

Human Rights in Mexico
HMRT 24501/34501
Spring Quarter 2008
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Teaching Assistant: Iker Lekuona
Monday – Wednesday, 3:00 – 4:30 p.m.
Harper 140

Final syllabus
Introduction

This course is intended to give the student a foundation in understanding human rights as both concept and reality in contemporary Mexico. The course will begin with an overview of key periods in Mexican history in which concepts of individual and group rights, the relationship between citizens and the state, and the powers of the Church and the state were subject to change. This historical review will form the foundation for our understanding human rights issues in contemporary Mexico. The course will also examine modern social movements which frame their demands as human rights.

In the second part of the term, we will investigate four case studies which embody a range of important human rights issues:

- * the Tlatelolco massacre of students in 1968 (political killings, impunity, and accountability);
- * the 1994 uprising in Chiapas (indigenous rights, the right to education);
- * the efforts of a Guerrero-based mineworkers' local to obtain a collective bargaining agreement from a Canadian company (workers' rights, the role of international mechanisms and solidarity) ; and
- * the murders of women in Ciudad Juarez (women's rights, impunity, and the influence of international NGOs).

At the end of the course, we will have a week devoted to the defense of Mexican immigrants' rights in the United States.

Five human rights advocates will lecture and meet with students; Sergio Aguayo (Colegio de Mexico, Fundar, Mexico City), Carlos Arango (Casa Aztlan, Chicago), Miguel Alvarez Gandara (SERAPAZ, Chiapas and Mexico City), Alejandra Ancheita (PRODESC, Mexico City), and Jose Oliva (Interfaith Workers' Rights Center, Chicago).

Prerequisites:

Language: This course is part of the Languages Across the Curriculum Initiative. Students must have a good comprehension of spoken Spanish (for guest speakers and films) and be able to read Spanish. Speaking ability is also a plus; part of the mission of the course is to give students an opportunity to speak Spanish. Lectures and discussions will be held on Mondays, in English. For the Wednesday discussion class and with guest speakers, we will encourage students to speak Spanish as much as possible. While

participation will be encouraged, grades will not be affected by the student's ability to speak Spanish.

Prerequisite courses: Students should taken at least one course in Latin American or Mexican history or politics, or a Human Rights course. This requirement can be waived with permission of the instructor. The class is open to undergraduate, graduate, and professional students and will be limited to 30 students.

Required texts:

(All other readings will be available through links in this syllabus or in the Course Documents section of the course website on Chalk.)

Bartolome de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, Penguin Classics edition (Introduction by Anthony Pagden)

Center for the Study of Human Rights, Columbia University, *25+ Human Rights Documents*, 2001 (most of the relevant documents are also available on-line)

Human Rights Watch, *Mexico: Lost in Transition*, 2006 (this 150 page book may be downloaded from the Human Rights Watch website, or purchased in a hard-copy edition)

Assignments: At the beginning of the term, students will select to concentrate on one of the four themes which will take up the latter part of the course and select a relevant case study. Students will be asked to post comments on the readings during the first four weeks of the term. The mid-term will be a prospectus for the final paper. Grades will be based 20% on the mid-term, 20% on participation, and 60% on the final paper.

Classes and readings: Readings which do not have a live link and are not from one of the required course texts can be found on the course Chalk site under "course documents."

Week 1 (January 7 & 9) Introduction and the roots of a Mexican tradition of human rights, the role of the Church

In the four centuries between Frey Bartolome de las Casas and the Mexican Revolution and Constitution of 1917, Mexican intellectuals, political figures, and social movements articulated philosophies and ideologies that resonate with contemporary concepts of human rights. The institutional church and members of certain religious orders have played an almost unique role in human rights advocacy in Mexico. Our historical inquiry begins with the writings of Frey Bartolome de las Casas who advocated on behalf of the indigenous population before the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Bishops council in 16th century Spain. We will vary a bit from our chronological path to look at several later documents related to the Church and human rights, including the 1895 papal encyclical on workers' rights, and the adoption of a Cristero martyr, Miguel Agustin Pro, as the patron of one of Mexico City's most active human rights NGOs.

