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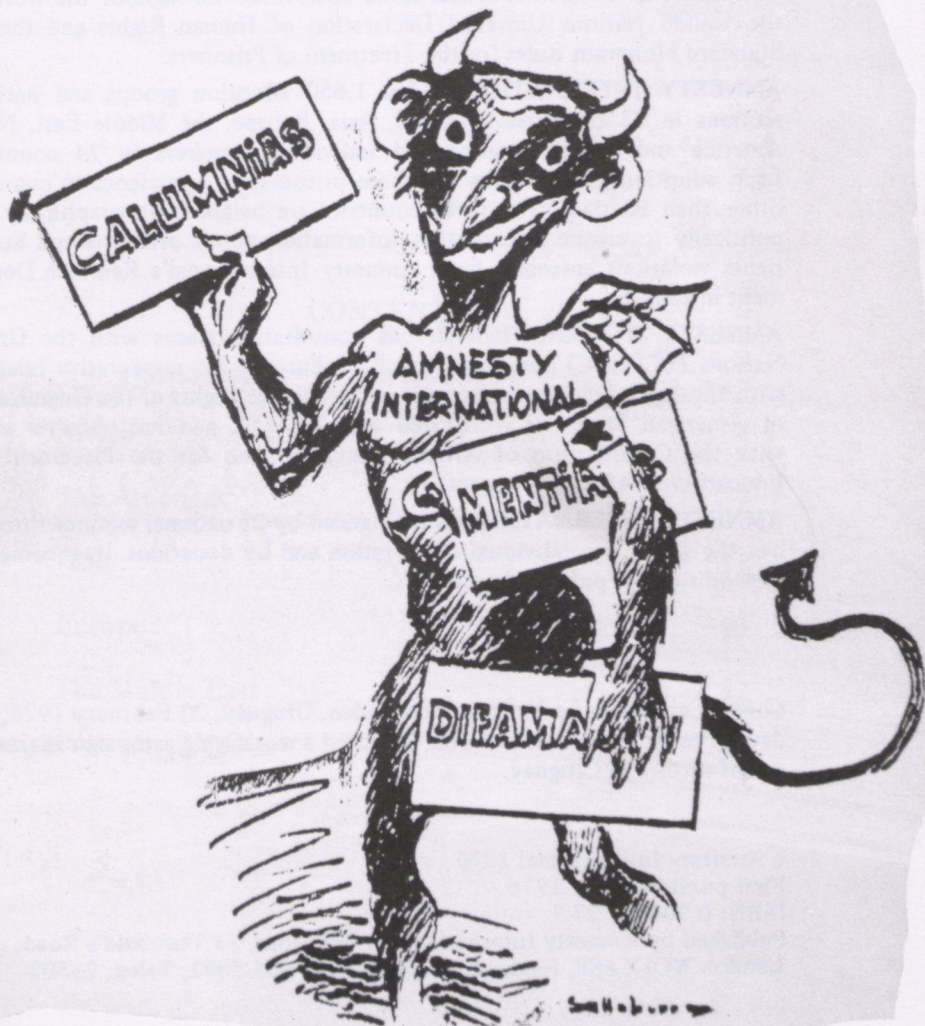
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# AI in Quotes



AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is a worldwide human rights movement which is independent of any government, political faction, ideology, economic interest or religious creed. It works for the release of men and women imprisoned anywhere for their beliefs, colour, ethnic origin or religion, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence. These are termed "prisoners of conscience".

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL opposes torture and capital punishment in all cases and without reservation. It advocates fair and early trials for all political prisoners and works on behalf of persons detained without charge or without trial and those detained after expiry of their sentences.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL seeks observance throughout the world of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has 1,650 adoption groups and national sections in 33 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, North America and South America and individual members in 74 countries. Each adoption group works for three prisoners of conscience in countries other than its own. The three countries are balanced geographically and politically to ensure impartiality. Information about prisoners and human rights violations emanates from Amnesty International's Research Department in London.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC) and the Council of Europe, has cooperative relations with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, is recognized by UNESCO, and has observer status with the Organization of African Unity (Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees).

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is financed by its national sections throughout the world, by individual subscription and by donations. Its income and expenditure are published annually.

*Cover:* Cartoon in *La Mañana*, Montivideo, Uruguay, 20 February 1976, two days after Amnesty International launched a worldwide campaign against the use of torture in Uruguay.

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# AI in Quotes

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*It is impossible to please everybody and his father...  
But whether I am blamed or praised,  
Whatever is said or not said about me,  
I shall go my own way...*  
Jean de La Fontaine

## Introduction

- ... instrument of communist terrorism—*Brazil*
- ... in a leading position among organizations which conduct anti-Soviet propaganda—*USSR*
- ... this imperialist body—*Ghana*
- ... this espionage agency—*Iran*

Amnesty International's work for human rights has consistently and inevitably brought angry reactions from all bands of the political spectrum over the years. The very impartiality of our work almost ensures criticism from all sides, however baseless such attacks as those quoted above are.

The men and women throughout the world for whom Amnesty International campaigns profess a variety of contrasting political, social, economic and religious beliefs. Amnesty International itself, however, takes no political or ideological sides: it does not defend *what* people say, only their right to say it freely, no matter what country they live in or the political system of that country.

The following is a selection of some of the statements made about Amnesty International by newspapers of the world and government officials. The selection is by no means comprehensive—we have omitted, for example, all straight reports of AI's work and those which cite AI as an authority on a particular situation. But we believe it reflects accurately the broad range of often critical and occasionally favourable comments that have been made about the organization in recent years.

The quotations are arranged alphabetically according to the country of origin within each continent. In each instance the quotation is preceded by a note about the circumstances which gave rise to it.

A juxtaposition of some of the comments might tell its own story, for example rightwing comments on pages 6, 9, 10 and 22 and leftwing comments on pages 13, 14, 20 and 21.

But because Amnesty International is concerned with individuals, not political systems, we ourselves prefer the following two quotations. The subject of one is a former prisoner of conscience in the Soviet Union, the other a former prisoner of conscience in the United States. Both were adopted by Amnesty International.

□ Leonid Plyushch, a mathematician unjustly detained for years in a Soviet psychiatric hospital, was granted an exit visa from the USSR after a prolonged international campaign on his behalf.

First of all I would ask the press to convey my gratitude to all those who played a part in my release... to the International Committee of Mathematicians, to Amnesty International, to the workers' syndicates of France, to the Ukrainian organizations throughout the world, to the British, French and German psychiatrists, to the committee against the use of psychiatry for criminal ends in the USSR...

