trade unionism.

In sum, the WCL seeks to maximize worker participation against overwhelming odds. The Secretary of a Latin American affiliate has acknowledged that,

"The union movement in Latin America, especially those sectors inspired by North Americans and by Marxists, has its privileged groups of workers, organized in key sectors...bettering their own wages and conditions of life and at the same time withdrawing themselves from the rest of the laboring masses." 31

Dwarfed by the Marxists (linked to the WFTU) and the sectors inspired by North Americans (ORIT), the WCL seeks with isolated successes to aid the vast majority of ununionized and poor workers.
4. The International Trade Secretariats organize workers of food and beverage, steel, chemical, transportation, and other industries. These groups vary greatly in their extent and effectiveness of human rights activities. Many groups reacted to the plight of Chilean unionists by passing strongly-worded resolutions. While the International Metal Workers Federation urged "an end to any military aid...and the full observance of the right of asylum and of exit from the country," the International Transport Federation requested all affiliated organizations "to take any action you can against Chilean ships and aircraft whenever the opportunity arises." These resolutions, and similar ones passed by meatcutters, oil, chemical, and atomic workers, longshoremen, and other organized labor groups, are only as effective as the national memberships which are responsible for their implementation.

Most of the trade secretariats resulted from European or North American initiatives. In some cases there are corresponding Western and socialist groups: for instance, the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural, and Allied Workers (Western) and the Trade Union International of Agricultural, Forestry and Plantation Workers (socialist).

Among the most active groups are the chemical workers, metal workers, and textile workers. The food and beverage workers, represented by the International Union of Food and
Allied Workers' Associations (IUF) have protested bannings in South Africa, harassment of dissidents in Czechoslovakia and Poland, sexist discrimination, and imprisonment of a leading Uruguayan unionist. The IUF is one of sixteen secretariats associated, but not affiliated with the ICFTU. The IUF, which includes only Black South African unions, takes somewhat stronger stances on apartheid than does the ICFTU. The IUF has WCL unions among its members, but has eschewed extensive cooperation with the Trade Union International of Food, Tobacco, Hotel and Allied Industries Workers of the WFTU.

5. The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) has been directly involved in the organization and training of Latin American workers, and has been active on many rights issues related to U.S. foreign policy. The latter function has involved sponsorship and publication of speeches by Alexander Solzhenitsyn's speeches, support of U.S. government aid to Kurdish refugees, adoption of Citizens' Commission on Indochinese Refugees' recommendations that the United States provide generous aid for resettlement efforts, and appeals for the release of Soviet dissident Anatole Scharansky. The AFL-CIO has been consistent in its harsh criticism of socialist governments, and in its support of Israeli policy.

AFL-CIO activity in Latin America has been conducted through ORIT and the American Institute for Free Labor
Development (AIFLD). The latter group was especially active in the 1960s when, with the aid of the U.S. Agency for International Development and major corporations (International Telephone and Telegraph, Anaconda Copper, and the United Fruit Company among them) it trained and supported anti-communist union leaders.36

6. Some first attempts at bringing together migrant workers have identified many rights problems, and explored some partial solutions. The World Council of Churches has sponsored a Churches' Committee on Migrant Workers which has given special attention to problems faced by migrant women.37 A Pan-European Conference of Migrant Workers, aided by the Dutch Anne Frank Foundation, was plagued by rumors that the meetings would lead to a communist international of migrant workers, and by a low response from the unions invited to attend.38

B. Organizations Associated with Religious Groups.
To what extent are human rights the rights of religious groups? How do religious groups perceive their role in promoting human rights? Of special importance to such groups are Articles 2 and 18 of the Universal Declaration:

2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status...

18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his/her religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others...
in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance.

The full range of rights can be justified through religious teachings: among them the right to life, the prohibition of slavery and servitude, and freedom from discrimination.

Human rights activities of religious groups vary. Some groups engage in extensive theological reflection on the meaning of "human rights." Other groups have been active in creating and improving the human rights machinery of international governmental organizations. Religious groups are frequently forced into resisting repressive governments; this has often required relief for the victims of repression.

The religious NGOs in Table 8 are among the most active and effective. They include Jewish organizations, Christian organizations, and inter-faith groups. While none of the groups included views its activities as limited to promotion of a distinct faith, each sees the protection of the rights of all peoples as a testament to its beliefs.

1. The World Jewish Congress (WJC) seeks to represent and defend the interests of world Jewry. It has succeeded in attracting a wide range of viewpoints in different countries. For instance, all Israeli parties except Rakah and Agudat Israel (which have never sought membership) are represented. There have been difficulties in determining what policies best serve the interests of all Jewish
### Table 8
Major Religious NGOs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>HEADQUARTERS</th>
<th>CHAPTERS</th>
<th>LINKS</th>
<th>TACTICS</th>
<th>MEMBERS</th>
<th>RIGHTS CONCERNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WJC (1936)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>Africa 5</td>
<td>ECOSOC A, P, R, S</td>
<td>Jewish communitiess and defending them wherever they are violated.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 24</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Europe 22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alliance (1958)</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Africa 5* (1)</td>
<td>A, P</td>
<td>Committees, branches totalling 12,000 members in 25 countries.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>AJC (1906)</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>L, P, S</td>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>Civil rights in the United States; Soviet Jewry; Freedom of movement</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B'nai B'rith (1943)</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>Africa 15</td>
<td>ECOSOC A, P, S</td>
<td>500,000 Jewish men, women &amp; youth of good moral character (fraternal)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To provide service to the Jewish people and to humanity at large</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 14</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>WCC (1948)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>Africa 21* (Amsterdam)</td>
<td>ECOSOC A, P, R, S</td>
<td>Churches in over 100 countries</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>S, J</td>
<td>251 churches Member churches’ worldwide missionary and evangelistic task</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 260</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Aid to needy, religious liberty, ecumenical action</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPC (1958)</td>
<td>Prague</td>
<td>Africa 22</td>
<td>ECOSOC R, S</td>
<td>Churches, ecumenical bodies and individuals in over 79 countries</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 14</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Europe 240</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pax Romana (1947)</td>
<td>Fribourg</td>
<td>Africa 59</td>
<td>ECOSOC M, P, S</td>
<td>National organizations &amp; groups in 54 countries</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Rome)</td>
<td>Lat Am 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>159 members</td>
<td>Study of human and social problems in accordance with Catholic faith</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 16a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>appointed by</td>
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<tr>
<td>FWCC (1937)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Africa 49</td>
<td>ECOSOC A, L, M</td>
<td>Nonviolence; right of sharing world resources</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Swarthmore)</td>
<td>Lat Am 3</td>
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<td>S (b)</td>
<td>Friends Meet-</td>
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<td>ings from 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>WCRP (1970)</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Africa 2*</td>
<td>ECOSOC P, P</td>
<td>Individuals sharing among world religious leaders knowledge of sanctions &amp; traditions each religion has for just international relations</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Europe 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFOR (1919)</td>
<td>Alkmaar</td>
<td>Africa 2*</td>
<td>ECOSOC C, P</td>
<td>National branches in 24 countries; contact persons in 4 countries</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Bilthoven)</td>
<td>Lat Am 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Committed to nonviolence as a way of life for a world community of peace and liberation</td>
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<td>Europe 14</td>
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(1) Represented at ECOSOC and UNESCO by the Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations.
communities; thus other Jewish groups design policies independent of, and often opposed to the WJC's.

The WJC reflects the influence of its founder and first President, Nahum Goldmann. Goldmann, whose stature has been compared to Chaim Weizmann and David Ben Gurion, who was described as "this independent one-man Jewish Foreign Office" and "the preeminent Jewish leader in the world today,"\(^39\) is past President of the World Zionist Organization and was founder and first president of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations in the United States.

Among the controversial steps taken under his leadership were efforts to encourage participation of socialist countries' Jewish communities in the Congress (making the WJC the only major Jewish organization in regular contact with these countries' governments),\(^40\) and exploration of unofficial negotiation with Egyptian President Nasser (which the Israeli government refused to sanction).\(^41\) The latter action led to a heated debate among Israelis and supporters of Israel.

Human rights work of the WJC has included work at the United Nations to improve its human rights machinery. Through the Institute of Jewish Affairs, the Congress has sponsored detailed commentaries on the United Nations, the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, and the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Gerhart Riegner, the WJC Secretary-General, has been among
the leading NGO human rights activists in the Committees of NGOs in consultative status with ECOSOC and UNESCO. Rights matters on which the WJC has been active include protest of a 1948 Bolivian decree that financial assets of all "Semitic elements" be investigated, improvement of textbooks which may reinforce discrimination (through UNESCO), work to prevent deportation of Jewish refugees, action against discrimination in the Arab World, monitoring of rights deprivation of Soviet Jewry, work to remove discriminatory immigration legislation (such as the McCarran Act in the United States), and establishment of a program for Asian and African Affairs to improve Jewish communication with the Third World.

The structure of the WJC generally provides that Jewish communities, rather than the Congress, interpret human rights in their own countries. Thus the Congress has refused to pass judgment on South African Jewish organizations' decisions to remove the community from that country's debate over apartheid. The Congress has sometimes encountered difficulty in ensuring that member organizations are truly representative of a country's Jewish community. In the United States the Congress created a chapter involving more than a dozen organizations, assuming a role previously held solely by the American Jewish Congress. The WJC nevertheless realizes that in America (and elsewhere) its representation of Jewry is not universal; it has therefore
worked with other Jewish groups in the Conference of Jewish Organizations (COJO).

2. The Alliance Israelite Universelle has expressed concern for Jewish rights since 1858. From the concern over the abduction of a Jewish child by papal authorities in Bologna, which led to the Alliance's formation, it has developed programs on a variety of issues, insisting that human rights are properly "a matter of international, and not purely domestic concern."

Much of the Alliance's early activity built up pressure to ease emigration of Jews from Rumania and Russia; governmental and popular support was also sought to gain equal rights for Swiss Jews. It financed the emigration of East European Jews, but not to Palestine. A school of agriculture was established by the Alliance in Palestine in 1870; it was "designed to alleviate the poverty and misery of the local Palestinian Jews." Recently the Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations, in which the Alliance participates, expressed skepticism regarding the operation of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. Nevertheless, the Alliance continues to invoke many principles established through the U.N., as in its linkage of 30th anniversary celebrations of Israel and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

While the Alliance advocated advancement of human rights throughout Europe, and by 1900 a majority of its
members were non-French, its leadership remained French. This fostered creation and growth of the Anglo-Jewish Alliance, Hilfsverein (German), and other groups with different national loyalties.  

3. The conviction that American Jewry had an important role to play in calling attention to pogroms in Russia stimulated creation of the American Jewish Committee. Some of its early work focused on economic discrimination, including discriminatory regulation of immigration.

In seeking to represent, defend and mobilize American Jewry, the Committee has been embroiled in a series of difficult conflicts. In 1935, Committee representatives reversed a previous policy in cosigning a public statement stressing the opposition to communism of German and Russian Jews. Committee adversaries argued that this was tantamount to denying the right of Jews to advocate whatever philosophy they pleased. The AJC opposed the creation of the World Jewish Congress; the WJC was feared as a potential source of confirmation of anti-Semites' claims that an international Jewish conspiracy existed. The Committee therefore mobilized opposition to creation of the Congress; its efforts had a "moderating effect." The relationship between the American Jewish community and Zionist leaders has also been debated. This debate has generally been resolved in favor of steadfast support for Israeli policy.
Recent human rights work of the Committee and its representatives has included support of a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) campaign for a federal anti-lynching law, participation on the Citizens' Commission on Indochinese Refugees, membership in (and frequent representation at the United Nations for) the International League for Human Rights, support for Israel (e.g., the accusation that the National Council of Churches committed "an unconscionable act of selective moral outrage" in criticizing Israel's invasion of Lebanon), organization of an international conference on "the right to leave and the right to return," and organization of support for Soviet Jewry.

4. B'nai B'rith is a fraternal organization designed to serve the Jewish people and humanity at large. Its human rights activities include U.N. work and information services such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).

B'nai B'rith is the largest member of the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations (CBJO), which also includes the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. Work of the CBJO centers on the abolition of discrimination against all minority groups. It has submitted many oral statements and memoranda to U.N. bodies on such matters as discrimination in education, the right of asylum, rights of the child, statelessness, and war crimes. COJO and B'nai B'rith have worked nationally
and internationally to draft and implement human rights treaties and declarations. The increasing participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at the United Nations and the recent condemnations of Zionism and Israeli policies have led B'nnai B'rith representatives to more frequent criticism, and less frequent defense of the U.N. 51

The ADL was formed in 1913 to combat anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice. The ADL has produced books, pamphlets, records, and other information resources on segregation, fair housing, South African apartheid, neo-Nazism. Among its most controversial claims are those levelled against critics of Israel. The ADL has lashed out against ABC television, the Christian Science Monitor, the London Times, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Lawyers Guild, the Swiss League for Human Rights, and the "Radical Left" (which includes the Socialist Workers Party, the Progressive Labor Party, the Communist Party - U.S.A., the Middle East Research and Information Project and the Newsreel film collective). 52

5. The World Council of Churches promotes human rights through its Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA), Program to Combat Racism (PCR), and relief programs. The Council includes churches from rich and poor countries with capitalist, socialist, and mixed economic systems.
The CCIA has worked to implement the full range of human rights in all countries. It has studied and acted to promote freedom of religion in a wide variety of contexts, and has argued further that:

"It is a demand of the Gospel that Christians become directly involved in process of change of all social structures in which Human Rights are not fully implemented."53

The CCIA has compiled a practical guide to international governmental human rights procedures, organized consultations with churches in developing countries, acted as a clearinghouse for information on human rights violations (CCIA's broad religious representation makes it a frequent recipient of such information), facilitated discussion of the Helsinki and Belgrade Conferences (on security and cooperation in Europe), and has interpreted rights developments at the United Nations for member churches.54

The WCC has been subject to severe attacks from some member churches and from outside critics. Its Program to Combat Racism has been criticized by British and German church representatives for grants to Southern African liberation groups.55 While WCC commitment to PCR has remained strong, dissatisfaction with the program led to a suspension of membership by the Salvation Army, the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, and part of the German Evangelical Federation.

6. Many members of the WCC are also active in national church council activities. The U.S. National Council of
Churches (NCC) has an active aid program, and has publicized rights violations through its human rights office, regional offices, and member churches.

The NCC has been concerned with many rights issues (beyond political imprisonment and religious freedom) around the world. It has expressed support for children's rights, and has focused churches' and public attention on rights violations in South Africa, Latin America, and South Korea. NCC representatives working with Haitian exiles in the United States were among the first to object when the Haitian government claimed to have released all political prisoners. One representative pointed out, "We simply have the names of too many other people." The NCC has taken action against apartheid; with member churches being influential investors, the NCC has urged its constituent denominations to withdraw all funds from financial institutions with interests in South Africa.

7. The Christian Peace Conference takes a socialist approach to human rights. It was founded by Czechoslovakian theology professors, and has rapidly gained representation from outside the socialist bloc, including many Christian activists from developing countries. The CPC's human rights work is accomplished through study committees, through commissions such as the Commission on Women, and through representation at peace, anti-racism, and United Nations conferences. Its current President is also a Vice-President of the World Council of Churches.
Concerns of the CPC have included the right to liberation, rights in Namibia, prospects of cooperation between Christians and Marxists, and the right to food. The Conference argues:

"The point is...to set the correct priorities since ...all people have the legitimate claim to guaranteeing and implementing the fundamental rights to human existence which (form) the basis and prerequisite for implementation of and benefiting from the secondary political rights. (One) who is illiterate, hungry, without shelter and job cannot fully realize civil human rights."58

Liberalism, which stresses civil human rights, is said to interfere with prospects for making human rights available to all.

CPC adversaries label it a Soviet-controlled front organization. They criticize the CPC's invocation of the Gospel as justification for use of violence in revolutionary situations. They criticize the CPC for failing to condemn the Soviets' intervention in Hungary in 1956, for linking human rights implementation with socialism, and for "consistently coming down on the side of the Arabs."59 They argue that the CPC has become a world-wide movement which may require counteraction by Western clergy.

8. The Catholic Church's human rights activities are many. Its Commission on Justice and Peace, created by Pope Paul VI and led by African Archbishop Bernardin Gantin, has facilitated human rights research, education, and activism around the world.60 The Church's effectiveness, especially in Latin America, is due to interest and
activism of parishioners in their own communities. Its network of communication, which by reaching into every hamlet and village surpasses the C.I.A.'s, has made Church groups "the major voice exposing the genocide and ethnocide of Indians" in Brazil, and has increased the efficacy of rights activists throughout Latin America. As Pope John Paul's visit to Latin America demonstrated, however, the rights activists face opposition from outside, but also from conservative factions within the Church.

Pax Romana is composed of the International Movement of Catholic Students and the International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs. It feels its most important work for human rights is accomplished by Christians who, wishing "to live their faith in the milieu in which they live," realize and act to achieve a full range of rights in concert with non-Christians of good will.

Specialized secretariats of Pax Romana, in particular the International Secretariat of Catholic Lawyers, have aided Catholics in their assessment of rights violations worldwide. Missions of the Secretariat of Catholic Lawyers, often undertaken cooperatively with other rights groups, have engaged in trial observation, and have made general reports on rights in Iran, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and elsewhere:

"In certain countries the Movement of Catholic Lawyers is the only (international organization)
able to complete missions (Uruguay, Argentina), for the governments' propaganda has already discredited Amnesty International and the Association of Democratic Lawyers."

These groups are often able to arrange a beneficial division of labor (and finance) in which Catholic organizations are in the vanguard of the human rights movement.

9. The Friends' human rights activities are carried out by several agencies. Most of these, e.g., the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends' Committee on National Legislation, reflect the predominance of U.S. membership in the denomination. U.S. membership is several times that of any other country.

Quaker programs include aid projects, such as provision of legal services to West Bank Palestinians, mediation in disputes (as a "neutral party" rather than as an activist), promotion of nonviolent solutions to world problems, and lobbying for peaceful change in the U.S. and at the United Nations. The Friends' World Committee for Consultation (FWCC), which links Quakers from different countries, sponsors triennial conferences at which practical implications of the Quaker faith are probed.

Quaker rights work has been attacked by the Secretary-General of the World Conference on Religion and Peace and by leading periodicals for an alleged "double standard." Thus it is claimed that the denomination supports terrorists and prefers leftist totalitarians to such "democratic" states as South Africa. Palestinian rights advocates
express regret that, to the contrary, the Quakers' persistent pleadings of neutrality limit their potential work for social justice.

10. Roots of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) which works so that organized religion may promote peace, rather than intolerance and war, go back to the 1893 World Parliament of Religion, held in Chicago. While the contemporary Conference draws participants from around the world, its work is financed on a continuing basis by its Japanese and U.S. chapters (equally).

The Conference was thrust into the human rights NGO spotlight when several national governments responded harshly to WCRP Secretary General Homer Jack's claims before the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in 1975. Jack had charged the Philippines, Pakistan, Syria, Cyprus, Egypt, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and Zaire with rights violations. Government representatives responded by charging that Jack's claims were selective and unsupported by evidence (or, as summarized in the United Nations press release, "in the main unfounded, biased and even slanderous."). The Economic and Social Council review of nongovernmental actions in consultative status, conducted in early 1978, was prompted by some governments (in particular the U.S.S.R. and Argentina) which claimed that the Conference, Amnesty International, Pax Romana, and other rights groups had not complied with ECOSOC rules.
11. The International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) includes human rights work among its priorities. Much work is carried out by IFOR's independent national chapters, which vary greatly in activity. While the Argentine chapter no longer exists as a formal organization, and Uruguay's chapter must circumvent laws against public meetings of more than three persons, the U.S. chapter (which claims 25,000 members) and European chapters have major activities concerning the death penalty, conscientious objection, and apartheid.

Under the leadership of IFOR Secretary-General James Forrest (a U.S. conscientious objector during the Vietnam war), the Fellowship has made human rights in Vietnam a special concern. The plight of Vietnamese Buddhists under the socialist government has divided pacifists, and might be considered an "acid test" for the U.S. FOR. Strife in Nicaragua has served as a clear case demanding action—for FOR this has meant sending an observer to Nicaragua, and working to end U.S. aid to the Somoza regime.67

IFOR stresses that human rights must be implemented nonviolently. Their opposition to apartheid, therefore, has not included aid to or support of liberation forces employing violence; indeed IFOR has criticized the World Council of Churches for its aid program.68 IFOR has supported the work of the nonviolent Servicio Paz y Justicia, a nonviolent Latin American human rights group. Campaign
Human Rights '78 (discussed in section I) resulted from common initiatives of Servicio and IFOR.

12. Other religious groups include the World Muslim Congress and World Federation of Buddhists, both of which act in concert with other rights groups at the United Nations on some issues. Many Christian denominations are active internationally; the Quakers' efforts at conflict resolution often encompass rights issues, while the Lutheran World Federation and World Alliance of Reformed Churches have engaged in theological reflection on human rights and provided relief where rights have been violated.

Clergy and Laity Concerned is a U.S. group which has developed an initial concern over U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War into a concern with peace and human rights worldwide. CALC's work has included its international representative's investigation of Iranian human rights, facilitation of human rights work across the U.S. (by providing speakers, films, and other resources), and organization with other rights groups. Some U.S. religious groups have been especially active on single issues. While the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (a coordinating body composed of thirty-eight national Jewish organizations and many community welfare federations and councils) was designed to do so, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee has contributed a major investigation of rights in El Salvador (in addition to the UUSC's active participation
in the International Association for Religious Freedom),
and the Capuchin Fathers have been especially active in
Nicaraguan solidarity efforts.

C. Women's organizations are active in promoting a
full range of human rights. While all work to implement
the rights of women is by definition human rights activity,
of special concern here are those women's groups which are
active in promoting human rights worldwide.

Where these organizations advance the rights of women,
parts of the Universal Declaration's Articles 2, 7, and 16
may be of special interest:

2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and
freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without
distinction of any kind, such as race, colour,
sex, language, religion, political or other
opinion, national or social origin, property,
birth, or other status...

7. All are equal before the law and are entitled
without any discrimination to equal protection of
the law...

16. (Men and women) are entitled to equal rights
as to marriage, during marriage, an at its
dissolution...

In practice, the rights set forth in other Articles have
often been denied women, among these rights the prohibition
against slavery in all its forms, the right to own property,
the right of equal access to public services, and the right
to equal pay for equal work.

Among the difficulties faced by women's groups
working internationally is that of linking conflicting
priorities. Especially at the first International Womens
Year conference (Mexico City), nongovernmental and governmental representatives split over the merits of day care, abortion, and equal opportunity (primary concerns of some North Americans), versus programs to combat illiteracy, malnutrition, and unchecked population growth (stressed by some development-oriented groups). 71

1. The International Alliance of Woman: Equal Rights - Equal Responsibilities (IAW) has continued the work of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, a group inspired by Susan B. Anthony and Carrie Chapman Catt. Its current efforts emphasize development, and are implemented through triennial IAW congresses, regional conferences and seminars, and study tours.

Regional conferences have dealt with such issues as the role of women in economic development (held in Sierra Leone in 1966, financed by the Ford Foundation), literacy for women (held in Pakistan in 1968, with cooperation from the Associated Country Women of the World [ACWW] and help from UNESCO), functional education for women in rural development (in India in 1970, with cooperation from ACWW and help from UNESCO), and population and the means of subsistence (held in Mauritius in 1977, funded by UNFPA). 72 The Action Programme of the IAW results from the triennial Congresses' resolutions and recommendations of its Civil and Political Rights Commission, Economic Commission, Educational Commission, International Understanding
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<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>HEADQUARTERS</th>
<th>CHAPTERS</th>
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<th>TACTICS</th>
<th>MEMBERS</th>
<th>RIGHTS CONCERNS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IAW (1904)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Africa 13</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>A, R, W</td>
<td>National Association in 48 countries</td>
<td>Promotes a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between women and men</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 7</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
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<td>Europe 14</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Africa 16*</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>A, R, W</td>
<td>National Council of Women in 65 countries</td>
<td>Promotes welfare of human-kind, of the family, and individual; removal of barriers to women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICW (1888)</td>
<td>(Washington, DC)</td>
<td>Lat Am 14</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Europe 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFUW (1919)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>Africa 7*</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>A, F, R</td>
<td>National Association in 55 countries with 225,000 members</td>
<td>Further understanding among university women; development of education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(London)</td>
<td>Lat Am 13</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 18</td>
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<tr>
<td>WILPF (1915)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>Africa 2</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>L, M, P</td>
<td>National sections, groups, &amp; individuals in 24 countries</td>
<td>Brings together women of different philosophical tendencies to work for a constructive peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(The Hague)</td>
<td>Lat Am 4</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Europe 10</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>WIDF (1945)</td>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>Africa 25*</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>F, P, R</td>
<td>National Organizations &amp; individuals in 105 countries</td>
<td>Ensure peace, democracy, &amp; national independence; establish bonds of solidarity between women of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Paris, Copenhagen)</td>
<td>Lat Am 26</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 25</td>
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Commission, Social Commission, Sub-Commission on Slavery and Prostitution, and United Nations Commission. These bodies urge affiliates to increase women's participation in government, to work for equal access to co-educational vocational training in basic skills in industrial and agricultural sectors, to encourage greater media coverage of the United Nations, and to study proposals for the New International Economic Order.

Ultimately it is the national sections of IAW which must implement these programs. These sections vary greatly; in 1976 they included the Women's Organization of Iran (whose President was Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf Pahlavi), the Israel Federation of the Women's International Zionist Organization, the Palestine Arab Women's League (representing Lebanon), and four French groups (IAW President Irene de Lipkowski was President of three of these).

2. The International Council of Women (ICW) studies world problems through its 12 Standing Committees, which deal with Education, Social Welfare, Women and Employment, Migration and Peace, Laws and Suffrage, International Relations and Peace, and other topics. It encourages and supports regional seminars on human rights, literacy, women and development and other issues. While the ICW's structure, scope, and purposes parallel the IAW's, there is little, if any, overlap in individuals leading the two groups.
The ICW has participated in a variety of IGO meetings. It presented a supporting motion in favor of peace to the First International Peace Conference (1899), was one of two NGOs to participate at the second Hague Conference, and was represented at the League of Nations. Its seminars (held with participation of U.N. specialized agencies) have dealt with maximizing women's contribution to national and regional development (1972, Philippines), the integration of African women in national development (1976, Sierra Leone), and raising the status of women through law (1977, India).73

The ICW works cooperatively with its affiliated Councils. In conjunction with the U.N. Decade for Women, the National Council of Women's Organizations of Madagascar organized a 1978 seminar on the need felt by Malagasy country women for improvement in the quality of life, with the help of the ICW. The All Pakistan Women's Association received the Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Prize for its work in literacy; the ICW had presented the Association as a candidate.

3. The International Federation of University Women (IFUW) has held several conferences on right-related issues. It was founded after World War I when leading university women of Great Britain and the United States considered such a federation to be the most effective means available to prevent "another such catastrophe."74 Today the IFUW
has an international constituency (though some areas are underrepresented), is active at the United Nations (including leadership in the Committee of Nongovernmental Organizations in Consultative Status with ECOSOC), and provides aid to university women in need.

A greater proportion of the IFUW's efforts are concerned with rights to free expression and intellectual freedom than is the case with the IAW or ICW. A major theme at the 17th Conference was "The Preservation of the Liberties of the Mind." Many IFUW chapters offer aid to ensure that minority groups and representatives of developing countries will enjoy equal rights to higher education. The Netherlands chapter:

"composed a letter which was sent to all universities in the Netherlands...asking for "positive discrimination" in favour of women in their faculty hiring and promotion policies, especially in the higher ranks stressing that women have far to go to catch up with men in the universities."

Other concerns advanced by the IFUW and its Chapters include the understanding of culturally conditioned views of women's roles, revision of laws to grant women and children full rights, and rural development.

4. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is an exception to the rule that human rights NGOs become more conservative with age. WILPF has become a leading rights group at the United Nations, and through contact with the Women's International Democratic Federation has bridged conflicts between worldviews and
over the Cold War. WILPF activities include mobilization of pressure against repressive governments, education through conferences and publications, and study missions.

WILPF has taken strong positions on many controversial issues. It has argued that the "most basic human right is the peoples' right to control their own natural resources, and to determine their political and economic systems," that it is "a human right to resist injustice and to be neither silent witness nor passive victim of repression," and that members should defend such victims of U.S. repression as the Black Panthers, Angela Davis, the American Indian Movement, and the Wilmington Ten. 78

As with most rights NGOs, affiliates of the League are unequal. The U.S. affiliate is the largest, and financial difficulties in the U.S. has placed the Geneva office in similar financial straits. 79 The U.S. affiliate has, in combination with other rights groups, been especially active in publicizing rights violations in Vietnam (during the war) and in Chile. Theirs is a grass-roots approach, encouraging members across the country to share their concerns with elected officials.