Readings:

Note about the first day reading: I hope that most students will have read these materials before the first class, but we will return to them in the latter part of the course when we look at contemporary problems of indigenous rights and labor rights as well.

Eduardo Galeano, *Memory of Fire: Genesis, Part 1* short excerpts on the career of Bartolome de las Casas and other defenders of the Indians: "1511 Santo Domingo: The First Protest;" "1544 Campeche: Las Casas;" "1545 Royal City of Chiapas: The Bad News Comes from Valladolid;" "1554 Mexico City: Sepulveda;" "1560 Michoacan: Vasco de Quiroga;" "1616 Santiago Papasquiario: Is the Masters' God the Slaves God?"

Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* – please read pp. xiii-xlv (Pagden's introduction and related materials); some of the sections of Las Casas' narrative that relate to Mexico: pp. 3-25; 31-36; 42-56; and 65 – 79.

Pope Leo XIII, Encyclical: *Rerum Novarum: Rights & Duties of Capital and Labor*, May 15, 1895,

http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_en.html

Contemporary Mexico: In recent months, the bishop of Saltillo, Coahuila, Mexico, Raul Vera Lopez, has been the subject of anonymous threats as well as institutional pressure from the Mexican government and the Vatican due to his human rights advocacy and condemnation of church officials who cover-up child molestation by priests. On December 11, 2007, in Mexico City, religious and secular human rights NGOs and the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights convened an event to support Bishop Vera as a defender of human rights. See the following news coverage:

"Amenazas en contra Raul Vera Lopez," *En Contexto*, Telemundo, 12 diciembre 2007, <http://mx.youtube.com/watch?v=vvCrax8bRyM>

"Niega Vera callarse," *Reforma*, 11 diciembre 2007 (on Chalk)

"Preocupa a la ONU falta de proteccion al obispo Vera Lopez," *La Jornada*, 12 diciembre 2007,

<http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2007/12/12/index.php?section=politica&article=010n1pol>

Websites of religious-based or inspired human rights NGOs:

Catolicas por el Derecho a Decidir, Mexico, D.F.,

<http://www.catolicasporelderechoadecidir.org/>

Centro Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Chiapas, <http://www.frayba.org.mx>

Centro de Derechos Humanos Fray Francisco de Vitoria, Mexico, D.F.

<http://www.laneta.apc.org/vitoria/>

Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez, Mexico, D.F.,

<http://www.centroprodh.org.mx/>

Frente Auténtico del Trabajo, Mexico, D.F. (see “origenes”),

<http://www.fatmexico.org/>

Wednesday – continuation of discussion on Las Casas and the religious tradition in human rights

Week 2: (January 14 & 16) The secular roots of human rights in Mexico: The anti-clerical legacy of Benito Juarez and nineteenth century liberalism; The Mexican Revolution and the 1917 Constitution
(priority readings are marked with an asterisk)

Monday:

a) Benito Juarez and 19th Century liberalism in Mexico

Readings:

The Constitution of 1857 (on Chalk)

*Benito Juarez, "The Triumph of the Republic, 1867," in Joseph, et al. pp. 270-272 (document labeled "Liberals" on Chalk site)

*Friedrich Katz, "Benito Juarez," in *Nuevos ensayos mexicanos*, 2006, pp. 79 – 103

B) The legacy of the Mexican Revolution

The Mexican Constitution of 1917, product of the Mexican Revolution (1910 – 1920) was a revolutionary document for the period, including extensive provisions on the rights of workers and protections of the landholdings of peasant communities. What were the conflicting intentions of the drafters? What was the international context of the Mexican Revolution? What was influence of the Mexican Revolution and the 1917 Constitution beyond Mexico?

