

ISSN 1806-6445

v. 11 • n. 20 • Jun./Dec. 2014

sur

20

COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE
HUMAN RIGHTS IN MOTION



CONECTAS
HUMAN RIGHTS

EDITORIAL BOARD

Christof Heyns University of Pretoria (South Africa)
Emilio García Méndez University of Buenos Aires (Argentina)
Fifi Benaboud North-South Centre of the Council of Europe (Portugal)
Fiona Macaulay Bradford University (United Kingdom)
Flavia Piovesan Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (Brazil)
J. Paul Martin Columbia University (United States)
Kwame Karikari University of Ghana (Ghana)
Mustapha Kamel Al-Sayyid Cairo University (Egypt)
Roberto Garretón Former-UN Officer of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (Chile)
Upendra Baxi University of Warwick (United Kingdom)

EDITORS

Pedro Paulo Poppovic
Oscar Vilhena Vieira

EXECUTIVE EDITORS

Maria Brant – Executive editor
Thiago Amparo – Guest editor
Luz González – Assistant executive editor

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Albertina de Oliveira Costa
Ana Cernov
Conrado Hubner Mendes
Glenda Mezarobba
Juana Kweitel
Laura Waisbich
Lucia Nader
Luz González
Manoela Miklos
Maria Brant
Thiago Amparo

REFERENCES

Luz González
Thiago Amparo
Tânia Rodrigues

LANGUAGE REVISION

SPANISH

Carolina Fairstein
Celina Lagrutta
Erika Sanchez Saez
Laia Fargas Fursa

PORTUGUESE

Erika Sanchez Saez
Renato Barreto
Marcela Vieira

ENGLISH

Murphy McMahon
Oliver Hudson
The Bernard and Audre Rapoport
Center for Human Rights and Justice,
University of Texas, Austin.
Tina Amado

GRAPHIC DESIGN

Oz Design

LAYOUT

Alex Furini

COVER DESIGN

Mariana Brend

COVER PHOTO

Renato Stockler

CIRCULATION

Beatriz Kux

PRINTING

Yangraf Gráfica e Editora Ltda

ADVISORY BOARD

Alejandro M. Garro Columbia University (United States)
Bernardo Sorj Federal University of Rio de Janeiro / Edelstein Center (Brazil)
Bertrand Badie Sciences-Po (France)
Cosmas Gitta UNDP (United States)
Daniel Mato CONICET / National University of Tres de Febrero (Argentina)
Daniela Ikawa International Network on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights / Columbia University (United States)
Ellen Chapnick Columbia University (United States)
Ernesto Garzon Valdes University of Mainz (Germany)
Fateh Azzam Arab Human Rights fund (Lebanon)
Guy Haarscher Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium)
Jeremy Sarkin University of the Western Cape (South Africa)
João Batista Costa Saraiva Regional Jurisdiction for Children and Adolescents of Santo Angelo/RS (Brazil)
José Reinaldo de Lima Lopes University of São Paulo (Brazil)
Juan Amaya Castro VU University Amsterdam / University for Peace (Costa Rica)
Lucia Dammert Global Consortium on Security Transformation (Chile)
Luigi Ferrajoli University of Rome (Italy)
Luiz Eduardo Wanderley Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (Brazil)
Malak El-Chichini Poppovic Conectas Human Rights (Brazil)
Maria Filomena Gregori University of Campinas (Brazil)
Maria Hermínia Tavares Almeida University of São Paulo (Brazil)
Miguel Cillero University Diego Portales (Chile)
Mudar Kassis Birzeit University (Palestine)
Paul Chevigny New York University (United States)
Philip Alston New York University (United States)
Roberto Cuéllar M. Inter-American Institute of Human Rights (Costa Rica)
Roger Raupp Rios Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil)
Shepard Forman New York University (United States)
Victor Abramovich University of Buenos Aires (UBA)
Victor Topanou National University of Benin (Benin)
Vinodh Jaichand Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland (Ireland)

SUR - International Journal On Human Rights is a biannual journal published in English, Portuguese and Spanish by Conectas Human Rights. It is available on the Internet at <<http://www.surjournal.org>>

SUR is covered by the following abstracting and indexing services: IBSS (International Bibliography of the Social Sciences); ISN Zurich (International Relations and Security Network); DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals) and SSRN (Social Science Research Network). In addition, SUR is also available at the following commercial databases: EBSCO, HEINonline, ProQuest and Scopus. SUR has been rated A1 and B1, in Colombia and in Brazil (Qualis), respectively.

SUR. Revista Internacional de Direitos Humanos / Sur – Rede Universitária de Direitos Humanos – v.1, n.1, jan.2004 – São Paulo, 2004 - .

Semestral

ISSN 1806-6445

Edições em Inglês, Português e Espanhol.

1. Direitos Humanos 2. ONU I. Rede Universitária de Direitos Humanos

Human Rights in Motion

CONTENTS

LUCIA NADER, JUANA KWEITEL, & MARCOS FUCHS	7	Introduction
PROFILE OF PEDRO PAULO POPPOVIC	11	“We Did not Create Sur Journal Because We Had Certainties, But Because We Were Full of Doubts”
MALAK EL-CHICHINI POPPOVIC OSCAR VILHENA VIEIRA	17	Reflections On the International Human Rights Movement in the 21 st Century: Only the Answers Change
LANGUAGE		
SARA BURKE	27	What an Era of Global Protests Says about the Effectiveness of Human Rights as a Language to Achieve Social Change
VINODH JAICHAND	35	After Human Rights Standard Setting, What’s Next?
DAVID PETRASEK	45	Global Trends and the Future of Human Rights Advocacy
SAMUEL MOYN	57	The Future of Human Rights
STEPHEN HOPGOOD	67	Challenges to the Global Human Rights Regime: Are Human Rights Still an Effective Language for Social Change?
EMÍLIO ÁLVAREZ ICAZA	77	Human Rights as an Effective Way to Produce Social Change
INTERVIEW WITH RAQUEL ROLNIK	81	UN Special Procedures System is “Designed to Be Ineffective”
INTERVIEW WITH PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO	91	“Besides Human Rights, I Don’t See a Solution for Serving the Victims”
INTERVIEW WITH KUMI NAIDOO	97	“The Rule of Law Has Consolidated All the Injustices That Existed Before It”
THEMES		
JANET LOVE	105	Are we Depoliticising Economic Power?: Wilful Business Irresponsibility and Bureaucratic Response by Human Rights Defenders
PHIL BLOOMER	115	Are Human Rights an Effective Tool for Social Change?: A Perspective on Human Rights and Business
GONZALO BERRÓN	123	Economic Power, Democracy and Human Rights. A New International Debate on Human Rights and Corporations
DIEGO LORENTE PÉREZ DE EULATE	133	Issues and Challenges Facing Networks and Organisations Working in Migration and Human Rights in Mesoamerica
GLORIA CAREAGA PÉREZ	143	The Protection of LGBTI Rights: An Uncertain Outlook

