Self-analysis of my leadership in Amnesty International-University of Richmond Chapter

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose of this Paper:

The primary reason for writing this paper is to reflect upon two and a half years of my experience and education as a student at the Jepson School of Leadership. I have learned many concepts about, and gained much experience for, leadership. Before the time of departure separates me from this institution, I need to reevaluate and integrate what I have accumulated in these valuable years. I need to clarify my own understanding of leadership in order for me to apply them in the future.

In order to achieve this purpose, I have decided to analyze my own leadership as the coordinator of the University of Richmond chapter of Amnesty International. Naturally, this will be a qualitative, subjective analysis. I have invested much time and effort into Amnesty International, and I have put my knowledge of leadership to coordinate and improve the chapter. By analyzing my own leadership as a reflective practitioner, I hoped to gain a better understanding of myself as a leader and as a person. These last two and a half years I have spent as a leadership major have been extremely valuable not only in learning for and about leadership, but in learning about who I am. Who we are as persons have significant effect on what we do as leaders. Individual leaders are filters between theory and practice of leadership. Therefore, effective leadership requires good understanding of theory and practice of leadership as well as who we are as individuals. It was my intention that this project will enhance my ability as a reflective practitioner thus fostering my future growth as a leader.

Furthermore, I took on this project to gain a better understanding of leadership as service to society. In this paper, an assumption behind leadership is that it involves an active engagement in bringing about positive
change. Leadership is a means for individuals to make positive contributions to the society, not to manipulate the society in order to gain from it. I will have to excuse myself to those who do not agree with this assumption. But most of us aspire peace and happiness, and I believe that they can truly be achieved only through service to others. In this spirit, it is my hope that I can serve my successors by writing this paper, which is a footprint of my work in Amnesty International and in the Jepson School of Leadership.

Finally, I hope to make a positive contribution, however small it may be, to the study of leadership and especially to the Jepson School of Leadership. My life has been cultivated significantly because of this institution and the people who are involved in it. I dedicate my work to them.

Description of the Project:

As I have described earlier, I will be analyzing my own leadership as the coordinator of the University of Richmond chapter of Amnesty International. This enables me to link this project to work I have been doing and will do in the future (since I plan to continue my involvement in the organization). Furthermore, the issue of human rights (which Amnesty International deals with) is a significant aspect of my interest in the career of the Third World development, thus assisting development of my leadership ability in the field of my future interest. Similarly, I will be dealing with, or working in, non-profit voluntary organizations in the future, therefore, enhancement of my understanding of leadership within this context will be extremely helpful.

In this process of practicing, observing, and reflecting upon my leadership in Amnesty International, I will make an effort to make a
difference in the organization. The chapter had been very inactive until three students (one of which is myself) decided to revive it one year ago (spring '93). We were successful in recruiting new members, and we currently (Spring '94) have 70 members on our mailing list. However, the level of participation of these members has been very low, and the number of our active members remains small (core members of about five). My goal as the coordinator has been to increase participation of our members and to develop future leadership within the group.
ORGANIZATIONAL DESCRIPTION

Description of Amnesty International

Amnesty International (AI) is an independent impartial worldwide human rights movement. Amnesty International is not an all-purpose human rights movement. Even though it supports all the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (appendix 1 & 2), AI mobilizes its worldwide resources for active campaigning in defense of only a limited number of rights. These are: the rights to freedom of conscience and expression; the right to be free from discrimination by reasons of ethnic origin, sex, color, or language; and the right to physical and mental integrity. Although Amnesty International concerns itself with the human rights of prisoners, it does not suggest that these rights are more important than others stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (i.e., freedom from slavery, freedom from job discrimination, the right to adequate food and shelter, etc.). Amnesty International is convinced of the indivisibility and mutual dependence of all human rights. The organization concentrates on its own narrow mandate in order to utilize its limited resources as effectively as possible.

Mandate:

There are specific demands that AI makes of governments and non-governmental entities everywhere. They are:

- Immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience (POC) - people who are detained or otherwise physically restricted anywhere for their political or religious beliefs, or because of their ethnic origin, race, gender, sexual orientation, or language, who have not used or advocated violence;

- Fair and prompt trial of all political prisoners - people who are arrested and confined for their political or religious beliefs, who have used or advocated violence - and those detained without charge or trial;
• Abolishment of the death penalty, torture, and other cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment or punishment of all prisoners without reservation;

• Elimination of all extrajudicial executions and "disappearances" - taking of a person into a custody by or with the approval of the authorities who then deny that the victim is held.

How Amnesty International Began:

The movement began in 1961 when British lawyer Peter Benenson read about two Portuguese students who were sentenced to seven year's imprisonment for raising their glasses to toast to freedom. Benenson wondered how ordinary citizens could most effectively convince the Portuguese government to release these victims of injustice. He conceived of a one-year campaign to focus public attention on these and other prisoners of conscience. Groups of concerned individuals would "adopt" specific prisoners, contacting their families, writing appeal letters to the appropriate authorities, and above all attempting to let the prisoners know that people cared about their plight.

On May 28, 1961, the London Observer carried a full-page story announcing the "Appeal for Amnesty, 1961 (appendix 3)." By the next day, major news papers around the world wrote about "the forgotten prisoners." Letters and donations began to flood in. At the end of the year groups had formed in a dozen countries. The one-year campaign became a permanent movement, calling itself Amnesty International.

At a Human Rights Day ceremony on December 10, 1961, a former political prisoner lit a candle encircled by barbed wire. This became the symbol for Amnesty International when Benenson recalled an ancient Chinese proverb, "Better to light a single candle than to curse the darkness."
Amnesty International Today:

Amnesty International was awarded the 1977 Nobel Peace prize for its efforts to promote global observance of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In making the award, the Nobel Committee stated: "The world has witnessed an increasing brutalization and internationalization of violence, terrorism, and torture. Through its activity for the defense of human worth against degrading treatment, violence, and torture, Amnesty International has contributed to securing the ground for freedom, for justice, and thereby also for peace in the world."

Today Amnesty International has over 3,200 volunteer groups in 55 countries and members in more than 160 countries and territories. More than 500 groups are in the United States, where membership exceed 150,000 and increasing. The movement's headquarters, the International Secretariat, in London has a staff of nearly 200, while Amnesty International USA employs over 60 people in the national office at New York and seven additional offices around the country. Each year the movement handles the individual cases of approximately 5,000 prisoners and works for countless others in special campaigns.

How Amnesty International Works:

Amnesty International's effectiveness depends on its impartial application of a single standard of human rights to every country in the world. The organization is independent of all governments, political factions, ideologies, economic interests, and religious creeds. It relies on donations from the public. To safeguard impartiality, members work on cases of prisoners outside their own countries (except for death penalty campaigns and refugee issues). Group balance their human rights work to emphasize the principle of impartiality at the local level.
Research is central to Amnesty International’s work. At the International Secretariat experts collect and analyze information about human rights violations around the world, checking and rechecking sources which include newspapers and journals, transcripts of radio broadcasts, governmental bulletins, reports from lawyers and humanitarian organizations, along with letters from and interviews with prisoners and their family.

The movement publicizes many of its findings in reports, news releases, and other public statements. The accuracy and impartiality of Amnesty International’s research has earned its worldwide respect.

Amnesty International members, professionals and volunteers alike, rely on those facts to take action to pressure governments to free prisoners of conscience, insure fair and prompt trials, and stop torture and executions. With valid and detailed information about specific cases, members have solid foundation for the prisoner work they carry out individually or as a part of Amnesty International group.

The Urgent Action (UA) Network was established in 1973 to facilitate swift action on behalf of individuals in immediate danger of legal or medical crisis, torture, or execution. Within hours of a prisoner's arrest, the International Secretariat telexes case information to the United States Urgent Action office in Colorado, where it is sent to a network of thousands of volunteers. They respond with telegrams and airmail letters to the appropriate officials.