5. The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) is a group which shares many of WILPF's objectives, and is most active in the socialist countries. It includes organizations in more than 100 countries, and has close relations with women in other groups such as the
International Indian Treaty Council (who are seeking admission) and WILPF.

The WIDF initiated the proposal urging proclamation of International Women's Year (IWY) and during IWY stressed the importance of women's active participation in development playing. It initiated a world congress in IWY, organized jointly by women's NGOs, the World Congress of Women in Berlin. The Congress, which recognized great differences between countries in problems confronting women, urged legal recognition of women's equality, equal access to education, equal pay for equal work, and equal rights and duties in family life and in bringing up children. This Congress was called the "most representative forum of world public opinion organised on the non-governmental level during the Year"\textsuperscript{80} by WILPF Secretary-General and CONGO President Edith Ballantyne.

The WIDF is active in this year's activities to observe the International Year of the Child. Its Secretary-General has expressed special concern for the child's rights to life, to healthy development, and to education. With regard to the right to life, she wrote:

"Thousands and thousands of children are still the victims of wars and aggressions, oppression and exploitation, fascist and racist regimes, beset by hunger and disease...Sixty percent of the civilian victims during the long and terrible Vietnam war were children. The attacks of the U.S. aggressors were directed particularly against schools, hospitals, nurseries, and densely-populated residential districts in the urban centers...How can we fail
to recall the Arab children of Palestine who are denied the right to live with their parents under their own sky!"81

These examples illustrate the WIDF's approach to children's rights, women's rights, and human rights; they cannot be realized without an accompanying struggle against racism, colonialism, imperialism, and fascism.

6. Other women's groups include political organizations such as the International Council of Social Democratic Women, which sponsors projects to aid women from developing areas, and Associated Country Women of the World, which has long been involved in development work. National women's groups with human rights concerns include "a vast infrastructure of traditional women's organizations in Africa and Asia that scarcely connects with twentieth century women's NGOs,"82 and first world groups which concentrate on local and national feminist issues, such as the U.S. National Organization of Women. The U.S. National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) has sponsored development projects in Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland, while the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has devoted a recent convention to urging members' involvement on human rights issues.83

D. Youth and Student Organizations are groups organized by young people (the age limit varies, but is usually around thirty-five). Characteristics of these groups are listed in Table 10.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IUS (1946)</td>
<td>Prague</td>
<td>Africa 28%</td>
<td>P, M, R</td>
<td>National unions or committees of students from 84 countries</td>
<td>Strives for right to education; international friendship</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 22</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>IUEF (1961)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>Africa 0</td>
<td>A, P, 3</td>
<td>11 organizations in 7 countries</td>
<td>Promote the liberation of countries and peoples under colonial or other oppression through educational and humanitarian assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Leiden)</td>
<td>Lat Am 0</td>
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<td>Europe 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISMUN (1948)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>Africa 10</td>
<td>P, S, W</td>
<td>National affiliates in 37 countries</td>
<td>For economic, social and cultural justics; for national liberation; against imperialism and colonialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Rome)</td>
<td>Lat Am 5</td>
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The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was written to protect all human beings, but does not include age among the impermissible distinctions in Article 2. Those not "of full age" are excluded from the right to marry and found a family in Article 16. It is in Articles 25 and 26 that young people are given some special consideration:

25. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same protection.

26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Many NGOs have special programs to implement these rights. NGOs also promote rights of young people to employment, to free expression, and to freely participate in the cultural rights in one's community.

The age of majority for enjoyment of rights set forth in the Universal Declaration is unspecified. Since the General Assembly has also adopted a Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which protects very young people but does not grant them rights to participate in decisionmaking, youth and student organizations generally base their claims on what the rights of young people should be rather than on the declared rights.

1. Socialist youth groups include the International Union of Students (IUS), the World Student Christian
Federation, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). IUS and WFDY have been especially active in organizing the World Festivals of Youth and Students (WFYS), as have other groups including the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), the Pan-African Youth Movement, the Latin American Continental Students Organization, and the All-Africa Student Union. The festivals, certainly the largest and most elaborate gatherings of the world's young people, facilitate exchange of ideas and political discussions between participants from more than 100 countries. The outcomes fit the general pattern for rights deliberations of socialist NGOs; on the issues on which contemporary socialists disagree, however, there has been evidence of dissent. At the 1978 festival in Havana some European groups staged a small demonstration in support of Eritrean self-determination (contrary to the organizers' support of a unified Ethiopia under the present government), while at the 1959 Vienna WFYS American and British delegates attempted to display "Remember Hungary" and "Remember Tibet" signs in a festival parade. There have also been disputes over the means by which national participants are selected.

The IUS is active on many issues in pursuing its struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The Union argues that peoples and students of Palestine, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia are uniting in their common struggle against imperialism; the IUS therefore, in combination with
the General Union of Arab Students, the All-Africa Students Union, and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, organized a Tripoli seminar on the Role of the Peoples and Students in the Struggle against Racism and Zionism, particularly in Palestine and Southern Africa. The seminar led to an intensification of informational efforts by the groups participating. Other IUS activities include interventions at the United Nations, seminars on Chile, study of problems of youth unemployment, and expression of solidarity with the people of Cyprus.

2. During the 1950s Western governments and foundations attempted to combat the influence of socialist youth NGOs by bolstering parallel groups, such as the World Alliance of Youth (WAY) and the International Student Conference (ISC, often COSEC). These groups have declined in strength over the last decade, due in part to internal differences, and due also to the exposure of support by the U.S. C.I.A. While participants were drawn exclusively from nonsocialist countries, their politics were generally more progressive than their governments', which led U.S. Senator Goldwater to charge that the C.I.A. was financing socialism.

WAY is still active, but on a small scale. ISC folded in 1969, but its agency created for "technical assistance in the field of education and widening the scope of understanding and mutual comprehension among students all over
the world by promoting international student exchanges" remains, the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF). The IUEF today has a variety of education and aid programs which are conceived as an integral part of development. Most IUEF activity concerns Africa, where it has supported South African student groups, condemned violations of the rights of refugees, and has had an active role in nongovernmental anti-apartheid work at the United Nations. The IUEF has also surveyed the refugee situation in South America.

3. The International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations (ISMUN) seeks both independence and support from its "parents" in the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA). With an interest in human rights activism, ISMUN is constrained greatly by limits on its resources. Over the last ten to fifteen years ISMUN has supported (through publication and education) national liberation movements (Fretelin in East Timor, Polisario in the Western Sahara), peoples' control and ownership of their natural resources, youth rights (including the right of conscientious objection), and economic rights (especially the right to food). Many of ISMUN's seminars, publications, and IGO interventions have been undertaken with other youth NGOs, such as the World Student Christian Federation, World University Service, International Union of Young Christian Democrats, IUS, and WFDY
(often undertaken collectively through the Geneva Informal Meeting). Specifics include the mission of enquiry to Chile (undertaken with IUS, WFDY, and IUYCD), publicity on repression of students in Malaysia (undertaken with WSEF "until it became apparent that external pressure for the release of individual detainees might do more harm than good"), and publication of a human rights bulletin on Uganda (undertaken with WUS and WSCF).

Member associations of ISMUN differ in viewpoint and in strength. The movement argues that the differences in viewpoint are an asset, bolstering its independence:

"Instead of being a vehicle, whose raison d'etre is to promote the policy and objectives of a particular Government or ideology, ISMUN performs (albeit imperfectly) a much more creative and positive role as a forum for young people from very different backgrounds and political systems, where ...a progressively deeper understanding of the real problems of the modern world can be forged in conditions offering the maximum of respect for the contributions of each organisation or individual, and free of the restraints imposed by a rigid 'political line.'"

4. Many other youth groups have been discussed previously: the WUS, the WSCF, WAY, WFDY, and IUYCD. The World YWCA has a major interest in women's rights, the rights of young people, and human rights; the YMCA used a human rights theme for its last convention. Many national youth groups have human rights interests, too.

E. Professional Organizations often perceive international human rights activism to be unprofessional. Increasingly, however, groups of scientists, lawyers, and
parliamentarians have responded to the repression of which their colleagues are often the victims. Groups with major human rights activities are listed in Table 11.

Scientists, lawyers, and parliamentarians have a special interest in the rights set forth in parts of the Universal Declaration's Articles 18 and 19:

18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others...to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance;

19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference...

Additionally, lawyers bring a special expertise on Articles relating to the legal system, such as those calling for fair trial procedures and equality before the law (7 and 10).

1. The International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) exists to facilitate international activities in the natural sciences. This generally means that members prefer a Council which steers clear of political disputes, unless the disputes interfere with the member's scientific activities. The Council subscribes to the principle of universality, meaning that all scientists should be represented (with rare exceptions due to "lobbies" within ICSU, such that e.g., China is not represented).

Human rights cases studied by ISCU are those where bona fide scientists have been refused permission to attend bona fide scientific meetings. The Standing Committee on
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>HEADQUARTERS</th>
<th>CHAPTERS</th>
<th>LINKS</th>
<th>TACTICS</th>
<th>MEMBERS</th>
<th>RIGHTS CONCERNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ICBO (1919)</td>
<td>Paris (Brussels)</td>
<td>Africa 118</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>Principal scientific associations in 66 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 9</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 26</td>
<td>Free circulation of scientists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA (1961)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Africa 55</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>Societies in 61 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>Abuse of psychiatry for political purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAAS (1848)</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>C, L, M, P</td>
<td>128,000 in all fields</td>
<td>Scientific responsibility, freedom of inquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAS (1863)</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>C, P</td>
<td>Leading U.S. scientists, primarily in the natural sciences</td>
<td>Persecution of scientists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSS (1919)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Scholarly freedom; prosecution of scientists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPSW (1946)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>ECOSEC</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>National organizations in 28 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Safeguarding of scientific rights, improvement of scientists’ working conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICJ (1952)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>Africa 8</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>M, P, S</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>Up to 40 individuals elected to Commissions in 50 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Supports, advances the “Rule of Law,” mobilizes world’s jurists in support of Rule of Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IADL (1946)</td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>Africa 11</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>M, P, S</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>Groups, correspondents in 65 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Supports democratic principles favorable to maintenance of peace and cooperation between nations; promotes independence of all peoples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mobilizes legal profession to build law, rules, and legal institutions for world peace through law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPU (1889)</td>
<td>Geneva (Bern, Brussels, Oslo)</td>
<td>Africa 13</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>C, P, S</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>National interparliamentary groups in 72 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Promotes personal contact between members of parliaments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the Free Circulation of Scientists was established in 1963, and has considered less than ten cases per year. Generally the cases are resolved satisfactorily (otherwise they become moot); in no case are deliberations made public. There is some potential for human rights involvement by the Standing Committee on the Pursuit of Science, formerly the Committee on the Immigration of Scientists. Its responsibilities include:

a) To collect, document and analyse cases, other than those which fall within the domain of the Standing Committee on the Free Circulation of Scientists, where bona fide scientists have been seriously restricted in the pursuit of scientific research or have been prevented from communicating with fellow scientists;...

c) To provide...advisory services, when requested on the appropriate ways and means to deal with the "brain drain" problem in developing countries.91

Thus far ICSU's assumption of human rights concerns has been cautious.

2. The World Psychiatric Association (WPA) includes many members who want their profession to become part of the solution, instead of being only part of the problem of repression. Some other NGOs, composed of professionals and nonprofessionals, have expressed concern over use of psychiatry to repress dissenters; these include the Campaign against Abuses of Psychiatry for Political Purposes in Britain, the Network against Psychiatric Assault in the United States, and the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes in the Soviet Union.
WPA attention to psychiatric abuse began at the 1971 meeting, with introduction of a resolution based on a Canadian Psychiatric Association Report which had condemned "the alleged wrongful detention in mental hospitals in the USSR of seemingly healthy individuals whose views and attitudes are in conflict with those of the regime."92

The resolution was defeated, with the blessing of WPA Secretary-General Dr. Denis Leigh, who argued that there was no basis in WPA statutes for the organization's assumption of new responsibilities. At the 1977 meeting, however, the efforts led by English, Canadian, Australian, American, and French psychiatrists succeeded; by a 90 to 88 vote the Soviets were condemned for use of psychiatry for political purposes, and a commission was established "to investigate complaints from any part of the world."93

Further rights efforts of the WPA will probably be limited. Had the Polish delegation been present in 1977, the WPA condemnation would have failed. Many representatives of associations that had voted for censure had on other occasions praised the Soviets for their diagnoses of nonconformists. Indeed, in 1978, the Secretary/Treasurer of the International Committee to Defend the Podrabinek Brothers bemoaned the disinterest of the psychiatric profession. Many observers credit Alexander Podrabinek with having provided the impetus for the 1977 WPA resolution.94

3. Most academic disciplines share a reluctance to become involved where politics may "rear its ugly head," as
inevitably occurs when human rights violations are condemned. One national association which has added major human rights activities (though not without opposition) is the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). AAAS has condemned rights violations in the U.S. and elsewhere through its Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility.

John Edsall, Chair of the Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility has argued that U.S. entry requirements for visitors may violate free travel provisions of the Helsinki Agreement. There have been problems with visa delays for distinguished scholars, especially where they are now or once were Marxists or members of a communist party. More work of AAAS deals with violations of greater magnitude. A clearinghouse on persecuted scientists has investigated scores of cases since 1977, and has been especially active (due in large part to a greater availability of information) on rights violations in Argentina and the Soviet Union. AAAS President Emilio Daddario visited Argentina in December of 1977 to express the depth of U.S. scientists' human rights concerns. He concluded his report of the mission by arguing:

"The brightest prospect for betterment of the repressed and imprisoned scientists is through step-by-step progress toward moderation, acknowledging the positive actions which the government now seems ready to take, and encouraging others."
In this case, therefore, closer contact with government leaders was sought; at the same time, suggestions for improving the government's policy toward scientists were offered.

4. The National Academy of Sciences' (NAS) letterhead describes it as "an organization of distinguished scientists and engineers concerned with the furtherance of science and its use for human welfare." The Academy formed a Committee on Human Rights in 1976 due to concern about the repression of scholarly research. The Academy's first international rights activity took place in 1956, when it helped find positions for Hungarian refugees. Similar assistance was provided for Argentine scholars in 1966 and Chilean scientists in 1973. Also in 1973, the Academy President relayed to Moscow his serious concern over the Soviet attempt to discredit physicist Andrei Sakharov.97

The NAS Committee on Human Rights first acted in behalf of eight scientists--five Argentinian physicists who mysteriously disappeared in 1976, Soviet biologist Sergei Kovalev and physicist Yuri Orlov, and a Uruguayan alleged torture victim, mathematician Jose Luis Massera. Requested action ranged from permission to make an on-the-scene investigation (Massera) to information on the status and whereabouts of the Argentinian physicists, to commutation of Kovalev's sentence. Committee action is implemented by over 250 Academy members: "correspondents" helping to
identify victims in need of support, securing documentation of serious cases, and communicating with colleagues and government officials on behalf of victims. It is hoped by Committee representatives that betterment of their colleagues' conditions will extend to other victims as well.

5. The NAS' British counterpart, the Royal Society takes issue with the NAS's stance. The Royal Society's President, Lord Todd, argues:

"If someone is in trouble because he is a scientist it is one thing, but if a scientist chooses to be a 'dissident' he comes up against the same problems as anyone who lives in the country." In cases where scientists are in trouble because of their scientific activities, however, the Royal Society protests. Another British organization, the Council on Science and Society (CSS), received plaudits from other human rights groups for its 1977 report, Scholarly Freedom and Human Rights: the Problem of Persecution and Oppression of Science and Scientists (the Ziman report). Concerns expressed in this report included the need for collective support from the scientific community (and groups within that community, such as ICSU and the World Federation of Scientific Workers), and the need for reliable information on rights worldwide. ICSU was nominated to collect information from scientists and scientific institutions; the International Commission of Jurists was suggested as a body which could assess the information collected according to international human rights law.
6. The World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW) is composed of national scientific trade unions and professional associations which are concerned with the applications of science and the rights of scientific workers. Scholarly freedom is among the topics included in a Declaration of the Rights of Scientific Workers, adopted at the WFSW General Assembly in 1969.  

Advancement of rights in light of improving technology is a major concern of the WFSW. Recently, efforts have been made to fight discrimination against politically active scientific workers—with specific reference to the Federal Republic of Germany's Berufsverbot legislation, but with reference to other countries as well.

7. This discussion of NGO human rights activity demonstrates that human rights are not exclusively a topic of law. Lawyers have made major contributions to the analysis and implementation of human rights, however. One of the most influential groups of lawyers is the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ).

The ICJ's national sections vary both in quantity and nature of activities. The Dutch section has investigated terrorism and human rights. The British section publishes Justice!, which has made nuclear power a human rights issue. The U.S. section has recovered from the exposure of its reliance on C.I.A. funds in the 1960s; today the Ford Foundation and individual contributors facilitate its
work on rights violations in Iran and elsewhere. The ICJ receives grants from many national governments; since it is not dependent on any single government, the Commission argues, its independence is maintained.

The ICJ has sent observers to political trials, arguing that "the presence of these observers help to ensure a fairer hearing for the accused and to manifest the international concern about these trials." Recent observations have included trials in Indonesia, India, South Korea, Ecuador, South Africa, Namibia, and Spain. Some ICJ investigations explore the human rights climate (and respect for the rule of law) in particular countries. Such reports have dealt with Iran, Uruguay, and Philippines, and other countries; the report on the Philippines is of special interest for its willingness to evaluate violations of the "rule of law" in their social and economic context.

8. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) has increased its cooperation with other rights groups. The Dakar, Senagal seminar on "Namibia and Human Rights," was organized by the ICJ, IADL, and the International Institute for Human Rights, in response to a request from U.N. Commissioner for Namibia (and former ICJ Secretary-General) Sean MacBride. The seminar involved representatives of many NGOs, of most African governments, of several international governmental organizations, and of liberation movements including the South West Africa
People's Organization (SWAPO). The Declaration of Dakar, which resulted from the seminar, declares that the exercise of the right to self-determination is a prerequisite to the Namibians' enjoyment of human rights.  

The IADL's concern with social and economic questions is evident from its President's definition of "democratic":

"To be a democrat...is to desire an equal right to happiness for all and to want all citizens-all 'shareholders in the great social enterprise'-to be entitled to take over the administration of that enterprise."  

The Association's defense of democracy has been controversial. In the 1950s the U.S. branch, the National Lawyers' Guild (NLG) was persecuted by Senator Joseph McCarthy, while the German branch's President was imprisoned. Recently the NLG has drawn criticism for its report on violations of human rights in the Israeli-occupied territories; some critics prey on the Guild's affiliation with the socialist IADL, while others have relied on ad hominem attacks against Guild members. (Both variants of criticism have been made by Guild members, too.)

Recent IADL activities have included many human rights investigations; from 1971 to 1975, 192 missions, involving more than 380 lawyers, visited Chile, Paraguay, Argentina, the Middle East, Angola, the Federal Republic of Germany, and other countries. IADL research has dealt with legal aspects of the international transfer of technology, and with migrant labor. The Association has publicized accounts
of Israeli torture, and results of an international tribunal investigating crimes of the Chilean junta. "Solidarity of democratic lawyers with the people of Vietnam" was expressed in every issue of the IADL's Review of Contemporary Law from 1964 to 1976; the Association of Vietnamese lawyers is now an affiliate, represented on the editorial board.\textsuperscript{108}

9. The World Peace through Law (WPTL) movement has been attacked for its conception of human rights by the IADL, and for its alleged inability to advance these rights by its own members.\textsuperscript{109} The latter attacks became more pronounced following the 1977 WPTL conference in the Philippines.

The WPTL movement was started by the American Bar Association, and today has adherents (individuals) in over 100 countries. It once had a center and library in Geneva, both now closed. It includes the World Association of Judges, the World Association of Lawyers, the World Association of Law Professors, and the World Association of Law Students. Former Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice Thurgood Marshall have been among the delegates to the biennial WPTL conferences.

The thrust of the organization's activity is expressed in its name: it seeks a greater adherence to international law as a remedy for war and human rights violations. The 1973 conference, for example, resolved that

"The Charter of the United Nations be amended to provide a High Commissioner for Human Rights, for
a Universal Court of Human Rights, for the recognition of the right and remedy of world habeas corpus and for the right of any aggrieved person to apply for redress to the Universal Court of Human Rights."110

The 1977 Conference again included prescriptions for more law to protect human rights; divisions within the Conference, however, demonstrated that the implementation of human rights will require much more than prescription. Some WPTL adherents, among them former Director of the United Nations Division of Human Rights John Humphrey, refused to attend in protest of rights violations in the Philippines; other adherents were denied admission to the Conference. The WPTL Center's "Nation Builder Award" was presented to President Marcos for "innovative, imaginative, creative government to fit modern needs." WPTL Center President Charles Rhyne's unilateral decision to present this award to Marcos led a Marcos supporter to conclude that "the World Peace through Law Movement is still Charles Rhyne," and to characterize Conference resolutions as "high-sounding proclamations full of lofty ideal, but with no mention of the real world."111 WPTL Center proponents argued that the Manila conference had led to concrete reforms; indeed this was one reason for the site's selection.

10. The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) is an NGO composed of governments' representatives. It has recently responded to the imprisonment of parliamentarians by making a series of protests, through resolutions passed at
Inter-Parliamentary Councils. The 1977 IPU Special Committee on Violations of the Human Rights of Parliamentarians examined cases of forty-two imprisoned colleagues from nine countries, of which four were declared beyond IPU jurisdiction, and twenty-nine were left for further investigation. On the other cases, the IPU:

"expressed satisfaction at Argentina's release of Senator Solari Yrigoyan, while Yrigoyan's expulsion was condemned as incompatible with the U.N.'s Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;

noted with satisfaction the release of Chilean Senator Montes Moraga;

requested governments of member national groups to demand precise information regarding the whereabouts of "desaparecido" Chilean, Carlos Lorca Tobar;

urged Kenyan authorities not to delay the release of Kenyan Deputy John Maria Seroney; and

expressed similar concern for imprisoned parliamentarians in Singapore and Uruguay."112

The concern for imprisoned parliamentarians everywhere is accompanied by concern for a variety of rights violations in some countries. Regarding Chile, with three abstentions the IPU expressed support for the rights of refugees, for educational and cultural rights, freedom of expression, and trade union freedoms. Each criticism was supported and developed in detail in IPU reports, prepared by a Special Working Group. Resolutions dealt with a variety of issues, including the New International Economic Order, apartheid, and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank. (The greatest division occurred in votes on apartheid and the West Bank;
in the latter case by 605-73-106, delegates urged that Israel abide by conditions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva conferences, with the U.S. delegation in support 12-10.  

11. Other professional organizations include national groups of parliamentarians in the United States and Britain which have expressed support for international human rights. National lawyers groups, such as the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (whose Southern Africa Project provided counsel to Black leaders), the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights (a legal resource center for human rights NGOs established by the International League for Human Rights and the Council of New York Law Associates) and some countries' bar associations seek to enhance the understanding and implementation of rights. Many scientific disciplines have defended rights of practitioners through national and international professional associations; the most common form of activity is official protest of the imprisonment of colleagues.

F. Writers, Journalists, and Media Organizations are especially active in defense of free expression, which groups define differently. They often invoke Article 19 of the Universal Declaration in their work:

19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.
This right might be invoked to defend a newspaper owner against government interference, to defend a newspaper reader's right to receive information which advertisers might want to censor, or to defend a journalist's right to print stories without editing by his/her supervisor. As the right-hand column of Table 12 indicates, NGOs interpret freedom of information selectively. Some groups concentrate on their members' rights; others' worldviews dictate that freedom of information protects either the right of those who control the media, or the right of those receiving information from the media.

1. The International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) succeeded the International Federation of Journalists, founded in Paris in 1926, and the International Federation of Journalists of the Allied or Free Countries, founded in London in 1941 (which had active Soviet participation). Journalists from twenty-one countries, Western and Eastern, founded the IOJ to link journalists, international understanding, and peace. One resolution from the first Congress declared that:

"freedom of the press cannot be fully guaranteed as long as newspapers, news agencies, and radio stations are owned and controlled by individuals and private monopolies that bear no responsibility to the nation."114

It was not long before major differences in opinion between IOJ members came to the forefront. Between 1946 and 1948 eleven national organizations of journalists had withdrawn
### Table 12

**Major Writers, Journalists, and Artists NGOs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>HEADQUARTERS</th>
<th>CHAPTERS</th>
<th>LINKS</th>
<th>TACTICS</th>
<th>RIGHTS CONCERNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IOJ (1946)</td>
<td>Prague (Copenhagen)</td>
<td>Africa 33*</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>P, R, S</td>
<td>150,000 journalists in organizations &amp; groups in 100 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 21</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td></td>
<td>Help maintain international peace and friendship through free and true information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 24</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFJ (1952)</td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>Africa 4</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>C, P, S</td>
<td>27 nat'l unions representing 83,000 journalists in 25 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 1</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td></td>
<td>Safeguard the freedom of the press and freedom of journalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 16</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Free access to news, free expression of views, free publication of newspapers, balanced news among nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 21</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAPA (1942)</td>
<td>Miami (Mexico City)</td>
<td>Africa 0</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>M, P, R</td>
<td>Newspaper, magazine owners from 31 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 29$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Support of basic principles of a free society and individual liberty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 0</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPFC (1973)</td>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>P, R, S</td>
<td>Representatives of internat'l media organizations; 30 affiliates in West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A media free of government interference; a free and full flow of international news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAAB (1946)</td>
<td>Montevideo (Mexico City)</td>
<td>Africa 0</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>R, S</td>
<td>Nat'l Asms of private broadcasters in 21 countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 19$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Defend broadcasting as a free means of expression of thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 0</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEN (1921)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Africa 5*</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>C, P, S</td>
<td>Autonomous centers in 57 countries in exile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 10</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td></td>
<td>Promote intellectual cooperation in the interest of freedom of expression and international goodwill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSI (1971)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Censorship, other means by which free expression is limited or denied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
from the IOJ, either because of the socialists' "abusive personal attacks," or as part of the "Cold War policy pursued by the Western powers." The split was never simply a geographical one, however; at the 1950 Congress a French journalist became IOJ President.

The IOJ has been active at UNESCO and other U.N. bodies, often working in collaboration with other socialist organizations. It has made a strong, and in many ways successful attempt to attract journalists from the developing world. A glance at the Democratic Journalist indicates membership and participation of Asian, Latin American, and African representatives. The IOJ opposed the "U.S. inspired aggression" in Korea, devoted considerable attention to the "just struggle against American aggression" in Vietnam, supported imprisoned Greek journalists, and endorsed the "just struggle of the Palestinian people." Support has been sent to a Korean group's Anti-Imperialist Conference, and to a United Nations - Organization of African Unity conference on apartheid. Recently the IOJ has filed strong protests against Chilean rights violations; this led to the withdrawal of the Association of Journalists of Chile.

2. The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) was formed by the Western journalists who had left the IOJ by 1952. Its early efforts reflected a desire to avoid the conflicts which split the IOJ. There was a bar on ideological debates. Attention was devoted to such concerns as
adequate remuneration. By 1960, presumably on nonideological grounds, resolutions condemning interference with the South African press were passed. The IFJ's conviction that press freedom is restricted in all countries has led to a wide range of protests. One year's IFJ interventions included:

- expression of solidarity with French journalists fighting for the right to pluralist information;
- a request for the release of imprisoned Chilean journalists;
- a protest against the International Olympic Committee's withdrawal of accreditation from Radio Free Europe correspondents;
- a protest against Spain's detention of a German journalist;
- a protest against Libya's detention of a Yugoslav journalist;
- a letter of enquiry to the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists asking for their opinion of the arrest of a journalist signatory to Charter 77.

requests for the release of Indonesian journalists held without trial; and fifty-four additional interventions concerning policies of South Africa, Uruguay, Uganda, Bangladesh, Greece, Lebanon, and other countries' officials.118

Recent IFJ activities have also included the organization of seminars for journalists from developing countries, and efforts at a limited rapprochement with the IOJ.

3. **The International Press Institute (IPI)** recently moved from Zurich to London for financial reasons. Its support has come in part from foundations, but primarily from subscriptions and donations from within press and
broadcasting. Its rights activities include an annual review of press freedom in the world, interventions where the press is restricted, and training of Third World journalists.