ARVIND NARRAIN **151** Brazil, India, South Africa:
Transformative Constitutions and their Role in LGBT Struggles

SONIA CORRÊA **167** Emerging powers: Can it be that sexuality and human rights
is a 'lateral issue'?

CLARA SANDOVAL **181** Transitional Justice and Social Change

PERSPECTIVES

NICOLE FRITZ **193** Human Rights Litigation in Southern Africa:
Not Easily Able to Discount Prevailing Public Opinion

MANDIRA SHARMA **201** Making Laws Work:
Advocacy Forum's Experiences in Prevention of Torture in Nepal

MARIA LÚCIA DA SILVEIRA **213** Human Rights and Social Change in Angola

SALVADOR NKAMATE **219** The Struggle for the Recognition of Human Rights in Mozambique:
Advances and Setbacks

HARIS AZHAR **227** The Human Rights Struggle in Indonesia:
International Advances, Domestic Deadlocks

HAN DONGFANG **237** A vision of China's Democratic Future

ANA VALÉRIA ARAÚJO **247** Challenges to the Sustainability of the Human Rights
Agenda in Brazil

MAGGIE BEIRNE **257** Are we Throwing Out the Baby with the Bathwater?: The North-South
Dynamic from the Perspective of Human Rights Work in Northern Ireland

INTERVIEW WITH
MARÍA-I. FAGUAGA IGLESIAS **265** "The Particularities in Cuba Are Not Always Identified Nor
Understood By Human Rights Activists From Other Countries"

VOICES

FATEH AZZAM **273** Why Should We Have to "Represent" Anyone?

MARIO MELO **283** Voices from the Jungle on the Witness Stand of the
Inter-American Court of Human Rights

ADRIAN GURZA LAVALLE **293** NGOs, Human Rights and Representation

JUANA KWEITEL **305** Experimentation and Innovation in the Accountability
of Human Rights Organizations in Latin America

PEDRO ABRAMOVAY
AND HELOISA GRIGGS **323** Democratic Minorities in 21st Century Democracies

JAMES RON, DAVID CROW AND
SHANNON GOLDEN **335** Human Rights Familiarity and Socio-Economic Status:
A Four-Country Study

CHRIS GROVE **353** To Build a Global Movement to Make Human Rights
and Social Justice a Reality For All

INTERVIEW WITH MARY LAWLOR
AND ANDREW ANDERSON **365** "Role of International Organizations Should Be to Support
Local Defenders"

TOOLS

- | | | |
|---|------------|--|
| GASTÓN CHILLIER AND
PÉTALLA BRANDÃO TIMO | 375 | The Global Human Rights Movement in the 21 st Century: Reflections from the Perspective of a National Human Rights NGO from the South |
| MARTIN KIRK | 385 | Systems, Brains and Quiet Places: Thoughts on the Future of Human Rights Campaigning |
| ROCHELLE JONES, SARAH
ROSENHEK AND ANNA TURLEY | 399 | A 'Movement Support' Organization: The Experience of the Association For Women's Rights in Development (AWID) |
| ANA PAULA HERNÁNDEZ | 411 | Supporting Locally-Rooted Organizations:
The Work of the Fund For Global Human Rights in Mexico |
| MIGUEL PULIDO JIMÉNEZ | 419 | Human Rights Activism In Times of Cognitive Saturation:
Talking About Tools |
| MALLIKA DUTT AND NADIA RASUL | 427 | Raising Digital Consciousness: An Analysis of the Opportunities and Risks Facing Human Rights Activists in a Digital Age |
| SOPHEAP CHAK | 437 | New Information and Communication Technologies' Influence on Activism in Cambodia |
| SANDRA CARVALHO AND
EDUARDO BAKER | 449 | Strategic Litigation Experiences in the Inter-American Human Rights System |
| INTERVIEW WITH FERNAND ALPHEN | 461 | "Get Off Your Pedestal" |
| INTERVIEW WITH MARY KALDOR | 469 | "NGO's are not the Same as Civil Society But Some NGOs Can Play the Role of Facilitators" |
| INTERVIEW WITH LOUIS BICKFORD | 475 | Convergence Towards the Global Middle:
"Who Sets the Global Human Rights Agenda and How" |

MULTIPOLARITY

- | | | |
|--|------------|--|
| LUCIA NADER | 483 | Solid Organisations in a Liquid World |
| KENNETH ROTH | 491 | Why We Welcome Human Rights Partnerships |
| CÉSAR RODRÍGUEZ-GARAVITO | 499 | The Future of Human Rights: From Gatekeeping to Symbiosis |
| DHANANJAYAN SRISKANDARAJAH
AND MANDEEP TIWANA | 511 | Towards a Multipolar Civil Society |
| INTERVIEW WITH EMILIE M.
HAFNER-BURTON | 519 | "Avoiding Using Power Would Be Devastating for Human Rights" |
| INTERVIEW WITH MARK
MALLOCH-BROWN | 525 | "We Are Very Much A Multi-Polar World Now, But Not One Comprised Solely Of Nation States" |
| INTERVIEW WITH SALIL SHETTY | 531 | "Human Rights Organisations Should Have a Closer Pulse to the Ground" Or How We Missed the Bus |
| INTERVIEW WITH
LOUISE ARBOUR | 539 | "North-South solidarity is key" |

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 Hopgood** 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.