Extract from news conference given by Leonid Plyushch, Paris, 3 February 1976

□ Martin Sostre was falsely convicted in the United States of selling heroin and was sentenced to 40 years' imprisonment in 1968. Many people felt he had been "framed" because of his political activities on behalf of black Americans. On 24 December 1975 Governor Hugh Carey of New York State granted him executive clemency.

Gov. Carey's decision to grant clemency to Martin Sostre is a victory for the conscience of mankind and, more specifically, for the dedicated efforts of every human being associated with Amnesty International.

An editorial in the *New York Post*, New York, 28 December 1975

## Africa

□ The *Amnesty International Annual Report 1974/75* was published in September 1975.

For AI, in fact, totalitarianism and dictatorship should be fought everywhere, whatever may be the ideology which they expound. That is its principal merit and that is also what gives it its force, even if this principle of universality allows several gaps to appear. The Annual Report of AI in particular remains strangely silent on the repression to which Palestinians in Israel are subjected . . .

*Jeune Afrique*, Paris, 26 September 1975

\* \* \*

□ A commentary on the same report by an African magazine published in Britain.

By supporting all "non-violent" political prisoners Amnesty has seemed at times to be tacitly advocating a certain specific sort of liberal democracy as practised in the long-established states of western Europe. Many developing nations, on the other hand, might argue that not only was such a form of government unsuitable for their political conditions, but, again citing Ulster,

was incapable of dealing with entrenched political and social attitudes that were prepared to heed no compromise . . .

In the Third World in particular, Amnesty also suffers from the undeserved but inevitable taint of neo-colonialism . . .

All the same, if Africa cannot in every case congratulate Amnesty, the organization has every reason to celebrate a year of Africa. Amnesty representatives went to the sixth session of the OAU [Organization of African Unity]-sponsored Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR), to which Amnesty has since increased its aid. In West Africa especially, the tide of prisoners released has never been larger.

*West Africa*, London, 6 October 1975

### GHANA

□ In a statement, AI Secretary General Martin Ennals had expressed concern at large-scale detention without trial in Ghana and had reminded the present head of the regime, I.K. Achepong, of a number of suggested improvements in the treatment of prisoners which AI

had sent him three months earlier.

. . . We know of no previous effort on the part of Amnesty International to advise any previous government on the best way of treating political detainees. That this imperialist body now feels it its duty to prescribe the manner in which our present Government should treat political detainees not only amounts to a wanton interference in the internal affairs of Ghana, but also proves that Kofi Abrefia Busia [ousted head of the previous government] is pulling strings somewhere within the framework of Amnesty International . . . Ghana does not frown on advice but advice of such diabolic nature can only breed confusion and disaffection and must therefore be rejected outright with deserving contempt . . . Imperialists offer advice and services only when their selfish ends are at stake. The Government must be aware of the wolves that come in sheeps' clothing.

Editorial entitled "Keep Out Amnesty" in *The Weekly Spectator*, Accra, 18 November 1972

□ The Secretary General of AI visited Ghana in May 1973 when he raised the question of detained members of the previous regime and discussed relief payments by Amnesty International groups to their families.

. . . Can the Amnesty International be correct in its claim that it pays the families of the detainees because the politicians are "prisoners of conscience"? . . . By its action the Amnesty International has shown a bias for Busia's followers and has thereby identified itself as a dangerous international political organiza-

tion which pokes its dirty nose in the affairs of other countries. . .

Editorial entitled "Amnesty and Detainees", *The Daily Graphic*, Accra, 7 May 1973

### LIBYA

□ See Federal Republic of Germany, page 15.

### SENEGAL

□ In April and October 1975 a number of people went on trial in Senegal, several of them in connection with the publication of an "underground" newspaper critical of the government of President Leopold Senghor. Amnesty International arranged for Maître Marie-Claire Piccard, a French lawyer, to attend the trials as an observer. In a newspaper interview, President Senghor commented on the trials.

Observers from Amnesty International were there. I do not have particularly warm feelings for them. Quite often, I find that their positions are marked by racism, or at least paternalism. They protest rarely against the violence exercised in developed countries, and there are certain silences which are cowardly.

President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, quoted in *L'Unité*, Paris, 7 November 1975

### SOMALIA

□ The following is an extract of a stencilled reply sent to various Amnesty International groups who had written to the government of the Somali Democratic Republic on behalf of Somali prisoners.

. . . I avail myself of this opportunity to express my personal amazement at the interest shown by your Organization and similar institutions for cases

which certainly involve an interference in the internal affairs of the Country, whereas no evidence can be found of your equally strong interest in mobilizing the world opinion against crimes which bypass national frontiers, such as in the case of South African apartheid or in the case of genocide affecting — like in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, for instance—the future of mankind and world people. . .

To say the least, the time and resources of your institution could find much better investment and more profitable returns in pleading for the removal of such factors of human hatred and of open violation of the basic human rights, rather than in moving after and worrying for the future of a few individuals who have been taking advantage of their political power to betray their country and to deceive their people.

Hoping that you will give due and right consideration to these my reactions, I wish you good luck. May God illuminate you to the right and just path.

Yours faithfully,

Captain Geilani Sufi Mudhir, Secretary to President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic, 29 August 1972

#### SOUTH AFRICA

□ Amnesty International Secretary General Martin Ennals sent a letter to Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa protesting against the forced resettlement of Black Africans.

Dear Mr Ennals,  
I have been instructed by the Honourable the Prime Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 27 July, 1972, and to

reply as follows:

It is interesting, although typical of Amnesty International, to note that exception is taken to the resettlement of black people in South Africa but that the murder of 80,000 black people in the Sudan, and elsewhere, is apparently condoned or shrugged off.

If you are really concerned about the lot of underprivileged and oppressed peoples, it is suggested that you approach certain prominent member-states of the Organization of African Unity and your friends behind the iron curtain. . .

Letter from Mr Vorster's Private Secretary, Pretoria, 8 August 1972

#### UGANDA

□ After the publication of the *Amnesty International Annual Report 1974/75*, President Idi Amin of Uganda addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

The London-based organization Amnesty International continues to pay lip service to the cause of justice and, as shown in their recent publication, has blackmailed over 100 nations of the world as violators of human rights without mentioning Britain and her role in Northern Ireland.

Amnesty International are fed on rumours and concoctions from discredited criminals in exile. . .

They have lent themselves as tools for the smear campaigns perpetrated by the colonial and imperialistic powers that fund their existence.

