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COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE
HUMAN RIGHTS IN MOTION



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INTRODUCTION



HUMAN RIGHTS IN MOTION: A MAP TO A MOVEMENT'S FUTURE

Lucia Nader (Executive Director, Conectas)
Juana Kweitel (Program Director, Conectas)
Marcos Fuchs (Associate Director, Conectas)

Sur Journal was created ten years ago as a vehicle to deepen and strengthen bonds between academics and activists from the Global South concerned with human rights, in order to magnify their voices and their participation before international organizations and academia. Our main motivation was the fact that, particularly in the Southern hemisphere, academics were working alone and there was very little exchange between researchers from different countries. The journal's aim has been to provide individuals and organizations working to defend human rights with research, analyses and case studies that combine academic rigor and practical interest. In many ways, these lofty ambitions have been met with success: in the past decade, we have published articles from dozens of countries on issues as diverse as health and access to treatment, transitional justice, regional mechanisms and information and human rights, to name a few. Published in three languages and available online and in print for free, our project also remains unique in terms of geographical reach, critical perspective and its Southern 'accent'. In honour of the founding editor of this journal, **Pedro Paulo Poppovic**, the 20th issue opens with a biography (by João Paulo Charleaux) of this sociologist who has been one of the main contributors to this publication's success.

This past decade has also been, in many ways, a successful one for the human rights movement as a whole. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has recently turned 60, new international treaties have been adopted and the old but good global and regional monitoring systems are in full operation, despite criticisms regarding their effectiveness and attempts by States to curb their authority. From a strategic perspective, we continue to use, with more or less success, advocacy, litigation and naming-and-shaming as our main tools for change. In addition, we continue to nurture partnerships between what we categorize as local, national and international organizations within our movement.

Nevertheless, the **political and geographic coordinates** under which the global human

rights movement has operated have undergone profound changes. Over the past decade, we have witnessed hundreds of thousands of people take to the streets to protest against social and political injustices. We have also seen emerging powers from the South play an increasingly influential role in the definition of the global human rights agenda. Additionally, the past ten years have seen the rapid growth of social networks as a tool of mobilization and as a privileged forum for sharing political information between users. In other words, the journal is publishing its 20th issue against a backdrop that is very different from that of ten years ago. The protests that recently filled the streets of many countries around the globe, for example, were not organized by traditional social movements nor by unions or human rights NGOs, and people's grievances, more often than not, were expressed in terms of social justice and not as rights. Does this mean that human rights are no longer seen as an effective language for producing social change? Or that human rights organizations have lost some of their ability to represent wronged citizens? Emerging powers themselves, despite their newly-acquired international influence, have hardly been able – or willing – to assume stances departing greatly from those of “traditional” powers. How and where can human rights organizations advocate for change? Are Southern-based NGOs in a privileged position to do this? Are NGOs from emerging powers also gaining influence in international forums?

It was precisely to reflect upon these and other pressing issues that, for this 20th issue, SUR's editors decided to enlist the help of over 50 leading human rights activists and academics from 18 countries, from Ecuador to Nepal, from China to the US. We asked them to ponder on what we saw as some of the most urgent and relevant questions facing the global human rights movement today: 1. Who do we represent? 2. How do we combine urgent issues with long-term impacts? 3. Are human rights still an effective language for producing social change? 4. How have new information and communication technologies influenced activism? 5. What are the challenges of working internationally from the South?

The result, which you now hold in your hands, is a **roadmap for the global human rights movement** in the 21st century – it offers a vantage point from which it is possible to observe where the movement stands today and where it is heading. The first stop is a reflection on these issues by the founding directors of Conectas Human Rights, **Oscar Vilhena Vieira** and **Malak El-Chichini Poppovic**. The roadmap then goes on to include **interviews** and **articles**, both providing in-depth analyses of human rights issues, as well as **notes from the field**, more personalized accounts of experiences working with human rights, which we have organized into **six categories**, although most of them could arguably be allocated to more than one category:

Language. In this section, we have included articles that ponder the question of whether human rights – as a utopia, as norms and as institutions – are still effective for producing social change. Here, the contributions range from analyses on human rights as a language for change (**Stephen Hoggood** and **Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro**), empirical research on the use of the language of human rights for articulating grievances in recent mass protests (**Sara Burke**), to reflections on the standard-setting role and effectiveness of international human rights institutions (**Raquel Rolnik**, **Vinodh Jaichand** and **Emílio**

Álvarez Icaza). It also includes studies on the movement's global trends (**David Petrusek**), challenges to the movement's emphasis on protecting the rule of law (**Kumi Naidoo**), and strategic proposals to better ensure a compromise between utopianism and realism in relation to human rights (**Samuel Moyn**).