Members of Amnesty International create mass pressure worldwide and take practical actions to stop human rights abuses. AI volunteers create publicity in the local news media; send masses of letters, telegrams, and postcards appealing directly to the target government's senior officials about
specific cases of human rights violations; approach the home government
and encourage their own political representatives to take up the cause; reach
out to influential groups and individuals in the community and invite them
to lend their powerful voices to the campaigning; hold public events such as
demonstrations, speakers, and concerts that will get people's attention and
mobilize them to support these efforts; and ask people (rather than
governments) to donate money and materials to keep campaigning and to
strengthen the independence and credibility of its message (appendix 4).

At the heart of Amnesty International are its groups. Around the
world groups of people usually gather every few weeks to curb the killing,
stop the torture, and get prisoners of conscience out of jail. Local and campus
groups involve their communities in campaigns and prisoner work. They
write letters, publicize, plan educational and fundraising events, approach
labor unions, journalists, religious groups, and government representatives.
Because of the strength of their commitment, they are able to convince large
numbers of people to take action to protect human rights of strangers halfway
across the globe.

Not all Amnesty International members join groups. Members
actively contribute to the movement by paying dues ($25 a year for regular
membership; $15 a year for students and senior citizens) and writing letters.
They can join the Urgent Action network and respond to appeals announced
in Amnesty Action. All members regularly receive seasonal newsletters
which keeps them informed with news about Amnesty International and
human rights worldwide. Amnesty Action allows members to participate in
campaigns, anti-death penalty work, and individual prisoner cases.
(See appendix 5 & 6, respectively, for Amnesty International's international
and national structures.)
The UR Chapter: a Year Ago

One year ago, in the spring of 1993, the UR chapter was virtually non-existent. There were two co-coordinators during that academic year (fall 92 - spring 93), both of whom were not very committed. In fact, there were about five meetings held that entire year which anyone hardly showed up for. Our membership list consisted of about 15 students, and nobody knew much about Amnesty International, except that we were a human rights organization and that we were supposed to write letters.

There were no public events held that year, except for one publicity table set up in the Commons of the university. We did not have any money and none of us knew our account balance or even how to find out about it. Naturally, the coordinators did not even send the few letters we had written because they did not know how to withdraw money from our account. There were absolutely no transactions of money made, and the chapter had not received any money from the student governments for two years. In addition, the coordinators did not submit the budget request for the next academic year (fall 93 - spring 94), thus the current administration had no money to work with (which was partially the fault of the current administration for not anticipating this inaction).

To put it simply, the chapter was a perfect example of a dysfunctional group and poor leadership. The most harmful factor was that no one truly seemed to care about the issue or the organization, and the members seemed to be there because they “sort of felt like it.” This attitude of passiveness and inaction, particularly by the coordinators, was detrimental to an organization which is focused on moral commitment and activism. During this administration, guilt seemed to have been the driving force of the little that
was accomplished, such as the tabling event and some letter writings. This was obviously not an appropriate environment for human rights work.

I don't hesitate to admit that I was equally uncommitted at the time. I hardly went to the meetings, or even knew when they were - we did not have a regular meeting time. However, little that I knew about this organization were very positive and I felt that this organization had a great potential to be an effective and exciting organization. I even applied to a summer internship at the regional office of Amnesty International. Because of this sense of wastefulness of the potential, I increasingly grew tired of and angry towards the irresponsibility of the coordinators. Later, I found out that two other members shared the same feeling. I finally decided that this was something that I should consider getting heavily involved because I realized that this is a great opportunity to do something positive and exciting for myself and possibly for others.

I decided to run for the coordinating position even though the co-coordinators at the time were only Juniors. There were seven members present at the election. The two coordinators, fortunately, told us on the day of the election that they were not running for any position for the next year. Surprisingly, three out of the five remaining members, including myself, desired to be coordinators, and I was elected by a slim margin to be the President. Subsequently, the other two were elected as the Vice President (Kati) and the Treasurer (Liz). We did not elect a Secretary.

**Internship: Summer ‘93**

Fortunately, I was able to intern for the regional office of AIUSA in the summer of that year. I interned under the regional director whose leadership I analyzed (appendix 7). I also worked on a major fundraising event at the
same time. The experience at the regional office significantly contributed to my understanding of the organization. My understanding of the mandate, methods, structure, and history of Amnesty International boosted that summer, which helped my ability as a group coordinator enormously. Furthermore, my connection with the AI administrators, particularly within the regional office, was an extremely advantageous factor as a campus group coordinator. I knew exactly who to talk to on specific issues and problems.

Through meeting and interacting with human rights activists everyday, as well as by being exposed to atrocities of human rights violations for three months, my commitment towards the issue increased dramatically. I acquired a better understanding of the depth of the problem and the need for global and grassroots actions. I am currently interested in a career in the field of the Third World development in which human rights is a large component. This interest was undoubtedly furthered by the experience at the regional office.
LEADERSHIP

I will examine my leadership from three broad categories. They are: ethics, context, and group dynamics. It is structured in this order so that categories will flow from macro to micro aspects of leadership. It should be made aware that these categories often overlap, and I attempted not to be redundant. I will then reevaluate my development as a leader and as a person.

ETHICS

Ethics is a part of any leadership practice. Fundamental ethics apply to all leadership situations while contextual considerations and group dynamics become more specific and situational. Although ethics often involve specific situations as well, moral imagination and vision are always a part of any leadership situation, under the assumption that leadership involves active engagement to bring about positive change.

What is moral imagination? McCollough describes:

The moral imagination may be understood as the capacity to empathize with others and to discern creative possibilities for ethical action. The moral imagination considers an issue in the light of the whole. The whole is not only the complex interrelated functional aspects of society, economic, political, social institutions. It is also the traditions, beliefs, values, ideas, and hopes of its members, who constitute a community with a stake in the good life and a hopeful future. The moral imagination broadens and deepens the context of decision making to include the less tangible but most meaningful feelings, aspirations, ideals, relationships. It encompasses the core values of personal identity, loyalties, obligations, promises, love, trust, and hope. Ethical judgment consists in making these values explicit and taking responsibility for judging their implication for action (McCollough, 17).

In fact, ethics is at the core of leadership if we consider leadership as service to society. It is difficult to make positive contributions to society
without positive intentions. If leadership represents a force towards positive change, our moral imagination and vision need to be cultivated and developed. A leader's ability to form a compelling vision and motivate people to bring about change, all depend on his or her ability to conceptualize and communicate why certain goals and ideas are morally good.

Formation of individual ethics emerges from cultural and individual values and life experiences. We have different answers to the questions of what is morally good and what constitutes good life. Great philosophers have long argued on the issue of what ultimately defines good; some have argued that it is happiness (and they have had an extensive argument of what defines happiness), and others have had different ideas such as pleasure or tranquillity. Some have argued that it is the intention that counts, and others have asserted that it is the end, not the process, that matters.

All these are very confusing and mind-boggling, but leaders need to explore these ideas in depth in order to have some kind of foundation which their leadership practice can be built upon. Without such foundation, practice of leadership will be inconsistent and be vulnerable to forces that prohibits positive social change.

The source of my leadership is inner peace. Inner peace, at least at this point, is the ultimate goal in my life and it is the motivation behind my eagerness to take the responsibility of leadership. To be in peace with myself means being in harmony with everything that surrounds me. I need to be in harmony with myself, other people, nature, and the universe. I should make myself clear that my definition of harmony is not accepting the existing conditions and adapting to it. Rather, it means to transform the existing conditions to meet what I believe to be the best for the future of the world and the universe. Obviously, I will never achieve the complete inner peace; I
either need to be Buddha, or - maybe and - in utopia to acquire it. However, in order for me to approach this ultimate goal, I need to keep practicing and improving my leadership because unfortunately at this point of history peace is only achieved through struggle towards positive change.

It can be questioned how we could possibly know what is the best for the future of the world and the universe. I believe that we all have vague answers that may be different from each other; it is the matter of clarifying and articulating this vision. Hitler envisioned a future in which Nazi Germany dominated the world; Dr. Martin Luther King dreamed about the world in which his children would not be judged by the color of their skin. We all have different visions of a perfect society; morality is often relative. However, there is a certain fundamental aspects of morality which I believe to be absolute. This is to treat people as equal human beings. This fundamental morality is required for us to progress as humankind toward peace and justice.