President Idi Amin of Uganda, 1 October 1975

\* \* \*

Uganda's President Idi Amin has accused the London-based Amnesty International of promoting highway

robbery, corruption and anti-government activities throughout the world, the government-owned *Voice of Uganda* newspaper reported . . .

The paper quoted the President . . . as saying, "any leader collaborating with this organization is wasting his time. He will never control his people".

Reuter report from Kampala, 24 September 1975

#### ZAMBIA

□ An Amnesty International news release on 21 May 1975 urged President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to ensure fair and humane treatment for members of the Rhodesian African national movement ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) who were detained after the murder in Lusaka on 18 May 1975 of ZANU chairman Herbert Chitepo. The quote refers to Tapson Mawere, ZANU representative in the United States.

. . . Also joining the chorus of foolish men like Mawere is the Amnesty International which has its headquarters in London. . . This organization has seen fit to insult the people of Zambia. With unparalleled insolence it has been writing to the authorities in this country to investigate imaginary tortures of former ZANU officials now detained to help in the investigations. We believe what this organization would like this country to do is to release these people before investigations are complete . . . In the past Amnesty International commanded respect in this country. Maybe, we did not know at the time the shady characters who now it calls the reliable sources from which it gathers its information to interest the international community. . .

Editorial in *The Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, as reported by the British Broadcasting Corporation's *Summary of World Broadcasts*

## The Americas

#### ARGENTINA

□ Extract from an article, written by the Uruguayan office of an Argentine journal.

To the not infrequent accusation that AI takes great pains in the liberation of so-called "political prisoners" in the western world—most of whom are not in jail because of their beliefs or race but because they were found guilty of crimes—but often ignores the much more blatant

cases of disregard for human rights in the communist states, AI replies that it has to work where it can and do whatever it lies in its power to do. . . But it hardly explains why AI systematically accuses the government of countries such as Brazil and Chile, demanding their removal by the "people", while downplaying or completely omitting the undoubtedly far graver crimes against humanity that take place in the communist-ruled states. . .

...AI has also protested in Great Britain against the training of special combat units that include real-life torture, with the view of helping the soldiers to bear up against maltreatment when applied by an enemy. These cases were greatly publicized, but the public was protesting against them already before AI took up this cause. The government decided to discontinue the practice, but nevertheless AI continued for many months to cite Great Britain as a country where torture is practised systematically.

*The Review of the River Plate*, Buenos Aires, 31 March 1975

#### BRAZIL

□ In September 1972, Amnesty International issued a major report entitled *Report on Allegations of Torture in Brazil*. Subsequent trials of alleged terrorists have occasionally tried to link them with Amnesty International. The Ministry of Justice's censorship board also ordered Brazilian newspapers to ignore all Amnesty International statements on Brazilian issues.

... the famous Amnesty International, instrument of communist terrorism which, from London, aids guerrillas throughout the world. This "Amnesty" promotes campaigns around the world for Amnesty terrorist criminals by means of lies and defamations against democratic governments. It has conducted a systematic campaign against Brazil, inventing tortures, assassinations and acts of violence, in order to promote communist objectives.

*O Cruzeiro*, Rio de Janeiro, September 1972

\* \* \*  
... Pauline Reichstul "Silvana", native of Czechoslovakia. . . of the terrorist organization called VSRSP

... Was in league with Amnesty International, collaborating actively in the defamation campaign against Brazil undertaken abroad by this foreign association. . .

Report on six alleged terrorists, *Diario de Pernambuco*, Recife, 11 January 1973

#### COSTA RICA

□ A general article about Amnesty International.

This organization has studied the grave problem of political prisoners in the world of today. Generally we say that political prisoners exist and are tortured and murdered in places ruled by dictators. Then, according to our ideological background, we denounce the jails and tortures of the communist countries, and the "fascist gorillas". But the truth is that in this, as in many other dimensions, the seeds have sprouted everywhere.

Amnesty International seeks to call the attention of all people to this terrible evil; and it is succeeding. It is a humanitarian organization that merits the recognition and support of the democratic governments of the world.

*Excelsior*, San José, 4 April 1975

#### ECUADOR

□ *The Amnesty International Annual Report 1974/75* was published in September 1975.

A report of the organization Amnesty International refers to human rights in Latin America, and on the basis of objective and utterly precise research, affirms that in Latin American countries there has been a proliferation of kidnappings, the mysterious disappearance of

individuals—including women and children—of tortures and exiles. . .

*El Comercio*, Quito, 16 September 1975

#### GUATEMALA

□ See Mexico below.

#### HONDURAS

□ The subject was an unidentified Amnesty International publication.

Throughout the western world an organized campaign of attack and slander is being organized against three Latin American countries: Brazil, Bolivia and Paraguay. . .

The magnitude of the operations, the language used, the front organizations that do the denouncing, reveal the communist origins of this campaign, which is constructed along lines spread recently through fellow-traveller circles or by useful puppets, and which is financed from funds originating in Moscow. For some years, an organization calling itself "Amnesty International" has existed, whose mission consists of publishing each year a report about torture inflicted on political prisoners. . . According to Amnesty International's report, torture in Brazil is not inflicted by police stooges, but by army generals and colonels. The accusers present no proof of this, and their assertions boil down to curses, insults and abuse. . .

Editorial entitled "The Communist Campaign Against Brazil, Bolivia and Paraguay", *La Prensa*, San Pedro Sulas, 23 March 1973

#### MEXICO

□ A Mexican anti-communist journal, referring to Amnesty International's assertions of violations of human rights in Guatemala, calls the organization:

One of the bravest dogs of the red

pack trained by the world communist revolution to throw itself against the peoples that detest marxism. . .

Amnesty International barks once again with slander and lies, endeavouring to stain the honour and international prestige of this great Latin American nation, the heroic republic of Guatemala. . .

Amnesty International can do no better than to aim its artillery of lying verbosity against a people victorious over communism, the republic of Guatemala. . .

*Replica*, Guadalajara, September 1975

□ General article on the whole issue of political imprisonment, by one of the best known journalists in Latin America.

... Only one organization functions in order to defend prisoners of conscience: Amnesty International. . . It maintains solidarity with the voluntary sections of the silent masses who feel represented by those who have voiced their opinions and been imprisoned for doing so, have suffered, and frequently are untried, exiled or held incommunicado. . .

To donate one's time or money to Amnesty International does not necessarily mean that one agrees with what such and such a prisoner of conscience may have expressed, but that one upholds his right to expression. . .