Conectas Human Rights is especially grateful for the collaboration of the authors and support of Conectas' team, in special **Laura Daudén**, **João Brito** and **Laura Waisbich**. We would also like to extend our appreciation 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. Last, but not least, we are also immensely thankful for **Luz González's** relentless work editing the contributions received, and for **Ana Cernov** for coordinating the overall editorial. Thanks to all!



PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO

Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro has already taken on numerous roles as a defender of human rights. As an activist against the military dictatorship, he founded the Teotônio Vilela Commission. As an academic, he created the Center for Studies on Violence (NEV) at the University of São Paulo (USP), from which he recently retired as a professor of political science. He has also lectured at the universities of Notre Dame, Brown and Columbia (United States), Oxford

(United Kingdom) and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (France). In the Brazilian government, Pinheiro served as Secretary of State for Human Rights during the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso and was the rapporteur of the first National Human Rights Plan. More recently, he was a member of, and coordinated, the National Truth Commission. In the United Nations (UN), he has served as special rapporteur for Burundi (1995-1998) and Myanmar (2000-2008) and as the independent expert appointed by Kofi Annan to prepare a report on violence against children around the world, published in 2006. He has also designated and served as rapporteur on children's rights at the Inter-American Commission of the Organization of American States (OAS). Since 2011 he has served as chairman of the Human Rights Council's independent international commission of inquiry on Syria.

Perhaps on account of his vast experience in various different positions, examining such diverse situations, Pinheiro is disinclined to make generalizations and categorical predictions. He does not see anything new in the demonstrations that filled the streets of countries from the Middle East to South America, for example, nor does he consider them a threat to current political models. "This [model of protests, demonstrations] is an old model and in some ways necessary and inevitable, since the political system cannot resolve all the contradictions," he said in an interview given to Conectas in March this year. "[But] it is not that political parties no longer have any meaning, or that parliaments no longer represent anything." Neither is the language of law – or of rights – as a means of effecting social change under threat. As far as Pinheiro is concerned, the State is *incontournable*: "There is no escaping the necessary side of the State, the side that regulates conflicts and assures rights. And the law is an integral part of the negotiations. The solution to conflicts will always have to be something formalized [by the State]."

Within the realm of the State and the law, he claims, there is no other language besides the language of human rights, which, "given the universal diversity, can set fundamental standards for human beings to live with dignity and respect". According to Pinheiro, the importance of human rights lies in their capacity to place the victims of violations at the center. "[This language is centered] not on the discourse of the State, not on nationalism, not on the discourse of competing for power, for reputation or for prestige, but on knowing whether we are really being efficient [in the defense of the victims]."

Therefore, he considers the main goal of the human rights movement for the 21st century to be to ensure the monitoring and the real implementation of the norms already established in the international system. Read the full interview below.

Original in Portuguese. Translated by Barney Whiteoak.

Interview conducted in March 2014 by Maria Brant (Conectas Human Rights).



This paper is published under the *creativecommons* license.

This paper is available in digital format at <www.surjournal.org>.

INTERVIEW

“BESIDES HUMAN RIGHTS, I DON’T SEE A SOLUTION FOR SERVING THE VICTIMS”

Interview with Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro

Conectas Human Rights: How do you view the recent protests, mainly since the Arab Spring, such as the Occupy movement, the recent protests in Brazil etc.? Do you think they can be seen as a challenge to the role of the more traditional civil society organizations, including human rights organizations, as mediators between the demands of the population and governments? Do you think the protests pose a threat to the modus operandi and the representativeness of these organizations? What role is left for the human rights movement?

Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro: These demonstrations cannot be considered either in isolation or as any kind of new approach. Ever since the dawn of industrialization, there have been demonstrations, by machine workers and unionists or anarchists protesting against working conditions, and marches... This is an old model and in some ways necessary and inevitable, since the political system cannot resolve all the contradictions. The novelty today owes a great deal to what has occurred in communications since the end of the 20th century. Who would have thought that a telephone could also be a camera? Facebook and all these new social media also help with the organization. But the model is very old. It has been used in every revolution, if we consider those that occurred in Europe, from 1848 to May 1968.

It should be remembered, too, that in May of 1968, during almost an entire month of demonstrations in Paris, there was not a single death. Not one! And there were various different social classes marching and protesting—sometimes violently, too. So, this matter of police violence, the unpreparedness of the police in many countries—this is an ingredient specific to certain societies, such as ours, along with several northern countries.

Each type of demonstration has different elements. We can't put everything in the same bag: the so-called Arab Spring has elements specific to the region, to the unusually long authoritarian systems that, at a certain moment, given the access that the world's young people have today to news and social networks, lead them to start making new demands. But you can't look at what happened in Libya and expect to understand Syria. One has very little to do with the other. Tunisia, for example, has decades of parliamentary experience. Historically, it is a

less repressive regime than Egypt or Libya, where a charismatic tyrant destroyed the army, destroyed the government and, to a certain extent, oversaw the running of the State. You can't put Occupy Wall Street and Egypt's street demonstrations in the same bag. It is absolutely essential, to understand the context, to take the specifics into account. Are there aspects in common? One common aspect is the use of new social media tools.

The question of representativeness is a red herring. Since the UN is an organization of States, civil society participates in a quite restricted manner—less so since the end of the 20th century, but still very limited. I don't think these street demonstrations that we have seen since the Occupy movement, including the protests in Spain, the June protests in Brazil and those that are still taking place, are illegitimate because they are not channeled through civil society organizations. But there are several contradictory and supplementary roles: you have the people in the streets, you have the demonstration, you have the civil society organizations and you even have the party system. Just because there is a street demonstration doesn't mean that the party system ceases to exist; even though the party system is often disconnected from the reality of these movements. It is not that political parties no longer have any meaning, or that parliaments no longer represent anything. Obviously there are many parliaments (such as the Brazil's) that are disconnected from these new demands, but this does not mean that we need to shut down Congress and imagine another society in which the street protest movements run the government.

