## CONTENTS

**Introduction**
LUCIA NADER, JUANA KWEITEL, & MARCOS FUCHS

7

“We Did not Create Sur Journal Because We Had Certainties, But Because We Were Full of Doubts”
MALAK EL-CHICHI

11

Reflections On the International Human Rights Movement in the 21st Century: Only the Answers Change
PEDRO PAULO POPPOVIC

17

**LANGUAGE**

What an Era of Global Protests Says about the Effectiveness of Human Rights as a Language to Achieve Social Change
SARA BURKE

27

After Human Rights Standard Setting, What’s Next?
VINODH JAICHAND

35

Global Trends and the Future of Human Rights Advocacy
DAVID PETRASEK

45

The Future of Human Rights
SAMUEL MOYN

57

Challenges to the Global Human Rights Regime: Are Human Rights Still an Effective Language for Social Change?
STEPHEN HOPGOOD

67

Human Rights as an Effective Way to Produce Social Change
EMÍLIO ÁLVAREZ ICAZA

77

UN Special Procedures System is “Designed to Be Ineffective”
INTERVIEW WITH RAQUEL ROLNIK

81

“Besides Human Rights, I Don’t See a Solution for Serving the Victims”
INTERVIEW WITH PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO

91

“The Rule of Law Has Consolidated All the Injustices That Existed Before It”
INTERVIEW WITH KUMI NAIDOO

97

**THEMES**

Are we Depoliticising Economic Power?: Wilful Business Irresponsibility and Bureaucratic Response by Human Rights Defenders
JANET LOVE

105

Are Human Rights an Effective Tool for Social Change?: A Perspective on Human Rights and Business
PHIL BLOOMER

115

GONZALO BERRÓN

123

Issues and Challenges Facing Networks and Organisations Working in Migration and Human Rights in Mesoamerica
DIEGO LORENTE PÉREZ DE EULATE

133

The Protection of LGBTI Rights: An Uncertain Outlook
GLORIA CAREAGA PÉREZ

143

**Human Rights in Motion**

OSCAR VILHENNA VIEIRA

184

Reflections On the International Human Rights Movement in the 21st Century: Only the Answers Change
MALAK EL-CHICHI

185

The Protection of LGBTI Rights: An Uncertain Outlook
GLORIA CAREAGA PÉREZ

186
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARVIND NARRAIN</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>Brazil, India, South Africa: Transformative Constitutions and their Role in LGBT Struggles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SONIA CORRÊA</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>Emerging powers: Can it be that sexuality and human rights is a ‘lateral issue’?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLARA SANDOVAL</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>Transitional Justice and Social Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSPECTIVES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NICOLE FRITZ</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>Human Rights Litigation in Southern Africa: Not Easily Able to Discount Prevailing Public Opinion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANDIRA SHARMA</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>Making Laws Work: Advocacy Forum’s Experiences in Prevention of Torture in Nepal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARIA LÚCIA DA SILVEIRA</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>Human Rights and Social Change in Angola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALVADOR NKAMATE</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>The Struggle for the Recognition of Human Rights in Mozambique: Advances and Setbacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARIS AZHAR</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>The Human Rights Struggle in Indonesia: International Advances, Domestic Deadlocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAN DONGFANG</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>A vision of China’s Democratic Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANA VALÉRIA ARAÚJO</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>Challenges to the Sustainability of the Human Rights Agenda in Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAGGIE BEIRNE</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>Are we Throwing Out the Baby with the Bathwater?: The North-South Dynamic from the Perspective of Human Rights Work in Northern Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEW WITH MARÍA-I. FAGUAGA IGLESIAS</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>“The Particularities in Cuba Are Not Always Identified Nor Understood By Human Rights Activists From Other Countries”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOICES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATEH AZZAM</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>Why Should We have to “Represent” Anyone?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARIO MELO</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>Voices from the Jungle on the Witness Stand of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRIAN GURZA LAVALLE</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>NGOs, Human Rights and Representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUANA KWEITEL</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>Experimentation and Innovation in the Accountability of Human Rights Organizations in Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEDRO ABRAMOVAY AND HELOISA GRIGGS</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>Democratic Minorities in 21st Century Democracies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMES RON, DAVID CROW AND SHANNON GOLDEN</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>Human Rights Familiarity and Socio-Economic Status: A Four-Country Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRIS GROVE</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>To Build a Global Movement to Make Human Rights and Social Justice a Reality For All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEW WITH MARY LAWLOR AND ANDREW ANDERSON</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>“Role of International Organizations Should Be to Support Local Defenders”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TOOLS