Many prisoners of conscience have either been released, or their prison conditions ameliorated, or their execution postponed: thanks to the campaigns of Amnesty International. Torturers of every kind fear publicity. Amnesty International uses this one weapon: publicity. . .

"The Idea as a Crime", article by Victor Alba in *Siempre*, Mexico City, 23 May 1973

## URUGUAY

□ President Juan Maria Bordaberry, replying to a letter from a Canadian university professor requesting the release of opposition leaders, cited the report of the joint ICJ and AI mission to Uruguay in May 1974 which concluded that political detainees lacked legal protection and were systematically tortured during the first period following their arrest.

The joint report of Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists offers absolutely no proof of mistreatment. . .

. . . I do not have much confidence in the testimony of these last two organizations, because I do not recall having seen them condemning the crimes, the torture and the denial of liberty for which the subversives were responsible, or those which occur in the countries which supported them. . .

Thus, I believe that you have been misinformed as part of the international communist-inspired campaign of falsehoods. . .

President Juan Maria Bordaberry, Montevideo, 12 February 1975

□ Amnesty International in February 1976 launched a worldwide campaign against torture in Uruguay.

The Government of the Republic of Uruguay proclaims before national and international public opinion that a new stage begins today in the campaign that strives to harm Uruguay by presenting a falsified image of our country. . .

In view of these circumstances, the government considers it necessary to emphasize:

1) That it does not recognize that the same organization Amnesty Inter-

national has either the competence or the moral authority to report on the internal affairs of Uruguay.

2) That it does not have nor will it have in future any kind of relations with this same organization.

3) That it will not indulge in polemics in any form or circumstance with this association, because to do so would be degrading to our national dignity. . .

Foreign Minister Juan Carlos Blanco, at a specially called news conference on the eve of the AI campaign, 18 February 1976

\* \* \*

The action which this private organization called Amnesty International is trying to promote against Uruguay surpasses all extremes yet reached by international propaganda campaigns against countries that defend themselves against marxist-communist penetration. . .

The fact is, on a fixed date announced in advance, Amnesty International launched a campaign against Uruguay, simultaneously calling international news conferences in several major cities in Europe and the United States, in order to release all its poison, its slanders, its distortions, its one-sided views, managing to exploit the information media as a channel for its aims—not a difficult feat, considering the news agencies' notorious inclination for such attacks on anti-communist governments. . .

Neither Eastern countries nor penal procedures in Asia and Africa attract Amnesty's humanitarianism. . .

Editorial entitled "Amnesty in Defence of Communism", *El País*, Montevideo, 21 February 1976

## USA

□ Cover article about Amnesty International.

. . . Evidence abounds, then, that Amnesty International is destined to become the preeminent human rights lobby of our time, a force to reckon with in international politics. This alone would justify scrutiny of its principles and performance. But the task acquires a special urgency for another reason. Amnesty asserts—persuasively, I think—that it is "independent of any government, political party, or religious creed". Regrettably, however, it is not free of ideology, and one ideology above all: liberalism.

For despite its efforts to be rigidly nonpolitical, Amnesty International is unmistakably an

organization of the Left. . .

. . . Amnesty exhibits a disconcerting propensity to exalt the rights of conscience to the exclusion of all other legitimate considerations—such as respect for law, military order, and harmony in the community. . .

. . . The crucial test is simple: does Amnesty display a greater zeal for exposing the sins of rightwing regimes than those of leftwing (particularly Communist) dictatorships? Is Amnesty's work as truly dispassionate, objective, and evenly distributed as it asserts?

After surveying the evidence, I do not believe that Amnesty practices a systematic double standard. To its enduring credit, Amnesty's concern appears to be genuinely universal. . .

George H. Nash, *National Review*, New York, 6 December 1974

## Asia

## INDIA

□ In September 1974, Amnesty International published a *Report on Detention Conditions in West Bengal Jails* which criticized the conditions in the jails.

Propriety often becomes its own parody when do-gooder private organizations presume to become the world's conscience and Amnesty International, in its apparent need to find ghosts under every bushel, finally seems to have outdone itself.

How else can one explain its quite absurd and outrageous allegations that West Bengal jails are overflowing with

political detainees of all rank and tariff being held incommunicado?

*The Deccan Herald*, Bangalore, 29 September 1974

□ The Indian government declared a state of emergency on 26 June 1975, suspending fundamental human rights and detaining tens of thousands of alleged opponents of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's regime. Amnesty International was one of a number of organizations which sent protests to the government urging the release of the detainees.

We learn that the Socialist International and Amnesty International

are two organizations which are very active in the hate-India campaign. They are flush with funds. One wonders from where these come.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in an interview published in her ruling Congress Party's journal, *Socialist India*, 13 August 1975

\* \* \*

The Prime Minister had a dig at the Amnesty International and the Socialist International. These organizations were not at all worried about what had been happening in the countries where there was "open authoritarian rule". They were not concerned if people were killed but they raised their voice if some people were detained, she added.

Report in *The Hindustan Times* of a speech delivered by Mrs Gandhi when inaugurating an educators' conference in New Delhi on 19 September 1975.

#### INDONESIA

□ Memorandum sent by the Chairman of AI's International Executive Committee, Sean MacBride—who had visited Indonesia in October 1970—to the Indonesian government drawing attention to 90,000 political prisoners detained since the 1965 coup attempt.

Sean MacBride SC is the Chairman of Amnesty International. . . a front organization of the new left, which has its seat in London. Their work is to defend political detainees, especially the communists who are imprisoned in various countries outside the communist bloc, on the excuse of humanitarianism, human rights and the rule of law, norms which are customarily not needed by the communists themselves. Nevertheless, in order not to be too transparent now and again they also defend

political detainees from non-communist trends.

Editorial in *Angkatan Bersenjata*, Indonesian Army Newspaper, Bandjermasin, 29 May 1971

□ Arief Budiman, one of the most active student leaders in Indonesia, published an article in a leading weekly news magazine on the subject of the increasing attention being paid outside Indonesia to the question of its political prisoners.

If the Indonesian government is hostile to this organization [AI] and regards it as a communist group, then this attitude will bolster the communist groups which campaign for political purposes. In Europe everybody knows that Amnesty International is a non-political organization which is viewed with enmity by both the Spanish and Greek governments and the governments in Eastern Europe.

"Problem of Political Prisoners and How to Handle It", by Arief Budiman, *Tempo*, Semarang, 9 June 1973

□ See Netherlands, page 17.

#### REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

□ Amnesty International statement urging the International Conference on Vietnam and Indochina to place the estimated 100,000 political prisoners in South Vietnam under United Nations control.

On Thursday, 22 February, 1973, Amnesty International has issued a news release concerning the question of civilian prisoners in South Vietnam. The Embassy of Vietnam, while it does not question the good faith of Amnesty International, deems it necessary to make the following reservations regarding the memorandum

published by that organization on this subject. . . Furthermore, by urging the International Conference, which is mostly made up of foreign countries, to take action regarding a purely internal matter of South Vietnam, well before the expiration of the above mentioned limit of 90 days, Amnesty International shows an unexpected

disregard of the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. . .

Press release issued at specially convened news conference in London by the embassy of the government of the Republic of Vietnam on 23 February 1973.

## Europe

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

At present [imperialist] circles concentrate on supporting the active opponents of the [Czechoslovak] regime. Under directives from these [imperialist] centers a number of emigrés have penetrated all kinds of western organizations, associations and institutions, ie the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, the so-called Russell Foundation, International Pen Club, and the specially created organization Amnesty International, working for the "pardoning" of those who were sentenced for acts of subversion.

Extract from the weekly *Tribuna*, Prague, 8 January 1975

#### DENMARK

□ The *Amnesty International Annual Report 1973/74* was published in September 1974.

What can be deduced from reading AI's annual report is impressive but also ambiguous. Impressive because the organization since the sixties has extended its information, and assist-

ance program, very considerably. The organization has a research department which probably today is in possession of the most comprehensive material in the world concerning abuse of power, political persecution and maltreatment of prisoners.

Ambiguous—because the annual report also shows that these efforts have not stopped the barbaric development.

*Information*, Copenhagen, 4 September 1974

#### FINLAND

□ The exiled Russian author Alexander Solzhenitsyn gave a news conference on 12 December 1974 in Stockholm at which he was critical of Amnesty International.

After careful comments about the case of Raoul Wallenberg [a Swedish diplomat in Hungary taken prisoner by the Russians in 1945 and not heard of since then], he directed hard criticism against Amnesty International. He explained that



Amnesty incorrectly compares political prisoners' conditions in the east and west. It is not possible to make such a comparison because conditions of political prisoners in the Soviet Union are more difficult than anywhere else. It is also more difficult to get information from the Soviet Union than any other country. Amnesty doesn't realize that, and that is why it deceives itself and the others in a cruel way.

Report in the Finnish newspaper *Vasabladet*, Vaasa, 13 December 1974

#### FRANCE

□ Amnesty International's December 1973 Conference for the Abolition of Torture was to have been held in UNESCO headquarters in Paris, but it was cancelled by UNESCO at the last minute. The conference was transferred to another site in Paris and took place on schedule, 10-12 December 1973.

In the 12 years of its existence Amnesty International can claim some appreciable success: thousands of people on four continents, in the east as well as the west, have been snatched from their jails by the untiring and stubborn, yet often discreet, efforts of "groups", each of which is entrusted by this non-governmental organization with the concern of the fate of three political prisoners (one from the east, one from the west and one from a non-aligned country).

The handful of lawyers brought together by Peter Benenson and Sean MacBride in 1961 gave birth to an organization whose moral authority is acknowledged by the east as well as the west.

The [UNESCO] incident is revealing. It is not easy nowadays to appear

strictly impartial and not to appear committed to a particular ideology.

Marcel Niedergang in *Le Monde*, Paris, 8 December 1973

□ The *Amnesty International Report on Torture* was published in December 1973.

Amnesty International's originality is that it seeks not so much the moral support of well known people, as the more effective contribution from supporters of all ages and all levels who give their money and their work to develop this network of solidarity which is unique in the world. Unceasing specialist research keeps the organization informed of arrests, of cases of torture and of any violation of fundamental rights. Amnesty International's information is the most reliable which exists on the treatment of political prisoners wherever they may be, and on what might be called the geography of torture.

Amnesty International's report rigorously analyzes [the practice of torture].

Article entitled "The Century of Torture" by Pierre Emmanuel in *Le Figaro*, Paris, 8-9 December 1973

#### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

□ Publication of series of Amnesty International reports on prison conditions in Portugal, East Germany and other countries.

... The report on Portugal is excellent, but it is absurd to focus on East Germany, as there are no political prisoners in East Germany; anyone looking for violations of human rights in that part of the world should concentrate on West Germany.

*Berliner Zeitung*, East Berlin, 1966

#### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

□ In 1974 Sean MacBride, longtime Chairman of Amnesty International's International Executive Committee, shared the Nobel Peace Prize with former Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato who also was a member of AI.

... The other candidate, Sean MacBride, is certainly more deserving. ... he has lent the organization an image. But the work which has made AI great and respected has been carried out by its nameless staff and members.

They take issue with the men in power, name them, castigate racism, torture, concentration camps and totalitarianism—whether it occurs in the country of *The Gulag Archipelago* or in states ruled by juntas. ... The Peace Prize would have been a fitting honour for the organization.

Commentary, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Frankfurt, 10 October 1974

□ The Libyan police brutally broke up a student demonstration in Benghazi on 4 January 1976.

In Bonn and several western capitals, Libyan students have occupied the embassies. The young Libyans were protesting against the brutal way the police handle student demonstrations in their country. ... It is very difficult to verify if, as the students say, several students were killed in Benghazi or if that claim is exaggerated. Voluntary organizations such as Amnesty International cannot be trusted as far as the violation of human rights in Libya is concerned. Amnesty International has got its information on Africa from very dubious sources for a long time and therefore was convinced that

Libya, unlike other Arab countries such as Egypt and Morocco, is a free and happy country. Unfortunately this is not true.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Frankfurt, 16 January 1976

#### GREECE

□ An Amnesty International news release reported from reliable sources in Athens that at least nine Greek naval officers involved in an alleged mutiny attempt had been tortured.

Amnesty has repeatedly lied and does so shamelessly again. The matter is an unbridled and malicious figment of imagination.

Byron Stamatopolulos, the Greek Government's Press Undersecretary, quoted in *The Athens News*, Athens, 8 June 1973

□ An article about Amnesty International's work in Greece and other countries.

Greeks feel affection for the Amnesty International organization. During the years of dictatorship, news of its activities, the charges it brought and its work of informing public opinion about the violations of human rights and the tortures and persecution practised by the tyrannical regime, often reached their ears. Not only was there the consistent support which it gave to the Greeks, but its courageous representations to the official authorities often produced positive results.