IPI's annual review "confines itself to measures for and against press freedom by governments and their agencies, legislatures, and judiciary." (Thus limitations imposed by editors, owners of the presses, and imperfect markets are not included.) The countries with the greatest immunity from criticism are those, such as Albania, from which little new information is available; the United States, on the other hand, has been cited for controls on Voice of America correspondents, judicial gag orders, and other infringements.

The IPI has been critical of UNESCO declarations on the mass media, arguing that the concept of "foreign news," (which many countries would regulate to ensure a balanced news flow) is inapplicable to an interdependent world. It has protested (usually via letter or telegram) the detainment or disappearance of journalists in Argentina, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Greece, India, South Africa and other countries. Its program to train journalists in developing countries has trained more than 300 Africans, and has been active in Asia as well.

4. The Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) unites owners of the presses from the United States and much of
Latin America. For the IAPA, press freedom is freedom from government interference. This has meant defense of private property and the market system. Thus Cuba is constantly and virulently condemned, as was the short-lived socialist experiment in Bolivia. At times the IAPA's allegations are couched in extreme terms: thus Salvador Allende, before his election, was accused of having "preached the confiscation of all the democratic newspapers in his country" and likened to Mussolini.

The IAPA also challenges right-wing censorship practices, and has expressed concern over the decline in observance of U.S. Constitutional guarantees. At the 1978 IAPA General Assembly, reports of missions to Argentina, Chile, Peru, Haiti, and Venezuela were discussed. The situation in Chile was found to have "improved considerably," while Nicaraguan rights violations were condemned.

The IAPA has close links to other publishers' associations. Miami Herald Editor George Beebe is First Vice-President of the IAPA, and Chair of the World Press Freedom Committee. The 1978 Assembly included addresses from top officials of Freedom House, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, and the International Press Institute. Among the bonds between these groups is opposition to recent UNESCO declarations which accord national governments responsibility for protecting news balance.
5. The World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC) developed from initiatives by the IPI and IAPA. The WPFC is growing rapidly; following the 1977 UNESCO meeting in Nairobi, it expanded from seven to twenty-eight affiliates on five continents. According to Chair George Beebe, that meeting:

"alerted (the free world) to the extreme the Soviets and their satellites will go to impose a policy they seek as essential to their goal of world domination." 126

This view of a polarization between the free and communist worlds underlies virtually all of the Committee's work.

The World Press Freedom Committee has opposed international governmental attempts to regulate the press. The MacBride Commission's interim report on international communications problems was said to contain "all of the biased views against the Western media and news agencies." 127

This is not to say that the WPFC has been oblivious to the imbalance in news coverage. Its members have tried to counteract the imbalance with spot aid—thus grants totaling $51,000 for Third World media projects were approved in 1977.

6. The Inter-American Association of Broadcasters (IAAB) protects the owners of broadcast media. With the 1952 signing of the Panamanian Doctrine" the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters was linked with the Inter-American Press Association in declaring:

"that any aggression against liberty or individual dignity, or any action that will abridge or curtail
the liberty of expression of any person or group that defends or practices the liberty of expression through the press or radio, constitutes an aggression against all members of the Inter-American Press Association and the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters."\textsuperscript{128}

The doctrine was a response to restrictions of the press in Bolivia, in which it was said that the Bolivian government failed to protect a leading newspaper. There were major differences in later years as to when (or if) the doctrine should be invoked.

For the IAAB, freedom of the airwaves is evidently for those who have the resources to use them. Thus the Voice of America is defended, as was the sudden $6 million Time-Life investment in Brazil (since the IAAB believes in "free enterprise").\textsuperscript{129} Those who stress news balance would view the IAAB's activities as wedded to the Western model of press freedom.

7. Poets, Essayists, and Novelists International (PEN)'s national PEN centers vary greatly in their human rights activities (if any). Rights activists in Iran found that they had to work outside the PEN Center, which was controlled by allies of the Shah (thus fostering creation of the Writers' Association of Iran).\textsuperscript{130} Chilean poet Pablo Neruda received considerable support from North American PEN members when he encountered difficulty in obtaining a visa to attend an International PEN congress; his attendance was later attacked by Cuban writers and artists.\textsuperscript{131}
The U.S. chapter's worldwide study of repression of writers, conducted in 1977, listed 606 writers as victims of persecution. This report, which listed Argentina as "worst" for repressing 119 persons (the Soviet Union was second with 78), was criticized for "mindless evenhandedness" for inclusion of Americans prosecuted for violation of obscenity statutes. In response American PEN leaders agreed that distinctions could be drawn between victims of repression, but argued that "judgments of pornography be made in the marketplace of ideas, not in the courtroom." International PEN has made concerted, but conflict-ridden efforts to expand its membership. In 1967, due in part to PEN President Arthur Miller's efforts, the organization held its Congress in Africa for the first time. The Ivory Coast government at first refused visas to persons from China, North Vietnam, Albania, and North Korea (no major problem since PEN has no centers in these countries), later extending the list to include South Africa and Cuba (where there are PEN centers).

While International PEN has been critical of the Soviet Union, e.g., through its Defence Committee for Soviet and Greek Writers in Prison, efforts have been made to enlist Soviet participation. These have included invitations to send observers to PEN Congresses and a controversial visit by the PEN President and Secretary-General to discuss whether Soviet writers should join PEN. Among
the issues raised by this were: 1) whether Soviet membership would be in conformity with the PEN Charter (calling for opposition to all restrictions of freedom of expression); 2) whether the Soviet Union would be entitled to its desired minimum of six votes in the International Committee (to reflect the multinational character of Soviet literature); and 3) the status of existing voting centers for writers in exile, considered a serious obstacle by the Soviet writers union.

8. Writers and Scholars International (WSI). Writers and Scholars Educational Trust publishes Index on Censorship, supports research on intellectual freedom, and offers assistance to persecuted and executed intellectuals. While imbalances in the flow of news and rights violations in the West are covered, it is clear that the Western liberal model of press freedom is WSI's ideal:

"Our press is (with the possible exception of the U.S.A.) the freest in the world, and the BBC is the most objective organization of its kind, admired and envied around the globe."136

To preserve this freedom and to extend it to others less fortunate, Stephen Spender followed up on a suggestion of Soviet dissenter Pavel Litvinov,

"to form an organization in England of intellectuals who would make it their business to publish information about what was happening to their censored, suppressed, and sometimes imprisoned colleagues."137

The quarterly Index resulted.
Within the last eight years, *Index* has covered a wide variety of human rights around the world and, through Robert Bernstein of Random House, distribution in the United States has increased. On many issues, discussion and disagreement, rather than a single "party line," have emerged. Thus in 1975 *Index* conducted a survey of writers and artists about British Equity's cultural boycott of South Africa and about cultural boycotts in general.\(^{138}\)

9. **Other groups** which emphasize freedom of information include the International Freedom to Write Committee of the Association of American Publishers (AAP), the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ), the Commonwealth Press Union (CPU), and the International Federation of Free Journalists (IFFJ). The AAP has actively protested the imprisonment of specific writers, and has studied implications of the Conferences on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki and Belgrade) for free expression. The FIEJ and CPU have passed resolutions to protest government infringement in press freedom in many countries, while the International Federation of Free Journalists compiles an annual review of press freedom.

G. **Relief groups** sometimes view their work as charity; there are some NGOs, however, which consider relief to those in need as a means for implementing human rights. The NGOs in Table 13 are among the latter; others have been discussed previously, including relief programs within IPI, the WCC,
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<th>RIGHTS CONCERNS</th>
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<tr>
<td>ICRC (1863)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>A, C, M</td>
<td>Up to 25 Swiss nationals</td>
<td>Distribution of relief, promotion of international humanitarian law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League of Red Cross Societies (1919)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ECOSOC UNESCO</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>National societies in 122 countries</td>
<td>Facilitate the humanitarian action of national societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICVA (1962)</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>R, S</td>
<td>Voluntary agencies, national and international</td>
<td>Provides a forum for voluntary agencies, dealing with refugees, food, and other issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRC (1933)</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>A, M</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Assists, resettles, and rehabilitates victims of totalitarian oppression</td>
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and IFJ. Relief groups can aid with implementation of many Articles within the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including:

23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment;

25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control;

26. (1) Everyone has the right to education...

Other documents setting forth rights advanced by relief groups include the Geneva Accords; these are among the bases of the Red Cross Efforts.

1. The Red Cross includes the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC: a group of Swiss nationals who serve as neutral guardians of Red Cross principles), the League of Red Cross Societies (a federation of national Red Cross, Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun Societies), national Red Cross societies (recognized by the ICRC), and the International Conference of the Red Cross (a deliberative assembly, composed of governmental parties to the Geneva Conventions and nongovernmental Red Cross representatives). ICRC activities include visits to civilian and military prisoners, aid to persons disabled by conflicts, and the study of international humanitarian law.
The ICRC has placed a premium on its image as a neutral and independent body; it has faced major dilemmas as a result. One dilemma concerns which societies shall be recognized by the ICRC (and, for the League of Red Cross Societies, the separate decision of which societies should be admitted). The Israeli Star of David Society has not been admitted for want of use of an authorized Red Cross symbol (Red Cross, Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun); not surprisingly, this has led to allegations of discrimination. The Palestinian Red Crescent and Kurdish National Red Cross Societies have not been admitted or recognized (formally), since neither could serve as the sole Red Cross for a national territory.\textsuperscript{140}

ICRC investigations are essentially confidential, to be made public at the discretion of the government in whose territory an investigation is made. If a government makes only part of an ICRC report public, then the ICRC can release the remainder. Nevertheless, ICRC findings have sometimes been made public contrary to established procedures, or by third parties who have received them. Such disclosure contributes to the public's understanding of the rights violations in question, but at the same time militates against an effective ICRC role in the future.\textsuperscript{141}

ICRC interposition as a neutral intermediary during hijackings and internal conflicts has led some observers to cast doubt on its neutrality. ICRC humanitarian assistance
in the Nigerian civil war was castigated as an instance where advancement of the organization conflicted with relief to the war's victims. The "bourgeois environment" of the ICRC representatives (all Swiss nationals) fostered radio broadcasts with unintended racist overtones and an African perception of an ICRC tilt toward Biafra. The ICRC's structure may not compensate for national differences.

2. The International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) is a clearinghouse which serves ninety-four national and international NGOs with relief programs, among them the WJC, WCC, IUCW, War on Want, OXFAM, the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific, and the Danish Refugee Council. At times it acts as an NGO spokesperson, e.g., on issues of compensation for victims of Nazism, and U.N. relief to East Bengali refugees. Relief for refugees has always been a major concern of ICVA; it was formed by the merger of the Conference of Nongovernmental Organizations Interested in Migration, the Standing Conference of Voluntary Organizations Working for Refugees, and the International Committee for World Refugee Year. Other ICVA concerns include world population, hunger, and disaster relief.

ICVA does as much or as little as member agencies want the Council to do. Recently (presumably resulting from a decline in economic growth in Western states) ICVA's activities have decreased in scope.
"ICVA has lived for four years in an exercise of rigorous financial constriction, paring costs to the greatest extent possible, sacrificing essential services...(The result is) a chronic burden of overwork on staff, whose numbers should be trebled to provide for an ICVA responding more adequately to the requirements of members and of international cooperation. Only a razor-thin line now separates the ICVA that has matured over the past decade from a degree of attenuation rendering it virtually inoperative."144

Many ICVA members are similarly constrained in attempting to satisfy an ever-present demand for relief with a dwindling supply of resources.

3. The International Rescue Committee (IRC) is a U.S. organization which resettles refugees. It implements government resettlement programs, investigates and monitors refugee problems, and on occasion protests government policies of political imprisonment. The IRC was founded to aid refugees from Nazi Germany and now aids refugees from Vietnam, the Soviet Union, Cuba, Angola, and other countries.

Refugees from Southeast Asia have been a major concern of the IRC during the U.S. military withdrawal and during the massive waves of Vietnamese "boat people." IRC action included resettlement of 19,000 Indochinese refugees between the fall of Saigon and 1976, aid to others eventually resettled in France and Canada, sponsorship of a 1978 citizens' commission to investigate the predicaments facing Vietnamese boat-people, provision of medical care in refugee camps, and support for refugees in need of vocational training. The Committee has pledged to resettle an additional
6,000 refugees in the United States during 1979. These programs have been financed by extensive government aid (over seven million dollars in 1975 and 1976), and donations from individuals, unions, corporations, and foundations.

IRC protests are part of its public education function. (Its Constitution prohibits use of a "substantial part of the activities of the corporation" for the "carrying on of propaganda.") A 1976 appeal challenged President Fidel Castro's estimate of the number of political prisoners in Cuba, and urged that normalization of U.S. relations be contingent on a Cuban amnesty.

H. Anti-Discrimination Groups defend the rights of minorities and majorities oppressed because of their ethnicity. Many groups are denied basic rights set forth in the U.N. Universal Declaration; that they are entitled to these rights is established in Articles 2 and 7:

2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status...

7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

The victims of discrimination are often unable to organize locally, or nationally; they almost never have the resources to organize internationally. The International Indian
Treaty Council is an exception. The other NGOs described in Table 14 are European efforts to aid victims of discrimination.

1. The Minority Rights Group (MRG) investigates and publicizes violations of rights of the world's minorities. Its publications have dealt with Nomads of the Sahel, the Philippine Moslems, the South Moluccans, Estonians, Copts, the Ahmadis of Pakistan, and other peoples. Its scope necessitates selection; it "aims to maintain an international balance... and to include some of the lesser known instances of discrimination as well as the more publicized cases." Its research is funded by private individuals, and by foundations including the Ford Foundation.

The London MRG now has offshoots in the United States, France, Belgium, and Switzerland. Together these groups seek to provide minorities with the voice they are denied at the United Nations. In a letter to Secretary General Waldheim, Gerard Chaliand of the French Group for Minority Rights included the Eritreans, the Polisario movement, the Kurds, the Pathans, the Baluch, the Hungarians in Rumania, and the Armenians as among those who "must remain silent." With regard to the Armenians killed under the Ottoman Empire in 1915, Chaliand charged the U.N. with "suppression of history." Concern for minority rights has not been absent from U.N. deliberations; it has used MRG (London)’s findings in its reports. MRG Director Ben Whitaker has
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MRG (1967)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>P, S</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Secure justice for minority or majority groups suffering discrimination through investigation, publicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASS (1839)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>M, P, S</td>
<td>1000 subscribers in 28 countries</td>
<td>Seeks elimination of all forms of slavery; promotes well-being of indigenous peoples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IITC (1976)</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>P, T</td>
<td>Representatives of native peoples from most countries in the Americas</td>
<td>To legitimate the struggle of the Indian in the Americas for justice and freedom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independent Minority Rights Groups and Anti-Slavery Societies exist in Western Europe. All three NGOs have consultative status with the U.N. Economic and Social Council.
served as a member of the U. N. Human Rights Sub-Commission.

2. The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights (ASS) incorporated the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society. As overt forms of slavery have diminished, the Society has investigated similar practices, including child labor and prostitution. The Society protects human rights through investigation, publication, and appearances at IGOs.

The Anti-Slavery Society was among the first NGOs to call attention to the complicity of outsiders in practices similar to slavery in Equatorial Guinea. It brought the case of two Filipino sisters who worked for U.N. officials "under conditions constituting involuntary servitude" before the U.N. Human Rights Commission. It investigated and issued reports on child labor in carpet and embroidery factories in Morocco, the growing of opium by serf labor in Afghanistan, the status of Native tribes in Brazil's Amazon basin, and conditions of Australian aborigines. The Society has suggested interdependent conditions for the abolition of slavery, including:

"the existence of social and economic conditions in which it is possible to educate and rehabilitate in the free economy those who have had no liberty."

Thus wealthy countries may have a role in facilitating the abolition of slavery in poor countries.
Parallel societies exist in France, Norway, and Denmark. These groups supported the London society through their educational efforts, and through donations. The French society also counseled leaders of former French colonies regarding means for abolishing slavery.

3. The International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) has benefitted from an increased interest in the rights of indigenous peoples at the United Nations. The IITC is composed of Native Americans who argue that Indian peoples are legally entitled to sovereignty. Their efforts have included establishment of solidarity with other governmental and nongovernmental actors, linkage with United Nations efforts to improve the status of indigenous peoples, and establishment of a communications and publication center, the American Indian Treaty Council Information Center in San Francisco.

The IITC was a leading participant at the 1977 International NGO Conference on Discrimination against Indigenous Populations in the Americas, sponsored by the Special NGO Committee on Human Rights in Geneva. The IITC organized the Indian delegation and documentation, and led the ceremony which closed the conference. An IITC publication, Treaty Council News, describes the alliances formed at U.N. conferences, and on Council visits to other countries. Following a visit to Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, and the Soviet Union, it was reported
that these countries "believe strongly in human rights." ¹⁵²

4. Other NGOs focusing on discrimination include the Movement against Racism and Antisemitism and for Peace, and the International League against Racism and Antisemitism (LICA). Survival International and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs have called attention to genocidal practices in Latin America. Their work indicates an appreciation of the importance of "genuinely representative indigenous organizations" to accompany investigations by anthropologists and other outside investigators. ¹⁵³

Their concerns are far-reaching, including the land rights of indigenous peoples in Brazil, Surinam, Canada, Papua New Guinea, and other countries.

Some NGOs concentrate on discrimination in particular countries or regions. The Anti-Apartheid Movement is especially strong in Britain and Switzerland. ¹⁵⁴ The International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination resulted from an International Symposium on Zionism and Racism, held in Tripoli in 1976. The symposium involved social scientists, lawyers, clergy, journalists, and others from eighty countries. ¹⁵⁵

I. General Human Rights Groups seek to defend the rights of all people, and usually defend a full range of rights (though, as will be shown in Chapter 3, they necessarily concentrate on some rights of some people, and use limited means to defend these rights). That the groups
described in Table 15 may be more successful in defending some rights (liberal freedoms) than others reflects the general thrust of NGO human rights activity.\textsuperscript{156}

1. Amnesty International (AI) is a worldwide human rights movement which defends freedom of expression (broadly defined, including the right to organize, freedom of religion, and the right to emigrate), freedom from torture, and abolition of capital punishment. AI defends human rights through citizen involvement (often writing letters demanding the release of "prisoners of conscience"; organized through adoption groups and urgent action networks on college campuses and in churches), conferences on important issues (such as the Campaign for the Abolition of Torture conferences), an active role at the United Nations, an extensive program of investigation and research, and cooperation with other NGOs.

AI prides itself on its independence from national governments, independence from a single political ideology, and its balanced approach to human rights violations. These three factors have given rise to serious conflicts within the organization. A 1967 dispute hinged on whether AI was unduly influenced by the U.S. and/or British government. AI founder Peter Benenson charged that Sean MacBride, chair of the AI International Executive Committee should resign because MacBride was Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists, allegedly "a front for the C.I.A. for
## Table 15
### General Human Rights NGOs

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<tr>
<td>AI (1961)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Africa 2</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>A, C, M, P</td>
<td>National sections; adoption groups, individuals in countries</td>
<td>Defends &quot;prisoners of conscience&quot;; Abolition of torture, death penalty</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 3</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Europe 18</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>WPC (1950)</td>
<td>Helsinki (Warsaw)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>F, R</td>
<td>Individuals, representatives from over 100 countries</td>
<td>The organ of the World Peace Movement; against racism and colonialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFHR (1922)</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>M, S</td>
<td>Affiliated sections, exiled groups</td>
<td>Dissiminate, work toward principles of French Declarations of the Rights of Man, UN Universal Declaration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILHR (1942)</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Africa 2$</td>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>M, P, S</td>
<td>Autonomous affiliated groups, individuals</td>
<td>UN Universal Declaration</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat Am 2</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
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<td>Europe 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNFP/HRWG (1976)</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>L, P</td>
<td></td>
<td>Human rights NGOs in the United States U.S. aid to repressive governments; Ratification of UN covenants</td>
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the last fifteen years." Allegations leveled against Benenson suggested that he had used British government funds to support AI work in Rhodesia (a violation of the AI statute). This dispute was resolved with the appointment of a "neutral outsider," Martin Ennals, as AI Secretary-General and completion of an AI investigation which found no substantive basis for Benenson's charges.

A 1970 dispute resulted upon completion of an AI investigation of torture in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. The investigation uncovered "prima facie evidence," but no proof of mistreatment; AI urged that the Israeli government permit a comprehensive investigation into Israeli detention practices. The U.S. section immediately dissociated itself from the report of the International Secretariat; similar opposition was apparent in the British and French sections. While some observers argue that AI has shied away from a rigorous treatment of Israeli torture, the AI Secretary-General did write to then Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin that:

"...the conclusion seems unavoidable that abuses in the past, directed against Arab detainees, have had a brutalizing effect on the conduct of law enforcement agencies, and strong counter-measures by your government are clearly a matter of great urgency, especially now that relevant authorities, including the Minister of Police and the courts, have admitted that "unnecessary force" had in at least some cases been used during interrogation. Amnesty International therefore respectfully repeats its request for an independent inquiry into all aspects of this problem."
The 1978 appointment of Derek Roebuck as Director of Research was seen by some observers as proof, by other observers as disproof of AI evenhandedness. Roebuck was a member of the Australian Communist Party during the Vietnam War (the Communist Party led the Australian opposition), and was selected on the basis of his legal work, publications, and activism in defense of human rights. He was criticized by Patrick Buchanan, M. Stanton Evans, and the New York Times for having participated in a tribunal which condemned U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, for having attended a Moscow conference which acclaimed Soviet law, for defending trial procedures for mercenaries in "Communist Mozambique," and above all for being a communist. The New York Times used his appointment to lambast AI's apportionment of prisoners of conscience in equal blocs—socialist, Western, and nonaligned—arguing that "This parody of even-handedness is worthy of George Orwell." AI's response was simple: so long as Roebuck subscribed to AI's statute, urging observance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights throughout the world, it would be hypocritical to bar Roebuck's appointment.

2. The World Peace Council is the largest and most active "progressive" NGO with human rights activities. The WPC participates in national and international conferences on human rights. It has participated in investigations of rights violations, and has sought to mobilize a
mass movement devoted to defeating imperialism and building peace.

The WPC proclaims solidarity with national liberation movements, including the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the African National Congress (in South Africa), the South-West African Peoples Organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Polisario Front of Western Sahara. Representatives of these movements were brought together in the International Conference of Solidarity with the African and Arab Peoples against Imperialism and Reaction, held in Ethiopia. As indicated by support for these groups, peace for the WPC is not simply abstinence from conflict; it is instead the outcome of concerted anti-imperialist struggle. WPC Secretary-General Romesh Chandra noted that

"Our generation has seen the disintegration of many 'independent' pacifist-type movements which tried to defend peace by preaching political 'non-interference' and standing aloof from social problems, thus isolating themselves and losing the support of the masses."162

It is politics and human rights activism (as practiced by those who have participated in WPC activities, including Southern Christian Leadership Conference Director [and WPC Vice-President] Rev. Ralph Abernathy, PLO spokesperson Yasir Arafat, and Chilean exiles Hortensia Allende and Luis Corvalen) which will eventually bring about the human right to live in peace.

WPC critics consider the Council to be Soviet controlled--they cite the absence of WPC condemnation of
rights violations in socialist countries as evidence. The WPC is sensitive to these charges:

"The imperialists use their mass media to spread lies about the World Peace Council, to weaken our struggle and blunt its anti-imperialist edge. Imperialists' propaganda claims we are prejudiced. Why does the WPC accuse only imperialism, the United States and NATO of intensifying the arms race?...Are not the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries also arming?"

Does the WPC represent the 'hand of Moscow?' Is it an instrument of the communists? Certainly not. (Among) the members of the WPC Presidential Committee...are leaders of political parties in many countries—socialists, labor, social democrats and communists, liberals, Christian-democrats, national-democrats and others...There are representatives of the biggest international and national mass organizations, churchmen, writers and scientists."

Selectivity, the WPC would argue, is the result of a determination by a variety of people that human rights activists must focus their efforts on the struggle against imperialism.

3. The International Federation for Human Rights has affiliates which vary in strength, in the nature of their activities, and in their commitment to the Federation. The Federation sends observers to controversial trials, is represented at many IGOs, and studies legal questions such as the prospects for an international penal court.

The French League for Human Rights was created following the Dreyfus case; its early concerns included rights in the French colonies. Following World War I, similar leagues were formed in other European countries, later loosely affiliated in the International Federation over which the French League's President presided. During World War II,
the Federation moved to the United States. After the war some of those active in the European leagues continued their work in affiliation with the U.S.-based International League for Human Rights, others retained their links with the French-based Federation, while others affiliated with both groups. Recently the Belgian and Swiss leagues have sought greater influence in the IFHR. The Federation headquarters was moved in 1975, but returned to Paris the following year.

IFHR missions have investigated rights violations in Greece, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Iran, and elsewhere. Often an affiliate (such as the Belgian League) will conduct the mission with the Federation providing a double mandate. On several occasions missions have been conducted cooperatively with the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Movement of Catholic Lawyers, or other groups. (Most IFHR leaders /those in the French, Belgian, and Swiss affiliates/ are lawyers.)

4. The International League for Human Rights (ILHR) was created by French emigres, with the aid of American Civil Liberties Union founder, Roger Baldwin. Baldwin had previously been active in the International Committee for Political Prisoners, which he described as "more leftist than the ACLU Board... (it) operated much as Amnesty International does today, but with far more limited means and results."
The ILHR seeks the advancement of all human rights throughout the world. Its early work focused on the development of international law through the United Nations. Today the League remains active in (and on many occasions critical of) the United Nations. It has sent observers to trials in many countries; it has issued general reports on human rights in Paraguay, Mexico, Guinea, Yugoslavia, and other countries; it has issued protests of violations in many more. Each of the autonomous ILHR affiliates promotes human rights nationally or internationally; these include the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Committee, the Swiss League for Human Rights, and the Bangladesh Human Rights Society.

While the League has suggested means for improvement in U.S. President Carter's human rights policies, they have generally supported his initiatives. Some ILHR critics argue that its policies have too often resembled the U.S. government's, with reference to alleged Cold War and pro-Israeli government biases. The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights was expelled from the ILHR following litigation over its control. Noam Chomsky has argued that prior to the expulsion League reports of violations were ignored. While ILHR President Jerome Shestack claimed "a high degree of compliance with international standards" in Israel in 1972, the League has since urged a comprehensive investigation of "alleged violations of the rights of
the peoples under Israeli military rule in the territories occupied after the 1967 war."  

5. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is best known for its sponsorship of Russell Tribunals in which experts have assessed U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, repression in Latin America, and increasing repression in the Federal Republic of Germany. It also involves leading rights advocates in protesting repression around the world. Vanessa Redgrave, Prime Minister Nehru, Prince Sihanouk, President Nyerre, President Kaunda, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, and Pablo Casals were among the Foundation's initial sponsors. The London-based foundation receives functional assistance from national branches in Japan, Australia, France, and elsewhere.

The Russell Tribunals encountered serious obstacles from unreceptive news media and national governments. The International War Crimes Tribunal was reported in *Le Monde*, but not in the U.S. Press. The tribunal members included James Baldwin, Simone de Beauvoir, Lazaro Cardenas (former Mexican President), Isaac Deutscher, playwright Peter Weiss and others. It heard testimony from scholars, activists, a former Green Beret, and journalists. By unanimous votes the United States was found guilty of aggression against Vietnam (by international legal standards), while governments of the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, and Thailand were found guilty of complicity. The
Japanese government's guilt of complicity drew an eight to three verdict, with the minority "agree(ing) that the Japanese Government gives considerable aid to the Government of the United States, but...not agree(ing) on its complicity in the crime of aggression." ¹⁷⁰

The Second Russell Tribunal, on repression in Brazil and Latin America, was constrained by the imprisonment of prospective principal witnesses. Its members, including IADL Secretary-General Joe Nordmann, Chilean international lawyer Armando Uribe, former President of the Dominican Republic Juan Bosch, and physicist Alfred Kastler, declared "the authorities who exercise power in Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia guilty of serious, repeated and systematic violations of human rights," a "crime against mankind." ¹⁷¹

The Third Russell Tribunal dealt with censorship, restrictive controls designed to counter terrorism, and political requirements for employment (Berufsverbot legislation) in the Federal Republic of Germany.¹⁷² Critics of the Tribunals labelled them selective, and argued that the verdicts were predetermined.

6. **Freedom House** (FH) was designed to house voluntary associations working for freedom in the United States and around the world. Most of them, e.g., the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, advance human rights from a liberal, western perspective. Representatives of FH
have also been active on a number of rights issues, including press freedom and the status of Indochinese refugees.