Conectas: There is an interesting criticism that claims that the language of rights, of international norms, depoliticizes grassroots social movements, taking everything along the path of litigation...

P.S.P.: I don't believe in this depoliticization, because one of the dimensions of politics is confrontation, as well as debate and mobilization. There is a time for conflict, but at some point you need to move on to another stage. States are *incontournables*. There is no way of avoiding the necessary side of the State, the side that regulates conflicts and assures rights. And the law is an integral part of the negotiations. The solution to conflicts will always have to be something formalized [by the State]. For example, the Free Fare Movement – the Free Fare policy would have to be implemented by decree, in a response by government to what the movement is demanding, which is free public transport.

Besides human rights, I don't see any other solution for serving the victims. In politics and civil society there are several fields of power, and in these fields there are different stages of the struggle, stages in terms of content and also stages in terms of the evolution of time.

But I believe that within the context of the United Nations, it is essential to work with grassroots organizations, like I did, for example, when I worked for the UN General Secretary with UNICEF for four years, when I prepared the world report on violence against children. We carried out nine regional consultations with the active participation of NGOs, and a consultative council of NGOs monitored the entire preparation of the report (their member even wrote a preface recognizing the participation of civil society).

Conectas: As rapporteur, how did you know what civil society organizations to talk to?

P.S.P.: As rapporteur, I had direct contact with the organizations. My staff discovered who to talk to. But my work with civil society never involved the authorization of the State. Not once did a State tell me who to go and see. Obviously in places like Burundi, for example, which was in civil war, there was an excellent Secretary of State for Human Rights who I spoke to. But there is a time for the State and a time for civil society. I never mixed things up.

Now, it is clear that in the UN, which is an organization of States, the mandates are created by the members of the Human Rights Council. This is a fact of life. I submit to this because I don't think there is any other alternative organization for furthering these agendas. Perhaps these are my own contradictions, because I also consider dealing with States to be a challenge—I think the State is fascinating. I like being able to say things, make demands and complain to rulers in a manner I wouldn't be able to under any other circumstances. But first you need to believe [in what you are doing], then not get overwhelmed by yourself, and not forget who matters most: the victims. The victims, you must never forget them. They should always be on your radar, even when you are at a dinner ceremony with rulers.

Conectas: In terms of agendas, the agenda of human rights organizations was, until recently, highly geared towards standard setting. There are still some matters that need new standards, that need streamlining, but lots of organizations now think that standards have already been set for most human rights agendas and that it's now time to find ways to implement these standards...

P.S.P.: I couldn't agree more. Ever since the Universal Declaration, the progress has been impressive in terms of the specialization of human rights agendas. But it's not time to say, "That's enough! No more conventions". I don't subscribe to that position. I share the opinion that we shouldn't meddle with what we already have. I am opposed to revising any of the conventions, because making changes to a convention means all the States will have to vote again. There was a time when the UN was considering an overhaul of the treaty bodies and the creation of one single treaty body for all the conventions. I always thought this was delusional, and fortunately the idea went nowhere. Even the latest conventions, on people with disabilities and immigrants, have treaty bodies. The Convention against Torture is another outstanding example and it has excellent national mechanisms that are being implemented all over the world. Fortunately, nobody wants to revise the Convention on the Rights of the Child. But we can't say: "That's enough". In 1948, we could never have predicted... Even myself, when I started working in this field in the 1960s, I could never have predicted that we would have such well-defined international standards. This is done one step at a time. Other claims will appear. LGBT rights, for example, are not included in any convention. International treaties can be used, but... Who knows? Perhaps one day they will be.

I also completely agree that what's missing is monitoring. The democratic States haven't made full use of the potential of the standards established by the United Nations and its mechanisms. Brazil and Mexico, for example, are part of a group of dozens of countries that most frequently receive special rapporteurs. They have what we call a standing invitation. This special procedures mechanism—about which I may be biased, because for many years I was special rapporteur for various countries and causes—is, within the United Nations, one of the most decisive mechanisms to help civil societies conduct monitoring. Not only does it monitor

those countries that ratified the conventions, but it also interacts with civil society. For example, Catarina de Albuquerque, from Portugal, who is one of the best special rapporteurs on the right to water, and the Brazilian Raquel Rolnik, rapporteur on the right to housing—everywhere they go they work directly with civil society. It is also a way of reinforcing the role of civil society in the dialogue with States.

In other words, we have made enormous progress in standard setting, but this doesn't mean that there's nothing more to be done. And the United Nations' own mechanism for monitoring human rights has evolved, both in the sphere of States and in the sphere of the international community, but there are still limitations that need to be addressed. I think that this is the agenda for the 21st century: implementation and monitoring.

Conectas: One pressing question for Conectas is how organizations from the South can influence the human rights agenda, particularly in multilateral forums. In your time at the UN, do you have an example of an organization, some specific strategy that you've seen work?

P.S.P.: There is a problem, because the big international organizations are in the North, and many of them operate out of New York or Geneva or other European capitals. The system of special thematic rapporteurs has established a certain link with the South, because they too take care of the countries of the North and they have taken advantage of the rise of these civil society organizations in the South.

In terms of specific agendas, I don't believe there to be a problem, although I don't know all that well but on the environment and health I know there is a permanent dialogue with spokespeople from the State. But when a mandate's agenda is very broad and unspecific, it's harder to act. But the problem with civil society organizations' work in the South, frequently, is one of access to resources.

In the more specific case of Central and South America and the Caribbean, what's needed the most is more coordination in the South. Recently there has been a trend I see as positive: the formation of conglomerates or platforms of different entities working on the same theme, such as the rights of the child or foreign policy. There are some successful examples; Indian NGOs have been extremely successful in the international community. And there are some States in the South—Senegal, for example—that practice a very strong activism, and that are perhaps even more present, internationally, than Brazil.

Conectas: Based on all your experience, do you think that human rights is still an effective language for producing social change?