The regard for this fundamental moral principle is one of the reasons I chose to involve myself in Amnesty International. Naturally, there are different opinions on what it means to "treat people as human beings." In other words, even though human equality may be an universal principle, ways in which to express this principle are different. This occurs because how we identify ourselves as human beings differ depending upon the nature of human relations which are often dictated by culture. For example, in Japan, identification of people are oriented towards specific groups (i.e., kin, corporation, etc. - i.e., Japanese usually call each other by their last name) while Americans tend to identify as individuals. Within these different human relations, definition of "treating people as human beings" become culturally relative. However, the principle itself remains the same; it reflects
a human attitude that transcends cultural boundaries. The paths to express this principle may be different, but I believe that the root is the same. And the mission of Amnesty International reflects important aspects of this universal moral principle.

As noted earlier, the mandate of Amnesty International focuses on specific elements of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). UDHR, for Amnesty International and I personally, represents the universal principle in its most concrete form. UDHR has been an object of criticism, particularly by Asian countries, for being "Western human rights." The document may have weaknesses, and it probably has room for improvement - neither human beings nor their creations are perfect. However, the moral vision demonstrated in this declaration is extremely convincing and seem to transcend cultural borders. Although it may need more diverse perspectives, it is still the most multicultural human rights declaration that exists today.

In an organization such as Amnesty International, ethics is especially crucial because the reason for its existence is based on moral commitment of its members. Unethical behavior by a leader in this organization is absolutely detrimental to the organization as well as to the legitimacy of his or her leadership. I was particularly reminded of this fact during my internship at the regional office where the director was committing certain unethical behaviors. They were seemingly small matters such as abusing the mailing system and making private long-distance phone calls, but even these considerably insignificant matters hurt the morale of the office which was more sensitive to these matter than most other organizations. The moral commitment of the members, in everyday level, was not nurtured and fostered.
In an advocacy organization such as Amnesty International, moral commitment must be practiced everyday by its leaders. If leaders can not lead ethically by example, legitimacy and effectiveness of leaders are undermined significantly. The case of the regional director was especially reinforcing because it proved that even charisma can not overcome such behaviors. The director was a charismatic public speaker who could spark our moral convictions through words and emotions. It was unfortunate that his moral commitment and his ability for eloquent expression of it were not complemented by everyday actions.

This experience during the internship was very helpful to increase my awareness of ethical considerations that manifested in the practice of leadership in the campus chapter. I first made sure that I would not manipulate the organization for my advantage. These include the seemingly insignificant matters that I have mentioned already. Fortunately, I did not face any serious ethical dilemmas that would have made a good case in a textbook for ethics. Most ethical issues that I faced dealt more with my responsibility and duty as an elected leader in this organization. This will be dealt later.

CONTEXT

Social Movement:

Social movements emerge when the existing condition in the society is producing powerlessness among certain people. Those who are the victims of such circumstances, or sympathizers of them, on one hand, may unite and organize to improve the situation, or on the other, to transform the situation. The former group may start a self-help organization to provide services and
regulatory practice by themselves or from others voluntarily. In this case, resources are mobilized by themselves (including advocates of the victims) to provide services. These efforts are aimed towards empowerment of individuals who will be receiving new or better services as clients (i.e., patients of medical or psychological treatment). This type of empowerment is called individual psycho-symbolic empowerment (Couto, 10), whether it is direct participation by victims or indirect advocacy by sympathizers.

The latter case which deals with transformation of the existing situation involves acquisition of services and regulatory practice from others (i.e., government, businesses). This is called group psycho-political empowerment (Couto, 10). This form of empowerment approaches individuals as socio-political representatives (either direct or advocates) of groups and attempts to acquire the transfer of information, skills and resources, sometimes involuntarily, through organized action of the group for some common benefit (Couto, 12). Thus, it focuses on empowerment of a community of people rather than individuals per se. It also involves gaining control over their own lives and democratic participation in the life of the community rather than understanding the choices available within the position of powerlessness (Couto, 10).

Amnesty International concerns with transformation of the existing situation, particularly, advocacy for group psycho-political empowerment. Most members are advocates rather than victims, although some former victims of human rights abuses are also involved. Our efforts focuses on psycho-political empowerment because it involves acquisition of human rights and dignity from governments and non-governmental entities that take them away from the victims. This empowerment of the victims is also complimented by direct psycho-political empowerment of the activists who
acquire a sense of human dignity and solidarity by restoring human rights of others. This is because there is a direct relationship between human rights of the victims and of the activists, both of which are identical. This is a unique element of human rights movement which enables to create direct and mutual relationship between the victims and the advocates. Advocates are not only advocating for the victims, but for themselves and ultimately for the humankind.

In order to provide direct psycho-political empowerment of the activists of Amnesty International, it is extremely important to foster a sense of community among them. It must emerge as a "free space" - the environment in which people are able to learn a new self-respect, a deeper and more assertive group identity, public skills, and values cooperation and civic virtue (Evans and Boyte, 17). Put simply, free spaces are settings between private lives and large-scale institutions where ordinary citizens can act with dignity, independence, and vision (Evans and Boyte, 17). The organization needs to become a free space where a sense of solidarity among individual members, and also between local and campus chapters, professional and volunteer sectors, student and adult sectors, is developed and nurtured. One of the weaknesses of Amnesty International is a lack of communication and coordination between student chapters, as well as between local and student chapters, and professional and volunteer sectors. The UR chapter, for example, have felt isolated from the rest of the movement because there were very little personal interactions between us and other student groups, local (adult) groups, regional and national offices. Relationships between them need to be stronger and tighter for Amnesty International to become more effective.
Free space needs to be developed and fostered within each local and campus chapter as well. I believe that it is an ethical responsibility of leaders to create an environment which encourages this sense of belonging among its members. Leaders have an ethical obligation to be sensitive to the needs of individual members. In the UR chapter, however, this was not sufficiently emphasized. The leaders focused on increasing membership which we were successful in doing; our membership expanded from less than 15 to more than 70 in one year. However, we were not successful in developing large number of active members. The core group at the end of the year was still only five, which is quite small for a group with seventy members.

The lack of active members was probably due to the lack of imagination by the leaders to create the environment which fosters the sense of community. The intention of creating such environment was there, however, we could not find an effective method to personalize the relationships between the members. Neither did we discuss sufficiently about this problem. We were more concerned with short-term goals such as planning and executing certain events.

This problem, which may determine the future strength of the group, must be coped more effectively. One such way is to share who we are as individuals. Instead of simply encouraging members to talk to each other before meetings, members can alternate in sharing important aspects of their life that relates to their commitment in human rights work. For example, members can talk about reasons or events that led to their commitment for activism. They could also talk about the role of religion in their involvement in the human rights movement. There are many other questions that are useful for this purpose. These personal and spiritual discussions enables the members to have deeper understanding and respect for each other, thus
fostering their relationship as friends and partners instead of co-workers. It is easier to detect and address problems in these environment, and personal needs of the members will be better met. Such environment will help people understand the connections between their emotional needs and their political realities. As Tema Okun, a training director of Grassroots Leadership, points out that:

...those of us working in the justice movement need to be working together for transformation instead of reformation; we need to be about building instead of simply fighting; and we need to be about building relationships instead of building alliances.....If we want to succeed in breaking old ways of doing and thinking, if we want to truly transform the world, then we have to consciously learn to pay attention to our whole selves, so that relationships we build will serve as the model for how we will live, play and work together when peace and justice finally come (Okun, 5).

Leaders need to be sensitive to the needs of its followers. They need to understand what members want and create channels where people can express their views freely. It involves more than asking for their inputs during the meetings. It involves asking right questions, soliciting their opinions on specific issues, opening additional channels of communication, willing to listen openly at all times, etc. As elected leaders, it is their duty to understand instead of guessing what exactly people are want. Furthermore, elected leaders have no right to determine the course of action by themselves which is contrary to the popular opinion. Leaders have the right to address their view and to transform the popular opinion, but leaders must follow democratic process of decision making. As Frare asserts:

Organizing the people is the process in which the revolutionary leaders, who are also prevented from saying their own word, initiate the experience of learning how to name world. This is true learning experience, and therefore dialogical. So it is that the leaders cannot say their word alone; they must say it with the
people. Leaders who do not act dialogically, but insist on imposing their decisions, do not organize the people - they manipulate them. They do not liberate, nor are they liberated: they oppress (Fraire, 159).