It is for the annual Comparative Survey of Freedom, conducted by Raymond Gastil, that Freedom House is best known. The Survey provides every country with ratings between 1 and 7, based on the extent to which civil and political freedoms are respected. It has incorporated additional information in recent years, and now reflects the judgment of area experts, as well as the survey director. It is used to assess U.S. policy, which Gastil argues "favors blacks, East Asian communism, and certain types of socialist leadership." Amnesty International is berated for a similar leftward tilt. Freedom House critics argue that the survey is misleading as a measure of human rights (since social and economic rights are ignored), that the Survey has reflected biases (toward South Vietnam and South Africa; against all socialist countries), and that it quantifies what cannot be measured.

7. Human Rights Network is Britain's clearinghouse for seventy to eighty NGOs with human rights activities. A Network meeting may be attended by representatives of forty to fifty groups, including Amnesty International, the Anti-Slavery Society, the Minority Rights Group, and the Society of Friends. Network leadership has been provided by representatives of the British United Nations Association and the National Council of Social Service.
A 1974 United Nations Association Human Rights Committee initiative to bring together rights NGOs to discuss matters of common concern led to the Network's formation.

Issues discussed at Network meetings have included mass killings in Ethiopia, rights of prisoners, British government action to implement the Helsinki agreement, apartheid, the link between arms sales and repression, rights of immigrants, and rights of Kurds, Banabans, and Eritreans. Often NGOs within the Network agree on common courses of action, e.g., study of the role of the British medical profession in authorizing successive stints of solitary confinement, sending a letter to the Soviet Embassy regarding the arrest of Helsinki Monitoring Group members, and observance of Human Rights Day. A June 1977 seminar sponsored by the Network included papers on human rights as a factor in international relations (by AI Secretary-General Martin Ennals), linkage of human rights issues with aid and trade programs, and with multinational corporations, and case studies of rights in Bolivia and Indonesia. The Seminar fostered suggestions for future NGO initiatives.175

8. The Human Rights Working Group (HRWG) of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFP) links NGOs which would like the U.S. government's foreign policy to be more responsive to human rights concerns. It includes thirty-seven Coalition members (including Clergy and Laity
Concerned, the National Council of Churches, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), and thirty-three participants who are not members of the Coalition (including the Washington Office of Amnesty International, the National Lawyers Guild, and the Middle East Resource Center). A typical HRWG meeting is attended by representatives of twenty to twenty-five organizations.

The HRWG lobbied directly (meeting with policymakers) and indirectly (by mobilizing policymakers' constituents through "action alerts") to retain sanctions against the Zimbabwean/Rhodesian government, to pressure the Chilean government to extradite DINA officials indicted in the Letelier-Moffitt assassinations, and to withhold foreign aid from governments which systematically violate human rights. It facilitated grass-roots support for ratification of the United Nations Human Rights Covenants by leading regional organizers' conferences. HRWG Action Guides provide concise introductions to the role of human rights in a new U.S. foreign and military policy, and to the Covenants. 176

The Coalition succeeded coalitions active in opposition to U.S. policy in the Vietman War, and argues that the U.S. failure to normalize relations with Vietnam has "had consequences as tragic as our previous over-involvement with that country." 177 Substantial humanitarian assistance is suggested as a partial remedy. Southeast Asia, South Korea,
Latin America, the Philippines, and Southern Africa have been prime areas of Coalition and HRWG concern. The practice of taking a minimum of action on U.S. aid to Israel led to a heated debate among CNFP members when HRWG member, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, applied for full membership in the Coalition. (A similar practice exists with regard to rights issues in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.)

9. Other organizations interested in a variety of rights issues include the World Federation of United Nations Associations and World Veterans Federation (which educate their constituencies and pass many resolutions on rights matters), Servicio Paz y Justicia (a Latin American network linking activists in several countries who work for non-violent liberation), refugee groups (such as the Assembly of Captive European Nations and Freedom International) and many organizations seeking to promote the human rights component in national foreign policies (such as the Washington Office on Latin America and Washington Office on Africa).

III. Transition. The sketches illustrate the extent to which human rights activism has taken different, and often contradictory forms. What do these differences mean in terms of general NGO practices? How does a cognizance of these differences aid the outsider in assessing human rights? To what extent are they conducive to, or constraints on cooperation with other NGOs? These questions are discussed in Chapters Three, Four and Five, respectively.
NOTES


12. This and additional information can be found in the Handbook of International Organizations and the Encyclopedia of Associations, op. cit.


15. Godson, op. cit. at 32


20. Godson, op. cit. p. 32.


22. Ibid, pp. 25-27

24. supra note 21, p. 23.


26. Agee, supra note 11, p. 75.


28. Ibid, p. 3

29. Ibid, pp. 57-59


36. Executive Committee of the World Confederation of Labor, supra note 30, pp. 50, 175.


45. Konvitz, supra note 43 at 170. The Alliance also has some activity in Belgium, Canada, Spain, France, Iran, Israel, Morocco, and Syria.


47. Ibid, pp. 221-225

48. See Cohen, pp. 252-256. Little evidence of earlier differences is contained in current committee literature which stresses support of Israel without qualification. See e.g., "The American Jewish Committee: The First Seventy Years" New York: AJC, 1976.


74. "International Federation of Women" (pamphlet), n.d.


Press. 1977. pp. 141-178. One of the Wilmington Ten is a WILPF member.


84. Herbert Romerstein, "The Communist International Youth and Student Apparatus" U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Washington D.C.; Government Printing Office, 1963. p. 16. While Romerstein's logic is often McCarthyite, his monograph offers a useful description of some youth NGO activities. As was later revealed, some delegates to the Vienna Festival attended with CIA support.


89. Ibid, p. 4.


97. This section relies extensively on the NAS news release mailed 27 April 1977, "Academy Announces Action to Aid Eight Dissident Scientists"


100. Ibid, pp. 61-62.


111. Samuels, op. cit., p. 503


116. IOJ, pp. 7, 25, 91.

117. Section IV of the IFJ Constitution establishes the organization's nonpolitical character.


120. Ibid, pp. 79-82.


141. Examples are conflicting disclosures of the presence or absence of rights violations in Israeli-occupied territories and press exposure of ICRC visits to Indonesian detention centers.


145. Leo Cherne letter (IRC solicitation for funds), April 1979; Recent events may have led to an upward revision in the extent of IRC activity.


149. See issues of the Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend.


163. Ibid, p. 78.


165. Ibid, p. 140


SCOPE AND TACTICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS:

On the Fetishism of

Objectivity and Independence

Surely for pacifists, human rights in their entirety are fundamental, no matter where in the world we live ...One makes the painful discovery that very few governments actually support human rights—the full range of human rights, as called for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: 'without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, birth or other status.' The commitment of a pacifist to the right to live—the basis for all other rights—is ironically what gets pacifists in trouble, time and time again.

- International Fellowship of Reconciliation Report

Human rights have to be seen not only as individual rights to liberty, but also and rather as the rights and duties of groups and communities...The liberal interpretation of human rights is not in accordance with the Bible.

- Christian Peace Conference

These are typical statements by human rights nongovernmental organizations to delimit the scope of their efforts. Often nongovernmental organizations (hereafter NGOs) will defend the activities delimited as comprehensive, objective, scientific, nonpolitical, progressive, centrist, unbiased, multifaceted, expert, and independent. This presumably distinguishes them from rights groups which are selective,
subjective, utopian, political, reactionary, extremist, biased, narrow, imbecile, and dependent.

The NGO survey in Chapter 2 demonstrated the very different activities of groups taking objective and independent approaches to human rights promotion. This chapter goes beyond the common use of vacuous adulatory and condemnatory terms to identify the necessary ways in which NGOs are selective, the unavoidability of some dependence in their human rights activities, and the justifications (and consequences of these justifications) set forth for partial responses to the complex human rights problem. By mapping the extent and limits of what rights NGOs do, some manifestations of the conflicts discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 will become clear.


Human rights statespeople, and the NGOs some of them represent, are fond of arguing that human rights are indivisible. Sometimes human rights may be linked to other rights:

"Aware of expressing the aspirations of our era, we met in Algiers to proclaim that all the peoples of the world have an equal right to liberty, the right to free themselves from any foreign interference and to choose their own government, the right, if they are under subjection, to fight for their liberation and the right to benefit from other peoples' assistance in their struggle. Convinced that the effective respect for human rights necessarily implies respect for the rights of peoples, we have adopted the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples."³

To realize rights in their totality requires an understanding of what "rights in their totality" means, of the
strategies necessary to implement human rights, and of the resources necessary to pursue such strategies.

A. **The Meaning of Comprehensiveness** is a matter of dispute. Groups with narrow approaches to human rights argue that issues with which they are not concerned are "politics," "charity," or "economics" and therefore not matters of human rights. Consistent with the contextual interpretation of rights set forth in Chapter 1, a comprehensive approach to rights:

1. **Pursues a full range of rights.** If the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is one's standard, then comprehensiveness means concern not only for the right to freedom of religion, but also for the rights to food, self-determination, and culture. Some analysts have argued that advocates of conflicting ideologies will necessarily stress different groups of rights; governments gave credence to a split between rights termed "civil and political" (e.g., freedom from torture, right to a fair trial, free speech) and rights termed "economic, social, and cultural" (e.g., employment, social security, holidays with pay) by constructing two separate human rights convenants.

For NGOs to pursue a full range of rights, rights of every type should be defended. (This would require attention to the right to self-determination and to cultural rights; these are often ignored.) Furthermore, pursuit of a full range of rights requires attention to interaction between
rights. Ostensibly "civil and political" rights such as press freedom and the right to counsel mean little without "economic and social" rights to adequate nourishment and health care. The "economic" right to employment means little without the "civil and political" right to participate in making job-related decisions. And many rights make sense only in the context of each people's right to its own culture.

Pursuit of a full range of rights also means that some rights violations will not be condoned simply because other conceivable violations would be more severe. Thus a selective (analyst's) approach in comparing destruction of homes to detention of persons is that:

"destroying the houses is, at worst, foolish because it conjures up the image of collective responsibility and because it feeds on the kind of middle-class values which put property over human conditions."\(^5\)

An NGO report advocating pursuit of a full range of rights pointed out that "use of demolition does not present an 'either-or' situation. The demolitions occur in addition to detention, not instead of detention."\(^6\)

Pursuit of a full range of rights means, therefore, that different rights will be defended, that defense of these rights acknowledges their interdependence, and that pursuit of some rights is not used to justify violation of others.
2. **For all people.** Marx argues that the "rights of man" (itself an exclusive term) as set forth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were in fact only rights for the bourgeoisie. A comprehensive approach to human rights would be one which protects not only individual ownership of property, but rights shared by all the world's people.

A natural tendency for human rights analysts and activists is to stress the rights of like people. This means that other groups become invisible---to the media, to the NGOs and to the general public. In Table 16 some characteristics which separate the visible from the invisible people are listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some Bases for Selecting Humans Whose Rights are to be Protected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Profession</td>
<td>Sexual Orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To the extent that those with power (e.g., white, European, male, Christian, English-speaking, middle-aged lawyers) first detect the imprisonment of endangered colleagues, other victims may be ignored.

A comprehensive rights movement would not only be open to work on the cases of all peoples, but would also undertake special effort to identify unusual and subtle cases of rights violation. Peoples of small, poor, and isolated
countries (and peoples of isolated regions in many large countries) are a vital part of the scope of groups claiming to pursue all rights for all people.

3. Using all available means. The reason for human rights groups is not so that they can identify and define human rights violations; it is to combat violations, and to create conditions under which rights are respected. Some means for protection available to NGOs are listed in Table 17.

Table 17  
Some Available Tactics for Human Rights NGOs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Pressure</th>
<th>II. Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consultation with violators</td>
<td>Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters, telegrams</td>
<td>Conferences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrations, protests</td>
<td>Media (films, news)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boycotts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| III. Assessment | IV. Legal Work |                     |
|-----------------|----------------|
| Observation     | Creation of draft statutes |
| Investigation   | Implementation of statutes |
| Tribunals       |                 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Relief</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spot (alleviate crises)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural (attack source of violation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each tactic has proven useful in some cases. However, some means are necessarily reactive, rather than preventive. Other means may work better in some situations than in others. An effective human rights movement would include organizations employing a range of means to achieve human rights goals.
B. **Requirements for Comprehensiveness** are difficult to obtain, since the powerful may control them. Three important requirements are:

1. **Resources.** No organization could employ all means of rights promotion for all people on all rights—the resource requirements would be prohibitive. For instance, necessary costs for global communication are great. One NGO has decided to respond only to inquiries accompanied by return postage. The cost of a 12,000 mile air flight would exceed a week's budget for many rights NGOs.

The people served by rights groups are hungry, imprisoned, muzzled, or unemployed. Resources must therefore come from others, who may attach conditions to their use. Finances of the groups which claim global membership (most cannot even make this claim) are disproportionately from developed-world sources. Further, rights groups' budgets are dwarfed in comparison to funds violators have at their disposal. Amnesty International's international secretariat and promotion department spent just over one million pounds in 1978; most rights groups' budgets are a fraction of Amnesty's.

Some self-proclaimed human rights efforts have depended on controversial sources for support. The Group of Ten, which attacked Black African governments, was a front-group for the South African government. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency covertly funneled funds to many NGOs in the
late 1960s. The Ad Hoc Committee for Religious Freedom is a creation of the Unification Church. 11

2. Expertise. Some rights groups have been criticized justifiably for aimless "do-gooderism." 12 Many human rights violations are complex, and best understood in the context of a number of social, political, and economic factors. There are great problems in obtaining reliable information about some countries where rights violations are said to be the greatest; this, combined with a general ignorance about decision-making processes, may lead rights NGOs to concentrate on some countries or rights problems at the expense of others.

Human rights experts available for consultation by NGOs have received necessarily selective training. If expertise is derived from professional sources, experts may have the benefits and the blinders of a first or second world education. They may also tend to perceive offenses against colleagues before offenses against others. At best, organizations will have consultants and a research staff capable of dealing with a modest number of situations. More frequently, they will act on the basis of limited information by using a routine response which may prove counterproductive.

3. Access. The lack of expertise is often reinforced by the NGOs' lack of access to many areas of rights violation. Every country is closed to human rights groups in
important ways. Groups concerned with political imprison-
ment have difficulty in dealing with the United States,
since charges used in sentencing are seldom explicitly
political. With other countries, NGOs may not even be
granted entry.

In part, refusal of access is a result of NGOs' parti-
ality. Developing countries' leaders may be understandably
reluctant to reveal to outsiders that human rights to food
and employment are denied on a large scale. Developed
countries can and do promote the activities of NGOs which
give them relatively clean "bills of health." Thus Freedom
House and Amnesty International serve as "human rights
groups" in U.S. government reports; the World Peace Council
and other socialist organizations are "human rights groups"
in Soviet reports. 4

4. In sum, human rights organizations are dependent -
on outsiders for money, on a few individuals for expertise,
and on powerful rights violators for access. The task is
to identify conditions under which this dependence affects
organizations' ability to promote human rights. Perhaps
the most common effect is to deal only with some rights, for
some people, and to use only a few means of protecting
these rights. This is necessary, even for such large and
successful NGOs as Amnesty International. (Indeed the
limits in scope are a major reason for AI's large following.)
Some selection being necessary for success in protecting
human rights, the criteria used in selection need to be identified and assessed. Then the extent of NGO activities to protect different rights of different peoples can be appraised.

II. On Necessary Selectivity: Amnesty International as an Example. Amnesty International (AI) has received a Nobel Prize and dozens of plaudits from world leaders for its activities as an international human rights movement. It has experienced rapid growth, and now has members and supporters in 111 countries. The staff at the International Secretariat, which includes a substantial research department, is over 100.

According to its mandate,

"Amnesty International is a worldwide human rights movement which works impartially for the release of prisoners of conscience: men and women detained anywhere for their beliefs, color, ethnic origin, sex, religion or language, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence...Amnesty International is independent of all governments, political factions, ideologies, economic interests, and religious creeds."

AI's consistency with these principles has been maintained to a remarkable degree, despite vicious attacks to the contrary. The recent appointment of Derek Roebuck, a former member of the Australian Communist Party, to head the Research Department is a case in point. For choosing the individual most qualified to supervise research on the violations of rights of people everywhere, AI was sharply criticized in countries where it enjoys a substantial following. In response, AI Secretary-General Martin
Ennals argued:

"The very basis of our work...demands that we be an open movement embracing people of all faiths and persuasions." 17

This stated, the respects in which AI is less than a comprehensive human rights effort (as defined in Part I) are illustrative:

A. **Limited Rights.** Amnesty works in behalf of prisoners of conscience, and to eliminate use of torture and the death penalty. In examining the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights it is evident that Amnesty focuses on just a subset of "human rights." While using the Universal Declaration as a platform, AI "concentrates its resources on basic civil and political rights...This is not because we ignore the importance of all the other rights, but because we recognize that we can only achieve concrete results within set limits." 18 The Chair of AI's International Executive Committee proceeds to argue that civil and political rights are the basis of the other rights.

B. **For a Limited Group of People.** Amnesty is distinct from many groups in that much of its work is for prisoners who otherwise would have attracted little or no outside attention. In its most widely distributed brochure, Amnesty International USA proclaims:

"Amnesty International demonstrates continuously to prisoners and governments that no one is forgotten; that the world cares, that injustice, mass arrests, mock trials, torture, and the death penalty will never become just another news item." 19
The practice of AI nevertheless reveals that some prisoners get more press than others. AI has shown itself to be as constrained by heterosexual chauvinism as other groups; it refuses to include gays among its "prisoners of conscience."\textsuperscript{20}

While AI protests all cases of torture and capital punishment, imprisoned prisoners of conscience who have used or advocated violence are never assigned to adoption groups. Since, in many societies, schooling in nonviolence is limited to middle and upper classes, people who could not afford the luxury of peaceful protest may be denied protection.

Finally, some elites are given extra publicity. While using the occasion to promote work in behalf of several well-known and less-known cases of individuals sentenced to death, former Pakistani Prime Minister Ali Bhutto's execution was the only one given specific coverage.\textsuperscript{21} AI has issued special reports on journalists in prison, and has made special efforts in behalf of other groups with outside contacts.

C. Using Limited Means. AI does remarkably well at ensuring that human rights solutions correspond to human rights problems. This means that no single tactic is universally applicable. There are even some circumstances where letter-writing (as practiced by adoption groups) may be counterproductive. (For example, in a previously
colonized country, letters from former colonizers might serve as evidence of "incitement hostile to the state." Amnest y has conducted impressive relief work where prisoner's families have been in need. And Amnesty is a leader at NGO and IGO conferences where human rights are discussed and solutions are posed.

If, however, Amnesty could employ the full range of useful tactics, the POC problem would be less severe. Some tactics left to adoption groups are left undone. Further, the organization prides itself on NOT using some tactics. Clearly the defeat of some electoral candidates may make a difference in the status of POCs. Yet, as prescribed by its statute, Amnesty selects other tactics and does not engage in electoral politics. (Payment of funds in exchange for release of prisoners is another practice eschewed by AI.)

D. With Limited Resources. Amnesty is exceptional in that it generally does not accept funds from governments. For certain projects (such as relief, resettlement of political refugees, or the Campaign for the Abolition of Torture) government funds can be accepted. But "under no circumstances can any part of the organization be allowed to become dependent on money provided directly or indirectly from government sources." While new sources of financing, ranging from additional individual contributions to the Nobel Prize purse, have
allowed the organization to grow rapidly, many efforts are limited. Some educational efforts are constrained by the inability of (or expenditure of inordinate time by) some adoption groups to meet their assessed contribution. In countries where independent organizations are considered alien, material support for a group such as AI may be difficult to attain. Also, with additional funds the organization could afford to send more observers to trials, to hold more informational conferences, and to attract more publicity.

E. With Limited Expertise. Amnesty has a large research secretariat, including people with expertise and language ability for many of the world's countries. The agreed structure of the Research Department is shown in Table 18.24

Within each of the world's regions a range of human rights situations are faced, and dozens, sometimes hundreds of languages are spoken. In some areas, outsiders are unable to acquire the direct contact which is necessary to evaluate some claims of rights violations.

Of course, AI has access to lots of outside experts.25 This said, recruitment of experts necessarily approximates the distribution of AI activities. General gaps in Westerners' understanding of other peoples can be lessened, but not eliminated through a 54½ member research department.
Table 18
AI's Research Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Head of Region</th>
<th>Researchers</th>
<th>Executive Assistants</th>
<th>Secretaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMERICAS</td>
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<td>ASIA</td>
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<td>EUROPE</td>
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<td>3 1/2</td>
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<td>MIDDLE EAST</td>
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F. **With Limited Access.** This poses a serious barrier to AI's comprehensiveness. While, as AI Executive Committee member Andrew Blane argued,

"AI may be 'stuck with the news it can get,'... the organization is by no means passive about this circumstance, ever seeking to enlarge its sources of information,"

some gaps necessarily exist. That AI has protested the refusals of some countries to allow full investigations, and that coverage of countries such as Albania discusses laws more than concrete cases is evidence of barriers to comprehensiveness. A look at the world's press indicates that governments of the left, center, and right, often through their controlled media, see AI as biased. Though some journalists and NGOs willing to offer favorable coverage may obtain more information, Amnesty International is necessarily dependent on the information it can obtain with its limited access.

G. **Conclusion.** This exercise is designed to show that NGOs must make choices as to what part of human rights they will promote in what ways. They are necessarily selective and dependent in several respects. The goal of a comprehensive human rights movement is still viable; it is however necessary to examine justifications for individual organizations' selectivity which facilitate or frustrate achievement of this goal.

**III. Justification for Selectivity.** The continuation of rights violations is a result of the rights violators
having access to more resources (material and nonmaterial) than rights promoters. Given the limits on NGOs, which rights of which people should be promoted in what ways?

A. Facilitative Justifications. The goal to be reached by organizations' limiting choices is one of eventual realization of all human rights. Four justifications for limiting rights efforts are especially consistent with this goal:

1. Human rights problems and solutions might be handled in order of the severity of violations. Some groups distinguish between "basic rights" and "secondary rights." Basic rights may include that which is necessary for survival, i.e., food, clothing, shelter, and security.

Unconditional freedom from torture may be a basic right. An initiative by the International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International, and other NGOs led to a General Assembly resolution urging further and sustained efforts as "necessary to protect under all circumstances this basic human right to be free from torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."29 Other statements by groups such as the World Council of Churches and the International Association of Penal Law indicate special concern with torture due to the severity of the rights violation.

Peace groups such as the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters International, and Campaign Human Rights '78 premise human rights on the right to life,
without which other rights are irrelevant. Most basic to many other groups is a right to a necessary level of well-being, including adequate food for all.

2. Human rights problems and solutions might be selected according to stages in a process of rights realization. While some efforts toward promotion of different rights should be pursued simultaneously, extra attention to some rights (or emphasis on some tactics) may yield spinoffs for achievement of other rights. Thus for a population seriously affected by disease, the right to health should be pursued before the right to social security in old age. Clearly the right to employment is a prerequisite to the Universal Declaration's right to holidays with pay. A World Council of Churches' representative pointed out that if some NGOs' recommendations on minimum treatment for detainees were adopted, half of some countries' peoples would volunteer for prison. The lesson is that some rights must be enjoyed by the society at large before a thorough analysis of rights of prisoners becomes useful.

Groups need to select tactics sequentially as well. "Knee-jerk" letter-writing and protest may be counterproductive if proper investigations have not been made first. To hold conferences about rights problems which are killing large numbers of people is fruitless without prior and simultaneous relief efforts. Few NGOs have the capability to strategically select tactics to yield the greatest long-range effect. Where this capability exists, however,
it greatly facilitates creation of a comprehensive human rights movement.

3. NGOs might select to deal with rights of people for whom their work would be most effective. Realistically, low-budget NGOs with a handful of members would not be effective if they stressed work in international governmental conferences in behalf of all peoples. Groups that need media support in order to exert effective pressure tend to require selection of timely issues to be successful. It is understandable that the National Lawyers Guild (in the U.S.) would stress rights violations which are linked to U.S. governmental policies. 30

A new realism among rights NGOs has led to perception of the fruitlessness of passing dozens of resolutions on every human rights issue everywhere in the world. 31 NGOs now ask when and for whom specific tactics will work. Their decisions are, of course, highly judgmental. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation's choice of Berufsverboten as a topic for a Russell Tribunal (in which the German government could be tried for its rights violations) presumably meant not devoting attention to violations causing more suffering. Their choice may, however, have come at a key time for calling attention to the presence and growth of repression in Western countries.

4. A final facilitative rationale is the governmental and legal context of the rights violations. Many groups are working to build a legal or political structure which
will implement human rights. Such NGOs should select cases which will increase respect for this structure. One reason for concern over human rights on the West Bank, expressed by Amnesty International, the World Peace Council, the National Lawyers Guild, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the Swiss League for Human Rights, is that violations result from a military occupation. This occupation is said by many people to provide an "acid test" of the worth of the Geneva Accords. Tolerance of rights violations in contravention of the accords sets a dangerous precedent.32

There are many other instances where the legal and political context may be relevant. British torture in Northern Ireland is of special concern now that the European Convention on Human Rights is effective. Groups which work at the United Nations are generally most effective if they can place their efforts in the context of human rights documents, thus the recent efforts by Amnesty International, the American Association of the International Commission of Jurists, and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy to win ratification of the U.N. Human Rights Covenants.

Critics who fail to understand these justifications for selectivity charge their adversaries with pursuit of a double standard.33 NGO experience reveals that rather than a reductionist single standard for promoting human rights, a complex standard is necessary. This standard must be
adaptable to the myriad situations with which human rights NGOs are confronted.

8. Potentially Counterproductive Justifications. Double standards do exist among NGOs, as revealed by their tendency to work at cross-purposes. Some NGOs pursue human rights selectively with the express purpose of increasing some people's dominance over others. Concern here is with more subtle influences on the objectivity, independence, and consistency of rights NGOs--common sources of decisions to make rights efforts less than comprehensive which may frustrate further growth in NGO activity.

1. The mandate of organizations may limit efforts to protection of rights of members and their friends. Thus lawyers are concerned with lawyers in prison, parliamentarians are concerned with parliamentarians in prison, and scientists are concerned with scientists in prison. Narrowly defined, such efforts suggest separation of human rights.

An organization's constitution can serve to distort its activities shared with others. Campaign Human Rights '78 had some important activities to involve eventually a broad-based, comprehensive rights effort. Some major participants in the Campaign, such as War Resisters International limited their participation to activities pursued previously; thus "human rights" became little more than a new label for promotion of conscientious objection. In contrast, groups with narrow mandates, such as the International
Union of Food and Beverage Workers and World Veterans Federation have placed their human rights concerns in the context of support for a comprehensive movement.

2. Governmental influence may offer plausible justification for limitation of rights efforts. The precise degree of government involvement is difficult to gauge, since favorable publicity may accompany the appearance of independence. In the case of the Red Cross, it is easy to understand why national chapters become government-dominated. Relief and even hospital visits can be a potent political weapon in the hands of national governments. It is in the interest of the Red Cross movement to be able to offer humanitarian assistance in as many countries as possible.  

Many governments use human rights organizations as "front groups," or infiltrate those groups which may pose a potential danger. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency infiltrated the Congress for Cultural Freedom, later the International Association for Cultural Freedom, now defunct. South Africa used a "Group of Ten" to call attention to "human rights violations" in Black Africa, and Israel temporarily paralyzed its League for Human and Civil Rights. The socialist world also provides examples of government influence on NGOs: admirable only for its openness. Not surprisingly, practices follow the patterns of influence: where government influence has been strongest, NGOs' selection of tactics and people to defend has done
little to help, and much more to hurt the cause of human rights.

3. Funding is a necessary concern of NGOs. In some instances this concern may frustrate comprehensive protection of human rights. C.I.A. influence took the form of financing some of the best-known NGOs, including the International Federation of Journalists, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the American Association of the International Commission of Jurists.39

Many NGOs can afford only a fraction of the missions which need to be conducted. They may receive some funding from a government hoping for a "clean bill of health."40 Or there may be wealthy individuals or foundations willing to underwrite some rights investigations. A problem arises when rights investigations may be curtailed to avoid alienating potential sources of funding. The market appears able to withstand investigations of Chile, the Soviet Union, Southern Africa, Uganda, and the Philippines, but to harbor some reservations about extensive activity in such areas of controversy as the Middle East.41 There are also many countries which may fail to attract the interest of those with funds: rights in the Caroline Islands or Gabon are likely to remain little understood by rights NGOs.