Themes. Here we have included contributions that address specific human rights topics from an original and critical standpoint. Four themes were analysed: economic power and corporate accountability for human rights violations (**Phil Bloomer, Janet Love and Gonzalo Berrón**); sexual politics and LGBTI rights (**Sonia Corrêa, Gloria Careaga Pérez and Arvind Narrain**); migration (**Diego Lorente Pérez de Eulate**); and, finally, transitional justice (**Clara Sandoval**).

Perspectives. This section encompasses country-specific accounts, mostly field notes from human rights activists on the ground. Those contributions come from places as diverse as Angola (**Maria Lúcia da Silveira**), Brazil (**Ana Valéria Araújo**), Cuba (**María-Ileana Faguaga Iglesias**), Indonesia (**Haris Azhar**), Mozambique (**Salvador Nkamate**) and Nepal (**Mandira Sharma**). But they all share a critical perspective on human rights, including for instance a sceptical perspective on the relation between litigation and public opinion in Southern Africa (**Nicole Fritz**), a provocative view of the democratic future of China and its relation to labour rights (**Han Dongfang**), and a thoughtful analysis of the North-South duality from Northern Ireland (**Maggie Beirne**).

Voices. Here the articles go to the core of the question of whom the global human rights movement represents. **Adrian Gurza Lavalle** and **Juana Kweitel** take note of the pluralisation of representation and innovative forms of accountability adopted by human rights NGOs. Others study the pressure for more representation or a louder voice in international human rights mechanisms (such as in the Inter-American system, as reported by **Mario Melo**) and in representative institutions such as national legislatures (as analysed by **Pedro Abramovay and Heloisa Griggs**). Finally, **Chris Grove**, as well as **James Ron, David Crow and Shannon Golden** emphasize, in their contributions, the need for a link between human rights NGOs and grassroots groups, including economically disadvantaged populations. As a counter-argument, **Fateh Azzam** questions the need of human rights activists to represent anyone, taking issue with the critique of NGOs as being overly dependent on donors. Finally, **Mary Lawlor and Andrew Anderson** provide an account of a Northern organization's efforts to attend to the needs of local human rights defenders as they, and only they, define them.

Tools. In this section, the editors included contributions that focus on the instruments used by the global human rights movement to do its work. This includes a debate on the role of technology in promoting change (**Mallika Dutt and Nadia Rasul**, as well as **Sopheap Chak and Miguel Pulido Jiménez**) and perspectives on the challenges of human rights campaigning, analysed provocatively by **Martin Kirk** and **Fernand Alphen** in their respective contributions. Other articles point to the need of organizations to be more grounded in local contexts, as noted by **Ana Paula Hernández** in relation to Mexico, by **Louis Bickford** in what he sees as a convergence towards the global middle, and finally by **Rochelle Jones, Sarah Rosenhek and Anna Turley** in their movement-support model. In addition, it is noted by **Mary Kaldor** that NGOs are not the same as civil society,

properly understood. Furthermore, litigation and international work are cast in a critical light by **Sandra Carvalho and Eduardo Baker** in relation to the dilemma between long and short term strategies in the Inter-American system. Finally, **Gastón Chillier and Pétalla Brandão Timo** analyse South-South cooperation from the viewpoint of a national human rights NGO in Argentina.

Multipolarity. Here, the articles challenge our ways of thinking about power in the multipolar world we currently live in, with contributions from the heads of some of the world's largest international human rights organizations based in the North (**Kenneth Roth** and **Salil Shetty**) and in the South (**Lucia Nader, César Rodríguez-Garavito, Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah** and **Mandeep Tiwana**). This section also debates what multipolarity means in relation to States (**Emilie M. Hafner-Burton**), international organizations and civil society (**Louise Arbour**) and businesses (**Mark Malloch-Brown**).