Fraire does not apply this ethical responsibility to elected leaders. Rather, he applies it to leaders of social movements. However, leaders of social movements have the same responsibility, which is described above, as elected leaders - since they are both representatives of people.

Leaders should not be the ones who make decisions, but it should be the people. Leaders are advocates of the people whom they represent, not "oppressors" who impose their decisions on the people. When I became aware of this relationship, I decided that I will communicate this to every member of the chapter. Previously, I was having some difficulty getting inputs from the members, and the level of participation was decreasing at the time. Therefore, I wrote a letter to all the members of the chapter, describing this relationship and encouraging their participation in the decision-making process (appendix 8). To be cautious and consistent, I showed the letter to the coordinating members and asked for their opinions of it. They agreed with everything in the letter, and no revisions were made. I also asked whether their names should be on the letter, but they insisted that their names should not appear on the letter since it was a letter that I wrote. Unfortunately, this letter did not seem to change the participation rate.

Campus Chapter:

The number of people in our weekly meetings have steadily declined from the beginning of the year, even though we picked up some new members along the way. We were not able to sustain or raise the commitment of the majority of the members. This is the reason why I chose "increased participation" as the major goal of this project. I assumed that a
higher level of participation was necessary in order for the group to become more active and effective. The coordinating members discussed this issue early in the spring semester, and our strategy was to increase our activities to raise the interest of our members. We wanted people to have something concrete to do instead of just writing letters and planning for events. Despite the efforts of the core members and the increased activities during that semester, we were not able to raise the level of participation. In fact, the number kept decreasing until there would be only core members present at the meetings. This occurred in the middle of the spring semester, where the meetings consisted of the three coordinating members (Kati, Liz, and I) and two first-year students (Scottie and Erik).

The interesting occurrence was that even though the quantity of the participation declined, the quality increased dramatically. In many cases, it was easier to decide our course of action among the five members instead of trying to solicit opinions from uncommitted members. At first, I felt uncomfortable ignoring the members who were not attending the meetings, but I decided that it was justified because democracy is based on participation. All the core members contributed in discussions as well as in executing events, and our total output increased significantly. During the first semester, the group held two tabling events and produced 96 letters. In the second semester, we held an International Women's Day event with three speakers, three tabling events, and produced over 400 letters and 200 signatures for petitions. The five of us cooperated effectively and we became closer as friends. At the end of the year, five of us would start the meetings by chatting something other than about Amnesty work, and gradually working into our "business." It became more of a relationship rather than an alliance, which, as mentioned earlier, is an important aspect of an effective organization.
Another task that I decided to work on was leadership development. This is a crucial aspect for campus chapters since change of leadership occurs every year. The first aspect which I tried to work on was providing more responsibilities to others. Delegation of responsibilities was aimed primarily towards the core members since they will be in the leadership positions in the future. They were willing to take responsibilities, and they usually got the job done. In fact, there could have been a wider allocation of responsibilities since I tended to have gotten overloaded with trivial things that could have been done by others. For example, I was responsible for mailing all the letters, writing the weekly minutes which I printed, addressed, and sent to every member almost every week, in addition to other responsibilities I had as the coordinator. One of the reasons for the overload of responsibilities was that I was the only member who came to every single meeting. If we were able to get the members to attend the meetings consistently, we could have shared the responsibilities more effectively.

Another major aspect of leadership development that I emphasized was providing leadership opportunities to younger students. Half way through the semester, I proposed to install an election system which guarantees a coordinating position for at least one rising Sophomore. This would enable to force young committed members to learn in depth about the organization. In addition, this will make it easier for them to qualify themselves to be in the leadership positions in a larger structure of Amnesty International if they wish to do so after being a coordinator for a year. For example, they could become student area coordinators in Virginia in their Junior year and possibly seek further leadership position in their Senior year. Usually, these advances are extremely difficult since those who are qualified for these positions are Seniors who are in the leadership role in their chapters
already. But by putting a rising Sophomores in a leadership position, thus qualifying them for the leadership positions outside of the school structure in their Junior and/or Senior year, they can take on these roles without straining themselves with two significant leadership roles. Having someone in a chapter who are in these leadership positions in larger Amnesty structure adds significant strength and depth to the group since it gives solid connections with the regional office and other Amnesty functions. My experience as a former intern at the regional office and as a student area coordinator undoubtedly helped our chapter. There would be more abundance of information and resources available to the chapter year after year if this becomes a reality.

Members agreed with this new system, and we included it in the election process. Beside the installment of this new system, I left it completely up to the members to decide how they want to elect their leaders and what kind of leadership positions should be installed for the next year. I gave few suggestions, but the members, primarily the core members who bothered to show up to the meetings, decided all the details. I consciously left it up to them because they should create the leadership roles that they are comfortable with. Furthermore, the system that we had this year did not seem to be very effective, so it was logical to let the new leaders explore their own roles and responsibilities.

The core members came up with an interesting system. Instead of the traditional system of President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer, they invented a triangular leadership system where there is a primary leader and two secondary leaders. The primary leader takes care of responsibilities formally given to the President, Treasurer, and Secretary. Kati was elected for this position. She would coordinate the weekly meetings, take care of
monetary transactions, write minutes, and be responsible for overall coordination. The two secondary leaders will be coordinators of events, tables and fundraising. The reason for creating this position was the ineffectiveness of the committee system (committees included fundraising, publicity/tables, and concert) which we used this year. Committees were supposed to meet during the weekly meetings, and committee chairs had been appointed. However, committee chairs stopped coming to the meetings which completely destroyed the system. Furthermore, holding committee meetings was virtually impossible since not enough members attended the meetings. This made the existence of committees completely useless. This meant that the core members, particularly I, often had to fill in the responsibilities that they abandoned. To avoid such confusion and impracticality, the two secondary leaders will be completely responsible for events, tables and fundraising to the smallest details so that the primary leader, Kati, will not have to step in for each event. Scottie and Erik, both of whom are rising Sophomores, were elected for this position. The new leaders likes the practicality of this new system and clarity of their roles. The three leaders are currently discussing the details of their responsibilities and planning for some activities for the next year.

GROUP DYNAMICS

The dynamics of this group is very complicated. There were continuous change in the number of members and their level of participation. There were many factors influencing the evolution of the chapter and it is difficult to apply socio-psychological theories of group dynamics to it. However, it is important to identify a general pattern of the
group evolution for the future reference by my successors and to reflect on my awareness of the group dynamics for my future use.

There are many aspects of group dynamics already discussed, such as group structure, decision making, and environmental processes. In this section, I will focus exclusively on group formation and group development since they are major aspects of group dynamics which I have not to discuss yet.

**Group Formation:**

The group evolved out of the inactive group from a year ago. It emerged with a stronger force than the previous group because of certain individuals who shared certain needs that could be satisfied by reviving the chapter. This collective need was psycho-political empowerment which I mentioned earlier. Although we had a choice to involve ourselves in different organizations to satisfy our moral commitments, we saw the greatest opportunities in investing our time and efforts in this organization. Personally, the challenge of reviving this potentially exciting and effective organization was very motivating especially since I felt very close to the principles behind the organization. I believe that Kati and Liz had similar needs. As the group progressed throughout the year, others who shared the same needs started to join the group, and those with strong commitment became the core members.

**Group Development:**

There are usually five stages of group development: (1) Forming - the orientation stage; (2) Storming - the conflict stage; (3) Norming - the cohesion stage; (4) Performing - the task performance stage; and (5) Adjourning - the dissolution stage (Forsyth, 77).
Applying this theory of group development to our chapter could be confusing because we have two kinds of members - active and inactive members. It would be too complicated to put them in the same category and analyze their development. Particularly because it is useless to attempt to analyze the development of inactive members, I will only analyze the group development of active members.