Even individual contributions result from compelling appeals; the most compelling appeals may stress a few rights in a few places. Foundations provide aid--also
selectively. The Ford Foundation's record reveals consider­able support, largely for groups with Western backing--such as the International League for Human Rights and the Inter­national Association for Cultural Freedom. Socialist countries' backing of NGOs is often restricted to those with extensive programs of anti-imperialist work. For the NGOs to place limits on human rights activities by shaping programs to availability of funds can only serve to aggra­vate divisions and to delay any prospects for creation of a comprehensive human rights movement.

What do the restrictions on NGO activity mean? It would be fortunate if they reflected a division of labor based on a common denominator--different groups protecting different rights in different ways. To what extent is this the case?

IV. The Map: Selectivity of Rights Protection. NGOs have chosen to do more to protect some rights more than others, for some people more than others, as suggested in Figure 4.

A. Rights
1. Concern with torture is at last significant. The appearance of Amnesty International's Report on Torture was something new and shocking, and the shock carried through the media of many countries, including some identi­fied in the report as torture states. Other NGOs and even­tually international governmental organizations gave added attention to torture. AI's Campaign for the Abolition of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RIGHTS</th>
<th>DEGREE OF PROTECTION</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Torture</td>
<td>Fairly high</td>
<td>AI's Campaign for the Abolition of Torture,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>International Association for Penal Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fair Treatment</td>
<td>Fairly high</td>
<td>World Peace through Law Center, International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Commission of Jurists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Well-Being</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>War on Want, OXFAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Interface</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>CONGO's Development and Human Rights Subcommittee</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEOPLE</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Parliamentarians &amp;</td>
<td>Fairly high</td>
<td>Inter-Parliamentary Union, International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientists</td>
<td></td>
<td>Council of Scientific Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>International Alliance of Women; International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Council of Social Democratic Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. &quot;Invisible People&quot;;</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Various solidarity campaigns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Violent Activists</td>
<td>Very low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gays</td>
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<tr>
<th>TACTICS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Conferences and</td>
<td>Fairly high</td>
<td>Campaign for the Abolition of Torture Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribunals</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign Human Rights '78</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Publication and</td>
<td>Fairly high</td>
<td>Internat'l Ass'n of Penal Law torture statute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coalition for a New Foreign Policy Action Guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Links to Governments</td>
<td>Fairly high</td>
<td>Internat'l Association of Penal Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Prescription</td>
<td></td>
<td>Human Rights Network, Coalition for a New F.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure</td>
<td>Fairly low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Relief</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spot</td>
<td>Fairly high</td>
<td>CARE, Red Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>War on Want</td>
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Figure 4 Protection for some human rights of some peoples through the use of some tactics by some human rights NGOs
Torture has attracted representatives of major NGOs and IGOs.

One result of this work has been the conviction that more work is necessary. That Costa Rica is the only country in Latin America not employing torture is one indication of the problem’s proportion. Even with a great quantity of NGO concern for all people tortured, there are gaps. For instance, the ability of NGOs to write codes of behavior on torture has far outstripped their ability to win acceptance of their principles by torture states.

2. Groups including the International Secretariat of Catholic Lawyers, the International Commission of Jurists, and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers stress legal procedures as part of the fair treatment to which persons accused of crimes are entitled. This is often supported by observation of trials; the number of trials to which NGO observers have been sent is in the hundreds. Of course, such efforts are greatly limited by insufficient resources, expertise, and access. Outside NGOs are often considered hostile, thus their representatives may be excluded from many courtrooms.

Primary gaps in defending the right of fair treatment before the law stem from the laws themselves, and from communication barriers. If certain groups are discriminated against under governments’ laws (usually women, minorities, the poor) they can be given fair trials based on unfair laws. This is compounded by the “invisible” to whom rights
NGOs have little access. Trial observers are more frequently where members of an elite (scientists, artists, lawyers) are charged than to the average defendant's trial. Nevertheless, in a wide variety of cases, the right to fair treatment is pursued.

3. The right to well-being is emerging as a concern of human rights groups. This involves, at a minimum, rights to food, health, housing, and employment. Much welfare work has been conducted as charity, not as a granting of human rights. A few groups, such as War on Want in Britain and OXFAM have begun to cope with major problems of well-being with the notion that existing structures must be changed to meet human needs. Occasional efforts by other groups, such as the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, have also discussed welfare rights.

NGOs' lack of concern with welfare rights is a major barrier to achievement of a comprehensive rights movement. NGO human rights reports are generally "strong on political and civil rights, but virtually silent on 'vital human needs.'" Therefore,

"what is needed...is one or several competent, unbiased and authoritative organizations which will do for food, housing, health, education, culture and all the other components of the right to life what Amnesty International and similar organizations do for torture, arbitrary arrest, and other violations of political and civil rights. We need doctors, educators, nutritionists, artists, economists, and housing experts who will undertake serious research and fact-finding missions and bring
back and publicize the kind of reports which will move the discussion of economic and social rights away from vacuous generalities into the arena of concern and implementation." 4

4. The interface: As was mentioned in introducing this chapter, the separation of rights is artificial. Ideally we would have NGO rights efforts guaranteeing the right of speech by granting the malnourished enough food that they could speak. We would also have NGO efforts guaranteeing rights of expression in order to create a productive debate yielding solutions to hunger problems. Some first steps have been taken. Part of the Committee of Nongovernmental Organizations in Consultation with the Economic and Social Council in Geneva has discussed the interaction between development and human rights. In general, human rights groups would profit from identifying, rather than simply acknowledging, interaction between other rights and their concerns.

B. People. Discussion of which people's rights are protected requires a caveat: some people may be more prone to victimization by rights violators. Thus in unstable countries, parliamentarians may be among the first and last political prisoners. Some gaps are nevertheless apparent; in general, elites' rights are protected more than non-elites'.

1. Parliamentarians and scientists have well-established organizations to defend them (though some of these groups are ironically reluctant to get involved in
In Western countries, ad hoc coalitions of scientists can be readily assembled for specific prisoner work. The role of the largest international body of scientists, the International Council of Scientific Unions has been cautious. They defend the right of members to attend conferences, but are deliberately hesitant to judge instances of members' imprisonment. The Inter-Parliamentary Union is very active in behalf of imprisoned colleagues. Unfortunately, in countries where the need for such action is greatest, parliaments have been disbanded.

2. International women's organizations have been gaining some initiative lately, in part due to International Women's Decade (1976-1986) activities. Some groups have modest efforts in defense of economic and social rights. The National Council of Negro Women (U.S.) does relief work to aid families in Black African countries bordering South Africa; the migration of males to serve as a cheap labor pool has created a need for local initiatives (the drilling of wells, small-scale farming) in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. Many of the rights deprivations stemming from labor migration affect women especially severely; while the International Association of Women - Equal Rights, Equal Responsibilities has large-scale objectives, they can finance only a fraction of the programs necessary. With most relief programs working through (male-dominated) elites, the scope of protection of women's economic rights leaves many unprotected.
3. Some people are invisible to some NGOs. While human rights activists are presumably ahead of their peers in recognizing rights deprivations, the first people defended are ones bearing great similarity to the defenders. The desire of many NGOs is to be "nonpolitical," "centrist," and "humanitarian," which may exclude protection for people with "warts." An exception, the World Council of Churches, has been viciously attacked from within and without for venturing to consider some rights of groups engaged in violent conflict (for their aid to some programs of guerilla groups in Southern Africa). 48

The NGOs studied here have not undertaken defense of gay rights on an international basis; indeed, many of the socialist groups reinforced the pretext for violations by declaring homosexuality to be an illness. 49 Some NGOs shy away from controversial subject areas. The U.S. international human rights lobby in Washington, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy's Human Rights Working Group has followed a working agreement which has limited work on the Middle East, the Soviet Union, and East Europe in favor of Southern Africa, Korea, the Philippines and Latin America.

4. Defense of children's rights is usually tacked onto rather than integrated with human rights. The International Union for Child Welfare has lobbied for and promoted the United Nations' Declaration of the Rights of the
Child—which includes rights to education, to a name and nationality, but not to free speech. The human rights NGOs do some work to ensure children's rights, often given press on special occasions. Thus for 1979, the International Year of the Child, mention of rights of the child is common in such NGO publications as U.S. AI's Matchbox.

C. Tactics. The tactics selected to defend human rights may increase or decrease protection of rights. A distinction used in Figure 4 separates efforts at mass publication, education, and pressure from efforts which link elites. Some groups use "tree-topping" tactics, while others are more interested in "grass-rooting." A similar distinction could be drawn for NGO tribunals, conferences, and relief efforts.

1. Frequent conferences and tribunals have been held by the United Nations since 1948. Human Rights Year in 1968 led to intense activity. NGOs have been active participants: today there are Committees of NGOs (CONGOs) in consultative status with U.N. bodies. The CONGO for the Economic and Social Council is most active; it holds annual conferences on selected topics. 1977's was on the rights of indigenous peoples in North America.

Some conferences have been sponsored and organized by individual NGOs. AI's conferences on torture, the International Commission of Jurists and International Association of Democratic Lawyers' conference on human rights in a
one-party state, and the Jacob Blaustein Institute, the International Institute for Human Rights, and Uppsala University's Uppsala Colloquium on the Right to Leave and the Right to Return are prime examples. These conferences often bring together experts and leaders seeking solutions to major human rights problems. Conferencing has provided some coverage of virtually all rights for virtually all people.

Recently, some nongovernmental groups have set up tribunals to give rights violators the trials which IGOs refuse to hold. Best known are the International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, the Russell Tribunals (on U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, repression in Latin America, and such West German practices as Berfusverboten), and the Sakharov Tribunals on Soviet rights violations. The frequency of tribunals is increasing; there are many gaps in their coverage of the rights terrain.

Campaign Human Rights '78 was the result of a proposal by an Argentine nonviolent activist, Adolfo Perez Esquivel. The Campaign's design included an Assembly of the People, on Human Rights Day. Plagued with problems from the start, this rare attempt at generating mass involvement in conferences had a few islands of success in Western Europe.
2. Publication and education are the only visible outputs of some NGOs' activities. There are various institutes of human rights which attract present or future experts, including the International Institute for Human Rights at Strasbourg, and the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights of the American Jewish Committee. Many NGOs produce first-rate studies of human rights problems or of medical conditions related to human rights problems.\(^{54}\)

Some publication and education efforts reach wide audiences. The World Without War Council (U.S.) has created a Human Rights Kit composed of readings on a wide variety of human rights issues. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy's Human Rights Working Group has published two easy-to-read guides: one a human rights action guide, the other a guide to the Covenants. And part of Amnesty's work is designed to reach the "grass roots." The adoption groups are themselves educational, and seek to enlighten a still-wider audience.

3. Various tactics link NGOs to governments in several ways. Some approaches are based in law: to prescribe better codes with which the powerful could implement human rights. First attempts at human rights pressure appeared recently, primarily in the United States and Western Europe. This may take the form of friendly advice to government officials on what they acknowledge to be human rights
problems. It may be an attempt to gather consensus of human rights groups (as does the Human Rights Network in London) or eventually of large numbers of people through Action Alerts (as practiced by the Human Rights Working Group and Palestine Human Rights Campaign in Washington).

4. As suggested previously, relief is not high on the agendas of human rights groups. Nevertheless, Amnesty International provides aid to families of prisoners when in need. A variety of groups (the Red Cross is one) are active in cases of natural disaster. These relief activities are promoted as spot attempts to fight the worst abuses. Systematic attempts to alleviate structural sources of deprivation are few.

Figure 4 suggested some strengths and weaknesses in the human rights grid. Actually the number of gaps is much greater, since the characteristics should be placed in a more complex grid. Thus for rights efforts dealing with torture, how many focus on mass education to improve the status of tortured children? How many examine the effect of other governments' aid to countries which torture scientists?

V. Conclusion. There are gaps in the map of human rights activity. Human rights groups are biased toward some issues more than others. They are selective in choosing which peoples' rights to defend. They are dependent on the use of limited tactics to promote human rights. It is therefore
not surprising that rights NGOs see different worlds in assessing the presence or absence of human rights. These will be discussed in Chapter Four.

To overcome gaps in human rights activity, three approaches are possible:

A. Altering priorities. Thus instead of having several projects aimed at legal regulation of torture, but few projects treating hunger as a human rights issue, some NGOs would drop work on torture to work on implementing the right to food. Unfortunately, the persistence of torture (and violations of every right, except perhaps slavery, which has diminished in quantity and quality) demonstrates that there are no human rights issues suffering from an excess of NGO attention;

B. Creation of new efforts. This is easy to prescribe, but the lack of money, expertise, and access will pose a major difficulty; and

C. Pooling of efforts. Some NGOs can agree on what human rights are (in practice as well as theory), and if their multiple talents can capture the public's imagination, there is potential for a dynamic worldwide human rights movement. What are the prospects for the cooperation such a movement would require? This question will be discussed in Chapter Five.
NOTES


8. The International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, November 1977 interview.


13. The controversy over Andrew Young's claim that the U.S. has hundreds, perhaps even thousands of political prisoners is also relevant here. See Peter C. Stuart, "Status of 'Political Prisoners' - and of Young," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 19, 1978. p. 3.

14. This is not to say that the organizations shape their efforts for, or are blind to violations in, the U.S. or Soviet Union. It is to say that government links (with resultant access) are established only with NGOs that refrain from fundamental criticism of governments' policies.


22. These include possible relief for adoptee's families and use of telegraphed appeals.


25. Thus AIUSA has a thirty-five member National Advisory Council, expert on country situations, regions of the world, issues, and constituencies.


28. AI In Quotes, supra note 15.


30. supra note 6 at vii.

31. The World Federation of United Nations Associations and World Veterans Federation still pursue this approach in combination with others.

32. Israel denies the applicability of the Geneva Accords.


34. November 1977 interview.


38. The World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow was one example. See M. Kakers, "Dissent at the Moscow Peace Conference" New Politics. Vol. 10, No. 4. Fall 1973. pp. 79-83.

39. supra note 11.

40. For example, the Brazilian government provided funds for the Anti-Slavery Society's investigation reported in Edwin Brooks, Rene Fuerst, John Hemming, and Francis Huxley (1973) Tribes of the Amazon Basin in Brazil 1972. London: Charles Knight and Company.


44. See Lissner, supra note 12.


46. Weiss, p. 15.


49. The World Festival of Youth Students in Havana is a recent example.

50. Their reports indicate no consciousness of their activities as part of a comprehensive human rights movement.


54. See e.g., Evidence of Torture: Studies by the Amnesty International Danish Medical Group. London: Amnesty International Publications.
ASSESSING HUMAN RIGHTS:
The NGO Contribution

The thirtieth meeting of the World Council of Churches' Central Committee (Geneva, 28 July-6 August 1977) has heard the words of its Moderator, who, with deep sorrow, directed its attention to 'a steady increase in reports of violation of human rights, and in the use of torture in an increasing number of countries of the world.'

- World Council of Churches

For those who believe deeply in freedom of the press as a fundamental human right, 1976 was a depressing year. Restraints on the media and the persecution of journalists throughout the world intensified to an unprecedented degree.

- International Press Institute

More freedom for 1,000,000 people

- Columnist's headline for report on the 1977 Comparative Survey of Freedom by Freedom House

The three statements about human rights in the world are representative of the thousands made in and drawn from nongovernmental organizations' reports and proclamations. They differ not only in conclusions reached; there are also important differences in the perspectives of the assessors, in the models of humanity and society assumed, in the indicators of "freedom," "persecution," and "human rights," and in data sources. This chapter probes the structure of non-governmental human rights assessments to clarify their
nature and potential, and to evaluate their role in the realization of human rights.

NGO assessments tend to reflect, as much as they resolve the conflicts discussed in Chapter One. The differences between NGOs apparent in Chapter Two are apparent in assessment strategies. The selection of scope and tactics discussed in Chapter Three is perhaps most apparent to the outside observer in the NGOs' assessments of rights. The Checklist for rights assessment included in this chapter could ensure that necessary selectivity does not interfere with the need for accurate and intelligible assessment of rights.

As noted throughout this study, its purpose is not to list "good guys" and "bad guys." Extensive criticism of a single NGO most likely means that its problems or limitations are illustrative of a host of NGOs'.

I. The Importance of Rights Assessment--A Perspective for Its Study. Not only are there intrinsic reasons for studying NGO assessments, such assessments may be important inputs to governmental policies and academic analyses. U.S. officials' statements about human rights are replete with references to NGO reports. Scholars have relied on Amnesty International and Freedom House in attempts to quantify freedom, repression, and human rights. To explore the underpinnings of NGO reports, therefore, is to examine the validity of policymakers' and scholars' claims and
conclusions.

Assessment is an unavoidable component of efforts to promote human rights. The great variety of ways in which NGOs simplify reality to achieve policy goals warrants attention to how they define their context and tasks.

The term assessment is used to encompass practices of monitoring, measurement, and appraisal: in short, the systematic collection of qualitative and/or quantitative data which indicate respect for, or violation of human rights. The context of assessment in NGO policymaking is sketched in Figure 5. Our concern is with both stages of assessment shown: the NGO representatives' information used as an input for policymaking, and with the reports and surveys in which human rights conditions are described to the NGO's constituency. There are often important differences, since strategic concerns may warrant using private channels to remedy some rights violations, with deletion of these cases from public reports. Some of the information gleaned from the initial assessment may not be suited to public, printed communication. And the meaning attached to observations or other data may change in the context of an organization's policies.

Four assumptions underpin this analysis:

1. The complexity of human rights requires an unusual sensitivity in assessment. It is defined differently in some regions than in others, and even within single
Perceptual Lens

- theories
- ideologies
- utopias

The World

Initial Assessment of Human Rights Demands

and

Constraints to their realization

Links within the NGO

Conflicts between assessors and policymakers

Strategic concerns

Human Rights

Policies

Public Assessments

INPUTS

CONVERSION

OUTPUTS

Feedback

Figure 5
A Model of NGO Policymaking
countries. As discussed in Chapter One, definitions of rights are dynamic rather than static; activities undertaken to advance the rights set forth in the Universal Declaration are different now than in 1948. Today NGOs and human rights analysts speak of evolving rights. The Conference of Nongovernmental Organizations in Consultative Status with ECOSOC has begun to discuss implications of a right to development. Within the last five years, there has been growing concern with suggested rights to a healthy environment, and relief in case of natural disaster.

2. Each right (new and old) is multifaceted, and with each facet come different perils in quantification. For example, if one were to assess respect for the right to participation (Article 25 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) by counting the years with a two-party system (as one NGO does), the following possibilities would be missed: 1) many people may not be served by either party; 2) competition may exist within a single party; 3) national political parties may ignore modes of participation of greatest interest to the individual—community decision-making; and 4) "politics" may be most prevalent outside of the institutionalized political context.

3. Deprivation or indulgence in the values associated with human rights involves a variety of political actors. While dividing rights abuses into national categories is convenient, it is seldom accurate. Assessment of human
rights requires a recognition that:

a) rights deprivation and indulgence may stem from external governmental sources; thus the United States was implicated in atrocities in Vietnam. One might attribute realization of some economic rights in West Germany to U.S. aid. There are very few, if any, "torture states" without allies condoning or supporting their acts. Amin's Uganda is no exception; his reign can in part be attributed to "a Western preference for fine coffee over human rights." 

b) Some account must be made of nongovernmental influences on respect for human rights. Real and perceived demands of multinational corporations affect the degree of civil and political freedom in many countries: Chile and Guatemala are blatant cases. The presence of terrorists may also restrict peoples' exercise of civil and political liberties.

c) Rights indulgence is unequal within countries. Repression by whites in the United States and South Africa has resulted in large gaps in enjoyment of political and economic freedom. Attention must be paid to different rights accorded adults and children, women and men, and workers and bosses.

d) Human rights must be conceived comprehensively. There is a growing recognition that political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights are interdependent. For example, a "politically" free press is of little import
where entire classes, countries, and regions lack the economic resources necessary to gain access to the press. The "economic" right to employment makes little sense without a role in the politics of the job—the ends to which the labor is directed.

4. While "assessment" is derived from the Latin assidere, to sit by, the assessors must not be immune to critical assessment. As they should notice inequalities in societies, so should they also attend to rights deprivations in their organizational structures. As Elise Baulding has argued, far from a "sitting by," measurement is a potentially constructive form of social action.¹¹

II. The Scope of Human Rights Assessment Efforts. The kinds of organizations assessing different rights in different areas are evident from Table 19. It should be noted that while some coverage is given of every right, many organizations are inadequate to cope with the assessment tasks confronting them. Thus groups like the Minority Rights Group and Anti-Slavery Society tend to report on urgent cases where it seems that their actions may be helpful; they certainly do not give full and complete reports on world conditions. Some groups meet to discuss problems, but are primarily aid-givers, not assessors of conditions (such as the International University Exchange Fund). On balance, the biggest gaps remain in coverage of economic and social rights; efforts such as the Overseas
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*Articles preceded by C refer to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; Articles preceded by E refer to the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (which might, for example, be used to fill the gap for NGOs monitoring world freedom of movement) and which cover the full range of human rights are excluded; NGOs listed place special emphasis on assessment of designated rights and categories. Two sources were especially useful in constructing this grid: issues of the Internet newsletter, and Committee of Non-governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with ECOSOC, 1977.
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**Figure 6**
The Assessment Process
Table 20
The Assessment Checklist

A. The Assessor's Theoretical Framework

1. Sufficient familiarity with the problem and its context to answer the questions asked. (Expertise, knowledge of others' languages, history, culture and institutions)

2. Independence from the points at issue sufficient to preclude bias in the investigation. ("Spectator" status, primary identifiable interests accord with no group in the area studied necessarily to the exclusion of other groups)

3. Political and ideological independence to ensure critical assessment. (Freedom from "blinders" which may result from a desire to serve a particular constituency or a desire to protect allies)

4. Tenable theoretical framework. (Consistent with reality, and with a schedule of human needs)

B. The Assessor's Model

1. Consistent and comprehensive units in assessing rights deprivation. (All relevant actors included; responsibility ascribed properly)

2. Meaningful standards, accompanied by attention to context. (Distinction between universals, culture-bound societal traits)

3. Accounting for tradeoffs between rights, and their interdependence. (Consideration of a full range of human rights)

4. Accounting for related conditions other than human rights. (Consideration of compatibility of human rights with other goals)

C. The Assessor's Indicators

1. Validity
   a. Tapping the full meaning of concepts measured (Avoidance of single indicators; all facets of concept considered)
   b. Tapping the real meaning of concepts measured (Avoidance of misleading indicators)
   c. Proper weighting when partial indicators are combined (Consideration of relations between indicators)

2. Reliability
   a. Clarity of the applicable standard (Procedure clear to outsiders, and to different assessors)

D. The Assessor's Data, Data Sources, and Data Collection

1. Availability of information about rights conditions. (Appropriate caution in inferring conditions in small, closed units)

2. Consideration of resources constraints on information-gathering. (Selection of manageable, yet significant information-gathering tasks)

3. Genuineness of information. (Basis in real world; capable of providing insight into the phenomena studied)
comprises the criteria on which the selection is made. There are four major risks faced here:

1. The framework may be insufficiently developed for dealing with the target to be assessed. One reason for conflicting assessments is a difference in the expertise of the assessors. NGOs have relied on government officials, anthropologists, lawyers, social scientists, and others for analysis of human rights conditions.

It is necessary that the assessor have some familiarity with the society and problem studies. (The best observers for a Wilmington Ten trial would not necessarily be qualified to pass judgment or the FRG's "Berufsverboten.") One large NGO sent a trial observer to Azania, only to learn that South African trials are conducted in Afrikaans, not in English. This criterion is a major problem for NGOs of worldwide scope: their assessors' frameworks must account for literally thousands of nuances of different cultures. Amnesty International has a large research department to combat this problem; most major NGOs have formal or informal means of consultation with specialists.

Three means of coping with this problem are: creation of a varied group of assessors, in the hope that intersubjective agreement will eliminate the weaknesses of partial theoretical perspectives; reliance on country experts (often natives), trusting a single perspective for accurate perception; and very careful restriction and
specification of the scope of the assessment, with appropriate qualification of conclusions. In this regard, many of the gaps in Freedom House's annual surveys of freedom can be attributed to survey director Gastil's having assumed an impossible task: the measurement of freedom in all countries of the world.  

2. The assessor's framework may center around an area or problem to such an extent that proper perspective cannot be maintained. Many organizations perceive a danger where an individual is too involved with the culture or government of the society she/he is supposed to assess. Thus in Amnesty International's Research Department:

"no staff member is allowed to work on the country of his/her origin in order to avoid potential accusations of bias and to guarantee the objectivity of the work." 

The International Committee of the Red Cross claims that its use of Swiss nationals allows it to be a neutral intermediary. Contrariwise, extensive use either of political refugees or of well-entrenched elites as assessors of their own countries risks partial and potentially misleading results.

These first two criteria may place NGO representatives in a dilemma if they use assessors who are too familiar with a problem, there will be accusations of bias; if they use assessors who are unfamiliar with a problem, there will be accusations of ignorance.
easy escape from the dilemma: there is, however, a strong argument to be made for including both assessors with intimate knowledge of the case investigated, and knowledgeable assessors without direct, material interests at stake.

3. Assessors may have theoretical perspectives which are insufficiently independent and critical for reasons other than lack of familiarity or excessive familiarity with the problems studied. While professing themselves to be nonpolitical, some NGOs accuse their adversaries of political and ideological bias. Thus the World Confederation of Labour finds fault with both the socialist World Federation of Trade Unions and the capitalist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Its leaders have made a conscious effort to evolve "from a European, denominational IFCTU" to a WCL responsive to the needs of the Third World. The World Peace through Law Center once pursued a "Cold War" against the socialist International Association of Democratic Lawyers, which has since subsided.

Governments and scholars have perceived differences in NGOs' ability to accurately perceive rights conditions. The U.S. State Department made an implicit attack on Tapol and Amnesty International assessments of Indonesia by stressing the politics of information sources. Academics have noted clear differences in NGO theoretical frameworks, with consequences for the public assessments. Weissbrodt
argues that:

"Even to this day the IADL is more restrained in criticism of human rights violations in socialist countries than is the International Commission of Jurists. Amnesty International, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, the Friends World Committee for Consultation, the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace, Pax Romana, and the World Conference on Religion and Peace are far more willing to discuss such issues as conscientious objection and religious freedom than are the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Democratic Youth."²²

Others might argue that the socialist organizations have made contributions where the ICJ and religious organizations have been restrained: they have, for instance, been more critical of capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism as responsible for rights deprivations.

Dealing with this problem is often a matter of finding a middle ground, and NGOs are discovering that on some issues, for some purposes, a middle ground can be found. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers and International Commission of Jurists have held joint symposia. The International Federation of Journalists (primarily "first world") and the International Organization of Journalists (primarily "second world") have initiated limited forms of cooperation. There may be some organizations with reputations of unusual independence on some issues. Thus the International Secretariat of Catholic Lawyers has access to some trials closed to the ICJ and IADL. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has criticized Vietnam war crimes of the United States, while
condemning repression in the East; its independence and critical standards have drawn criticism from both sides, however.

4. Some criticisms of assessment efforts discussed in previous sections may in fact stem from more basic disagreement: theoretical perspectives may be incompatible. Some of the bitterest polemics against rights assessors can be reduced to a simple claim that one's adversaries are wrong. One political scientist concluded a discussion of Friends' activities with:

"In short then, the Quaker apparatus is committed to third world totalitarianism, but modifies its hostility to Israel with innocuous declarations for its existence because of an interest in a particular clientele." No major organization is immune. Amnesty International has been criticized for "distasteful political biases."

Relativists would argue that there is no means of solving this problem. To the contrary, value positions are often found untenable through consensual means, and with critical assessment, even greater value clarification is possible. Taylor explains:

"A given framework is linked to a given conception of the schedule of human needs, wants, and purposes, such that, if the schedule turns out to have been mistaken in some significant way, the framework itself cannot be maintained."

Thus frameworks positing a human need to suffer physical pain have been universally rejected; most people and NGOs have rejected frameworks positing a human need to dominate
others; and there is a growing tendency toward rejection of a need for material acquisition.

B. The Assessor's Model. A theoretical framework implies different models of use in answering different questions; our concern is with models of rights. General theoretical frameworks suggest appropriate models specify the rights, the rights holders, relations between the rights, and their relation to social needs and responsibilities. Once again there are four potential perils:

1. We must first specify the units of an analysis of rights (whose rights are to be assessed), and whose actions affecting those rights are to be considered. A frequent, unsafe assumption is that human rights equals protection of individuals from national governments. To rate countries from best to worst on human rights, or even to list violations by country categories is to gloss over potentially important distinctions. Rights conditions might also be considered a function of an exchange relationship between individuals, or of a struggle between social classes.