P.S.P.: Since I've been involved in this for 30 years, I wouldn't want to shoot myself in the foot. I do believe that there is no other language, no other set of principles that allow, given our universal diversity, the respect for a few fundamental standards for human beings to live with dignity and respect. Until now, no other reference has been found. Human rights are still the guiding force for the 21st century, precisely because the agendas have become so well defined, so universalized. Nobody spouts that nonsense anymore about human rights being imposed by the imperialism of the North, and civil societies have helped universalize human rights, since they confront their concrete realities and require the use of human rights as a reference.

There are various discussions about reports and rapporteurs; they say that

nobody reads these reports. That doesn't matter. What matters is that, for the victims, they are important. In my experience at least—and I've written dozens of reports—the victims appreciate the work of the special rapporteur, the work of the commissions of inquiry. For me, the activity of human rights is concentrated on the victims.

If I could cite a pedantic quote... There is a story about Mahatma Gandhi in which a colleague approaches him, very anxious and upset, and says, "I don't know if what I'm doing is right, if I'm on the right path." And Mahatma replies, "Whenever you're in doubt, apply the following test: recall the face of the neediest people you've ever seen, and ask yourself if the step you are taking will have some use for them. Will this decision contribute to restoring their control over their life and destiny? Will they get something out of this? Your doubts will then disappear."

The fantastic thing about human rights is that the victims of violations are at the center. It is not the discourse of the State, not nationalism, not the discourse of competing for power, for reputation or for prestige, but knowing whether we are in fact being efficient for the victims. Hence the importance not only of international standards, but of monitoring their implementation. We must serve the best interests of the victims. This is the term that is used in the Convention on the Rights of the Child: the *best interests* of children. I would say the question is: are we serving the best interests of the victims? There is no better way of meeting these needs than through the language, the principles and the doctrine of human rights, in other words through the reference of international human rights treaties and conventions.

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <www.surjournal.org>.

SUR 1, v. 1, n. 1, Jun. 2004

EMILIO GARCÍA MÉNDEZ
Origin, Concept and Future of Human Rights: Reflections for a New Agenda

FLAVIA PIOVESAN
Social, Economic and Cultural Rights and Civil and Political Rights

OSCAR VILHENA VIEIRA AND A. SCOTT DUPREE
Reflections on Civil Society and Human Rights

JEREMY SARKIN
The Coming of Age of Claims for Reparations for Human Rights Abuses Committed in the South

VINODH JAICHAND
Public Interest Litigation Strategies for Advancing Human Rights in Domestic Systems of Law

PAUL CHEVIGNY
Repression in the United States after the September 11 Attack

SERGIO VIEIRA DE MELLO
Only Member States Can Make the UN Work Five Questions for the Human Rights Field

SUR 2, v. 2, n. 2, Jun. 2005

SALIL SHETTY
Millennium Declaration and Development Goals: Opportunities for Human Rights

FATEH AZZAM
Reflections on Human Rights Approaches to Implementing the Millennium Development Goals

RICHARD PIERRE CLAUDE
The Right to Education and Human Rights Education

JOSÉ REINALDO DE LIMA LOPES
The Right to Recognition for Gays and Lesbians

E.S. NWAUCHE AND J.C. NWOBIKE
Implementing the Right to Development

STEVEN FREELAND
Human Rights, the Environment and Conflict: Addressing Crimes against the Environment

FIONA MACAULAY
Civil Society-State Partnerships for the Promotion of Citizen Security in Brazil

EDWIN REKOSH
Who Defines the Public Interest?

VÍCTOR E. ABRAMOVICH
Courses of Action in Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Instruments and Allies

SUR 3, v. 2, n. 3, Dec. 2005

CAROLINE DOMMEN
Trade and Human Rights: Towards Coherence

CARLOS M. CORREA
TRIPS Agreement and Access to Drugs in Developing Countries

BERNARDO SORJ
Security, Human Security and Latin America

ALBERTO BOVINO
Evidential Issues before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

NICO HORN
Eddie Mabo and Namibia: Land Reform and Pre-Colonial Land Rights

NLERUM S. OKOGBULE
Access to Justice and Human Rights Protection in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects

MARÍA JOSÉ GUEMBE
Reopening of Trials for Crimes Committed by the Argentine Military Dictatorship

JOSÉ RICARDO CUNHA
Human Rights and Justiciability: A Survey Conducted in Rio de Janeiro

LOUISE ARBOUR
Plan of Action Submitted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

SUR 4, v. 3, n. 4, Jun. 2006

FERNANDE RAINE
The measurement challenge in human rights

MARIO MELO
Recent advances in the justiciability of indigenous rights in the Inter American System of Human Rights

ISABELA FIGUEROA
Indigenous peoples versus oil companies: Constitutional control within resistance

ROBERT ARCHER
The strengths of different traditions: What can be gained and what might be lost by combining rights and development?

J. PAUL MARTIN
Development and rights revisited: Lessons from Africa

MICHELLE RATTON SANCHEZ
Brief observations on the mechanisms for NGO participation in the WTO

JUSTICE C. NWOBIKE
Pharmaceutical corporations and access to drugs in developing countries: The way forward

CLÓVIS ROBERTO ZIMMERMANN
Social programs from a human rights perspective: The case of the Lula administration's family grant in Brazil

CHRISTOF HEYNS, DAVID PADILLA AND LEO ZWAAK
A schematic comparison of regional human rights systems: An update

BOOK REVIEW

SUR 5, v. 3, n. 5, Dec. 2006

CARLOS VILLAN DURAN
Lights and shadows of the new United Nations Human Rights Council

PAULINA VEGA GONZÁLEZ
The role of victims in International Criminal Court proceedings: their rights and the first rulings of the Court

OSWALDO RUIZ CHIRIBOGA
The right to cultural identity of indigenous peoples and national minorities: a look from the Inter-American System

LYDIAH KEMUNTO BOSIRE
Overpromised, underdelivered: transitional justice in Sub-Saharan Africa

DEVIKA PRASAD
Strengthening democratic policing and accountability in the Commonwealth Pacific

IGNACIO CANO
Public security policies in Brazil: attempts to modernize and democratize versus the war on crime

TOM FARER
Toward an effective international legal order: from co-existence to concert?