Article in *Kathimerini*, Athens, 25 January 1975

#### REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

□ Speech on general problems facing the UN and world, delivered by the Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the

30th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

We [the United Nations] have not, however, succeeded in making much progress in respect of individual human rights within nation states. . . It should be a source of shame to all of us in this organization that a body such as Amnesty International, widely respected, should have to report that in the territories of 100 members of this organization breaches of human rights occur and that one member state, Chile, is currently refusing admission to a United Nations human rights study group.

Dr Garret FitzGerald, Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, 26 September 1975

#### ITALY

□ An article about Amnesty International's work at the time of the publication of the Italian edition of the *Amnesty International Report on Torture*.

It is sufficient to glance through Amnesty's annual report to realize what an enormous contribution it [Amnesty] is making to a human struggle that has shown itself to be of vital importance, since intolerance for political and racial reasons is assuming the forms of state legitimacy. It is, for example, because of Amnesty that the organ of Soviet dissent, "Chronicle of Current Events" secretly published in the USSR, and which denounces the arrest and persecution of dissidents, has been made known in the west and translated into many languages.

Article entitled "Tortura, vergogna senza passaports" [Torture, shame without a passport] in *Corriere della Sera*, Milan, 15 June 1975

#### LUXEMBOURG

□ Amnesty International Luxembourg Section launched a national promotion campaign in December 1975.

One can criticize Amnesty International for not naming the political causes of which violence is an effect, like imperialism, but one may also fear that Amnesty's activity enforces the passive self-content about the social order here. It gives those who have always omitted to stand up for human rights an alibi free of charge.

*Tageblatt*, Luxembourg, 28 December 1975

#### NETHERLANDS

□ *Getrouw*, the Dutch-language monthly of the International Council of Christian Churches, published a comment on the arrest of AI members in the Soviet Union.

AI, the organization professing to fight for the interests of political prisoners in east and west, has been exposed repeatedly in this paper as being without principles and untrustworthy. The international socialist and marxist ideas guiding Amnesty in a major way should deter Christians enough already. News about arrests of, and official troubles for, Amnesty workers in the socialist "paradise" Russia may seem to contradict this but they do not change our position. Amnesty does not become trustworthy because the Soviet Union takes a turn against her. Communists also fight among themselves. . . The régime in Moscow does not tolerate any interference, not even from ideological friends.

For that matter, it is doubtful whether these reports are true and whether they indicate that Amnesty really has not found favour in the eyes

of the Soviets. Amnesty's activities in Western Europe are to the benefit of the Soviet Union, because they take the wind out of the sails of clear anti-communist groups who actually do something for the persecuted behind the Iron Curtain. For that reason it is quite possible that the reports about arrests of Amnesty workers in Russia are invented by the KGB to increase the sympathy for AI in the west.

*Getrouw*, May 1975

□ A special report called *Indonesia Special* published by Amnesty International's Dutch Section in March 1973, contained a detailed and illustrated review of the history and suffering of the 55,000 Indonesian civilians detained without trial for more than seven years.

Amnesty International, a laudable organization that defends the rights of political prisoners all over the world, is doing great work with its action for the tens of thousands of political prisoners in Indonesia. . .

In its special publication on the fate of political prisoners in Indonesia, Amnesty International-Holland gives useful and generally reliable information. It is regrettable, however, that the role the communists played in the coup of 1965 is portrayed rather one-sidedly.

*Het Parool*, Amsterdam, 9 March 1973

#### NORWAY

□ The *Amnesty International Report on Torture* was published in December 1973.

Amnesty International has once again made the world aware of an international problem. The report cannot be brushed aside as one-sided

or superficial. The accusations are well documented and Amnesty has found it proven that torture is practised both in East European and western countries. . .

*Dagbladet*, Oslo, 3 December 1973

□ An editorial, entitled "Violence poisons", which mentions the various forms of persecution against dissenters and civilians in different parts of the world.

Hope for a peaceful world as long as mankind cannot agree to something as illusory as common moral rules, is something which only the very biggest optimists have. But organizations like the Red Cross, Amnesty International and a few others are, in spite of everything, giving a certain hope. Highly neutral in religious, racial and political questions, they have on a purely humanitarian foundation managed to combine idealism with realism.

*Aftenposten*, Oslo, 8 July 1974

#### PORTUGAL

□ In November 1972, a demonstration was held in front of the Portuguese Embassy in The Hague, led by the head of the Portuguese Social Democratic Party, Dr Mario Soares, to protest against the detention of political prisoners in Portugal. The following is a commentary on the *Reuter* report of the incident.

. . . The anti-Portuguese demonstrations which took place in The Hague about a week ago, in front of the Portuguese Embassy, gathered about 700 people in a simulated, symbolic "concentration camp". The demonstrators carried banners calling for amnesty for the prisoners.

This sad, inconceivable spectacle,

whose "star" was Dr Mario Soares (Professor at the University of Rennes), was dreamed up by Amnesty International, whose headquarters are in London and whose brains are in Moscow. . .

*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, 19 November 1972

□ After the release of political detainees in April 1974 a quotation from the National Committee of Aid to Political Prisoners appeared in an article in a Lisbon evening newspaper.

. . . We would like to thank all those who in one way or another have given moral or material help to the prisoners and their families who were cruelly persecuted by the previous regime—help which lasted for years. There is no doubt that for many political prisoners Amnesty International was a ray of hope in the night of their despair.

*Jornal Novo*, Lisbon, 10 May 1975

□ AI's Secretary General wrote on 30 January 1976 to Prime Minister Pinheiro de Azevedo of Portugal commending his government on co-sponsoring the United Nations Declaration on Torture. A copy of the letter was sent to the Portuguese representative at the UN.

. . . May I, in my own name, recall your tireless efforts in favour of so many of the prisoners and detainees whom I had the privilege, as a member of the Lisbon Bar, to defend in the years prior to 1974.

Letter from Jose Manuel Galvao Teles, Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations, New York, 11 February 1976

#### SPAIN

. . . everyone knows that Amnesty is nothing more than a communist

organization, as unqualified as any organization controlled by Moscow to judge Chilean events. . .

Letter from the Chilean ambassador, Francisco Gorigoitia Herrera, published in *Cambio 16*, Madrid, 28 April 1975

□ The editor replied:

The Chilean ambassador appears to have more accurate information in his possession than *Cambio 16* or the Soviet authorities themselves, who have recently been detaining and imprisoning all of Amnesty International's representatives in the USSR.

*Cambio 16*, Madrid, 28 April 1975

□ See USSR, page 21.