Conectas hopes this issue will foster debate on the future of the global human rights movement in the 21st century, enabling it to reinvent itself as necessary to offer better protection of human rights on the ground.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that this issue of Sur Journal was made possible by the support of the Ford Foundation, Open Society Foundations, the Oak Foundation, the Sigrid Rausing Trust, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). Additionally, Conectas Human Rights is especially grateful for the collaboration of the authors and the hard work of the Journal's editorial team. We are also extremely thankful for the work of Maria Brant and Manoela Miklos for conceiving this Issue and for conducting most of the interviews, and for Thiago Amparo for joining the editorial team and making this Issue possible. We are also tremendously thankful for Luz González's tireless work with editing the contributions received, and for Ana Cernov for coordinating the overall editorial process.



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Human Rights in Motion

Perspectives

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Human Rights Litigation in Southern Africa: Not Easily Able to Discount Prevailing Public Opinion

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INTERVIEW WITH MARÍA-I. FAGUAGA IGLESIAS

"The Particularities in Cuba Are Not Always Identified nor Understood by Human Rights Activists from Other Countries"



MAGGIE BEIRNE

Maggie Beirne worked at the International Secretariat of Amnesty International on research, campaigning and membership development (1971-1988). After a career break for further study and independent consultancy projects, she worked for the Northern Irish human rights group called the Committee on the Administration of Justice - CAJ (1995-2008).

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ABSTRACT

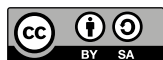
There is a risk that the otherwise welcome move to challenge the northern hegemony over elements of human rights activism can be pursued to an extreme. The author draws on experiences of working internationally and domestically on human rights protection to offer some reflections about how such efforts complement each other and the importance of not undermining—albeit quite inadvertently—the primacy of domestic human rights efforts.

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KEYWORDS

Northern Ireland - Committee on the Administration of Justice - Human rights - Non-governmental organisations



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ESSAY

ARE WE THROWING OUT THE BABY WITH THE BATHWATER?: THE NORTH-SOUTH DYNAMIC FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WORK IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Maggie Beirne

1 Introduction

Human rights activism in Northern Ireland (NI) could be portrayed as a purely 'northern' endeavour: the jurisdiction forms part of the United Kingdom, a former colonial power and a permanent member of the Security Council; the population benefits from universal primary and secondary-level education, a majority mother-tongue that is an important world language, and one that is relatively rich with easy access to modern communications; and NI has all of the trappings of a society governed by the rule of law (an independent judiciary, a vocal media, democratic elections and a vibrant civil society). What could human rights activism in Belfast have in common with Beirut, or Bangalore, or Bogota, or Bangui? Yet, it could equally be argued that these places do share some common concerns: for more than thirty years, NI's political, economic and social divisions were deepened by violent conflict arising from and contributing to discrimination and inequalities (WHYTE, 1990). Human rights activism itself was seen as contentious and controversial and domestic human rights groups in Northern Ireland saw many parallels between their work and that of sister groups in the southern hemisphere, and fruitful exchanges in both directions occurred.

2 North-North cooperation¹

Before turning to the richness that can flow from south-north exchanges, it may be useful to reflect briefly on how a human rights group based in NI tried to lever out pressure from other northern-based entities. Taking as a case-study the human

Notes to this text start on page 262.

rights NGO the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ),² it is clear that support was sought from at least three external³ (northern) sources: NGOs in neighbouring jurisdictions, NGOs with an international brief and third-party governments and inter-governmental bodies.

CAJ's first decade of work was largely inward-looking, with an emphasis on data-gathering, publicising abuses and trying to mobilise *domestic* actors (media, politicians, civil society) to effect change. But in the words of a former chairperson, "It is becoming increasingly obvious that the only way positively to influence the government is through international pressure – CAJ therefore needs to build up its work in this area".⁴ Accordingly, the organisation started to reach out beyond its immediate networks and to deepen its contact with neighbouring NGOs in England, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland. All these NGOs were members of the *Federation Internationale des Droits de l'Homme* (FIDH), so together they formed an FIDH "British Irish Panel", organised regular meetings and strategized closely together, particularly in the lead-up to the negotiation of the 1998 NI peace agreement.⁵ These cooperative endeavours were soon complemented by outreach to international NGOs beyond FIDH: there had long been links to Amnesty International, and a visit to New York to seek the active support of groups such as the Lawyers Committee on Human Rights (now Human Rights First) and Human Rights Watch proved very productive. CAJ urged that they give greater priority to work on NI on the grounds that well-respected human rights groups, which could not be accused of having either a "British" or an "Irish" agenda coming to their own independent conclusions about the human rights situation in Northern Ireland, could bring great leverage to internal debates.