BOOK REVIEW

SUR 6, v. 4, n. 6, Jun. 2007

UPENDRA BAXI
The Rule of Law in India

OSCAR VILHENA VIEIRA
Inequality and the subversion of the Rule of Law

RODRIGO UPRIMNY YEPES
Judicialization of politics in Colombia: cases, merits and risks

LAURA C. PAUTASSI
Is there equality in inequality? Scope and limits of affirmative actions

GERT JONKER AND RIKA SWANZEN
Intermediary services for child witnesses testifying in South African criminal courts

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <www.surjournal.org>.

SERGIO BRANCO

Brazilian copyright law and how it restricts the efficiency of the human right to education

THOMAS W. POGGE

Eradicating systemic poverty: brief for a Global Resources Dividend

SUR 7, v. 4, n. 7, Dec. 2007

LUCIA NADER

The role of NGOs in the UN Human Rights Council

CECÍLIA MACDOWELL SANTOS

Transnational legal activism and the State: reflections on cases against Brazil in the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

TARA URS

Imagining locally-motivated accountability for mass atrocities: voices from Cambodia

CECILY ROSE AND

FRANCIS M. SSEKANDI

The pursuit of transitional justice and African traditional values: a clash of civilizations – The case of Uganda

RAMONA VIJEYARASA

Facing Australia's history: truth and reconciliation for the stolen generations

ELIZABETH SALMÓN G.

The long road in the fight against poverty and its promising encounter with human rights

INTERVIEW WITH JUAN MÉNDEZ

By Glenda Mezarobba

SUR 8, v. 5, n. 8, Jun. 2008

MARTÍN ABREGÚ

Human rights for all: from the struggle against authoritarianism to the construction of an all-inclusive democracy - A view from the Southern Cone and Andean region

AMITA DHANDA

Constructing a new human rights lexicon: Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

LAURA DAVIS MATTAR

Legal recognition of sexual rights – a comparative analysis with reproductive rights

JAMES L. CAVALLARO AND STEPHANIE ERIN BREWER

The virtue of following: the role of Inter-American litigation in campaigns for social justice

RIGHT TO HEALTH AND ACCESS TO MEDICAMENTS

PAUL HUNT AND RAJAT KHOSLA

The human right to medicines

THOMAS POGGE

Medicines for the world: boosting innovation without obstructing free access

JORGE CONTESSE AND DOMINGO LOVERA PARMO

Access to medical treatment for people living with HIV/AIDS: success without victory in Chile

GABRIELA COSTA CHAVES, MARCELA FOGAÇA VIEIRA AND RENATA REIS

Access to medicines and intellectual property in Brazil: reflections and strategies of civil society

SUR 9, v. 5, n. 9, Dec. 2008

BARBORA BUKOVSKÁ

Perpetrating good: unintended consequences of international human rights advocacy

JEREMY SARKIN

Prisons in Africa: an evaluation from a human rights perspective

REBECCA SAUNDERS

Lost in translation: expressions of human suffering, the language of human rights, and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

SIXTY YEARS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO

Sixty years after the Universal Declaration: navigating the contradictions

FERNANDA DOZ COSTA

Poverty and human rights from rhetoric to legal obligations: a critical account of conceptual frameworks

EITAN FELNER

A new frontier in economic and social rights advocacy? Turning quantitative data into a tool for human rights accountability

KATHERINE SHORT

From Commission to Council: has the United Nations succeeded in creating a credible human rights body?

ANTHONY ROMERO

Interview with Anthony Romero, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

SUR 10, v. 6, n. 10, Jun. 2009

ANUJ BHUWANIA

"Very wicked children": "Indian torture" and the Madras Torture Commission Report of 1855

DANIELA DE VITO, AISHA GILL AND DAMIEN SH-ORT

Rape characterised as genocide

CHRISTIAN COURTIS

Notes on the implementation by Latin American courts of the ILO Convention 169 on indigenous peoples

BENYAM D. MEZMUR

Intercountry adoption as a measure of last resort in Africa: Advancing the rights of a child rather than a right to a child

HUMAN RIGHTS OF PEOPLE ON THE MOVE: MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

KATHARINE DERDERIAN AND LIESBETH SCHOCKAERT

Responding to "mixed" migration flows: A humanitarian perspective

JUAN CARLOS MURILLO

The legitimate security interests of the State and international refugee protection

MANUELA TRINDADE VIANA

International cooperation and internal displacement in Colombia: Facing the challenges of the largest humanitarian crisis in South America

JOSEPH AMON AND KATHERINE TODRYS

Access to antiretroviral treatment for migrant populations in the Global South

PABLO CERIANI CERNADAS

European migration control in the African territory: The omission of the extraterritorial character of human rights obligations

SUR 11, v. 6, n. 11, Dec. 2009

VÍCTOR ABRAMOVICH

From Massive Violations to Structural Patterns: New Approaches and Classic Tensions in the Inter-American Human Rights System

VIVIANA BOHÓRQUEZ MONSALVE AND JAVIER AGUIRRE ROMÁN

Tensions of Human Dignity: Conceptualization and Application to International Human Rights Law

DEBORA DINIZ, LÍVIA BARBOSA AND WEDERSON RUFINO DOS SANTOS

Disability, Human Rights and Justice

JULIETA LEMAITRE RIPOLL

Love in the Time of Cholera: LGBT Rights in Colombia

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

MALCOLM LANGFORD

Domestic Adjudication and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Socio-Legal Review

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <www.surjournal.org>.

ANN BLYBERG

The Case of the Misplaced Allocation: Economic and Social Rights and Budget Work

ALDO CALIARI

Trade, Investment, Finance and Human Rights: Assessment and Strategy Paper

PATRICIA FEENEY

Business and Human Rights: The Struggle for Accountability in the UN and the Future Direction of the Advocacy Agenda

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COLLOQUIUM

Interview with Rindai Chipfunde-Vava, Director of the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) Report on the IX International Human Rights Colloquium

SUR 12, v. 7, n. 12, Jun. 2010

SALIL SHETTY

Foreword

FERNANDO BASCH ET AL.