#### SWEDEN

□ In an address to the United Nations General Assembly on 23 September 1975, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs Sven Andersson discussed the need for respect for human rights.

Moreover, let me emphasize the deplorable lack of respect for political dissidents, of which we receive daily evidence. . . people are being thrown into prison in a great many countries, their only crime being that they have expressed inconvenient thoughts. Amnesty International is an organization that deserves much credit for the way in which it has focused the attention of the world on the fate of many of these people.

Sven Andersson, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, New York, 23 September 1975

#### SWITZERLAND

□ The defendants in the first trial of torturers under the former Greek junta were sentenced in August 1975.

Where is Amnesty International now

that the Athens sentences are to satisfy leftist thirsts for revenge? But then, the condemned are only white patriots who tried to preserve their country from a Communist take-over. Does Amnesty International stand up for the victims of bloody repression by African tyrants or the oppressed and incarcerated victims of the egregious Mrs Gandhi? Does that organization intercede for those languishing in East German prisons because they tried to escape from that Red Paradise?

A letter from St Gallen, Switzerland, printed in the *International Herald Tribune*, Paris, 4 September 1975

□ AI's Swiss Section approached teachers in Berne during a fundraising campaign.

If we now put AI's [Swiss Section] publicity—mainly attacks on governments for violating human rights—under the microscope, we find increasing proof of its one-sidedness. AI admits that it has conducted one publicity campaign against eastern governments and three against the west. . . Nowadays, there is no sign whatever of AI's political neutrality. Let me give another two examples of this one-sidedness: has anybody forgotten AI's furious attacks on South Vietnam? Its campaigns against the equally blameworthy communists pale in comparison. Although AI was aware of the existence of 64,000 political prisoners held by the Vietcong, it never used this fact for a campaign against North Vietnam.

Letter to *Berner Schulblatt*, Berne, 9 November 1975

#### TURKEY

□ Amnesty International twice sent missions to Turkey in 1972 to investig-

ate allegations of torture of political prisoners. The second mission reported to a news conference in London in December 1972 that efforts to see all but one of 32 prisoners on a list previously agreed with the Turkish Government had failed.

Ankara, January 25.

A group of conservative members of Parliament tonight tried to beat up the chairman of Turkey's main opposition party on the House floor as he was accusing the Prime Minister of lying on the issue of torture of political prisoners in Turkey.

Mr Ferit Melen, the Prime Minister, had been telling Parliament that allegations of torture by western newspapers, "Amnesty what's-its-name International" and some parliamentarians at the Council of Europe were part of a slander campaign against Turkey. The accusations were "all lies, all false", he said.

Mr Bulent Ecevit, Chairman of the Republic People's Party, rose and shouted: "You are lying". He was promptly attacked by about 15 members of the conservative National Reliance and Democratic parties.

RPP members defended their leader, and curses and punches were exchanged with Mr Ecevit in the middle of the scrimmage.

It was Mr Ecevit who first publicly alleged the torture of political prisoners in Turkey. Continuing his rebuttal today after order was restored, Mr Melen said that a representative of Amnesty International who had seen leftist prisoners in Istanbul "has betrayed us". Such a mistake would not be repeated.

. . . Newspapers, Amnesty International and such members of Parliament who alleged torture were participants in "a

campaign of slander directed against Turkey".

Report in *The Times*, London, 26 January 1973

#### UNITED KINGDOM

□ Michael Tobin was adopted by a Swiss Amnesty International group as a prisoner of conscience, after being sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment in Britain for possession of copies of pro-Irish Republican Army leaflets offering money to British soldiers who deserted or handed over their officers to the IRA.

... Tobin, only the second English prisoner to be adopted by Amnesty International, is presumably seen as a suitable candidate for martyrdom. But the organization's sympathy is monstrously misguided. ... Tobin might be as much a fool as a villain. But he is not worth shedding any tears over. And if Amnesty International champions undeserving causes like his it can only devalue the organization's efforts to help victims of repressive regimes like Russia and Brazil. If Amnesty International is looking for martyrs in the United Kingdom it might consider more than 100 soldiers who have been killed in Northern Ireland.

Editorial entitled "The Unlikely Martyr" in *The Chatham, Rochester & Gillingham News*, Kent, 8 December 1972

□ Publication in November 1975 of AI's *Prisoners of Conscience in the USSR: Their Treatment and Conditions*.

Amnesty International has sometimes come under criticism for appearing to concentrate on countries under "Rightwing" regimes, such as Greece under the Colonels. With the publication of its 150-page report on "prisoners of conscience" in Russia (summarized in *The Daily Telegraph*

yesterday), such criticisms, if they ever had any validity can never be raised again. It is one of the most detailed which Amnesty has ever produced on violations in a single country. And its evidence and conclusions are truly damning. . .

Editorial in *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 19 November 1975

#### USSR

□ Parcels and letters were sent to Soviet prisoners of conscience confined to mental hospitals. There was accompanying publicity on the subject.

Especially zealous is the notorious "Amnesty International", whose unscrupulous methods we have already related to you in the pages of *Izvestia*. . . One of the reports of the British Section of this organization states that representatives of the intelligentsia in the Soviet Union are sent off to psychiatric hospitals "without any trial". Tales of "psychiatric isolation cells for healthy persons" are unfailingly accompanied by a hypocritical refrain from "martyrs", condemned, apparently, to spend the rest of their days behind impenetrable walls. In reality, we are dealing with persons who have committed socially dangerous actions while of unsound mind, or who have, during the course of the investigation, the trial, or after the sentence has been passed, become mentally ill, thus making it impossible for themselves to take account of their own actions or control them. . . The Western ideological saboteurs who babble all kinds of rubbish about mentally ill persons do not even notice what a ridiculous position they are putting themselves in.

Article in *Izvestia*, Moscow, entitled "Zealots of Falsehood in the Slough of Slander", signed by K. Bryantsev, 24 October 1971

□ Byelorussia's party newspaper reported that several Roman Catholics had been arrested for publishing notes on foreign broadcasts and for trying to distribute "anti-Soviet literature" abroad.

... The paper also reported that the organization Amnesty International had interceded on behalf of the chief defendant Evgeny Silchukov. It accused AI of defending "anti-communists" while, at the same time, doing nothing "for the thousands of citizens languishing in Chilean, Spanish, Israeli and South African jails, as these prisoners are not anti-communists".

Reuter report from Moscow, published in the Swiss daily newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 13 August 1974

□ Letters sent by Amnesty International groups appealing on behalf of various political prisoners in the Soviet Union. The following article called the letters "provocative" and the senders "do-gooders".