This proved to be the case, and the strong working relationships that developed between national and international NGOs opened up powerful new opportunities for exerting influence on third-party governments and inter-governmental organisations.⁶ For example, CAJ's affiliation to FIDH gave it direct access to the various UN scrutiny bodies;⁷ the LCHR/HRF's contacts led to the holding of several US Congressional hearings on different human rights aspects of the NI conflict at which CAJ routinely testified;⁸ and Amnesty International, HRW and others sent missions, collaborated in the monitoring of contentious public order events, and published seminal reports which were widely distributed beyond NI itself.

3 North-South cooperation

Work to uphold and promote human rights in Northern Ireland benefited importantly from north-south as well as north-north cooperation. For example, though the different UN scrutiny bodies were referred to earlier (in part, because offices and meetings in Geneva and New York imply a "northern" perspective), it was their roots (in membership, staffing and activities) in southern experiences that was the most important. Committee members frequently empathised with the testimony they received from NI human rights victims, found parallels with

abuses going on in very different parts of the world and were (normally) unafraid to challenge urbane government delegations.⁹ For their part, most committee members involved in regular critiques of southern abuses of human rights were pleased to be provided with reliable information highlighting problems in a northern hemisphere power: such material allowed the UN to evidence its own impartiality, but also highlighted the hypocrisy of those member states who were willing to criticise the records of others, but often rejected any serious scrutiny of their own behaviour.

In terms of bi-lateral relations, states are often more amenable to interventions by those perceived to be their friends and allies, and in the case of the UK, this led to a CAJ focus on litigating before the European Court of Human Rights, lobbying for human rights provisions in EU grants, and mobilising the US Administration and other similar political actors. However, even if efforts to deploy southern states were rare,¹⁰ their nationals were seen to have much to offer and CAJ invited numerous foreign guests to speak at its events over the years.¹¹ UN rapporteurs and human rights activists came from Guatemala, Malaysia, South Africa and the former Yugoslavia to share their know-how and experience, both about the contribution of human rights violations to conflict and how addressing those issues could contribute to peace building. At other times, delegations of visitors to the UK visited NI under the auspices of local universities, trade unions or associations like the British Council: participants frequently commented on how valuable the NI leg of their visit was, since it offered many more direct parallels with their experience on the front line of human rights defence in their home countries.

In turn, CAJ was invited to work with groups and organisations in the south, sharing its challenges and responses and exploring together the wider learning. The author served for several months on an official policing commission in Guyana; colleagues attended conferences and shared information sessions with lawyers in the Middle East and Asia; yet others served as members of international observation missions. Without fail, southern partners expressed their appreciation of exchanging learning with people who faced similar problems albeit in a very different part of the world.¹²

In a number of instances, CAJ's partnership with southern academics and human rights NGOs was more extensive. For example, with the initial ceasefires in 1994, the organisation wanted to move beyond the traditional tactics of "naming and shaming"¹³ and study good practice policing models from elsewhere, so a piece of international comparative research was commissioned. CAJ's researchers concluded that "the policing problems in NI are similar to those that confront other countries, and differ more in degree than in nature" but found an examination of the major political, constitutional and legal changes discussed or introduced in El Salvador and South Africa to be of particular value (CAJ, 1997). In the highly toxic and divisive political debates in NI, some argued that the old policing arrangements should be completely disbanded whilst others argued for minimal change. CAJ's researchers examined the radical overhaul of policing arising from the El Salvador peace accords and the more gradual adaptations undertaken in South Africa and returned to NI to argue that the "disband/no change" dichotomy was unhelpful and

indeed irrelevant. Instead, CAJ used the Salvadorean and South African experiences to argue that any transition from violent conflict to peace would inevitably require that the people in NI (regardless of their political stance) discuss and agree on how best to recruit from previously under-represented groups; whether or not to introduce a vetting system for new recruits and long-serving officers; what training would ensure human rights-compliant policing in future; and how we should transform a highly militarised, disproportionately male, hierarchical and weapons-dependent police *force* into a policing *service*?

Experience from the south and southern-based human rights NGOs was even more relevant when CAJ and other NI NGOs decided to increase the priority they accorded to the fulfilment of economic, social and cultural rights. Conferences were organised and partnerships were established with socio-economic activists in Brazil, Nigeria and further afield. Despite the very different material conditions on the ground, NI activists found that there were important lessons to learn from the legal, campaigning and other tactics which had long been in use in the global south but which were relatively new to many northern-based human rights NGOs.