It seems that our group was continuously forming up to the stage when only the core members would attend the meetings. Up until the middle of the spring semester, our active members kept changing. It took us almost six months to figure out who the core members were. The most problematic factor was that we had two meetings per week until the beginning of the spring semester. Initially, we decided to hold two meetings so that more people would be able to attend the meetings. This worked for about two months until mid-terms and papers started to appear. The attendance rate dropped significantly from then on, and the system was no longer useful. In addition, it was extremely difficult to coordinate the two groups within the chapter, and sufficient method to cope with this difficulty was not created.

When we finally decided to meet only once a week, the attendance rate dropped even further. This was a surprising development because one of the reasons that we chose to do this was because we found out that all the active members in the Wednesday group could attend Tuesday meetings. However, we were finally able to identify the core group which helped our performance.

It seems that our group skipped the storming stage. There were no evident personal conflicts especially because our active members kept changing. The three coordinating members got along well which was probably one of the main reasons. Furthermore, our forming stage and
norming stage seems to have overlapped which discouraged the development of the storming stage. By the time we departed the forming stage (mid-spring semester) every active member has already normed with the others.

We shifted the gear into the performing stage in late February when we had the first tabling event of the semester. We were able to produce over 300 letter in two days, tripling the number of the letters written in the entire fall semester. This success boosted our energy, and the level of our performance increased dramatically from then on. We held an International Women's Day event on March 8, which was a considerable success. We were unable to draw as many people as we hoped to, however, we accomplished something meaningful unlike those years when we did virtually nothing. The fact that we were able to invite three speakers on the issue of "Women in Wartime," and that the school newspaper featured a considerably extensive article about the event was encouraging (appendix 9). We also held one more tabling event as a part of Earth Week (in recognition of Indigenous rights) and participated in Gay and Lesbian Awareness Week (advocating gay and lesbian rights). These were helpful in creating alliances with other organizations on the campus.

Originally, we were planning to hold a concert this year. There were two possibilities we were pursuing: to be a part of nationally organized Amnesty tour or organize a local concert. Unfortunately, the band that played in the tour (Blind Melon) could not come to this region. By the time we found out in January that we could not get the band, it was too late to organize a local concert. We decided that we would be better off if we concentrate on other events and make sure that we are successful in them. This failure, however, was helpful to remind ourselves that our task for this
year is to build a foundation - a stepping stone - for the future. It would not have been wise to attempt to do too much and overload ourselves. Moreover, large exciting events may be helpful, but we need to have a solid foundation for those events to have long-term benefits. The new leaders are still hoping to hold a concert next year, however, it is questionable whether we are ready for such event yet.

The adjourning stage of group development does not apply to this organization. Although there is a shift of leadership every year, the chapter does not adjourn. Rather, it starts forming again and repeat the cycle of group development, though probably differently from previous years.
them. By sharing our visions on the ideal Amnesty International and the UR chapter, we can identify and articulate our mission as well as our long-term and short-term goals. Although we did recently come up with vision, mission and goal statements, it should have been suggested to do so earlier. The new leaders briefly struggled and came up with the statements, but they need further articulation. I was not able to come up with these imaginative ideas to change the current shortcomings. Moral imagination also involves acquiring advice from the right sources. Above idea to foster moral vision, for example, was found in an article by Tema Okun which a professor of mine advised me to read. Unfortunately, this was after I finished my term as the coordinator. Imaginative leaders need to actively look for those sources.

Our moral imagination has to be cultivated for us to serve the society as leaders. It takes moral commitment to improve the society, but it takes moral imagination to transform it. In order to develop our moral imagination, we need to explore who we are and what our roles are in the world. We need to envision our future and find our roles as change agents to instill a life into the vision. We need to explore what we want out of our lives and how they can be achieved in harmony with our vision of the future. We must realize that nothing in the world exceeds the cognitive space within our brains. As the Never Ending Story told the child within us, our imagination can exceed the universe.
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Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 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.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the Constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. No one shall be imposed upon him and the one that was applied at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely founded on non-political crimes from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

Article 25. (1) 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 and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

(2) 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.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

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

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone has the right to just and favourable remuneration, in work, to those who work, and to have the means of existence during periods of unemployment, and in any event a living wage through the organization and resources of each State.

(4) Everyone has the right to such order of conditions of work and to such conditions of life as to promote, in cooperation with the social and economic policies of the State, the full development of his personality, freedom and social justice.

Article 24. Every one has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 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.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right to choose any occupation, to engage in any useful activity and to the free choice of profession.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the full and free development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of moral and public order, public morality, public health, national welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may be subject to limitations determined by law for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of non-discrimination and of public order, public morality, public health, national welfare in a democratic society.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person权利 to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

1988 marks the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Universal Declaration is an international document collectively written by representatives of all countries that were members of the United Nations in 1948. The final draft of the document was approved, without dissent, by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948.

Members of the United Nations gave birth to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights because they witnessed, during World War II, the intolerable suffering that governments could inflict on innocent humans. The text was thus inspired both by conviction that all governments must allow their citizens to live in freedom and with dignity and by the hope that such abuses could be prevented from ever occurring again. The adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights signaled a new era for human decency and the protection of individual liberties.

The rights protected by the Universal Declaration include political rights, such as the right to life, the right to fair and equal treatment without distinction, the right to be free of arbitrary arrest or detention, the right to a fair and public hearing by impartial tribunals, the right to privacy, and the right to marry and have a family, and the rights to freedom of religious belief and of opinion. Several of the Declaration’s thirty articles also address social, economic, and cultural rights. For example, the right to work, the right of an acceptable standard of living, and the right to participate in cultural life of the community are protected. Finally, the Universal Declaration aims at the need for a social order which brings justice to all citizens and peace to the world. Thus, the text makes reference to duties to community and, importantly, the duty to respect all rights contained in the declaration.

Although in 1948 governments aspired to protect and promote respect for the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration, many of them were unsuccessful during the years that followed. For that reason, in 1961, thirteen years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration, Amnesty International was founded. Amnesty quickly developed into a worldwide, independent human rights organization. Today, its members urge all governments to respect human rights (1) by demanding the release of “prisoners of conscience” — i.e., women, and children detained anywhere for their beliefs, color, sex, ethnic origin, language or religion; provided they have neither used nor advocated violence; (2) by working for fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners; and (3) by protesting in all cases the imposition of the death penalty and torture or other cruel, inhuman, or degrading punishment.

Amnesty International’s three-part mandate emanates from many of the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Obviously, though, the Universal Declaration contains many more protections than those that are addressed by the work of Amnesty’s membership. This does not mean that Amnesty believes that political imprisonment, torture and execution are more important than other protections accorded individuals in the Universal Declaration. Amnesty International believes that governments should adhere to all the principles it espouses. All human rights are indispensable, and many of them are interdependent. During the more that two decades of its existence, however, Amnesty International has learned to hold tenaciously to its limited mandate the reason only: so that it can be effective in the work it has undertaken.

No organization can seriously address all the violations of human rights that occur around the world. Nations which fall outside of Amnesty’s limited mandate can indeed represent grave miscarriages of justice and the infliction of deplorable human suffering. Amnesty must, however, leave them to be addressed by other, competent human rights and humanitarian organizations.

Amnesty dares to believe that the promise of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be fulfilled. Through the tireless work of its membership, Amnesty International has pledged to do its part to make the vision a living reality for every citizen of every country in the world.
Campaigning Techniques

PRESSURE ON GOVERNMENTS

FUND-RAISING

MEDIA AND PUBLICITY

DIRECT APPEALS

SYMBOLIC EVENTS

OUTREACH

HOME GOVERNMENT APPROACHES
Case Analysis:

Amnesty International
Mid-Atlantic Regional Office
Washington, D.C.
Summer 1993

Youske Eto
LDSP 388
Internship
Dr. William Howe
8/3/93
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Portrait of the Office..................................P.1
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PART I: Portrait

Physical Environment
People
Office Structure
Culture
You are walking on a street of Washington, D.C., 22nd St., N.W. You just walked past Pennsylvania Avenue, one of the widest street in D.C. You are strolling along in a part of the town, where it is not very active, and somewhat darker than the lively business district a few streets down from where you are. The mixture of residential and office buildings in this neighborhood are about ten to fifteen stories high, probably built in around the forties or the fifties. They are not very modern, but seem to portray a comfortable, urban atmosphere that you don’t seem to find anywhere else. The streets here are not as wide and clean as the streets a few blocks down, yet they are sufficient enough. You don’t find many homeless people on this street, except when they appear at the street corners once in a while, here and there.