... The persons who send such letters are ordinary clerks in the local organizations of this so-called "Amnesty International", which even according to the bourgeois press is in a leading position among organizations which conduct subversive anti-Soviet propaganda. . .

Amnesty International disseminates falsified materials in capitalist countries which are expected to convince the public that believers are persecuted in the USSR, that in our country the church is allegedly to be found in the catacombs, and so on. In addition, the philanthropists resort to crude slander.

Article entitled "Wrong Address, Gentlemen", *Pravda Ukrainy*, Kiev, 1 November 1970, reprinted in the *Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press*, December 1970

□ The *Report of an Amnesty International Mission to Spain* was published in September 1975.

Amnesty International has issued a revealing document. . . it comes to confirm, with the authority of this humanitarian international organization however, that the violation of human rights, that arbitrariness raised to the mark of the administration of justice, and that repression as a form of government have not commenced with the promulgation of the anti-terrorism law. . . All attempts by Amnesty International through a delegation to establish contact with the Spanish government have failed. But if the Francoite authorities think that they can continue with their repressive police in the shadows and in silence, they are wrong.

Radio Moscow broadcast to Spain on 18 September 1975, translated in the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) *Summary of World Broadcasts*



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## The Middle East

### IRAN

□ An article about Amnesty International as a "colonial spying organ".

The International Amnesty Organization, a new puppet show that the communists have started, is busy investigating so called cases of intrigues and plots.

Organizations like the international amnesty organization . . . instead of doing their original job, started interfering in the internal affairs of the countries they visited on the pretext of investigating the cases of political prisoners.

Let the planners of the spy organization of international amnesty know that the time of their trickeries is over and the countries of the third world are careful enough to see that these organizations are given no facility to interfere in their internal affairs.

*Rastakhiz*, Tehran, 1 September 1975

□ Article in a widely read weekly magazine.

Amnesty International . . . has in recent years employed intimidation and pressure of all kinds, including the sending of missions to third world countries or to those countries which are affiliated with the industrialized, developed countries and which are not sympathetic to communism.

. . . in spite of all international laws, it interferes in the internal affairs of these countries, and has published lies and slanders about them. Amnesty International, which claims to be responsible for invest-

igating the situation and well-being of prisoners in the third world, has become in effect the supporter and protector of the stooges of reactionaries and communists. It has used all its resources to publish false reports about the [third world] countries, as well as defending those who have acted—according to incontrovertible fact—as professional terrorists, proven traitors and lackeys of colonialism and communism, but who are now in the hands of justice.

. . . The abuse of the freedom of action granted to representatives of this espionage agency in those countries, the distortion of the reports that it has spread and which have been proven false, as well as its participation in acts of armed destruction and terrorism in some of these countries, has clearly revealed the true nature of its affiliation with international communism.

*Khandaniha*, Teheran, Issue number 93

### ISRAEL

□ *Report of an Amnesty International Mission to Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic to Investigate Allegations of Ill-Treatment and Torture* was published in April 1975.

Israeli officials today disputed the findings of an Amnesty International commission which accused both Israel and Syria of ill-treating their prisoners during the October war of 1973.

They said that the commission, in a report just published in London, had deliberately tried to reach an

artificial balance. The report had presented Syrian charges as authoritative and had tended to gloss over claims by Israeli prisoners.

*Reuter* report from Jerusalem, 10 April 1975

### SYRIA

□ *Report of an Amnesty International Mission to Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic to Investigate Allegations of Ill-Treatment and Torture* was published in April 1975.

. . . the spokesman . . . said Tuesday

the report—published in London earlier this month—was not objective . . .

While Syria appreciated the aims of the human rights organization, it could not but note that the report "was not completely objective in defining responsibility for acts violating the Geneva conventions and humane and international traditions," the spokesman said.

Report from Damascus published in *The Daily Star*, Beirut, 23 April 1975



"Never a moment of peace"

Cartoon by F. Behrendt in *Attenposten*, Oslo. Reproduced by kind permission of the artist

## Epilogue

□ Following the publication of the *Report of an Amnesty International Mission to Spain* in September 1975, American author and journalist Martha Gellhorn, visited Spain in January 1976 in connection with an article she subsequently wrote for *The New York Magazine* on the political situation in Spain after the death of Head of State Francisco Franco.

On my first journalistic assignment in Spain since the Civil War, everyone I met in the democratic opposition knew of Amnesty International and had great respect for it. In poor Basque villages even teenage boys spoke of Amnesty International (perhaps the only English word they knew) and a returned political prisoner explained how much it meant to them, in jail, to feel that this organization existed, and they were not forgotten by the world. Where police torture is routine, as in Spain and most especially in the Basque country, Amnesty gives hope of being heard; Amnesty is the only place to send word of such official crimes and—in the simplest terms—Amnesty is seen as a friend by all those who suffer for expressing their opposition to the injustices and abuses of a police state.

Martha Gellhorn, in a note to AI's International Secretariat, 16 February 1976

## AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS

- Prisoners of Conscience in the USSR: Their Treatment and Conditions*, A5, 154 pages, November 1975: £1.00 (US \$2.50).  
*Report of an Amnesty International Mission to Spain*, A5, 24 pages, September 1975: 35 pence (US \$0.90).  
*Amnesty International Mission to Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic to Investigate Allegations of Ill-Treatment and Torture*, A5, 34 pages, April 1975: 50 pence (US \$1.25).  
*Amnesty International Report on Torture*, 246 pages. First published December 1973, second (updated) edition January 1975: £1.50 (US \$3.75).  
*Chile: an Amnesty International Report*, A5, 80 pages in English, 88 pages Spanish, September 1974: 85 pence (US \$2.10).  
*Political Prisoners in South Vietnam*, A4, 36 pages, July 1973: 35 pence (US \$0.90).  
*Report on Allegations of Torture in Brazil*, A5, 108 pages, first edition September 1972, re-set with updated preface March 1976: £1.20 (US \$3.00).  
*Report of an Inquiry into Allegations of Ill-Treatment in Northern Ireland*, A4, 48 pages, March 1972: 75 pence (US \$1.85).  
*A Chronicle of Current Events* (Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR), numbers 17, 18, 21, 24, 27 published individually: 65 pence (US \$1.60); double volumes 19-20, 22-23, 25-26: 85 pence (US \$2.10); numbers 28-31 in one volume: 95 pence (US \$2.50); numbers 32-33, one volume, £1.95 (US \$4.95).  
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