Freedom House's use of a map, while appealing to the eye, reinforces the state-centric approach. Its claims of increases or decreases in the number of people enjoying freedom (calculated by adding the populations of "free" countries) ignore major differences in the enjoyment of all human rights which transcend national boundaries. Other assessors have pointed out that indigenous peoples
have been systematically denied rights in countries considered by many to be the most free. The Overseas Development Council's Physical Quality of Life Index clearly indicates unequal enjoyment of social and economic rights among American Blacks and Whites.

Emphasis on countries ignores important human rights actors. Some have argued that terrorists should be considered rights offenders even to the extent that governmental repression may be justified. (Amnesty International Secretary-General Martin Ennals has countered such charges leveled against AI's Argentina report.) Rights to food and to political freedom are often obstructed by multinational, and even small national corporations.

Patterns of increased dependence in some cases, and interdependence in others dictate that a variety of units be used in classifying increases or decreases in respect for human rights. There are some sterling examples; the Second Russell Tribunal, for example, declared that guilt for repression in Chile, Brazil, and Latin America must be shared by de facto authorities, multinationals, and the United States government.

2. We must agree on the degree of variation permitted by standards for assessment. There are important trade-offs in the choice between allowance for diversity and meaningful uniform standards. Many organizations' representatives claim that others' selectivity tends to create
a double standard. Representatives of thirty-seven of the organizations contacted made statements either to the effect that their efforts promoted human rights standards no matter what, or that some other organization(s) were blind to offenses of certain actors (usually Black African movements, Israel, or East European countries). The argument, which is implicit in their promotion of universal rights enshrined in the Covenants is that there are some identifiable features of at least a minimum public order.

The universals must be realized in specific contexts, however. Differences between societies and between groups in societies are recognized to different degrees by different assessors. Thus one of the "terms of reference" for the World Council of Churches' Advisory Group on Human Rights specifies that:

"In discussing particular situations, the Advisory Group should always take into account the different confessional, historical, and social conditions of the various regions and countries as well as the ecclesiological background and the concrete circumstances in which the churches there live and witness." \(^{32}\)

One common criticism of some NGO assessors is that they gloss over important differences. Goulet, in criticizing the Freedom House Comparative Survey of Freedom, labels it a reductionist approach which "measures, and that very inadequately, a few dimensions of Western-style political freedom." \(^{33}\) The question is whether the model of a free society which underlies Freedom House's assessment is
universally acceptable. Similar challenges could be made against most assessors, since few have had global input into their shared models of rights and rights deprivation.

Good models contain clearly specified standards, and conditions for their application. Ultimately, clearer and more practical definitions of the rights assessed must be sought. A desirable, but for many NGOs unfeasible, first step is the solicitation of input from a wide variety of peoples (not of governments). Interest of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and International Commission of Jurists in human rights in one-party states is an important step in this direction.³⁴

3. A model for assessment which deals with one set of rights in isolation of other rights risks serious distortion. This does not mean that emphasis on one right or a group of rights is necessarily misleading. Amnesty International is especially concerned with Articles 5, 9, 18, and 19 of the Universal Declaration,³⁵ without precluding action by other organizations in defense of other rights. A problem arises with assessments blinding the observer to other, perhaps more important human rights issues. The Inter-American Press Association's use of its surveys of press freedom to criticize Bolivia (1952-1973) is a case in point. The IAPA's model is of a "free" press run by entrepreneurs (its members) competing in an open, capitalist market. Its assessment ignored the
rights achievement of the revolutionary party which:

"was able to redistribute more than two-thirds of all Bolivia's agricultural lands to formerly landless peasants, grant universal suffrage in a country which had limited voting rights to literate, property owning males, and nationalize the Big Three tin companies each of which had been more powerful than the Bolivian government itself."36

Use of a model justifying freedom of the press—for those who own one—led to twelve years of blacklisting of the Bolivian government by the IAPA's freedom of the press committee. The reason: as a result of the social and economic revolution, angry mobs had forced the closure of two large newspapers.37 Where some rights are isolated from others, assessors lose the character of a human rights group, and assume the character of a private interest group.

Solving this problem need not require that an organization broaden its scope, though this might be one means. Some NGOs need to broaden their models employed, if their assessment efforts are truly to reflect human rights conditions. Further, an attempt needs to be made, not necessarily by the NGOs themselves, to relate assessment efforts to a general model of human rights. We can then discuss the importance and effects of different rights conditions individually and collectively.

4. Finally, the model must come to terms with concerns other than human rights which are related to the conditions assessed. The model should handle, for example,
the trade-off some analysts have suggested between detente with the Soviet Union and human rights. (One way of doing so is to develop a conception of detente as a human rights issue.) It should cope with claims of an incompatibility between economic progress and human rights. Finally, it should recognize the resource, public opinion, and political constraints which impair rights realization efforts. (For example, one might want to acknowledge the American government's desire to capitalize on openings in Cuban society in assessing freedom and human rights in Cuba.)

Factors other than human rights must not be used as a pretext to shift assessment efforts away from human rights. Such conditions must nevertheless be discussed and analyzed, if only to defend the relative importance of human rights assessments. Further, conditions of war, drought, and political instability have undeniable consequences for the respect of rights.

C. The Assessor's Indicators. A model specifies units (e.g., towns and national governments), variables (e.g., press freedom, the level of violence in the society, and participation), and relations between them. An assessor's theoretical perspective, refined in the form of a model, suggests indicators with which the variables can be measured. Even simple, everyday assessments of human rights (e.g., "The U.S. is freer than Russia because we
have rock music.")) contain implicit models and theoretical perspectives which justify the use of a single silly indicator: reports of the presence or absence of rock music. Before adding items to the assessment checklist, a continuum of information provided by indicators will be discussed:

An indicator is a means of summarizing conditions of an object or society. It may: 1) simply allow description and identification of a problem or characteristic; 2) reveal a level of significance of this problem, not necessarily by quantification; 3) note the existence of the problem across time; 4) order problems according to the urgency of corrective action (the organization's policy strategy plays an important role here); 5) classify problems according to the units responsible; 6) allow for comparison of trends across problems; 7) enable a scaling of units' standing on right conditions (demanding specific, well-defined indicators); 8) allow for plotting of identifiable conditions or causes of rights improvement and deterioration.

Optimal indicators of assessors are those which answer the questions asked. Since most NGOs face significant resource constraints, they are unlikely to want or need elaborate, precise decimal scales of rights observance. They may even justifiably practice rigorous application of indicators in early stages of the assessment,
but not thereafter. (Does it necessarily matter whether the number of political prisoners in Indonesia has risen to 55,000 or 100,000? The only quantitative assessment a concerned NGO would really need is one indicating that the problem has reached crisis proportions, which is the case regardless of any precise score.) The assessment might then be supplemented by an appraisal of the NGOs and other groups' effect on the problem.

NGOs and other assessors need indicators which are 1) valid, and 2) reliable:

1a) A major validity problem stems from the use of indicators which tell part, but not all, of a concept's meaning. The International Press Institute and the Inter-American Press Association have used counts of media owners in prison and cases of editors' harassment by governments (along with other indicators) to tap press freedom while not including indicators which would tap individuals' access to the press. (One reason seems to be assessors' faith in the functioning of a "free" market of ideas and capital. Because of strong dependency, particularly in the IAPA's mandated region, these conditions seldom exist.)

NGOs seldom detail or justify the indicators they use in making conclusions about social and economic rights. It seems clear that, especially where aspects of "quality of life" are assessed, our model will have to suggest
several indicators. The Overseas Development Council's Physical Quality of Life Index attempts to go beyond use of a single indicator; they acknowledge, however, that ultimately the three will have to be supplemented to ensure valid measurement. One critic suggests adding several indicators including nutrition and water consumption, and restricting the index's application, since "a refined index will cover fewer countries than a coarse one." Nevertheless, the PQLI offers a major step forward from the common use of gross national product as the sole indicator of quality of life.

Since the NGOs claim that rights are universal, an easy (though not always practical) corrective is use of people from a wide range of backgrounds in selection of indicators. The valid indicator(s) of participation must tap opportunities of the poor, minorities, workers, young people, women, and other groups. In addition, it may be necessary to qualify use of quantitative indicators with qualitative considerations. It would be a mistake, however, to discard current indicators of respect for rights as invalid; the task is to be explicit about what each indicator does or does not reveal, and how the gaps can be filled.

1b) Some indicators used to assess rights should be discarded not because they are insufficient, but because they are misleading. While assessors have not reached the
Orwellian stage of counting cases of repression to indicate freedom, they need to avoid use of such invalid indicators as GNP, changes in party rule, and the percentage of unemployment. GNP is a poor indicator of rights fulfillment, because it may be a function of currency fluctuation; because a high GNP may in fact result from rights deprivation associated with overdevelopment in the high-GNP unit, and underdevelopment, poverty, or dependency in others; and because GNP excludes important factors which may advance rights to employment and well-being. Much of China's food production, for example, is consumed by the producers, and therefore does not appear in the GNP statistics. Some NGOs which stress civil and political freedom require changes in party leadership for a country to be considered politically "free." Thus Swedes became more free in their last election by virtue of the electing an "out-party" to power. For those whose freedom involves a freedom to choose to continue a popular government's rule, use of this indicator is counterintuitive.

Valid indicators express the concepts contained in one's model. Many bad indicators are the result of an uncritical or inexplicit model. As with partial indicators, misleading indicators can be identified through critical analysis of a wide range of people. NGO experience can also be a guide. While an absence of changes in party leadership might intuitively have seemed to indicate
unfreedom in many cases of the 50's and 60's, the Swedish case prompts the question: How did people become more free with the change of leadership? It then prompts a further question: What other available indicators would do exemplary progress, both in perception of additional and better indicators for freedom and democracy, and in the development of economic indicators which no longer assume the condition of today's wealthy countries as a logical endpoint.41

1c) Invalidity may result from attempts to combine indicators. There is no reason to assume, for example, that if we identify four indicators of participation, that they should be weighted equally (in the absence of a model telling us so). Further, we need to make sure that the indicators are distinct—that they generally tap different phenomena. An important question to be asked of NGO assessors which seek action through international governmental channels (which most do) is: How do scores on such indicators as number of political prisoners, incidence of torture, and (in)frequency of governmental corrective action, taken together, indicate the "gross and systematic violation of human rights" referred to in international agreements? The U.N. Commission on Human Rights, for example:

"is empowered to handle only communications relating to a 'consistent pattern' of 'gross...violations,' and not specific, individual cases; however,
communications on specific individual cases may, cumulatively, indicate a 'consistent pattern' of 'gross violations.'"^2

Since "no satisfactory criteria exist for determining what is a gross and what is a tolerable violation of human rights by a government,"^3 let alone for nongovernmental actors, valid comprehensive (and comprehensible) indicators of human rights need to be developed.

One of the criticisms of the Overseas Development Council's Physical Quality of Life Index is that life expectancy and infant mortality indicators are made to do a double duty where either would be sufficient.^4 There is some truth to the claim—infant mortality is a major contributor to life expectancy at birth. There are, nevertheless, great differences remaining in life expectancy, even after the age of 30. Thus the average 30-year old male in Canada will live 42.5 years more, the average female 48.5 years more, while in Chad 30-year old males will live only 21 more years, with females living 26 more.^6 Ruderman's main point may nevertheless be justified—life expectancy and infant mortality may top values and rights which are too similar to warrant their weighting as two-thirds of people's physical quality of life.

Indicators which are to measure part of a concept will not measure what we want them to measure without a model which attaches proper weights for each. Since our measurement of freedom and quality of life is really still in an
exploratory stage, equal weighting may be justified at present. It is crucial that the assessor remember and account for the consequences of using crude, exploratory measures, however.

2a) "Reliable measures are those which are consistent performers and not subject to arbitrary shifts in meaning." If NGO assessment is to be reliable, therefore, there must be clarity as to the standards applied. One indicator which many NGO assessors use as support for other indicators is expert perception of conditions. To have experts assess political freedom, for example, is a reliable measure only to the extent that different experts would assign a country the same level of freedom. There is a danger, illustrated by some academics' use of expert judges, that experts, by using their own country and social class's conception of freedom as an endpoint, will reveal more about themselves than about world conditions. (It seems likely that Latin American natives would have reached different conclusions about their countries' freedom than did the U.S. scholars used in Fitzgibbon's assessment.) It is possible that persons from countries with different legal traditions would reach different conclusions about observance of the "rule of law" in observing the same trial. And since most assessments of social and economic rights deprivation rely on statistics collected by national governments, and the national governments'
application of the indicators, there is considerable opportunity for, and occasional evidence of, arbitrary shifts in meaning. Arbitrary shifts in meaning may also occur because readings of an indicator are taken at the wrong time intervals. While many groups make new assessments for each year's annual report, indicated rights violations or improvements may not be significant or long-lasting. There are risks in, for example, moving a country from a "free" to a "not free" category in a particular year, since temporary changes may be conditioned by other factors than increased respect for rights. Many social and economic indicators are used at questionable intervals as well; often changing values indicate not socio-economic progress or regress, but seasonal unemployment, climatic changes, or even the tenth year of independence.

Consenses and clarity are the keys to building a reliable indicator system. There are positive signs: legal organizations from different systems are able to agree on standards for observing many kinds of trials; some organizations seek input from outside sources to ensure that their indicators will not shift meaning upon crossing cultural or national boundaries; some organizations, among them the Minority Rights Group, combine reviews of recent developments in cases assessed with an historical perspective; and non-national units have a growing interest in collection of information indicating
respect for or violation of economic and social rights. Clear specification of where an annual report cuts into changing patterns of rights is another necessary step; greater continuity between successive reports would be a helpful beginning.

D. The Assessor's Data and Data Collection. Indicators reveal how the concepts in a model are to be tapped. Several means of identifying or creating data will be mentioned before proceeding to discuss three risks faced in data collection.

i. Intuition accompanies all data-gathering efforts; sometimes it appears as a prime source. There are polemicians who use human rights assessment as a medium to advance their prejudices, while imparting little, if any new information about the world. Thus we are warned of four dangerous trends adding up to a loss of freedom in Black Africa: including declining sway held by Christianity and growth of the communist "menace." Fortunately, most NGO assessment efforts seek verification from real world rights and needs fulfillment of humans.

ii. An accessible source of information about human rights is the daily newspaper. Most large assessors follow several newspapers, magazines, and other publications: usually focusing, however, on the Western elite press. The New York Times and Washington Post (overseas through the International Herald Tribune), the London Times,
Le Monde, and Die Zeit are among the common news sources. Largely due to limited staffing and funding, use of "second and third world" press sources is less frequent. Usually articles are clipped, filed by subject or country, and sometimes arranged within file folders chronologically.

Writers and Scholars International, through its bimonthly Index on Censorship, has an Index Index, a "chronicle of events throughout the world showing how freedom of expression is variously stifled," and compiled from these sources:

- Amnesty International Bulletin; Associated Press;
- A Chronicle of Current Events (Samizdat, Moscow);
- Conjunctura Brasileira; The Daily Telegraph; Grisur (Geneva); The Guardian; International Herald Tribune;
- Interpress (London); Le Monde; The New York Times;
- The Observer; Reuters; The Sunday Times; The Times;
- Uruguay Information (Paris); USLA Report (New York)49

and

- Agence France-Presse; Associated Press; BBC External Broadcasts; A Chronicle of Current Events (New York);
- A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church (New York); Commonwealth Press Union; The Daily Telegraph;
- Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung; The Guardian; International Herald Tribune; International Press Institute Report; Latin America (London); Literaturna Ukraina (Kiev); The New York Times; The Observer;
- Reuter; The Sunday Times; The Times; and United Press International.50

A look at just two lists of sources indicates considerable difference, but a Northern source dominance remains—perhaps an inevitable problem when using the press as a data source. A look at the articles in Index, and at the activities of other NGO assessors, reveals many other, more refined means of gathering information.
iii. Assessment often takes place through the presentation or sharing of information, sometimes at conventions' investigative commissions, and sometimes more formally at investigative tribunals. The International Tribunal on Crimes against Women, held at Brussels in 1976, and the Russell Tribunals (past ones on American war crimes in Vietnam and repression in Latin America; a forthcoming one on German "Berufsverboten") are examples of the latter approach. The Russell Tribunals took evidence from direct and indirect sources in having the expert members (lawyers, sociologists, theologians, etc.) make conclusions about questions of law.

Tribunals, panels, workshops, and conferences are potentially valuable means of "expert" factfinding. At their worst they become arenas for vituperous debate or for making vague statements about human rights (e.g., "We are appalled by the continued abuse of rights in bloc X"); at their best they are a prime means of giving meaning to what otherwise would be an endless stream of details without structure.

iv. Experts are sometimes used not for fact-finding, but for summary judgments about rights conditions. An expert's judgment of credibility can be an important supplement to summary measures, or to outside reports of uncertain quality. Some organizations have international advisory committee for this purpose. Freedom House survey
director Gastile is using consultation with scholarly country experts as a means of input for ratings of freedom. Some NGOs have their own experts; the IPI's reports, for example, represent Director Peter Galliner's attempt to bring order to and pass judgment on a wide variety of threats to press freedom around the world.

Experts' judgments of proper values for an indicator may vary. Ultimately, therefore, use of expert judges in assessment gives results which are no better (and no worse) than the people involved. Other data sources which they can bring to bear may determine the credibility of the assessment. Where such sources are not available, there are compelling reasons for using panels of experts with varied backgrounds and specialization, rather than a single individual.

v. Different kinds of aggregate data are used in rights assessment. To a large extent, the findings of a Freedom House or other NGO which summarizes a large amount of information in short, concise form must stem from sources such as the *World Handbook of Social and Political Indicators*. Criticisms of the kind of indicators used in such works have already been made. They provide rough measures of Western social scientists' conceptions of democracy, openness, and freedom. Other important data are necessarily eliminated, and might require qualification of rights assessments.
We necessarily rely on aggregate data in assessing economic and social rights. Unfortunately, many of the data assume a state-centric model: we can tap deprivations of food, health, and education for virtually any country, but are less able to do so for women, ethnic groups, workers, young people, or other groups whose welfare we might want to assess.

vi. Major NGOs frequently engage in outside, on-the-spot investigation. It may take the form of trial observation, prison visits, or detailed analysis of social conditions. Some groups make outside investigation of a country's human rights practices at more than one point in time. Since many groups are small and have few resources, their on-the-spot investigation is limited to a few cases each year. Often cooperative arrangements are made, even to the extent that one organization (which may have more resources) will foot the bill to send another organization's representative (who may enjoy greater access to the facts of the case). The International Rescue Committee, the Minority Rights Group, the Anti-Slavery Society, and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation are among the groups which undertake a few outside investigations each year. Groups such as the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Commission of Jurists, and the International Secretariat of Catholic Lawyers (from Pax Romana) may undertake dozens or hundreds (frequently trial
observations). The Red Cross makes the most frequent assessments of rights conditions; delegates of the ICRC visited 9,300 political prisoners in 22 countries, 1,192 prisoners of war, and 3,400 civilian internees in 1977.\(^{53}\)

vii. Inside reports of rights conditions are a final source of data. Some groups, such as churches and trade unions, by their nature have extensive webs of contacts in large numbers of countries. Students, journalists, and others' associations may also place them in a position to receive information about constituents' welfare. The World Council of Churches, for example, notes that:

"Frequently the WCC is a privileged recipient of rapid information about specific violations of human rights involving individuals and groups... The various subunits and staff regional task forces have established networks in the churches to which this information is transmitted, along with requests for specific supportive actions. In some cases there is clear evidence that this has saved individuals from torture or assassination by focusing international attention on them at an early stage. In other cases, the information provided aids churches or agencies in their interpretive and other work at national levels about international affairs concerns."\(^{54}\)

Other explicitly human rights groups receive more and more information as people become aware of their existence.

Organizations may also rely on an individual who is in a good position inside another society to assess human rights. For example, the Writers and Scholars Educational Trust (the same people as Writers and Scholars International, just a different legal status) issued a report on India during the State of Emergency (1975-1977) compiled
by the Indian Additional Solicitor General.\textsuperscript{55}

These, then, are data sources used by assessors of human rights. Three data dangers will be discussed briefly:

1. Data may not be universally available. Any survey of conditions worldwide should include a caveat to this effect. Many of them do, for example the International Press Institute's:

"Many countries which may well deserve to be included are absent for lack of sufficient or new information about them. Albania, which rigidly controls its media, is one example—countries in various parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are another. They tend to be nations which are either closed to the outside world or which are underreported in the international media."\textsuperscript{56}

These problems exist for all the types of information sources. A very small country or very closed country will offer few inside reports, may be inaccessible to outside investigators, may be ignored by the "experts," and may be ignored or "guesstimated" in aggregate data statistics.

2. A related problem is the resource costs of obtaining the necessary data. Some organizations must handle problems sequentially or randomly since they lack the resources to cover them all. In an extreme case, reliable assessment and obtaining hard data might require use of country experts (lawyers, anthropologists, sociologists, historians), language experts, natives, and even of trained ferrets.
3. The final data problem concerns whether they are genuine. Strong political and economic interests have shown a propensity to make up their own human rights "data" if existing assessments fail to fit their needs. Thus the Central Intelligence Agency has supported NGO which find the right "facts." While there is no end to rights abuses in the world, additional or sensational cases may be created for media or propaganda purposes. Further, reduction of data about human beings' lives for use on a scale may serve to deny the reality of the events:

"With the growth of the complexity of Society, immediate experience with its events plays an increasingly smaller role as a source of information and basis of judgment in contrast to symbolically mediated information about these events." A glance at the information sources does reveal some emphasis on experts, or aggregate data. To a degree many of the NGO assessors are aware of this problem, however. Their annual reports do summarize country conditions, but they also give details of individual, human cases.

IV. Prescriptions and Conclusions. What is to be done? It must be remembered that the NGOs surveyed are not the only organizations that assess rights. Their information can be supplemented with reports from governmental organizations, educational and research nongovernmental organizations, and scholarly studies. Thus the nongovernmental assessment efforts may be one component of a broader global monitoring system.
It is worth reiterating that the comments made about NGO assessment do not constitute condemnation: they are certainly as good or better than social scientific and governmental assessments. The efforts which drew the most criticism (such as Freedom House) did so primarily because they attempted Herculean tasks. Where weaknesses appear, not just the organizations, but also academics and governments which have interests in similar questions need to engage in a constructive, remedial dialogue. Specifically:

A. Cross-cultural consensus is a must to deal with many of the present and potential risks. None of the organizations listed in Table 3, for example, is headquartered in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. Rights assessment, as practiced today, may itself be a violation of human rights, for its practice reflects glaring world inequalities. In some cases there are legal and political barriers to the globalization of NGO staffs; incorporation or a desire for neutrality may require use of just one country's nationals. Nevertheless, even if only through use of an international advisory committee, external inputs are necessary to add an air of credibility and universality to some of the most prominent assessors' efforts.

B. Certain organizations can perform important clearinghouse functions. It would be a mistake to propose a new superorganization to perform the role since there are important differences in assessors' presuppositions.
Further, the experience of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies illustrates the reluctance of organizations, which are financially troubled themselves, to support a non-policymaking body in which they have but a partial voice. Specialized linkages, using existing organizations, would be more beneficial. Thus, for scholarly freedom, the Council for Science and Society and British Institute of Human Rights working group recommended:

"that there should be set up as soon as possible, a central clearing-house which could perform (information) functions in a manner which would be above justified criticism...Such a clearing-house needs to perform at least two different functions: that of collecting information, and that of evaluating it...We believe that this first function could, in present circumstances, be best performed within the framework of ICSU (the International Council of Scientific Unions) and its affiliates.

The second function is that of measuring the events which are reported against the existing framework of International Human Rights Law, and evaluating the extent to which they fail to conform to the standards of scholarly freedom which that framework supports...The obvious candidate for the performance of that second function would be the International Commission of Jurists."

The Council goes on to note that the ICJ's Executive Committee has indicated a willingness to undertake the latter function. Even such a modest proposal would face resistance; the British Royal Society's President has advocated noninterference where scientists are in trouble because of their political activities. The CSS proposal is suggestive, nevertheless, not only for scientists, but also for other groups which might wish to undertake
limited-purpose assessment cooperation.

C. There is a dispute over whether meaningful assessment of human rights is possible in a Freedom House-style world survey. In light of a clear propensity to use such surveys, as demonstrated by media coverage, citation by nongovernmental and governmental organizations, and use by scholars, there is a clear need for understandable, summary information about human rights conditions worldwide with appropriate qualification.64

NGOs, governments, and the public have a need for valid and reliable information. As discussed in this chapter, individual NGO assessment efforts are limited. To what extent will the NGOs use others' assessments? To what extent are they likely to engage in any cooperation? These questions will be probed in Chapter Five.
NOTES


6. C.B. Macpherson, The Real World of Democracy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. Often claims are made that the "first, second, and third worlds" see rights, freedom, and liberty differently. Even more distinctions are necessary. Thus Manouchehr Ganji makes not only economic divisions, but also social and regional-cultural divisions. He identifies four culture regions: (i) North Africa and West Asia--the Islamic world; (ii) South and East Asia--the Hindu-Buddhist world; (iii) Central and South America--the Latin-Catholic world; and (iv) Africa south of the Sahara--the syncretic religious world. The Realization of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: Problems, Policies, Progress. New York: United Nations, 1975.


35. supra note 16, p. 47.

37. Ibid, abstract.


39. supra note 2.


43. supra note 33.

44. supra note 40.


54. supra note 32, pp. 3-4

55. Sorabjee, supra note 14.

56. supra note 2, p. 10.


58. Albert Biderman, quoted in Lasch, ibid, p. 114.


THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITY: Constructive or Self-Defeating?

Previous chapters dealt with specific nongovernmental activities, and discussed great differences between what different groups do in the name of human rights. An underlying assumption has been that these differences preclude a comprehensive approach to human rights.

One might argue that these differences are beneficial—that the NGO community dealing with human rights is characterized by a healthy pluralism, where differences result in critical appraisal, and then effective reform of human rights activity. This argument would require: 1) that the differences facilitate a constructive division of labor between NGOs; and 2) that new activity be fostered which would remedy gaps in human rights work.

The structure of this chapter is sketched in Figure 7. There are some factors which generally facilitate the two requirements identified above. Other factors generally deter rights NGOs from engaging in such cooperative endeavors.

I. The Goal: Cooperative NGO Human Rights Activity. Most NGOs' representatives express allegiance to both components of this goal. Given that each group is limited in size and
A. Facilitating Factors (+) B. Frustrating Factors \(\rightarrow\) C. Goal: NGO Cooperation

1. Events
   1. Resources
      1. Constructive division of labor

2. Issues
   2. Ideology
      2. Fostering of new rights activity

3. Leadership
   a. individual
   b. organizational
      a. "Family Planning"
      b. the "generation gap"

4. IGO Activity
   4. Social and Cultural cleavages
      a. language
      b. structure
      c. situation

5. Location
   5. Political cleavages
      a. constituency pressures
      b. interpersonal conflict

Figure 7
Probing Human Rights Cooperation:
An Exploratory Model
influence and a common purpose with other groups is generally perceived, cooperation is desired (especially in the abstract).

While both components might be achieved through a new superorganization, this need not be. Cooperation denotes a working toward the same end, purpose, or effect, which might be accomplished through an informal clearinghouse, or a variety of ad hoc arrangements. Following the arguments of Downs and Arbib, this allows for instances where decentralization, rather than centralization would facilitate cooperation of human rights groups.

The NGO community is too often perceived as a monolith. These items describe typical new developments of rights activity:

"Delegates from the United States, Eastern and Western Europe, India, and Pakistan...attended a committee on war crimes at the Second International Romany Congress. The Congress...convened with a view to ending harrassment of and discrimination against the world's gypsies, estimated to number 10 million, and winning full civil rights for them wherever they live."3

"With assistance from the American Council for Judaism Philanthropic Fund, the International Rescue Committee provided financial aid and counseling services for about 1,000 of the Russian refugees in Western Europe."4

Rights activity includes informal, ad hoc cooperation by a wide range of NGOs. It is a telling sign of the NGOs' success that human rights is a concern not only of groups with "human rights" on their letterheads, but also of a wide range of groups seeking to provide basic services to
human beings.

Where cooperation exists (and there are many instances where NGOs constructively devise strategies in the light of others' efforts and where NGOs facilitate new, needed activity) reference to a human rights social movement may be useful. Factors which condition the movement's nature and existence are identifiable.

II. Factors Frustrating and Facilitating Cooperation Within the Human Rights Movement. By taking into account the factors in the lefthand columns of Figure 7, one can better understand the nature and structure of human rights activity. These factors can be viewed as independent variables, determining the likelihood of an NGO's participation in a constructive division of labor or undertaking new human rights activity.