4 International cooperation

Most would agree that the best long-term defence and promotion of human rights rests ideally at the domestic level, and therefore logic requires that the primary goal of *all* human rights defenders ought to be to build and reinforce the work done at that level. There are, of course, parts of the world where there is no local tradition of human rights work or where local human rights defenders exist but are isolated and under extraordinary attack: in such instances, the global human rights community clearly has a particularly vital role to play.¹⁴

Indeed, the NI experience highlights that, even in jurisdictions with a reasonably well-developed, indigenous human rights community, great support and help were offered by human rights defenders in neighbouring jurisdictions, in south-north links, and by way of “international” human rights NGOs. What learning can be distilled from this experience? Firstly, if domestic NGO pressure is non-existent or inadequate, the support of other NGOs with different political and other levers at their disposal must be worth exploring. Secondly, the intervention by “external” actors can require a conscious effort to arouse their interest, so that they understand the unique contribution that they alone can make. Thirdly, the experience of NI suggests that external involvement can be ill-targeted, or even counter-productive, if it is not expertly guided by domestic actors. Success requires that all involved show respect for the different but complementary roles to be performed.

The cooperation worked as well as it did in NI because the emphasis on local ownership of the human rights agenda ensured that the short-term decisions and initiatives of external actors could be rendered most effective and that long-term change was underpinned by the existence of strong domestic mechanisms for accountability. In current research into CAJ, the author concludes that the

changes that have come about in the course of NI peace-building would not have happened if there had been no indigenous expertise about human rights; equally, the changes could not have come about if that indigenous expertise had not been informed and enriched by the support of the wider human rights community.

The human rights environment is however changing and new challenges confront front-line human rights defenders. One of the newer developments is the fact that so-called “international” human rights groups (by which I refer to those organisations which often, but not exclusively, operate from the north whilst seeking to have a global reach) appear to be under pressure to radically change their *modus operandi*. The pressure to be more physically present in the south (by way of membership, staffing, offices, programmes, governance arrangements) stems from numerous sources—some worthy, others less so. There is rightly a growing awareness of the changing power relationships at the global level and increasing respect for indigenous expertise and experience; but there is also a demand for change being imposed on those organisations by their own members (in the case of Amnesty International) and/or by their traditional funders.¹⁵ Some of this trend is entirely appropriate, but some problems could well arise.

One concern is that well-established international groups, by changing their focus, may no longer be able to play the useful role that they played previously in support of domestic and regional human rights groups, and it is not yet self-evident who will fill any gap that they leave. Another concern is that currently a number of organisations can offer know-how across all world regions: will a dramatic push towards greater diversity at regional and sub-regional levels not simply reduce over-centralisation (a good thing) but also result in excessive fragmentation? Might this move “closer to the ground”, deliberately or inadvertently, undermine further the concept of the universality of human rights? Worse still, will international groups developing strong presences in the south actually displace or undermine local efforts?¹⁶ It is of grave concern that some groups based in the north do not appear to have consulted effectively with local groups prior to deciding to parachute in.¹⁷ Yet once such groups are visibly on the ground, is it not likely that funds will migrate to those newly-arrived but better-known groups rather than to small, untested domestic human rights activists? Will the priorities and programmes established by the “international” presence not risk dominating, rather than complementing, domestic efforts?¹⁸

The Northern Ireland experience suggests that domestic and international efforts can be all the more effective by working in a complementary fashion; any trend that ignores the distinct contribution to be made by different actors or, worse still, risks undermining the primacy of domestic human rights efforts should be of grave concern.

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NOTES

1. It is not the purpose of this article to query the very notion of a dichotomous "North" and "South" global split; the distinction is being used in very general terms to raise questions of solidarity across both real and imagined divides.
2. See the website of the Committee on the Administration of Justice – CAJ, available at: <www.caj.org.uk>. Last accessed on: 22 July 2014. The author is currently writing a book on the work of the Committee on the Administration of Justice, winner of the 1998 Council of Europe Human Rights Prize.
3. For discussion of coalition building *within* Northern Ireland see Beirne, 2013.
4. The quote is taken from a CAJ planning paper (January 1992) on file with CAJ and the author which went on "we need to think in terms of a five year strategy, identifying the international pressure points and working out how information/submissions prepared for one forum can be re-circulated in others to increase the compound effect."
5. For full text of the agreement, see CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet) website, which contains information and source material on the politics of Northern Ireland, including text of the peace agreement, available at: <www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/agreement.htm>. Last accessed on: 22 July 2014.
6. CAJ's chairperson wrote in a planning document (January 1992) on file with CAJ: "networking this time at the international NGO level is vital". Later that year, CAJ reported back internally about a visit to the UN in Geneva "to get Amnesty International, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and other respected NGOs to refer to NI, we need to lobby them better. The FIDH dropped an opportunity to speak on NI but our presence at the meeting gave CAJ special access which proved very valuable".
7. This access immediately produced positive results; CAJ later testified to the UK Parliament that "It is our belief that after interventions made to UNCAT in 1991, the Committee made a number of extremely important findings with