KENNETH ROTH
491 Why We Welcome Human Rights Partnerships

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”

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 Petrasek), 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 Nkamat) 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 (Lucía 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.
“WE DID NOT CREATE SUR JOURNAL BECAUSE WE HAD CERTAINTIES, BUT BECAUSE WE WERE FULL OF DOUBTS” – PROFILE OF PEDRO PAULO POPPOVIC

By João Paulo Charleaux – Conectas Human Rights

In a publishing world where analysts, writers, academics and journalists have their ideas rated by the number of “likes” conferred upon them by social networks, it is rare to come across someone with the kind of analogue knowledge such as that possessed by Pedro Paulo Poppovic, the São Paulo sociologist who for over 10 years edited *Sur-International Journal on Human Rights*, published by Conectas. He is also one of the few editors that can boast of a remarkable achievement: transforming the works of Greek philosophers such as Plato and Socrates into national bestsellers in the 1970s, when he was in charge of the *Os Pensadores* (The Thinkers) collection at the giant Abril publishing house. With their distinctive blue covers, these books still flood the shelves of bookstores across the country, disproving the myth that Brazilians are no longer interested in philosophy and literature.

Poppovic is anything but virtual. Tall, well-built and reassuring, he makes himself comfortable in a solid armchair beneath an array of bookshelves reaching to the ceiling of his apartment in a traditional neighborhood of São Paulo. Calmly holding the visitor in his line of vision for a good two seconds more than usual, he starts by reaffirming the importance of pen and paper, clearly rowing against the tide in a world increasingly steeped in fast virtuality. Poppovic speaks as a person with time on his side. “The book, physically speaking, is something that is almost sacred, filled with symbolic values that transcend the mere transmission of knowledge.” Despite this forthright assertion, he sighs as if seeking confirmation of the phrase or preparing himself to give an opposite view – which never materializes.

Few intellectuals feel at ease when confronted by doubt. When he joined the SUR editorial team ten years ago, Poppovic was an island of ideas surrounded by an ocean of question marks. “We thought a lot about whether the Global South existed or not as a generator of academic knowledge. But the Global South is a comparative, relative concept. Despite these doubts, we pressed on with this very
pretentious idea of giving voice to what the Global South could be, and we ended up by accepting the thesis that it does indeed exist.”

This conceptual decision, combining intuition, practical experience and political judgment, was the cornerstone on which SUR was founded. “We were in the South, a long way from the Rule of Law as interpreted by certain northern countries, where most academic publications dedicated to discussing human rights issues originated”, Poppovic recalls in an article co-authored with the current Conectas’ Program Director Juana Kweitel in the issue 15 of the journal (December 2011).

The same spirit is reflected in a comment by Conectas’ Executive Director, Lucia Nader, in a 2013 video commemorating the organization’s 12 years of existence: “Although you were not based in Europe or the United States, or you could aim to be a regional organization.”

This “dogmatic” decision to advocate the existence of the Global South resolved the question, and the Journal’s editors were thereafter able to define their scope of action, presenting a logical explanation for what the Journal is, what it does and what its contribution in the field. Once the problems of a conceptual order were overcome, the group came face to face with a second, more practical obstacle: the shortcomings of many of the academic papers produced in the Global South. While the conceptual debate could be resolved with a coherent approach to the way the world was structured, there was no doubt that the Global South lagged behind in technical, academic and intellectual terms.

Poppovic candidly acknowledges that “most of the articles we received from the North were better than those we received from the Global South. Work produced in the Global South often contained excellent ideas but failed to conform to the academic standards of the time.”

Categorical statements like this can be interpreted in different ways: as, for example, harsh self-criticism, or a certain kind of prejudice blurred by a Eurocentric or Americanized view of the world. It all depends on who is making the statements. To understand why Poppovic took it upon himself to criticize some of the contributors to the journal, we have to go back 40 years to when Poppovic was a young sociology student at the University of São Paulo’s Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences.

Brazil was going through one of the darkest periods of its entire history. The military dictatorship, established in 1964 by the coup that overthrew President João Goulart, tortured, arrested and “disappeared” political dissidents, and also directed its persecution and anticommunist paranoia against university teachers and scholars working in the humanities. This was particularly the case with sociologists, philosophers and anthropologists who dared to criticize the oligarch, slave-owning and patrimonial traditions that had marked Brazil’s 500 year history and which continued to determine the way the military government, widely supported by conservative sectors of society,
businessmen and industrialists ran the country at that particular moment in our history.