Variable clusters are discussed here because any detailing of specific single variables must be very tentative (or very trivial) at this stage. They are discussed descriptively because each gives insight into only a few NGO cases; detailed quantitative discussion would therefore be misleading. The clusters explain the conditions under which cooperative activity can be expected; they do not reveal the causes of the current "faddishness" of human rights. Such causes can only be considered following a systematic examination of comparative civilizations, history and human nature.
Under specified conditions, each cluster could facilitate or frustrate cooperation among NGOs and activists. In Figure 7 and in the following discussion, five facilitative and five moderating clusters are suggested:

A. Facilitative Clusters. These clusters are frequently interrelated. For example, Amnesty International has become an organizational center of human rights activity (3) large due to its participation in issue-oriented coalitions (2) such as the Campaign against Torture, to its U.N. involvement, e.g., through the Committee of Non-governmental Organizations (CONGO) in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (4), and to the contacts made possible by its London location (5).

1. Events. Human rights activists are often reactive. Rights groups' cooperation (as is often true for other kinds of groups) has reached greater heights when catalyzed by crisis events. The U.S. civil rights groups had their Selmas; the human rights groups have their World War IIs, their Vietnams, and their Chiles. Positive events may have an impact, too. The initial, but still unfulfilled promises of the Green Revolution and the Peaceful Atom intensified activity to realize social and economic rights. Events may bring new people and new organizations into the human rights movement; they may also transform the nature of existing organizations' activity.
Small and large NGOs using a human rights vocabulary have been created in response to events. In 1586, European wars motivated Camille de Lellis and a few followers to dedicate themselves to God by healing the sick and wounded. De Lellis was a predecessor to Henry Dunant, who in 1859 organized relief for the wounded at Soliferno following a clash between the French and Sardinian armies. World War II evidenced the birth or regeneration of several groups with human rights orientation—the International Federation of Resistant is one of many examples.

The number of human rights groups dealing with specific cases has mushroomed in recent years. There have been groups dealing with Vietnam (Clergy and Laity Concerned about Vietnam in the United States), about Czechoslovakia's Charter 77 (The International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Czechoslovakia, in Paris), about apartheid (London's Anti-Apartheid Movement), about Chile (the Peace Committee/Vicariate of Solidarity and the International Commission of Enquiry on the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile), and about Israel's detainment of Americans for political offenses (the National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail and the National Committee for the Freedom of Terre Fleener).

Events may also warrant an extension of NGO human rights activities. They may influence a group previously unconcerned with human rights to become active. The mass
detention of Chilean parliamentarians was responsible for the Inter-Parliamentary Union's initiation of procedures to protest members' imprisonment. Twelve of the NGO representatives interviewed considered the U.S. intervention and subsequent repression in Chile a trendsetter for human rights activity. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation's first tribunal was occasioned by American war crimes in Vietnam.9

A common, usually unnoticed form of cooperation links existing organizations together for single purposes. Relief agencies established common procedures in promoting human rights during and following the Nigerian Civil War, the Guatemalan earthquake, and the drought in the Sahel. At the fourth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, an ad hoc coalition of national NGOs lobbied on behalf of the "Group of 77."10

Many observers have noted the growing interdependence of peoples.11 This, combined with the intensification of conflicts aimed at realization of human rights, indicates that catalytic events will occur with increasing frequency. In the process, more and more people and interests will be drawn into the human rights movement.

2. Issues. Many of the organizational efforts discussed above began with an event-related concern which developed into an issue concern. Henry Dunant's efforts produced a general worldwide relief effort: today's Red
Cross movement. The International Federation of Resistant
now deals with general human rights issues such as disarm-
ament. Clergy and Laity are concerned now with human rights
issues worldwide, not just in Vietnam. There have been
important new issue-related organizations and conferences.
An International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women was held
in Brussels. The International Indian Treaty Council deals
with rights of indigenous peoples in the Americas. A
United Nations NGO Conference was also convened on these
rights. Developments in the United States and in the
Middle East have facilitated the creation of a Palestine
Human Rights Campaign.

Perhaps of greatest interest are the new cooperative
arrangements to discuss salient issues. Groups ranging
from the World Scout Bureau to the World Federation of
Democratic Youth to the International Youth and Student
Movement for the United Nations participate in the Geneva
Informal Meeting. The GIM produced a document on youth
unemployment following a 1976 conference. Three of its
members, ISMUN, the World Student Christian Federation and
World University Service, cooperated to produce an analysis
of human rights in Uganda.

In 1972 five of the major relief agencies created a
new informal organization in Geneva known as the Steering
Committee. The Steering Committee, through its members:
OXFAM, Catholic Relief Services, the World Council of
Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, and the League of Red Cross Societies, has had an important information-exchange and coordinating role. Organizations focusing on civil and political rights have organized cooperation on an ad hoc basis. The International Commission of Jurists and International Association of Democratic Lawyers participated in a conference on human rights in a one-party state.

The beginnings of cooperation on the rights of journalists are evident between two groups which once were bitter adversaries: the International Federation of Journalists and the International Organization of Journalists. Increasingly, issues are identified which necessitate new forms of cooperation.

In sum, when concrete issues emerge, existing social movements may adapt to deal with them. Where these issues could conceivably be analyzed using a human rights vocabulary, new organizations have been created, old ones have shifted their efforts, or coalitions have been formed within the human rights movement. The growing awareness of population crises, food crises, and threats to democracy ensure that the future will have its share of salient issues, too.

Again, to look for visible issue-oriented structures is to miss much if not most human rights cooperation. Grand coalitions are unwieldy; instead there is a dense
web of invisible or slightly visible links which spring up continually to tackle new problems. Before major meetings take place people from organizations meet to renew friendships and to establish common ground. Small groups organize the human rights movement's policies before the public meetings take place.

3. **Personal and Organizational Leadership.** Presence of major cooperation between rights groups can be attributed easily to specific, very active organizations; less so to key individuals.

A. **People.** Individual leaders are easily identifiable in the civil rights movement. Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi are internationally known. Probably only a small fraction of those recognizing King and Gandhi could name the organizations which each represented. Today a very few people could name the Secretary-General (or any official) of Nobel-Prize winner Amnesty International.

In the interviews with NGO representatives, the most mentioned people were either from the most mentioned organizations or had leadership roles in coalitions or conferences such as CONGO. Ennals and MacDermot, as secretaries-general of Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists, respectively, were the most frequently mentioned. Baldwin and MacBride, as past leaders and continuing activists in the human rights movement were mentioned by several people. Ballantyne, Secretary-General
of WILPF, is the current chairperson of the Committee of Nongovernmental Organizations in Consultative Status with ECOSOC; Leah Levin with the driving force behind the United Kingdom's Human Rights Network. Her case was an exceptional one in that the success of the human rights movement in London was in part attributed to her leadership, rather than her formal role (within the British UNA).

Usually, the human rights movement's successes have stemmed from the fusion of strong individual leadership with consistent organizational support. The creation of Campaign Human Rights '78 began with an Argentine architect, Adolfo Perez Esquivel. The "worldwide" Campaign took root, however, primarily where existing organizations could put in the necessary effort. By November of 1977, the evidences of activity were centered in Europe. Even within Europe concrete outputs came from the coordinators—the International Fellowship on Reconciliation and Austrian church groups.

Symbols are very necessary for human rights cooperation. They are insufficient to the extent that substantive leadership is perceived as absent. This is the problem for a proclaimed governmental leader of the human rights movement, the U.S. President, Jimmy Carter. All NGO representatives interviewed were asked (not necessarily in these exact words): How is the human rights situation now different from when (you joined your organization/your organization was
created)? (See Appendix C.) Over half of the respondents (32) perceived some Carter influence in answer to this or other questions. American NGO representatives were more likely to mention Carter than were Europeans; most Americans felt Carter's influence was a positive one, while Europeans were either moderately sympathetic or hostile. (An exception, a strongly supportive Geneva NGO representative, based her stance on Carter's human rights policy of withdrawal from the International Labor Organization!)

(NOTE: The results may simply reflect the time of the interviews. Americans were interviewed in September, when the Administration was still using strong human rights rhetoric; Europeans were interviewed in October and November, when the U.S. withdrawal from the ILO was announced.) The human rights policy of Jimmy Carter is best considered not as the decisive force behind the human rights movement, but as one influence which has significantly facilitated some groups' efforts to mobilize people on human rights issues. Many of these groups have strengths which help explain the promise and success of the human rights movement.

b. Organizations. Even with compelling issues, catalytic events, and strong leaders, an organizational base is necessary for the development of an international social movement. The activities of the two largest and most active human rights groups has led them to be characterized as movements unto themselves. For some people,
human rights is synonymous with two groups covering only a very small range of human rights: the Red Cross and Amnesty International.

The "Red Cross Movement" is in fact many organizations. The League of Red Cross Societies is an amalgam of national NGOs offering domestic relief. The International Committee of the Red Cross is composed of Swiss nationals who act as "neutral" intermediaries to provide assistance to prisoners of war and conscience. Together with the States Parties to the Geneva Conventions, these groups form the "Red Cross Parliament," the International Conference of the Red Cross. The scope of Red Cross human rights work is enormous. In 1976, the first year in which visits to political prisoners exceeded visits to prisoners of war and civilian internees, there were 9,300 political prisoners visited by the ICRC, compared to 1,192 prisoners of war, and 3,400 civilian internees. What we have, then, is an NGO-created movement within the human rights movement. It affects the ultimate nature of the total movement in unique ways: by working within, rather than counteracting the constraints posed by governments. Its net effect is reinforcement of the nation-state system.

Amnesty International is another organization which deals with only a small fraction of the rights specified in the Universal Declaration, but has served to structure and develop the human rights movement. From its appearance
in "Doonesbury" to its award of the Nobel Prize, AI has the image of a lone nongovernmental crusader for human rights. While two NGO representatives interviewed (not AI's) felt that there was not enough human rights activity other than AI's to be worthy of study, Amnesty representatives have found and drawn in many small and large groups. Thus the International Federation of Journalists acts in behalf of one AI imprisoned journalist each month. The Union of Arab Lawyers declared 1977 as Prisoner of Conscience Year, and distributed AI Prisoner of Conscience Year petitions to all the Arab bar associations. The 1973 AI torture conference brought sixty-eight other NGO participants, among them the International Brain Research Organization, the International Federation of Senior Police Officers, and Postal, Telephone, and Telegraph International.

c. The future. Great leaders should not be expected. Nevertheless, there are important roles for new and existing groups to play. The imaginative way in which Amnesty International and the International Committee of the Red Cross have assumed new roles and new natures is encouraging evidence. In the process they have added to the human rights movement groups which would not be logical candidates for human rights activism.

4. International Governmental Organizations. Many NGO representatives felt that they were the voices closest
to the people, in contrast to governments. Nevertheless, it is international governmental organizations which provide the arenas in which NGO activity and a human rights social movement are possible. The most important facilitator of NGO contact is an IGO which many of them consider too political, to unwieldy, and too weak: the United Nations.

a. The United Nations has at different times encouraged and frustrated NGO participation in its different organs. Of special concern here are two U.N. bodies with special concern for human rights: the Economic and Social Council and the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The Committee of Nongovernmental Organizations in Consultative Status with ECOSOC (CONGO) meets in Geneva and New York. One set of officers is elected: if the President is Geneva-based, the Vice-president is to be New York-based, and vice-versa. The Geneva CONGO meets three or four times a year; New York's slightly more often. (New York's sometimes involves groups lacking consultative status, but registered with the Office of Public Information.)\(^\text{25}\) CONGO has a Subcommittee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid, and Decolonization, which was established by the Special NGO Committee on Human Rights in 1973. The Subcommittee has held four conferences at which NGOs could address themselves in detail to particular problems. The most recent, on discrimination against
indigenous populations in the Americas, brought together representatives of thirty-eight international NGOs, including the International Federation for the Blind and the International Union for Conservation and Resources, and eight national NGOs, including the Save the Children Federation.26

The Special Committee on Human Rights is a prime arena for interorganization communication. The small NGOs (most human rights NGOs have staffs of less than five) cannot afford to engage in extensive travel to gather support and information from other groups. Most of the representatives of organizations having consultative status interviewed suggested that CONGO activities were a key part of their outside contacts.

The other variable clusters affecting the nature of the human rights movement are affected by U.N. activities, too: groups interested in selected events or issues, must, in light of limited resources, schedule joint efforts at a time when all interested parties can meet. Often the only suitable time is when the parties are attending U.N. meetings in Geneva or New York.

UNESCO has a Non-Governmental Organizations Standing Committee in Paris. As with ECOSOC, NOGs at UNESCO may play an important advisory role. For example, at the 19th General Conference of UNESCO, Amnesty International's Head of Research circulated a statement on disappeared persons
in Chile as it relates to the general human rights situation.  

b. **Other IGOs** attract fewer NGO representatives and consume less of their time. The Council of Europe has certain additional organizations with Consultative Status, such as the International Commission against Concentration Camp Practices. The Council's Human Rights Directorate cooperated with Amnesty International in organizing the International Seminar on "Torture and Human Rights." The European arena was also the one at which NGOs, notably War Resisters International and Service Civil International, were able to organize to prompt the Council of Europe's recognition of a right to conscientious objection. Some organizations have played a role in bringing cases before the Organization of the American States.  

c. The future of IGO ties is mixed. The richest and most powerful United Nations member has indicated disillusionment; many of its NGOs have, too. Nevertheless, while effective action through IGOs may become more and more difficult, its role as an arena for discussion is likely to continue. With new conflicts and crises, and with a desire of the developing world for international solidarity, IGOs will presumably have a future role in bringing people to the point where final solutions can be reached through ad hoc channels. And despite the sometimes intimidating U.N. reviews of NGOs, in which the NGOs must justify their
relevance to U.N. activities,\textsuperscript{30} IGOs will continue to offer prime platforms for members of the human rights movement.

5. Location. NGO representatives sometimes felt that their locations were particularly good or bad for human rights. Interest is low in some areas, and others may lack the conditions under which interest is transformed into a social movement. Certainly it is not coincidence that American coalitions or conferences of NGOs are concentrated in New York and Washington, D.C. There are important differences, however, between national centers. Participation in London's Human Rights Network of seventy-eight organizations' representatives is a truly remarkable achievement.\textsuperscript{31} Groups involved range from Amnesty International to the British Association of Settlements, to the Josephine Butler Society to Tapol. In remarkable contrast, Paris NGOs' representatives had to strain to suggest names of more than three other NGOs with which they had sponsored activities or which would be of interest in understanding French human rights groups. Two Parisian NGO representatives made the simplistic, but nevertheless insightful, suggestion that the French national character was to blame; they perceived themselves to be lone crusaders rather than part of a social movement. The concentration of human rights organizations clusters in a few metropolitan areas suggests that there are differences in perceived links
to humankind; the variance might be attributed to past colonialist policies, the economic base, and migration patterns, as well as to national character.

Increases or decreases in the salience of this variable cluster are hard to detect. Changes associated with development successes may make some areas amenable to human rights activity. There are also some indications that new centers of political, economic, and humanitarian activity are emerging; this would enable the human rights movement to broaden its base.

B. Variable clusters which may moderate further development of the global human rights movement. We have a global human rights movement only in a narrow sense: there are some human rights activities everywhere. Not all of the facilitative variables pertain in all contexts. Human rights activity is characterized by new growth and success; some old gaps and constraints remain, however. Some of the constraints pose a severe challenge to the movement; their weakening effect may allow opposing forces to legitimize their conquests. Parts of the Human Rights Movement remain concerned with the rhetoric of "human rights" without practicing its substance.

1. Resources. Rights violators support themselves through taxation, exploitation of workers, and conquest. There are few sources to which human rights groups can turn which have not already been overtaxed or exploited. Many
accept aid from acknowledged rights offenders. Others survive on shoestring budgets and volunteer labor. While all proclaim their neutrality and independence, certain major contributors are easily identifiable.

The dispute over whether the human rights movement is beholden to governmental contributors is too complex to solve here. Government contributions have ranged in nature from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's subsidies of the International Association for Cultural Freedom to the Aborigines Protection Society's acceptance of Brazilian funds for an investigation of Indians' living conditions in the Amazon basin to the International Commission of Jurists' acceptance of grants from several governments to the International Rescue Committee's contracting with the State Department in its resettlement of Vietnamese and other refugees. The "2nd world" NGOs, such as the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Trade Unions have even more elaborate governmental resource ties. Government funds can be used to fund very worthwhile projects; they can also ensure that inequalities within the international system persist in influence on humanitarian policies. The constraint can be minimized where aid is received from a number of governments of different types. It cannot be eliminated as long as most groups lack the good press and wide public image that has permitted Amnesty International to remain totally
independent of governments.

Another major source of funds is private foundations. The Ford Foundation has made major contributions. It supported the IACF ($313,500) in its final year. It sponsored the New York Conference of NGOs led by self-proclaimed "Centrists" such as Bayard Rustin and Theodore Jacquendy. Many new grants to human rights organizations were made in 1977. These included $155,000 to the American Association for the ICJ; $100,000 for the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law's South Africa Project; $185,000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross; $75,000 to the Minority Rights Group; and $176,000 to the American Society of International Law. The Anti-Slavery Society (London)'s 11,000 Pound 1975-1976 budget included contributions from thirteen charitable foundations and trusts. Since human rights groups are, for the most part, small operations, foundation grants such as these constitute a large part of their support. Most foundations' grants come in smaller amounts.

Despite government, foundation, and general public sources of aid, many groups have major financial problems. The International Association for Cultural Freedom was a late 1977 casualty. Small groups with financially dependent constituencies, such as the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations face major difficulty even in paying the $100 cost of membership in CONGO. Some NGO
representatives interviewed were especially concerned that what funds they had were very "soft" money— if the contemporary concern for human rights is merely a fad, the money will go elsewhere when the fad passes.

Coalitions are hard hit; groups on tight budgets cannot assume responsibilities beyond their own organizations. The International Council of Voluntary Agencies has had to make severe cutbacks: it is smaller today than in 1966; it would require 24.5% more resources to maintain the services provided in 1970; at the same time it has been confronted with ever-greater demands. "Only a razor-thin line now separates the ICVA that has matured over the past decade from a degree of attenuation rendering it virtually inoperative."38 The Geneva Informal Meeting (a coalition of youth organizations) has been unable to truly represent the world's youth, since costs of bringing in non-European youth NGO representatives are prohibitive; there are also major problems to be confronted if GIM is to maintain a programmatic orientation.39

Resource constraints are likely to continue to affect the nature of the human rights movement. Availability of funds seems at least a partial determinant of the current emphasis on civil and political rights by NGOs. Resource factors are closely related to the social variable cluster (B4 below): the wealthiest foundations and governments are likely to view human rights through Western mindsets.
Global redistribution and development of resources may be necessary for ideal development of a global human rights movement.

2. **Ideology.** While most organizations using the human rights vocabulary proclaim their "neutrality," independence, non-political character, objectivity, and impartiality, there are noticeable differences in their policies. There have been evidences of cleavage between Western and socialist organizations, and between both groups and the developing world. Even within organizations, there are often major differences in chapters.

Since many rights organizations are in fact leagues or coalitions, it is inevitable that there will be differences of perspective. The International League for Human Rights, for example, contains both the strongly Zionist American Jewish Committee and the Swiss League for Human Rights, which recently released a report very critical of Israel's treatment of the Palestinians. The strongly anti-Zionist Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights was also once an ILHR member. Within groups like Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists, there are noticeable differences between national chapters. A *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent attributed an AI "softness" on Israeli repression to pressure generated by the U.S. chapter after the 1975 AI mission to Israeli-occupied territories and Syria. Groups with strong
representation in both West and East, such as the World Federation of United Nations Associations, the World Council of Churches, and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers have had to cope with or resolve major differences in members' perspectives.

Differences between organizations in the human rights movement are even greater. Freedom House, known mainly for its Comparative Survey of Freedom, advocates a "Western concept of freedom." The World Confederation of Labour vigorously defends the merits of its independent approach, in contrast to the capitalist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and socialist World Federation of Trade Unions. The socialist International Association of Democratic Lawyers once issued a pamphlet accusing the World Peace through Law movement (which includes the NGO WPTL Center) of a reactionary cold war strategy. In combination with suspicions about U.S. President Carter's human rights policies, the possibility of there being not one human rights movement, but several—and these engaged in "Cold Wars"—should not be dismissed lightly.

ECOSOC's CONGO contains an interesting division. Representatives familiar with both the New York and Geneva groups detected a split: the Geneva CONGO was said to be slightly more progressive or leftist. Both groups are open to the same organizations, but location, resource, and other factors determine which NGOs are most active, and which send
representatives. Since the NGO community was initially virtually all Western, and remains predominantly so, the non-Western groups' entry has concentrated on Geneva—for most, a shorter distance than New York. One Western NGO's Secretary-General, even suggested a "danger" of a socialist takeover of the Geneva CONGO.

There have been spinoffs from NGO division. The Lagos' Conferences organizers' decision to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization, but not the World Jewish Congress to participate induced Israeli government non-participation. Some of the U.S. Administration's favorite dissidents are Soviet members of the NGO Helsinki Monitoring Group or Amnesty International. The likelihood is that such divisions will abate, however. As mentioned earlier, Western and socialist journalists' organizations have begun cooperation. Some of the strongest "Cold Warrior" organizations of the 1950s and 1960s have since been overshadowed by more sophisticated approaches of groups such as Amnesty International. (The disappearance of the International Association for Cultural Freedom is a case in point, as is the sizeable decline in the size of the Assembly of Captive European Nations.) And there are some surprising coalitions within CONGO: The World Scout Bureau's representative mentioned a broad-based effort by NGOs to persuade the Swiss government to permit the socialist World Peace Council's establishment of a Geneva office.
3. Atrophy: Generational Cleavage. To think of the human rights movement as an organism is insightful. Perception of a need for guided development has led some NGO representatives to advocate planning within the human rights family. Perception of the organism's past development has led some groups to perceive a "generation gap" between old and new NGOs' goals, tactics, and strategies.

a. Family Planning. Some human rights problems have been attributed to the existence of bigger, more structured, and more technocratic means of decision-making. If human rights NGOs are to remain part of the solution rather than part of the problem, therefore, they must not succumb to the vices of excessive size. This was a logic shared by representatives of small and large NGOs. It is reflected in organizations' practices. The International Commission of Jurists, for example, is headquartered in a large house away from the United Nations offices in Geneva. The Amnesty International, which now has a staff of over one hundred, has not used its success to expand the organization's mandate. Their stance is that more work in other areas is very necessary but can best be handled by other organizations which can develop new expertise.

A desire to minimize hierarchy and to avoid creation of large bureaucracies dampens the willingness of many NGOs to join new leagues, coalitions, campaigns, and superorganizations. Groups like the Anti-Slavery Society have thus
opted for a "sister societies" (in France, Denmark, and Norway) approach, rather than binding each country's to the United Kingdom Group.

b. A Generation Gap. Neither President Carter nor Amnesty International invented human rights. The Anti-Slavery Society, the Red Cross, the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom and many other NGOs have long traditions of work on human rights issues. Several NGO representatives suggested that these groups' activities differ significantly in character from those of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy, and the Chilean Peace Committee/Vicariate of Solidarity.48 The older groups, as was the case with NGOs generally, represent liberalism and liberal democratic societies predominantly. In many cases they are idealist (not intended perjoratively) and oriented toward the rule of law. New groups, many of them the "offspring" of rights violations in Vietnam and Chile, are more consciously political groups, and may act to pressure policymakers. In part, the change resembles that of the social sciences: from a value-oriented "Utopianism" (through an attempt at value-free "realism") to the contemporary concern for policy relevance. A parallel challenge could be offered to the new human rights groups as to contemporary social scientists: in the drive for policy relevance and political activism, are we losing many of the ideals of liberty, freedom, and human rights?
c. Likely Effect on "The Movement." If successful, current "family planning" efforts will facilitate, rather than frustrate the human rights movement. Decentralization of decision-making may be part of a future order which respects human rights. It is more difficult to foretell the nature of future generations: the persistence of social, cultural, and economic conflicts would seem, though, to forebode better for the new generation of activist groups.

4. Social and Cultural Cleavages. In several places above the Western dominance of the human rights movement has been mentioned. There are three important respects in which this dominance has served to moderate comprehensive development of a global human rights movement:

a. Linguistic Domination. Differentiation as to language is evident in international governmental organizations, in national governmental politics, and in education. While human rights organizations attempt to get closer to the people than governments, they do so in a limited number of languages. By and large the NGOs follow the international governmental norm of conducting meetings in English and French; their publications follow suit. In the course of the three dozen interviews with Continental NGO representatives, the author's handicap of limitation to the English language posed a problem only once. Where NGOs do have subgroups in many countries, but all communication is in a single European language, there is a consequence for
NGO participation: the non-European countries will be pressured in one more way to select representatives from the elite, especially members educated in European countries.

Some encouraging developments are evident. To the extent that NGOs are interested in maintaining a decentralized structure, linguistic communities can hold their own regional conferences. And important strides have been made by some NGOs to broaden the base of languages used. Amnesty International has established a publications service in Asia, and has moved to increase use of Spanish, Arabic, and Farsi.\(^50\) The Belgian Human Rights League has attempted to recruit Flemish members to counteract French-Belgians' domination. In 1976 the League had 646 French and 288 Flemish members, versus 737 and 104 respectively in 1970.\(^51\)

b. \textbf{Structural Domination.} Intertwined with the Anglo-Saxon linguistic domination is the tendency of the human rights movement, and especially its NGOs to center around Northern centers of the international system. That the sample used for writing this paper is not unrepresentative of NGO human rights activity indicates an extreme Western bias. Human rights groups mirror the structure of the NGO world as a whole; in the NGO world over half are located in the Northwest (North America, Western Europe, Australia, Cyprus, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, and South Africa). The Northwest has over five-sixths of the headquarters.\(^52\) Groups like WFUNA are exceptional in their strong attempts
to gain worldwide membership; WFUNA is nonetheless limited to 11 African and 6 Latin American members.\textsuperscript{53}

Change in the structure is contingent on development of new forms of participation. Where existing groups face or foresee resource constraints (as most do) little effort toward expansion will be made. There are some reasons for hope nevertheless. The World Confederation of Labor's platform is designed to encourage third world participation.\textsuperscript{54} The International Commission of Jurists and International Association of Democratic Lawyers' interest in human rights in one-party states offers another potential opening for the developing world.\textsuperscript{55}

c. \textit{Situational Domination.} Combined with the preceding two factors is a tendency of NGO human rights efforts to proceed in an insulated and isolated atmosphere. Important parts of the human rights movement inhabit the world's most expensive cities on $60/day expense accounts. An International Indian Treaty Council member complained of the National Congress of American Indians:

"If they were struggling it was not apparent. Content they were. Yes, there were the complaints against U.S. bad faith, corporate exploitation, and growing vigilantism. There was the demand for Indian rights. But somehow the voices did not ring clear and true there in the Hilton...There was no community...There were no children (except my husband's). The delegates slept in plush hotel rooms, and socialized in the bar. Sincere Indian people were there, too, many local Pueblo leaders, some seeming as uncomfortable as ourselves in that atmosphere. What we heard was rhetoric instantly contradicted by that atmosphere."\textsuperscript{56}
This is a minority criticism in the human rights movement, but certainly one that bears attention. The Secretary-General of the International Alliance of Women, a group with strong concerns for economic and social rights and solid third world participation (including the Secretary-General), attributed some of the group's financial difficulties to their emphasis on small, practical, labor-intensive projects. In general, efforts to extend beyond elites, to the masses in all the world's countries may need to ensure that the settings will be conducive to empathy with the universal human condition.

5. Political Cleavages. The delight of political scientists in exposing the conflicts within movements proclaiming themselves to be "nonpolitical" is easily attained from a study of human rights NGOs. They do have distinct, identifiable constituencies, and they do have individual members who play elaborate games in their search for power.

a. Constituency Pressures. Part of the success of the human rights movement might be attributed to the large number of active NGOs designed to protect the welfare of one part of the population: the blind, police officers, veterans, unionists, journalists, parliamentarians, students, and so on. Supporters of the Sullivan statement might even add General Motors. These groups generally begin their involvement with support of their members' human
rights. The Inter-Parliamentary Union's Special Committee is on Violations of the Human Rights of Parliamentarians. The International Confederation of Free Trade Union's defense of all civic freedoms is justified "for where they do not exist, trade union rights cannot exist either." The World Federation of Trade Unions links trade union rights to the elimination of capitalism and fascism. At present the overlapping interest of many groups permits use of a common human rights vocabulary. Purposes of a large part of what has become the human rights movement conflict to a degree that constituencies may not permit common action.