So you are walking along the 22nd street, listening to the rare songs of congested birds of the neighborhood, amongst the noisy engines and road constructions. Then you see a wide opening in front of you, on both sides of the street: two large parking lots. The sunlight is plentiful in that street corner, reflecting off the shiny surfaces of the cars laying out on the parking lots. It almost seems as if the rays of sunlight reflecting off the cars there are giving life to this neighborhood, trying to reach every window of the buildings around here, including a dumpy five story building just before the parking lot on the left side of the street. The building is not a beautiful one, to say the least. The architect of this building was probably not the most talented, nor ambitious. The building is constructed with brownish red brick, laid out nicely especially in the front and the side. However, about ninety percent of the front
wall almost seems as if it is cut out, and replaced by a number of wavy metals and old wooden frames. The metal parts are painted in white and the wooden window frames are painted in startling brownish red paint, a pitiful attempt to match the color of the bricks. Somebody later tells you that the paints were coming off a few weeks ago, but they just repainted it, unfortunately, with the same color.

You are surprised to see the logo of Amnesty International, a proclaimed worldwide human rights organization, on this office building. The logo consists of a candle with a barbed wire around it, symbolizing the light of hope in the midst of suffering and despair. It is based on the ancient Chinese proverb: "It's better to light a single candle than to curse the darkness." You heard that the office is on the third floor, so you decide to wait for the elevator. The small old elevator takes a few minutes before it opens the door for you, and takes a few more minutes to go up three floors. Just as you get out from the elevator on the third floor, you see an open door on your right, with a piece of paper stuck on this roughly painted white steel door stating:

Amnesty international
Mid-Atlantic Regional Office
Cary Alan Johnson, Director.

You take the first step into the office, and see a wooden reception desk in front of you. No one is sitting on the desk and you don't see anyone around. There is a short, somewhat narrow hall way running both to the left and to the right, cutting right in front of the
reception desk. To the left of the desk is a small library which suddenly opens wide from the hallway. Documents are displayed neatly by countries, and the front section of the left shelves is designated for general information about Amnesty International.

Then a young Asian man in a T-shirt and shorts appears from the hallway to your right and asks, "You look lost, can I help you?" So you tell him that you are interested in volunteering here and would like to know as much about this office as possible. Your purpose seem to have lit his face up and he tells you that he will be glad to show you around. He introduces himself to you, and he leads you to the hallway to the right.

The entire office is painted in white, and everything looks simple. There are no fancy decorations, and the office gives a very "non-profit" impression. You see a colorful world map posted immediately on the wall to your right. There are few paintings on the walls, which are dedicated specifically to Amnesty International. Few of them probably need to be re-framed.

Directly across the hall from the world map is the office of the Deputy Director, the second person in command at this office. The oriental man, whose name was bizarre, introduces you to the Deputy Director. Her name is Jodi, a Caucasian woman in her late twenties. Her office is decorated with some small plants, but there are nothing on the walls except the Mid-Atlantic State maps of Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, and Washington, D.C. The maps show the demography of the local and student groups of Amnesty International in the regions. The man tells you later that she is very cool and has a good, but weird sense
of humor. She was certainly very friendly. He says that everyone likes her and respects her. She is supposedly still working on her undergraduate degree, which is impressive considering she works full time here in a highly responsible position.

Next door to her, at the far corner of the hall way where it turns 90 degrees to the right, is the director's office. He is a well built black man about six feet tall, with a shaved head and a neatly trimmed beard, probably in his mid-thirties. He introduces himself as Cary, shakes your hand and welcomes your visit. His office is simple, with a medium size wooden desk in the back center of the room and a tall brown compact bookshelf to the left of the entrance. To the right is a dark brown round table stuck in the corner of the room. Four or five Amnesty paintings are leaned against the wall, waiting to be hanged. Papers are all over his desk and there are some even on the floor. Cary asks you a few more questions and tells you that he has to get back to work and that it was nice to have met you. He seems like a pleasant man to work for.

Then the Asian man, who turns out to be Cary's intern, shows you their mail room and the intern room. The intern room which is at the end of the hallway, is undoubtedly the largest room in the office. Currently five interns and a volunteer are sharing the room. The intern room is furnished better than most of the rooms in this office, with many artworks hanging on the wall. On two of the walls are seven Amnesty drawings by high school students which are quite impressive. He tells you that Cary did not want the interns to put them up because of his personal preference, but they put them up
anyway. It makes sense for the interns to be able to decorate their own room the way they want.

There are three computers in the intern room, two of which seem ancient. The man says everyone fights for the use of the newest computer. Across from the entrance and the computers are four large windows. Two of the windows are open because the room is a bit over air-conditioned. The other two windows are not open since the frames are painted shut. The windows look very old; the type that opens by pushing the bottom handle outwards into the open air. The room overlooks a parking lot and few other buildings in the area. On the wall to the right from the entrance, are two huge ugly paintings of old buildings, probably embassies, which no one knows why they are there. Everyone hates the paintings but no one protested hard enough to remove them off the wall.

All the interns have their own desk and they are placed against the walls, almost in a circle facing outwards. There are few desks which are unoccupied. Two additional tables are in the middle of the room for everyone to put things on. The intern room overall is somewhat messy, but few desks, mostly the unoccupied ones, are kept relatively clean. It has a very relax atmosphere and most interns are dressed casually. All the interns, except one who just decided not to show up today, introduces themselves to you and start talking to you in a very friendly manner. The diversity among the interns are very rich, with a Moroccan, an Indian, a Kashmiri, a Japanese, and two Caucasian Americans, with equal number of men and women. They all seem to get along very well, with frequent personal interaction.
The office of the Administrative Manager, Al, is located
directly behind the front reception desk. His office is smaller than
either Jodi's or Cary's. He has a stationary IBM computer in his
office, rather than a lap top computer which Cary and Jodi have.
There are a few enlarged photographs of African villages, as well as
two framed art posters on the wall. Al is a slender black man,
probably in his mid- to late twenties, who seem to be one of the
quieter person in the office. He talks to you in a professional
manner and gives you the information on what kind of volunteer
works are available. The Asian man tells you later that Al is good
with computers and he knows everything about the inventories in
this office. Whenever they have a technical or administrative
problem, Al is the man to take care of it. He seemed like a real
gentleman.

Janice, who is the director of the National Student Program,
has her office at the other end of the hallway. She is a thirty year
old woman with a short haircut which suit her very well. She
supposedly came to this regional office by her will, even though she
could have stayed in the National Office in New York. The reason
being she likes the grass-roots atmosphere. She is a relaxed and
friendly person, who seems to be very outgoing. She is dressed
relatively casually compared to other staffs members. She seems to
be able to relate to the interns quite well.

Then there is Amy, a Caucasian woman who just graduated
from a college in California. She is the assistant of Janice, with her
own large office, until two other staff members who will be sharing
the room starting September. She is also very friendly and is
extremely humorous. She has a very "Californian" atmosphere apparent in her personality and in her tan. She is also dressed casually and interacts frequently with the interns.

After looking around the entire office, the Asian man asks if there is anything else that you would like to know. You have a little time to spare, so you decide to take a look around in the library. Just before you decide to leave, the man comes out again with an Amnesty calendar, and offers it to you. You insist paying for it, but he refuses to accept the money. He then invites you to a happy hour near by with some of the interns, but you decline the offer because you are meeting a friend.

After many thanks and a handshake, you take the elevator down, not before waiting for it for a few minutes again, and leave the building. You start walking on the 22nd street again, listening to the songs of the birds, which somehow seem to have gotten a little better.
PART II: Analysis

Mission and Goals
Organizational Structure
Leadership
Culture
Amnesty International is an independent worldwide movement working impartially for the release of all prisoners of conscience, fair trials for political prisoners and an end to torture and executions. There are three main missions of Amnesty International which are stated in *The Amnesty International Handbook*:

- The release of all prisoners of conscience. These are people detained for their beliefs, color, sex, ethnic origin, language, or religion who have not used or advocated violence;

- Fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners. These people are imprisoned for an identical reasons as prisoners of conscience, however, including those who have used or advocated violence;

- An end to death penalty and torture or any other cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment or punishment of all prisoners without reservation.