As a young student, Poppovic was the assistant to one of the greatest academicians of the time, the sociologist Florestan Fernandes. Accompanying him was another young university sociology colleague, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Up to the 1990s Cardoso served as a senator and minister, and finally became President of Brazil for two terms (1995-2003). During these two mandates, Poppovic, as Secretary for the Ministry of Education, coordinated an innovative distance education plan for government-run schools in the vast interior of Brazil.

Poppovic’s criticism of the quality of the Global South’s academic production can be understood more as a lament about his own academic condition and of his colleagues and as a desire for change and improvement than as contempt for those resigned to the status quo. Faced with this limitation, Poppovic decided to risk trying out a remedy for the very evil that SUR had set out to combat in a metalinguistic way. “We decided to publish the articles anyway. We selected the best, even if sometimes we had to put up with some shortcomings. We were sent 80 articles, with no payment requested. We were never short of papers.”

Given that the expectation of receiving top-class articles was obviously unrealistic, the editors of the journal then began to look for solutions to improve the editorial level of the contributions. A solution was found, together with the staff of the Carlos Chagas Foundation, that consisted of “coaching”—a challenging program designed to encourage good academic writing by young Brazilian researchers and activists.

“It immediately became clear to us what this challenge involved. It was not simply a question of printing a journal containing a few articles. The task of creating a journal with thinkers from the Global South took on an ambitious educational and training character. Again, the willingness to question our own certainties and to be prepared to delve into the unknown guided the editorial board’s decisions. We never strove to be dogmatic. And although we worked on the journal with people from the same academic area, they were never from our own organization. We had no intention of using the journal to express our own points of view.”

A group of editors governed by the prospect of profit, increased circulation and competition for sales might have regarded this as a non-starter in such circumstances. At this point, Poppovic began to speak more slowly, with increasing silences between phrases while he pondered the weight of each idea. He is perfectly aware of the current challenge faced by the journal. With such rapid changes in the publishing world, with questions being raised about the paper form of production and the high costs of translation, printing and mailing, it is inevitable that the publishers have, over the years, given thought to how SUR will survive into the future, with the virtual world encroaching ever closer on that of paper.

Poppovic sighs and looks around him as if searching for a non-existent window. After hours of discussion, the evening draws to a close and in the library of his apartment, surrounded by books in the half-light, the journal’s editor appears to want to say that the future has arrived too fast, as fast as the approach of the end of the day. “I’m a reactionary. I like the print form, even though it more than doubles
“WE DID NOT CREATE SUR JOURNAL BECAUSE WE HAD CERTAINTIES, BUT BECAUSE WE WERE FULL OF DOUBTS”

the price of a publication,” he says, as if asking forgiveness. “The publications that are restricted to the internet lose substance. The idea that people only want to read short texts is far from the truth. Look at the United States, where 1,000 new books are printed every day. Look at São Paulo, which has more bookstores opening every day. I believe that SUR, after publishing 200 articles, needs to evolve. It needs to deal with more current issues. It needs to appear more regularly, and it needs a bigger budget. It must remain open, but as a typical academic journal. Its outlook and language are academic.”

Over ten years the journal has continued to reinvent itself. And even today, still solidly afloat, with 20 editions published in three languages and distributed to over one hundred countries, SUR is still seeking to innovate. The original group of editors, under Poppovic’s leadership, addressed the doubts and uncertainties of the time. The same is now happening with the new generation that has shouldered the same challenge of swimming against the tide to give a voice to the Global South. The synergy between the lessons learned in the past and bets on the future is producing one of the most worthwhile and interesting experiences of knowledge production aimed at action on human rights beyond the US-Europe axis.
PREVIOUS NUMBERS

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

SERGIO BRANCO
Brazillian 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 VIJAYARASA
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 CONTESTES 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

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 SCHOCCAERT
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 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
ANN BLYBERG
The Case of the Misslated 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.

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 TAULLI-CORPUZ

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

SARAH ZAIĐI
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

GLENDA 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 NKAHA MURUNGI AND JACQUI GALLINETTI
The Role of Sub-Regional Courts in the African Human Rights System

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

MARTA SCHAAF
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 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 Volunteerists 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 Damian Ximenes Lopes Case: Changes and Challenges Following the First Ruling Against Brazil in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

DAMIÂN 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


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 Cameroon

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 TÚRFRO

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 RODRIGUEZ 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 SCHETTINI

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 KAMGÀ 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

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. LIJANG 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

ATTUQAYEFIO

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

LINDA DARKWA AND PHILIP ATTUQAYEFIO

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

CRISTINA RAĐDI

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

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <www.surjournal.org>.
FOREIGN POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

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

ADRIANA ERTHAL ABDENUR AND DANÍLO 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