The Effectiveness of the Inter-American System of Human Rights Protection: A Quantitative Approach to its Functioning and Compliance With its Decisions

RICHARD BOURNE

The Commonwealth of Nations: Intergovernmental and Nongovernmental Strategies for the Protection of Human Rights in a Post-colonial Association

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Combating Exclusion: Why Human Rights Are Essential for the MDGs

VICTORIA TAULI-CORPUZ

Reflections on the Role of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in relation to the Millennium Development Goals

ALICIA ELY YAMIN

Toward Transformative Accountability: Applying a Rights-based Approach to Fulfill Maternal Health Obligations

SARAH ZAIDI

Millennium Development Goal 6 and the Right to Health: Conflictual or Complementary?

MARCOS A. ORELLANA

Climate Change and the Millennium Development Goals: The Right to Development, International Cooperation and the Clean Development Mechanism

CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY

LINDIWE KNUTSON

Aliens, Apartheid and US Courts: Is the Right of Apartheid Victims to Claim Reparations from Multinational Corporations at last Recognized?

DAVID BILCHITZ

The Ruggie Framework: An Adequate Rubric for Corporate Human Rights Obligations?

SUR 13, v. 7, n. 13, Dec. 2010

GLENDIA MEZAROBBA

Between Reparations, Half Truths and Impunity: The Difficult Break with the Legacy of the Dictatorship in Brazil

GERARDO ARCE ARCE

Armed Forces, Truth Commission and Transitional Justice in Peru

REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS

FELIPE GONZÁLEZ

Urgent Measures in the Inter-American Human Rights System

JUAN CARLOS GUTIÉRREZ AND SILVANO CANTÚ

The Restriction of Military Jurisdiction in International Human Rights Protection Systems

DEBRA LONG AND LUKAS MUNTINGH

The Special Rapporteur on Prisons and Conditions of Detention in Africa and the Committee for the Prevention of Torture in Africa: The Potential for Synergy or Inertia?

LUCYLINE NKATHA MURUNGI AND JACQUI GALLINETTI

The Role of Sub-Regional Courts in the African Human Rights System

MAGNUS KILLANDER

Interpreting Regional Human Rights Treaties

ANTONIO M. CISNEROS DE ALENCAR

Cooperation Between the Universal and Inter-American Human Rights Systems in the Framework of the Universal Periodic Review Mechanism

IN MEMORIAM

Kevin Boyle – Strong Link in the Chain
By Borislav Petranov

SUR 14, v. 8, n. 14, Jun. 2011

MAURICIO ALBARRACÍN CABALLERO

Social Movements and the Constitutional Court: Legal Recognition of the Rights of Same-Sex Couples in Colombia

DANIEL VÁZQUEZ AND DOMITILLE DELAPLACE

Public Policies from a Human Rights Perspective: A Developing Field

J. PAUL MARTIN

Human Rights Education in Communities Recovering from Major Social Crisis: Lessons for Haiti

THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

LUIS FERNANDO ASTORGA GATJENS

Analysis of Article 33 of the UN Convention: The Critical Importance of National Implementation and Monitoring

LETÍCIA DE CAMPOS VELHO MARTEL

Reasonable Accommodation: The New Concept from an Inclusive Constitutional Perspective

MARTA SCHAAF

Negotiating Sexuality in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

TOBIAS PIETER VAN REENEN AND HELÉNE COMBRINCK

The UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in Africa: Progress after 5 Years

STELLA C. REICHER

Human Diversity and Asymmetries: A Reinterpretation of the Social Contract under the Capabilities Approach

PETER LUCAS

The Open Door: Five Foundational Films That Seeded the Representation of Human Rights for Persons with Disabilities

LUIS GALLEGOS CHIRIBOGA

Interview with Luis Gallegos Chiriboga, President (2002-2005) of the Ad Hoc Committee that Drew Up the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

SUR 15, v. 8, n. 15, Dec. 2011

ZIBA MIR-HOSSEINI

Criminalising Sexuality: *Zina* Laws as Violence Against Women in Muslim Contexts

LEANDRO MARTINS ZANITELLI

Corporations and Human Rights: The Debate Between Voluntarists and Obligationists and the Undermining Effect of Sanctions

INTERVIEW WITH DENISE DORA

Former Ford Foundation's Human Rights Officer in Brazil (2000-2011)

IMPLEMENTATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL OF THE DECISIONS OF THE REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS SYSTEMS

MARIA ISSAEVA, IRINA SERGEEVA AND MARIA SUCHKOVA

Enforcement of the Judgments of the European Court of Human Rights in Russia: Recent Developments and Current Challenges

CÁSSIA MARIA ROSATO AND LUDMILA CERQUEIRA CORREIA

The *Damião Ximenes Lopes* Case: Changes and Challenges Following the First Ruling Against Brazil in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

DAMIÁN A. GONZÁLEZ-SALZBERG

The Implementation of Decisions from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Argentina: An Analysis of the Jurisprudential Swings of the Supreme Court

MARCIA NINA BERNARDES

Inter-American Human Rights System as a Transnational Public Sphere: Legal and Political Aspects of the Implementation of International Decisions

SPECIAL ISSUE: CONECTAS HUMAN RIGHTS - 10 YEARS

The Making of an International Organization from/in the South

SUR 16, v. 9, n. 16, Jun. 2012

PATRICIO GALELLA AND CARLOS ESPÓSITO

Extraordinary Renditions in the Fight Against Terrorism. Forced Disappearances?