Amnesty International is funded by donations from its members and supporters throughout the world. More than a million people worldwide, from school children to pensioners of all races and politics, in 150 countries, are working towards the three goals stated above.

The work of Amnesty International is carried out by an army of volunteers, making AI a truly voluntary organization. The first step in any Amnesty campaign is obtaining reliable information. This is done by scanning official sources, sending missions to countries, sending lawyers to observe trials, and by interviewing witnesses. This process is the responsibility of the International Secretariat in
London, England. Once the information has been checked and verified, it is released to the public through the International Secretariat. Then its volunteer groups throughout the world put pressure on governments through letter writing, public demonstration, media outreach and other techniques.

Amnesty International USA as a whole is currently in the process of down-sizing and there was a possibility of the office closure due to the lack of funds. However, it was decided during the Annual General Meeting in June of 1993 that the office will be kept open, with possible relocation in mid- to late 1994 because of the excessive rent that the office is currently paying. Therefore, the condition of the office during my internship, from June 1st to August 6th, was far from stable.

Mr. Cary Alan Johnson, the director of Amnesty International USA Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, is a prominent figure in the black homosexual community. He is publicized frequently in papers and magazines targeted for such community. He is known among the Amnesty members as a moving, inspiring speaker who talks with integrity and conviction. Everyone in the office calls him Cary.

Cary's job as a regional director entails coordination of membership, campaign work, fundraising, and press activities in the states of Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, and Washington, D.C. He works closely with area coordinators, student coordinators, and experienced volunteer leaders responsible for AI group activities in their local area. The regional office also help groups establish themselves and thrive. When in doubt about
who can help solve a problem, members contact their regional office. The office is located in Washington, D.C.

Naturally, as the director, Cary often works with people outside the office. In fact, he seem to concentrate rather significantly on the dealings with these people. He is superb at dealing with them and seem to produce good result from them. A good example is his telephone conversation with a group coordinator from Philadelphia, which took place during a meeting between Cary and I. As mentioned previously, one of his duties is to work with area coordinators. Since the area coordinator in Philadelphia region could not solve a problem that existed between certain local groups, he was directly talking to the coordinator of the group that has been seen as problematic. The group has been quite aggressive and energetic, producing some unique and creative ideas. However, because of their unusual activism and thus a strong group identity, they were hesitant and sometimes refused to cooperate with other groups. As a result, the other groups got frustrated for selfish and inconsiderate behavior of the group. Throughout the conversation, Cary was very calm and understanding to the group leader. Yet he did not hesitate to clearly point out that it is beyond his understanding if she did not understand why the other groups are aggravated. He was forthright but never insulted or disrespected her. He was always seeking for the best solution possible for the groups to operate smoothly. He made clear that the best solution would be to have the groups willingly cooperate, but if that is not realistic, we must find another solution that will satisfy the both sides.
As seen in this example, Cary often exercises good leadership when dealing with people outside the office. He is persuasive, logical, and gentle. He also possesses certain charismatic quality which seem to draw people. He seem to be good at making people feel comfortable during conversations with others. Interestingly, however, this does not necessarily seem to apply to people within the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office. This will be discussed later.

The mid-Atlantic Regional Office has approximately five to seven staff members, as well as four to eight interns. These numbers fluctuates due to the need and the availability of the positions. There are also volunteers, who mostly take care of clerical works. They tend to be college students there is usually one volunteer at a given time.

There is a strong evidence of subculture formed around the interns in this office. This subculture serves a social function which some members of the office do not participate. The social function include mostly of happy hour after work, and occasional weekend activities. All the interns as well as volunteers seem to be a part of this sub-group and it is also inclusive to certain staff members who actively participate in it. For example, Amy, who is a recent college graduate working as a staff, is one of the core member of this subculture. Janice, the director of the National Student Program, as well as Jodi, the Deputy Director, join in occasionally for a drink after work. Cary and Al, the Administrative Manager, have never joined, at least during my internship. They do not seem to be particularly interested in it, especially Cary, and he does not play any role in this socially-oriented subculture. It
probably would be valuable for the director to interact with this subculture, although he has no obligation whatsoever to do so.

In addition to his responsibilities as the director which are described earlier, Cary needs to keep the Board of Directors satisfied in order for him to keep his position or to advance within the organization. Cary seem to care considerably about his reputation and does not like to take risks with his subordinates. Thus, he wants to make sure everything will be done the way he wants and tends to leave little space for his subordinates to move around. This is especially true with the interns working directly under Cary who need to check with him in virtually everything that they do.

Cary once told me during our conversation that he would like to give significant responsibilities to his subordinates, but he is hesitant to do so if they seem incapable of taking such responsibilities. His response is understandable from the administrative point of view, however, it does not foster growth of his subordinates. He does not like mistakes and his subordinates are discouraged to learn from mistakes. His response also seems somewhat unfounded because unless he gives his followers a chance to take significant responsibilities, he does not know whether they are capable or not. This seem to lead to misuse of talents especially among Cary’s interns who don’t have much to do when Cary is away from the office. People are not empowered to use their own imagination and take the ball and run with it.

It is not necessarily the lack of leadership substitute that is causing this situation. In fact, I have observed a solid leadership by
Jodi, the Deputy Director, for the last two weeks of my internship during which Cary was completely absent. The productive capacity of the staffs are high, and Jodi, in spite of her enormous work load, performed highly encouraging, supportive, and effective leadership. Her style of conducting the staff meeting tended to be more supportive and encouraging than that of Cary, while equally productive. Thus, it seems that this situation of subordinate powerlessness is a direct result of Cary's leadership style.

This powerlessness causes great loss of productivity among the people in the office because such restrictions limit the room for subordinates' imagination, and more importantly, lead to nullification of enthusiasm among them. This causes a serious problem especially in a non-profit organization where people are driven because of their moral incentives rather than material incentives.

Another important point that needs to be addressed is the practice of "leading by example." In a work environment such as Amnesty International which advocates social change and responsibility, it is crucial that the leader exercises leadership that represents the organizational purpose in his or her daily practices. One of the frustrations I felt as an intern was the lack of punctuality of the entire office which seem to have stemmed from Cary's behavior. For example, on my first day of the internship, I was advised to come to the office at nine o'clock in the morning. arrived at the office five minutes before nine, but no one was present. At the time, and the door was locked. I waited in front of the door for about forty minutes before the first staff person
arrived. On that same day, I was prepared to meet Cary and Al, for me to familiarize with the office and to be assigned a certain project. However, neither Cary nor Al came to the office, even though I was notified that I will be meeting with them. Cary was absent the next day as well, for the reason I was not told. This was extremely harmful to my enthusiasm since this kind of behavior by the leader made me feel unimportant. Furthermore, the impact of this incident carried throughout my internship in regards to my trust towards his commitment. This was intensified after several similar incidents that occurred during my internship, as well as long lunches that he sometimes took.

His influence also seems to be significant in his subordinates' ethical behavior. The mail system and telephones, for example, were often abused by people within the office for their personal use, although certain people managed to stay away from such misbehavior. This was to a certain degree the responsibility of the leader who was occasionally guilty of this abuse. On one occasion, Cary asked me to send a package addressed to his father by Federal Express on Father's Day. Such practices gives the subordinates an excuse to behave in a similar manner. It certainly does not foster the environment of moral responsibility which is very dangerous in an organization such as Amnesty International since it could undercut the fundamental value embedded in the organization and its purpose.

In the regional level, some people in the office were concerned about certain emphasis on policies that Cary puts. He seems to have given a considerable emphasis on gay and lesbian issues which is a
new and growing issue for Amnesty International. Some people in
the office felt that he was putting unbalanced emphasis on this
issue due to the fact that he himself is a gay. Although this could
possibly be a factor, it is important to realize that he needs to give
emphasis on the issue as a regional director since one of his
responsibilities is to further the outreach efforts to the
communities which has not yet been tapped by Amnesty
International. This includes gay and lesbian communities and also
African-American communities, which he seems to have given
considerable emphasis as well. Moreover, it is for Amnesty
International’s advantage to use his prominence in the black
homosexual community for advancement in the membership
development. However, it is also true that some people were
frustrated due to the lack of his attention to certain issues.