regard to NI. We are on record as reporting that, following the release of these findings, there was a marked decrease in the numbers of complaints of ill-treatment made by detainees" (UNITED KINGDOM, 2005/6). CAJ also credits strong interventions by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) for the (albeit very belated) UK government decision to extend important British anti-race discrimination legislation to NI.

8. See CAJ website (www.caj.org.uk) for listing of submissions to the US Congress; informed interventions from the US (given its close friendship with both the Irish and UK governments) were considered particularly influential.

9. The UK government routinely 'flattered' scrutiny bodies by submitting timely reports that were exhaustive (if often obfuscatory), and by sending high level delegations to the formal examination; on occasion, anglophile committee members appeared unduly impressed.

10. Indeed, on occasion, CAJ tried to avoid statements being made by certain UN delegations (if they were thought "unfriendly" by the UK) on the grounds that this might undermine rather than reinforce attempts to influence government policy.

11. In a 25th anniversary leaflet, CAJ lists examples of the many experts invited over the years to its events – South Africa figures several times with visits by luminaries such as Justices Richard Goldstone and Albie Sachs, Assistant Police Commissioner Zelda Holtzman and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Anniversary edition of *Just News* available at: <<http://www.caj.org.uk/files/2006/01/01/2006october.pdf>>. Last accessed on: 25 July 2014.

12. CAJ was invited to speak at an EU-Iran human rights event in Tehran in 2004 and reported "Iranians were eager to learn about the human rights abuses experienced in Northern Ireland and were interested in the fact that a major European power was being held to account by local NGOs, domestic media and regional and international human treaty mechanisms.... It was useful to have an opportunity for non-governmental groups from the different countries of the EU and Iran to exchange ideas and information (albeit in a carefully controlled environment)." Available at: <<http://www.caj.org.uk/files/2004/01/01/June2004.pdf>>. Last accessed on: 25 July 2014.

13. Numerous CAJ policing publications over the years had in turn addressed questions of accountability, counter-terrorism powers,

discriminatory practices, public order policing, the use of lethal force, etc.

14. Time does not permit for a critique of the argument that no such thing as a global human rights community exists (or will in future) – see Hopgood, 2013. The author instead shares the view expressed in a post from the Global Initiative for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights to the online OpenDemocracy forum that "...there are many actors working in solidarity, and while it is healthy in any movement to have different points of view, there is still one human rights movement. We aren't going anywhere. Without the human rights framework, these tools—rights with corresponding obligations set out in clearly articulated standards, accountability and remedies—would not be available to social justice movements of all kinds, in all parts of the world. The truth is that we need human rights now more than ever" (GLOBAL INITIATIVE FOR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, 2014).

15. Traditional funders (just like Amnesty's membership) are predominantly based in the north, yet both charitable foundations and government agencies have recently started to privilege grants to "international" groups on the condition that they have offices/presences in the South.

16. In NI, some individuals were both members of CAJ (for domestic human rights concerns) and of Amnesty International (for wider campaigns); if, in the 1970s and 1980s, Amnesty had allowed/encouraged members to work on domestic issues, or had had a local office/presence to carry out such work, it is highly unlikely in my opinion that a "CAJ" or any other effective domestic human rights movement would have been established.

17. See undated e-mail (c. December 2012, on file with the author) to Amnesty's Secretary General from a number of Latin American human rights NGOs querying the impact of proposed regional hubs when, previously, "Amnesty International's role has been to accompany and complement our work globally".

18. Imagine the pressures that might arise if international groups want, for their own internal reasons, to emphasise issues that are not seen as an immediate priority by local human rights groups; alternatively a local group could become dangerously isolated if it chose to speak out on divisive issues—e.g. the rights of gays, refugees or other national/religious minority groups—when this was not a priority for the international human rights colleagues working alongside them in the field.

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