BRIDGET CONLEY-ZILKIC

A Challenge to Those Working in the Field of Genocide Prevention and Response

MARTA RODRIGUEZ DE ASSIS MACHADO, JOSÉ RODRIGO RODRIGUEZ, FLAVIO MARQUES PROL, GABRIELA JUSTINO DA SILVA, MARINA ZANATA GANZAROLLI AND RENATA DO VALE ELIAS

Law Enforcement at Issue: Constitutionality of Maria da Penha Law in Brazilian Courts

SIMON M. WELDEHAIMANOT

The ACHPR in the Case of *Southern Cameroons*

ANDRÉ LUIZ SICILIANO

The Role of the Universalization of Human Rights and Migration in the Formation of a New Global Governance

CITIZEN SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

GINO COSTA

Citizen Security and Transnational Organized Crime in the Americas: Current Situation and Challenges in the Inter-American Arena

MANUEL TUFRÓ

Civic Participation, Democratic Security and Conflict Between Political Cultures. First Notes on an Experiment in the City of Buenos Aires

CELS

The Current Agenda of Security and Human Rights in Argentina. An Analysis by the Center for Legal and Social Studies (CELS)

PEDRO ABRAMOVAY

Drug policy and *The March of Folly*

Views on the Special Police Units for Neighborhood Pacification (UPPs) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Rafael Dias — Global Justice Researcher

José Marcelo Zacchi — Research Associate, Institute for Studies on Labor and Society — IETS

SUR 17, v. 9, n. 17, Dec. 2012

DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS

CÉSAR RODRÍGUEZ GARAVITO, JUANA KWEITEL AND LAURA TRAJBER WAISBICH

Development and Human Rights: Some Ideas on How to Restart the Debate

IRENE BIGLINO, CHRISTOPHE GOLAY AND IVONA TRUSCAN

The Contribution of the UN Special Procedures to the Human Rights and Development Dialogue

LUIS CARLOS BUOB CONCHA

The Right to Water: Understanding its Economic, Social and Cultural Components as Development Factors for Indigenous Communities

ANDREA SCETTINI

Toward a New Paradigm of Human Rights Protection for Indigenous Peoples: A Critical Analysis of the Parameters Established by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

SERGES ALAIN DJOYOU KAMGA AND SIYAMBONGA HELEBA

Can Economic Growth Translate into Access to Rights? Challenges Faced by Institutions in South Africa in Ensuring that Growth Leads to Better Living Standards

INTERVIEW WITH SHELDON LEADER

Transnational Corporations and Human Rights

ALINE ALBUQUERQUE AND DABNEY EVANS

Right to Health in Brazil: A Study of the Treaty-Reporting System

LINDA DARKWA AND PHILIP ATTUQUAYEFIO

Killing to Protect? Land Guards, State Subordination and Human Rights in Ghana

CRISTINA RĂDOI

The Ineffective Response of International Organisations Concerning the Militarization of Women's Lives

CARLA DANTAS

Right of Petition by Individuals within the Global Human Rights Protection System

SUR 18, v. 10, n. 18, Jun. 2013

INFORMATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

SÉRGIO AMADEU DA SILVEIRA

Aaron Swartz and the Battles for Freedom of Knowledge

ALBERTO J. CERDA SILVA

Internet Freedom is not Enough: Towards an Internet Based on Human Rights

FERNANDA RIBEIRO ROSA

Digital Inclusion as Public Policy: Disputes in the Human Rights Field

LAURA PAUTASSI

Monitoring Access to Information from the Perspective of Human Rights Indicators

JO-MARIE BURT AND CASEY CAGLEY

Access to Information, Access to Justice: The Challenges to Accountability in Peru

MARISA VIEGAS E SILVA

The United Nations Human Rights Council: Six Years On

JÉRÉMIE GILBERT

Land Rights as Human Rights: The Case for a Specific Right to Land

PÉTALLA BRANDÃO TIMO

Development at the Cost of Violations: The Impact of Mega-Projects on Human Rights in Brazil

DANIEL W. LIANG WANG AND OCTAVIO LUIZ MOTTA FERRAZ

Reaching Out to the Needy? Access to Justice and Public Attorneys' Role in Right to Health Litigation in the City of São Paulo

OBONYE JONAS

Human Rights, Extradition and the Death Penalty: Reflections on The Stand-Off Between Botswana and South Africa

ANTONIO MOREIRA MAUÉS

Supra-Legality of International Human Rights Treaties and Constitutional Interpretation

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <www.surjournal.org>.

SUR 19, v. 10, n. 19, Dec. 2013

FOREIGN POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

DAVID PETRASEK

New Powers, New Approaches?
Human Rights Diplomacy in the 21st
Century

ADRIANA ERTHAL ABDENUR AND
DANILO MARCONDES DE SOUZA
NETO

Brazil's Development Cooperation
with Africa: What Role for Democracy
and Human Rights

CARLOS CERDA DUEÑAS

Incorporating International Human
Rights Standards in the Wake of
the 2011 Reform of the Mexican
Constitution: Progress and Limitations

ELISA MARA COIMBRA

Inter-American System of Human
Rights: Challenges to Compliance with
the Court's Decisions in Brazil

CONOR FOLEY

The Evolving Legitimacy of
Humanitarian Interventions

DEISY VENTURA

Public Health and Brazilian Foreign
Policy

CAMILA LISSA ASANO

Foreign Policy and Human Rights in
Emerging Countries: Insights Based on
the Work of an Organization from the
Global South

INTERVIEW WITH MAJA

DARUWALA (CHRI) AND SUSAN
WILDING (CIVICUS)

Emerging Democracies' Foreign Policy:
What Place for Human Rights? A Look
at India and South Africa

DAVID KINLEY

Finding Freedom in China: Human
Rights in the Political Economy

LAURA BETANCUR RESTREPO

The Promotion and Protection
of Human Rights through Legal
Clinics and their Relationships with
Social Movements: Achievements
and Challenges in the Case of
Conscientious Objection to Compulsory
Military Service in Colombia

ALEXANDRA LOPES DA COSTA

Modern-Day Inquisition: A Report
on Criminal Persecution, Exposure
of Intimacy and Violation of Rights
in Brazil

ANA CRISTINA GONZÁLEZ VÉLEZ
AND VIVIANA BOHÓRQUEZ
MONSALVE

Case Study on Colombia: Judicial
Standards on Abortion to Advance
the Agenda of the Cairo Programme
of Action