These concerns, which many of the people within the office
including myself have risen, don’t seem to have been communicated
to Cary sufficiently. People seem to be intimidated to address these
carries concerns to him, for the reason which was unclear. Cary undoubtedly
is meticulous about certain matters, and the people do not seem to
have found the way to express them without offending him. This
barrier needs to be removed in order to nurture good communication
within the office, thus avoiding the escalation of potentially
harmful conflicts.

It would also be beneficial to have a system or a culture which
the people within the office could be empowered and inspired.
Enthusiasm of the people is extremely important and any disruptive
factor of such enthusiasm should be kept away as much as possible.
But most importantly, the leader must be aware of the problems, and should actively seek them out in order to make actions against them. This will require proactive measures such as creating a culture that will welcome subordinates' criticisms and suggestions. These measures can not be superficial for them to be effective; they must be candid and be trustworthy. This will enable the leader and the subordinates to work to solve the problem together before it becomes harmful. Even though smooth operation of the office would be an advantage from the administrative point of view, certain degree of conflicts must occur in order for it to be successful. Especially in a grass-roots organization such as Amnesty International, which requires constant input from all levels of the organization, conflicts should be encouraged in order to be open-minded and flexible within its mandate. The success lies on how to deal with these conflicts and it is, to a significant degree, in the hands of the leader.
Appendix 1

The International Structure

Amnesty International
USA Members

Coordinates Work of

Staff

Amnesty International
USA

Elect

Board of Directors

Hires

Executive Director
AIUSA

Directs the Work of the movement

International Secretariat Staff

Hires

Amnesty International

International Council Meeting

Elects

Secretary General

Hires

International Executive Committee

Sends Delegates to
Appendix 2

Mid-Atlantic Regional Office
Office Structure
(At the Time of My Internship)
Dear Amnesty Members:

Welcome back! I hope you had a great Christmas and I wish you a very happy New Year! I hope you’re ready to kick off Amnesty activities for the new semester.

I am writing this letter to thank you for your continuing interest in Amnesty International. This past semester, we accomplished the primary goal that we set before the semester began, which was to increase our membership. We currently have over 50 members, which is a significant improvement from last year. We also produced 96 letters!

Given our success in increasing the membership, I think it is the time for us to move on. In spite of our increased membership, we were pretty quiet in terms of group activities last semester. There are so many things we can do that we just don’t realize until we put our heads together and make it happen. We have the potential to raise our voice loud and clear at this school. Hey, there are 50 of us! This is gonna be an exciting and fun semester!

As you know by now, we are engaged in something very special. We pursue truth and justice to bring about the transformation of our world towards a brighter future. We represent the principle of human rights, which transcends geographical, racial, ethnic, and linguistic borders, as well as time. I believe that this is something that is worth spending your time and effort in. We are committed to human liberation and we actively engage ourselves in it.

The Human Rights movement we are involved in is shaped by each of its members. We, as individual members, are responsible for shaping this worldwide movement. This also applies to our movement at this school. I, as an elected leader, am not responsible for shaping this movement. You are. My responsibility, as I understand it, is to represent all the members and to enhance the group activities. My job is not to create and direct the movement. My job is to assist you in anyway I can, and to coordinate (not direct) our activities.

Unless the movement is shaped by each of us, it loses its meaning. I believe that the true leadership in this movement lies in each of our members. Unless all of us take on the leadership by deciding to actively involve ourselves, elected leaders lose the substance of their responsibility. Ultimately, the future of this movement rests on your participation and creativity.

We can’t force you to participate. But it must be made clear that you have a stake in this movement if you choose to be in it. As an owner of this movement, you have the responsibility to actively involve yourself and to think for the future of our movement. I chose to take this responsibility and I sincerely hope that you will also.

I hope that you will find this message worthy of consideration. Please call me at 281-7962 if you have any comments or questions about this letter or about anything else. If you would like to express your opinions on or your ideas for anything regarding AI, you are welcomed to drop it off in the Amnesty Box at the Student Activities Office. We will copy it and distribute it to everyone if you wish. Let’s keep our communication channel as open as possible. I look forward to working with you again. Bring some ideas at the first meeting! Let’s kick some butt this semester!

Sincerely,

Youske Eto

* By the way, there will be a Mid-Atlantic Regional Conference held in Baltimore from Feb. 11th through 13th. It will be a great chance to get a broader perspective on the movement and to meet your fellow activists. The cost will be about $40 (hotel) plus food. Anyone interested? Call Yuke at 281-7962.

*1st Meetings are:
   1/25 Tue 7:00 pm Jepson Rm 102
   1/26 Wed 7:00 pm Jepson Rm 102
   Tell your friends!
Women in conflict: From World War II to Bosnia

LISA DUNLAP
Collegian Staff Writer

One man and two women spoke Tuesday night in the science auditorium and urged audience members to learn from history about the crimes committed against women during wartime in Bosnia and Asia.

The lecture, which celebrated International Women’s Day, was sponsored by Amnesty International and featured Colleen London, a linguist who speaks out against atrocities going on in Bosnia; Susan Bloor of the organization Women for Women in Bosnia; and Yeon-Hong Choi, a professor and member of the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues.

London began speaking to the audience of about 35 by asking the audience what they felt was happening in the current world where they could and should take action.

“What’s happening in Bosnia is a place where we can make a difference,” London said.

London encouraged audience members to speak their minds and not to accept that what the media reports is going on in Bosnia as the total truth.

People need to be aware, London said, that there is a lot of covering up going on over there and that only bits and pieces of the truth are what Americans see.

The real truths are that people are being publicly executed, London said, and women are being raped.

London said she had begun an effort to make the truth available through a newsletter that has authentic articles about what’s really going on.

“We have to make an effort to turn things around,” London said, “and learn from our history.”

Bloor also appealed to the audience to learn from history.

There is a parallel between Serbia and Nazi Germany, Bloor said, only the difference is that in World War II, Americans could claim ignorance, but they can’t with what’s going on in Serbia.

“The lack of coverage,” Bloor said, “has lulled the public to thinking that rape and death camps are gone and this is simply not true.”

Women are still being raped and killed, she said, and sometimes the Serbs will kill all the women in one camp and just claim that it’s closed.

An estimated 60,000 women have been raped in Bosnia, Bloor said, and the international community is not doing much about it.

Women for Women in Bosnia has started a sponsorship program to help the survivors of these rapes, Bloor said.

Through writing letters and giving $20 a month, an American can sponsor a Bosnian woman, Bloor said.

The 100 sponsorships that have been established have given these women monetary and emotional support, Bloor said.

“Bosnia has reminded us that we are able and have to stand up for ourselves,” Bloor said, “because no one will do it for us.”

Several speakers kicked off International Women’s Day.

Also encouraging the audience to stand up for what is or was wrong during wartime, was Choi, who spoke of the pain he still feels for the Korean women who served as comfort women to the Japanese soldiers in World War II.

The war was over in 1945 but for many women it still continues, Choi said.

Comfort women were the “Emperor’s gift to the Japanese Imperial Army,” Choi said, and were forced to become prostitutes to the Japanese troops, wherever they were stationed.

“If they didn’t provide their sexual services, they were killed,” Choi said.

Choi said that the Japanese government should admit its wrongdoing so that it can move on, and the only road Japan can take is that of repentance.

“American people should also pay attention to the other side of the Pacific,” Choi said, “and should find out what actually happened in the Asian theater during the war.”

All three speakers appealed to the audience to get involved through letter writing and taking action in any other way possible.

“I’ll probably write a letter to the prime minister of Japan because of this,” a freshman member of Amnesty International said.

“We always forget that the press selects what they show us,” Elizabeth Von Eff, a junior, said. “It’s unsettling because we’re in an unrecoverable time period and the press is catering to it.”

Everything that was said tonight was so educational, powerful and eye-opening, Youske Eto, senior and coordinator of Amnesty International, said.

“It’s human rights,” he said, “not just women’s rights.”