For many NGOs, non-Western and Western, the government is a de facto constituency. In the United States, human rights groups may lose their tax exemptions if they fail to conform to explicit guidelines; in some other countries groups may lose their independence and members may lose their lives if they fail to conform to implicit, explicit, and arbitrary ones.

Recognizing the existence of diverse constituencies dictates an emphasis on special-purpose, minimally ideological cooperation. Amnesty International has important programs here: involving women's groups on behalf of women in prison, journalists' groups on behalf of imprisoned journalists, and unions on behalf of imprisoned unionists, while also allowing participation in conferences on specific
problem, such as torture.

To recognize the politics of voluntary development agencies can have payoffs too. A first world development NGO's constituency differs considerably from a truly Third World one, producing a divergence of perspective:

"We are divided by a(n)...insidious glass curtain. It is this barrier that divides the haves and the havenotes. What we see through this glass curtain bothers our Christian conscience. But what our cellmates see on our prison-earth is a whole new world of which they are not a part, and they want it." In this context, a drive for a uniform, comprehensive, global human rights movement is moderated.


This part of the variable cluster is included on the basis of comments made in fourteen interviews. Personal quibbling between NGO representatives was more evident (or respondents were more straightforward about it) in some cities than in others. Ideological divergence would explain some, but not all of the interpersonal conflict. "Primadonnas" were cited as a constraint on cooperative human rights activities in London; there was shared (by three organizations' representatives) agreement on who one of the primadonnas was. Since NGOs can be ignored by their compatriots easier than powerful governments, this need not be a prohibitive constraint. It is nevertheless a nuisance which is much on the minds of NGO officials.
Perhaps linked to interpersonal differences were conflicts in credit-claiming. Different groups in the same city would claim credit for the same specific act (an IGO's passage of a favorable resolution or a government's release of a political prisoner) without mentioning the other group's involvement. (This practically means little more than that NGOs are composed of human beings; when they wear humanitarian "hats," they are not purged of their fallibility.)

**Summing Up the Variable Clusters.** It is worth reiterating that the clusters function collectively. During some events or on some issues the moderating clusters are more or less powerful than on others. Resource problems can be alleviated by a strong leader who can persuade the NGO's constituency that human rights activity is in its interest. The clusters help explain why the human rights movement looks the way it does: certainly a significant force, but unevenly distributed over the globe. While some responsible factors, such as human nature and a diversity of interests may be immutable, others bode well for creation of a complex but informal interaction web further developing the human rights movement.

**IV. Conclusion.** Too often, discussion of human rights has been uni-dimensional. To see human rights only on a dimension of nature, of law, or of morality is to take a limited, and often destructive approach. At a minimum, a
temporal dimension (since the meaning of "human rights" changes across time), a cultural dimension (since many previous analyses of "universal" human rights have been premised on Western shibboleths), and a political dimension (since human rights is an active, not a passive condition) must be added. An added sensitivity to human rights and to major actors seeking the realization of rights can only aid in the struggle, whether it be through law, through lobbying, or through public dialogue.
NOTES


28. Ibid.


48. Marguerite Garling of Writers and Scholars International was the one who explained this division most coherently.


54. Kulakowski, loc. cit.


CONCLUSION

Some tendencies of human rights NGOs were introduced in Chapter One. The NGO sketches in Chapter Two described a wide variety of human rights activity. NGOs have developed different paths and destinations for human rights implementation. Chapters Three and Four examined choices common to all NGOs with human rights activity: their choices of scope and tactics (which mean that they favor some values over others) and their chosen tools for assessing the status of human rights in the world (which differ as a result). Chapter Five dealt with the extent to which such differences might indicate the success of overall human rights activity (to which a constructive division of labor was evident or universal activity was fostered).

The tendencies outlined in Chapter One will be reviewed in the light of Chapters Two through Five. These tendencies are best considered as general threads woven through specific facets of NGO human rights activity. (These tendencies often coexist. Thus an NGO supported by the CIA or by the Soviet government might reinforce its benefactor's policies. It might be motivated by a desire to promote liberal values of liberty and individualism or socialist values of economic security and collectivism;
it might, though, be motivated solely by anti-Sovietism or anti-Americanism. This would, in either case, reflect dominance of a white, male elite. It would imply particular choices of rights issues and tactics, and would exclude some possible assessments of rights violations. Obstacles to a constructive division of labor with other rights NGOs are evident.) This review has implications for human rights NGOs, and for those who study them.

I. The NGOs and National Governments. Groups studied were by definition nongovernmental, but they provided instances of all four types of reinforcement identified in Chapter One.

Direct manipulation has been used to describe the relation between several Western groups (e.g., the International Student Conference, American Association for the International Commission of Jurists, and American Institute for Free Labor Development in the 1960s) and the U.S. CIA, and the relation between several socialist groups (e.g., the World Federation of Trade Unions, Christian Peace Conference, and World Peace Council) and the Soviet Union. In both cases this description may be misleading.

CIA funding was criticized by U.S. conservatives for NOT directly aiding or abetting the U.S. national interest. The groups receiving its funds then had, and continue to have, a variety of programs, some of which are critical of U.S. policy. Further, even in blatant cases of CIA support, such NGO leaders as Gloria Steinem perceived themselves to
be in command.¹

Similarly, the WFTU, IUS, IOJ, IADL, WPC, and CPC are not directly manipulated by the Soviet Union. These groups' representatives are justified in referring to indigenous chapters in other countries (some with impressive memberships) as evidence of their popular appeal. Any analysis of rights NGOs must acknowledge the wide variety of peoples who have accepted such groups' conceptions of human rights.

Occasionally pervasive, but more often subtle influence better describes the relation between national governments and such groups. (The CIA appears to have decreased its role as a supporter of rights-oriented NGOs overt Ford Foundation aid filled the void in some cases⁷, but the Agency implied the continuation of involvement where non-Americans were concerned.² Aid from socialist governments for rights groups is a source of pride.) The influence which all national governments can exert on NGOs is significant. In no country are NGOs allowed independence—they are subject to surveillance, taxation, and to sometimes harsh legal regulation. NGOs can be offered rewards: usually access to information and funding, or exposure. Many national governments funds rights NGOs: the U.S. State Department finances much of the International Rescue Committee's resettlement work, Brazil's government funded investigators from the Anti-Slavery Society, and Scandinavian governments aid IUEF's refugee programs. Foundations
identified with national power centers offer additional support.

Reinforcement most frequently assumes the form of a consonance of interest. The designation of countries in Tables 7 through 15 generally refers to national chapters, often carrying out independent national human rights activities. The groups which issue protests of rights violations generally urge national governmental authorities to remedy rights violations, thus accepting rather than challenging the authorities' legitimacy.

This does not mean that rights groups act to perpetuate the status quo. Governments and other rights violators, while not responsible to NGOs, are often responsive to them. As later discussion will indicate, however, the effects vary. Organized labor has reinforced the "Cold Warriors" in the U.S. government, while some NGOs' protests may produce reaction contrary to the intended results.

**Explanation and Qualification:** In a world of powerful institutions organized nationally, national power centers are generally accepted as "givens." It is thought neither feasible nor desirable to establish an alternative—despite occasional rhetoric to the contrary. There are rare exceptions: some rights activity of the World Peace through Law Center has a supranational intent, and the Russell Tribunals seek to try national governmental officials for their crimes. While these groups possess the exceptional
ability to probe rights violations not occurring within a single country (e.g., U.S. responsibility for Latin American repression) they have generally been criticized or ignored.

II. The NGOs and Conflicting Values. Selection of rights concerns and assessment of rights in the world may differ according to the NGO's theory of rights. The liberal-individualist/collectivist dichotomy drawn in Chapter One helps distinguish groups of rights NGOs; its applicability is especially evident with respect to press and journalists' NGOs.

The liberal-individualist, in assuming individual ownership of information resources, defends the liberty of newspaper owners to publish without restraint. The writer composes what he/she chooses, and the publisher in turn is allowed to choose what will be published. Ultimately the market will protect the rights of all individuals. So too with other rights. By this view, social and economic rights, if rights at all, are gained by individuals through the market and voluntary charities, and incorporate no obligation for governments or producers. Freedom, as maintained by Freedom House, becomes a concept realized in the West, entailing protection from arbitrary government interference. The "rule of law" may be invoked to protect individual liberties. This worldview is implicit in the work of most Western NGOs.
The collectivist stresses the needs of society, thus urging true information (generally defined by national governments) and access of all to use of the media. For foreign individuals to control the media of a developing society is contrary to the people's national rights. Imperialism and colonialism, as outgrowths of unrestrained capitalism, are considered prime sources of rights violation. Charity is eschewed in favor of radical change, implemented by the masses. This worldview is implicit in the work of NGOs headquartered in the socialist bloc countries.

Explanation and Qualification: The general pattern can be explained by peoples' adherence to distinct traditions: the liberal tradition, under which individual rights are sacrosanct, emerging from the Enlightenment; and the collectivist tradition(s) influenced by Eastern Orthodoxy, Western Marxism, and third world realities. There is seldom rigid adherence to either worldview, however. Western NGOs, with a few exceptions, now tend to defend liberal freedoms as part of a broader conception of rights, including (as is now advocated by leaders of all Western governments) welfare rights. Most socialist NGOs now pursue a popular front in which anti-imperialists differ.

With some NGOs the conflict between world views is not immediately apparent. Some, such as the United Nations
Association and the Inter-Parliamentary Union, tend to "muddle through" in passing resolutions, especially where there is a coincidence of interest. Others attempt to undermine or override would-be opponents' arguments, e.g., that liberal ends are subverted by usual liberal means, or that collectivist means would better achieve these ends. Some of the Russell Peace Foundation's work analyzes liberal notions of rights in this manner. Related to this is some groups' identification of a third alternative (such as non-violent liberation) unaccounted for by either dominant worldview.

III. The NGOs, the Cold War, Zionism, and Apartheid. Some of the most zealous propagandists on issues relating to the Cold War, Zionism, and apartheid use a human rights vocabulary. It is on these issues that NGO critics allege blind spots; at the very least there are differences in vision.

"Human rights" is red-baiting by another name, or a tool with which socialists exploit the "free world." No socialist bloc country is "free" or even "partly free" according to Freedom House rankings of civil liberties and political rights; similar conclusions pervade AFL-CIO, IAPA, and WPFC statements on human rights. The Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom (which rejoiced at Allende's overthrow, though later recanted) and the Assembly of Captive European Nations are receptive to, and
active in use of the human rights vocabulary.

"Knee-jerk" NGO condemnations of U.S. imperialism are common, and some of them appear to be unjustified. The IOJ labels the ICJ, the IFJ (with which it paradoxically signs statements of solidarity and cooperation) and other Western rights groups as CIA fronts, while a single motive—imperialistic expansion—is said to underlie U.S. foreign behavior.

Zealous Zionism or anti-Zionism explains the extent of rights advocates' attention to disputes over Zionism as racism, emigration of Soviet Jewry, and Palestinian self-determination. NGO engagement in these disputes ranges from blind avoidance to almost total preoccupation. Many NGOs reacted with hostility to the United Nations decisions including Zionism as a form of racism. Among them were not only the ardently Zionist NGOs, but also the International Commission of Jurists and other groups. Many NGOs (including those headquartered in socialist bloc countries) regularly condemn Zionism as racism with each year's condemnation more strongly worded than the previous year's. Conclusions about Israeli practices differ widely, often because observers have made superficial (e.g., six hour) investigations based on their preconceptions.

Some NGOs react to the conflict by remaining aloof. They may word criticisms inconclusively—so that while other countries have "massacres and atrocities" Israel
investigates reports of alleged infractions. The International Committee of the Red Cross's guidelines prohibit recognition of the Palestinian Red Crescent or Israeli Red Shield of David Society (for want of exclusive jurisdiction over a defined territory and use of an unapproved symbol, respectively) thus satisfying neither.

Many NGOs have settled the apartheid question—often expelling their South African and Zimbabwe-Rhodesian affiliates. (Some have affiliated underground or circumscribed groups, or small Black or integrated chapters.) There is little consensus on the appropriate NGO response to apartheid.

Proponents of apartheid have found "human rights" an amenable vocabulary. An American publisher promised to do whatever he could to promote South Africa's contribution to the "free world." The South African government has even attempted to co-opt some of the interest in human rights by funding and creating rights NGOs to call attention to Black African rights violations.

Explanation and Qualification. Rights NGOs may include affiliates, such as the Board of Deputies of South African Jews, the General Union of Palestinian Students, or Cuban newswriters in exile, whose context dictates that take (or abstain from) strong positions on Cold War, apartheid, or Zionist issues. Inactivity can often be explained by a desire not to alienate key contributors and members; a
standoff may result.

Exceptions are groups whose concerns transcend these conflicts and groups which adhere closely to a well-defined mandate. The latter requires consent of the membership, which, depending on its constitution, may not be forthcoming. Because of strong opposition, groups which make careful, detailed observations (as have the Russell Tribunals) will be subjected to a barrage of criticism to make it appear that the observers are suspect.

IV. The NGOs, the Haves, and the Have-Nots. Universality characterizes the ends, but not the means of most human rights NGOs. There is a grave danger that NGO activity will become a past-time whereby dominant groups pass judgment on their perceived "inferiors." The NGOs studied here, and those admitted to consultative status with the U.N. Economic and Social Council are preponderantly from Western countries and draw virtually all of their support from those countries. This is not because of a bias in the selection process: the rapid granting of consultative status to the International Indian Treaty Council reflects a desire to maximize representation of third world peoples.

While NGOs pride themselves as being "closest to the world's people," upon examination they fare no better than national governments. Vast sections of the world are unrepresented, or represented only by a letterhead, post-office box, and overworked activist. Overlapping
memberships and token members are common; the Shah of Iran's family was active in leading many rights groups. Some professions are represented more than others; this is often justified as necessary and logical. Many general NGOs use lawyers to gauge human rights progress according to standards drawn in developed countries.

Emphasis on the "rights of man" reflects not only sloppy wording; it also attests to the priorities of most NGOs. Amnesty International is more egalitarian than most NGOs; nevertheless it has a British Secretary-General, an American legal advisor, and an Australian Research Director, all of them white males.

Explanation and Qualification. In many respects it is less the human rights NGOs which shape the world, than the world which shapes human rights NGOs. The structure of the world political economy frees few resources for groups seeking dramatic change, which leads to a reliance on those who can volunteer labor, or work at below their market value. This is compounded by the NGO search for expertise, leading to selection of those with more formal education, usually white, male Westerners.

Most NGOs have verbal commitments and programs to balance their membership and leadership. These are generally failing. The greatest consciousness of a need for radical alteration is apparent among those groups which already have input from "have-nots." Thus the International
Indian Treaty Council has an active women's component, and the International Federation of University Women has emphasized affirmative action to overcome discrimination based on race as well as sex.

V. The NGOs, the Past, the Present, and the Future. As argued throughout this study, NGO concerns, tactics, and assessments are continually changing (unavoidably). Rights NGOs are gaining participants, but even among NGOs which have existed for decades, human rights concern is growing. Pursuit of honored professions, such as government, law, and the sciences is now linked increasingly to a defense of freedom for critical inquiry. Pursuit of self-determination is seldom conceived in isolation; liberation movements (while often strongly nationalists) have a human rights bond. Several Western NGOs, initially devoted to Jewish defense, now have many general human rights concerns.

Human rights, as is declared in the title of a recently published book, is more than human rights. 3 Human rights NGOs engage in different activities than did those of years past. Changes including a broadening of issue concerns (for peace groups), changes in approach, incorporating investigative missions (for the Anti-Slavery Society), and a greater attention to problems of structure (for such aid groups as OXFAM and War on Want).

Explanation and Qualification. The good fortune of human rights NGOs is in part a reward for long hours of
hard work, but is primarily a sign of changing times. The demands of liberation movements have forced Western NGOs to attend to people's basic needs. New torture technology and an increased propensity to employ it have led to a greater realization of the interdependence of people's fates; thus protection for each group is increasingly dependent for all groups.

Some NGOs have neither learned nor grown, however. The Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom continues to publish Hemispherica and to have a renowned Board of Directors, but little observable effect or ongoing policy-relevant program. The World Peace through Law Center is strong numerically, but remains limited to conferences and resolutions for which relevance can always be claimed, but is difficult to assess. Many established groups have been forced by increasing costs (and constituents' declining support due to recession in the West) to freeze or eliminate activities.

VI. Human Rights NGOs: Summary and Prescription. While rights groups hold many truths to be self-evident, they seldom agree on what those truths are. To assume that they make independent, objective judgments based on extensive information, in a manner consistent with and reinforcing other NGO efforts is to abstract them from reality.

It bears repetition that NGOs' stances, their relation to national governments, their representatives' worldviews,
their ideological underpinning, and the requisites for their engaging in cooperative action depend critically on who controls the resources, the thought, and the media of the societies of which they are a part, i.e., human rights NGOs are part of society's superstructure. (Professed Marxists have generally been as negligent as non-Marxists in appreciating this.)

Cleavages in society, be they economic or ideological, necessarily affect human rights work. As these cleavages are aggravated or resolved, NGO human rights activity will change. Past change has included a growing but still incomplete realization that the implementation of rights in colonized lands may assume a different form than implementation in Europe and the United States. For instance, activities of liberation groups, once generally deemed anathema to human rights, are now supported by many rights NGOs.

Since NGOs are part of a conflict-ridden world, expectations that they alone will usher in a new era of justice and equality are unrealistic. They are constrained--by a lack of resources, by the magnitude of their task, and perhaps most of all, by each other.

Prescription: Many NGOs realize that greater attention to the "have-nots" is necessary, but have not made structural changes to reflect this. A greater openness to alternative ways of doing things and to alternative patterns
of representation is required. The available remedies would be viewed as undemocratic by many Western liberals. It might mean groups with strong governmental influence would be included where traditions of secular NGO political activity are absent. While this may seem a betrayal of the alleged independent nature or human rights substantive concern of NGOs, to the extent that it alleviates past dominance it would decrease other forms of dependence.

There have been partial successes, though there is no model for emulation. The International Commission of Jurists took note of developing world realities in sponsoring a seminar on Human Rights in the One-Party State; in doing so it encouraged participation from "have-not" countries. The Christian Peace Conference has experienced a steady growth of Third World participation. Even for these NGOs, however, leaders are predominantly "haves" from countries that "have."

NGOs insufficiently recognize their own malleability and vulnerability. While to list in hindsight NGO failures would be easy, it is their proclaimed achievements, too, which need to be qualified. They need to improve on past practices of preaching to the already-convinced.

Self-study is one remedy, and the Red Cross's Tansley Report provides a good model. Such a study is beyond the means of most groups, though, and it is necessary that appraisal be on-going. Great names have been attracted to
the Boards of NGOs (including the President of International Telephone and Telegraph, Senators, scholars, and public officials), but these often act as yea-sayers, or seldom act at all. The deliberate use of a devil's advocate, and tolerance of the good furtune to have an outsider who performs this role is necessary.

A constructive division of labor will inevitably suffer from the elitism of "prima donnas" and from the stubbornness of "true believers." The experiences of London's Human Rights Network and, to a lesser extent, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy and Human Rights Internet reveal some possibility of facilitating collective action. The Network is immune to many of the constraints faced by other groups, since its operation requires only use of a copying machine, access to a meeting room every third month, and NGO representatives' time. Greater contribution to such clearinghouses (and a much greater role for perspectives of developing world peoples) would facilitate not only advocacy of noble objectives, but also the formation of strategy to achieve realistic objectives, despite perceived obstacles.

VII. The Study of NGOs and Human Rights: Summary and Prescription. As the substance of human rights has changed over time, so too has its study. While rights questions were once perceived almost exclusively as questions of law, today a study of NGO activity and human rights may draw on
philosophy, sociology, behavioral political science, anthropology, and other disciplines.

As scholars' perspectives have become more comprehensive, it has become clear that a single, uniform perspective (with which others cannot be reconciled) is no longer tenable. Developments at the United Nations, in the third world, and in the U.S. and Europe reflect conflicting priorities, and strong allegiance to nonliberal as well as liberal human rights approaches. Serious study of transnational human rights activity (and of other transnational activities) requires attention to these and other approaches.

Prescription: Those who study human rights have been negligent in failing to study the motor which generates them. This lapse has produced a dearth of explanation of why there are differences within and between governmental and NGO rights approaches, though there has been some description of single NGOs and listing of NGO activity. Lissner provides one useful model in his study of voluntary development agencies; others are needed to increase understanding of "human rights" as a dynamic concept. Further development of a contextual approach to human rights would increase understanding of rights in theory and practice.

Study of human rights must probe further, and could profit from a greater measure of healthy skepticism. Summary statements about human rights (as generated by
most rights NGOs) are precisely that—and are seldom
grounded in extensive observation or a developed theoretical
perspective. Where scholars remain attentive to the ob-
stacles faced by rights NGOs they can perform a needed
function as devil's advocates. To do so will require
attention to means of communicating to NGO representatives
that some may subvert their admirable ends.

As Buergenthal and Torney note, there has been little
research on causes of NGO success. One limitation to such
research is that the dependent variable, NGO success is
unstable: respect for human rights has shared meaning for
some of the NGOs analyzed in this study, but certainly not
for all. Success or failure can be analyzed only within a
defined context, for a selected group of NGOs.

Such analysis requires a familiarity with the NGOs--of
which many are usually given short shrift. Socialist NGOs
(such as the World Peace Council and International Associa-
tion of Democratic Lawyers) merit detailed, focused study.
The traditional, third world associations are justifiably
considered distinct from Western NGOs, but then unjustifi-
ably ignored. Their potential for rights activism, and the
constraints on this potential are little understood.
Finally, detailed study of specific organizations (neces-
sarily conducted from within, over at least a one-year
period) could detail the extent to which NGO representa-
tives are held captive by the limitations discussed in
"Double-think," "Double-speak," and one-dimensional thought may become commonplace in the 1980s. Because of the prevailing cynicism, most people would expect these from government and from corporate officials. A critical analysis indicates that these may also be practiced by nongovernmental organizations in the name of human rights.

Beneficial NGO activity to implement human rights will require the active involvement of all peoples—and will therefore cause a spate of debate. A debate resulting from inclusion, rather than exclusion of the world's people is the safest guarantee that rights activities will aid those in whose name they are pursued.
NOTES


APPENDIX A

The Core Sample: NGOs and Acronyms

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGO</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
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APPENDIX B

Interviews with NGO Representatives

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<td>Center of Concern</td>
<td>Mr. P. Henriot</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>Sept. 77</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>National Council of Negro Women</td>
<td>Ms. K. Fitts</td>
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<td>Overseas Education Fund, League of Women Voters</td>
<td>Ms. J. Rosenblum</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Coalition for a New Foreign Policy - Human Rights Working Group</td>
<td>Mr. B. Rhoades</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>World Peace through Law Center</td>
<td>Mr. J. Fontane</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>National Academy of Sciences</td>
<td>Mr. J. Davenport</td>
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<td>Freedom House</td>
<td>Mr. R. Gastil</td>
<td>New York City</td>
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<td>Mr. W. Thompson</td>
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<td>Inter-Parliamentary Union</td>
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<td>Int'l Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations</td>
<td>Mr. H. Stasius</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>World Scout Bureau</td>
<td>Mr. K. Kentopp</td>
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<td>Pax Romana</td>
<td>Mr. E. Sottas</td>
<td>Fribourg</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>Amnesty International</td>
<td>Mr. N. Rodley</td>
<td>London</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>Human Rights Network</td>
<td>Mr. B. Seary</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation</td>
<td>Mr. C. Farley</td>
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APPENDIX C

I. Questions to be answered, if possible, through library research and "outer office" investigation:

A. Trends

1. Has the organization released any public statements (e.g., through its annual report) indicating that:
   a. it perceives respect for human rights to have increased/decreased?
   b. it perceives that its achievement of its goals is improving/deteriorating?
   c. it anticipates particular changes in respect for human rights in the world?
   d. it anticipates particular changes in efforts to promote respect for human rights?

B. Composition

1. Where is the organization headquartered? (Western Europe/United States/other)
2. If it has other offices, where are they located? (at IGOs/first world/second world/third world)
3. What is the nature of the organization's membership (individuals/national chapters/organizations)
4. What is the geographic distribution of individual and organizational members? (% first world/% second world/% third world/% from any one country)
5. What is the organization's size? (Number of employees; budget; % of budget from three largest contributors)
6. How long has the organization existed? How long have its present leaders been with the organization?

C. Scope

1. Are there defined geographic limitations to the organization's concern? (Hemisphere/Region/Country) Where are the limitations defined? (Charter/decision of Board of Directors/other published material)
2. Has the organization stated that it placed greater emphasis on (or has move activities in) one nation or region than others?

3. Does the organization claim to be concerned with the promotion and defence of all human rights? A group of rights? Particular rights?

4. Are the rights of any group of people an especial group concern? It is, according to its Charter or other public source, primarily concerned with protection of a professional group, of minority groups, or people with particular beliefs?

D. Networking

1. To what extent is the organization represented at international governmental organizations? (Consultative status/Full time representative) At how many IGOS is it represented?

2. Is influencing national governmental policymakers a stated purpose of the organization? Are staff members stationed in national capitals?

3. What formal links does the organization have to other NGOs?
   a. Joint petitions and protests (often/sometimes/never)
   b. Pooling of information (often/sometimes/never)
   c. Cooperative, ongoing programs, e.g., training or third world journalists (often/sometimes/never)

II. Questions to be answered, if possible, through interviews with organization officials. This list should be supplemented by efforts to clarify ambiguities from Part I.

i. Introduction. These are some questions about the kinds of things the (name of organization) does. There are also a few places where I'm interested in your hunches about human rights in the world, or in how you perceive things that other organizations are doing.

   a. When did you start with the (name of organization)? or

   b. Just what is it that you do as (name or organization) President/Executive Secretary?
A. Trends.

1. Human rights in the world: past and present
   a. What is the biggest change in the status of human rights in the world that has occurred since you have been with the (name of organization)? or
   b. What is the biggest change in the status of human rights in the world that has occurred since you have been (title/office)?

2. The Organization: past and present
   a. How has the organization changed since you've been with them? (if necessary:) Are these changes for the better?

3. Rights in the world: future
   a. What do you think are the biggest changes in the status of human rights which are occuring today? and/or
   b. Do you see rights concerns as becoming much different in the near future? How about the distant future?

4. Rights in the organization: future
   a. (only if applicable) You mentioned that your organization was moving toward (state or condition). What other changes in your functions do you anticipate? Are there desirable changes?

B. Composition

1. What is the nature of your group's presence in (country or region?) Do you have an office there? Do you have many members there?

2. a. Then you have offices and activities spread out evenly over the globe? or
   b. Then your group is primarily European and American? Has this meant anything as far as your group's choices of activities go?

C. Scope

1. Does your group do more for human rights in some countries than in others?
a. I've noticed that most of your recent publications have dealt with (writers in the U.S.S.R./torture in Uruguay/racism in the United States). Does this mean that you see this as the most important human rights problem?

b. I realize that you defend human rights around the world, but aren't there some areas that your staff is better equipped to deal with than others?

2. Do you consider any rights to be more important than others? How does your organization cope with situations in which different rights appear to be in conflict?

3. Does your group's concern extend to any and all violations of the rights you protect?
   a. (if applicable) I notice that your group is especially concerned with freedom of expression. Does your plea for the protection of free expression extend to all of the following types of interference: torture, starvation, banning, banishment, imprisonment, economic constraints, a "chilling effect"? Which ones?

D. Networking

1. International organizations
   a. I notice that the (name of organization) is represented at (IGO). How important are your activities there to your purposes?
   b. Do you have plans to become involved in any other IGOs in the near future?

   a. What efforts do you make to affect national governments' respect for human rights? How important are these efforts to your organization?

3. NGOs
   a. With which organizations are you involved in cooperative activities? Do you find cooperative activities to be more effective, less effective, or about the same as your own efforts?
   b. Do you have information which you would be willing to share with other NGOs? Are there other NGOs which you think would find this information useful, but haven't expressed an interest in it?
c. Which other NGOs have purposes similar to the (name of organization)'s?

d. Are there other NGOs which have aims running counter to yours? Are there any with activities that run counter to yours?

E. Assessment

1. The typology. e.g., Your analysis is limited to government repression?

2. I notice that you require that those assessing human rights not work on their own country. Why? How do you compensate for the direct knowledge which a national might provide? OR I notice that you rely primarily on emigrants to assess human rights in their native country. Why?

3. Some of your assessments are based on more information than others, aren't they? Have you thought of reporting a confidence level?

4. Whose information do you rely on most/least in making your assessments?
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