Readings:

John Coatsworth, "Laudatio: Friedrich Katz" (an overview of Professor Katz's role as a historian of Mexico), delivered as a talk, Nov. 11, 2002, at the Freie Universität Berlin

Friedrich Katz, "The Split among the Revolutionary Factions," (pp. 253-297) and "The Policies of Carranza," (pp. 314-326), in *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution*, 1981, University of Chicago Press.

*Adolfo Gilly, "From Celaya to Queretaro," pp. 228-239, and "Foreword" [by Friedrich Katz], *The Mexican Revolution*, 2005 edition; (originally published as *La revolucion interrumpida*, 1971)

*John Reed, "Pancho Villa," in Joseph, et al., pp. 364-371

Legal documents and declarations:

a) 19th Century

Jose Maria Morelos, "Sentiments of the Nation [Plan de Chilpancingo of 1813]; in Joseph, et al. (document labeled "Liberals" in Chalk site)

Agustin Iturbide, "Plan of Iguala" [1821] in Joseph, et al. (document labeled "Liberals" on Chalk site)

b) 20th Century

*Ricardo Flores Magon, "Land and Liberty," in Joseph, et al., pp. 333-338

*Emiliano Zapata, "Plan of Ayala," in Joseph, et al., pp.339-343

*Constitution of 1917, look especially at Art. 27, 34, and 123' at

<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/mexico/1917-Constitution.htm> (in English); en espanol a http://hc.rediris.es/05/constituciones/html/constituciones-mexico1917_1.htm#t1c1 or in Joseph, et al., at pp. 398 – 402 (Articles 27 & 123)

The current version of the Mexican Constitution (the 1917 Constitution with subsequent revisions) can be found, in Spanish at:

<http://www.constitucion.gob.mx/index.php?idseccion=210>

Optional readings (the Latin American independence movements of the early 19th Century and their impact on political philosophy in Mexico)

Luis Gonzalez y Gonzalez, "Liberals and the Land," in Gilbert Joseph & Timothy Henderson, Eds., *The Mexico Reader*, Duke, 2005, pp. 239-251 (document labeled "Liberals" on Chalk site)

Michael Meyer, William Sherman, Susan Deeds, *The Course of Mexican History*, Oxford, 2007 - Chap. 15, "The Wars for Independence" pp. 251-263

Wednesday: Discussion of Monday readings

Discussion questions: Why did Benito Juarez and other 19th Century Mexican liberals attack the Church as an essential component of their political struggle? What principles of 19th Century liberalism are reflected in modern human rights instruments and advocacy? How did the Mexican Constitution of 1917 reflect contemporary ideals of socialism? How were the demands of peasants (for land) and workers (for union rights and better working conditions) incorporated into the 1917 Constitution?

Week 3 (January 23 only) The modern human rights movement in Mexico: discussion with a founder
(no class on Monday, January 21; class on Wednesday January 23)

Re: midterm assignment –

Read the midterm assignment explanation in the “Course Documents” section of the Chalk site and start planning your final paper.

Monday (no class) – Dr. King’s legacy of non-violent protest as a basis for social movements is alive in Mexico today. Read a commentary on the meaning of the life of Dr. King in one of Mexico’s daily papers: David Brooks, “El legado de Martin Luther King, reducido a "promover la caridad",” *La Jornada*, 16 de enero 2007,
<http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2007/01/16/index.php?section=mundo&article=029n1mun>

Wednesday (January 23) – Winter Quarter Distinguished Lecture in Human Rights: Sergio Aguayo

a) class session from 3:00 – 4:00 p.m. (in Spanish and English) – students will meet for an informal discussion with Professor Sergio Aguayo. Sergio Aguayo has been one of Mexico’s leading public intellectuals and human rights advocates for the past three decades. He has been a professor of political science at the Colegio de Mexico since 1977 and was a founder of the Mexican Academy for Human Rights, the electoral reform organization Alianza Civica, and other civil society initiatives. His weekly newspaper column appears in 17 papers across Mexico and the U.S. and he makes regular appearances as a commentator on Mexican television. A past Tinker Visiting Professor at the University, Aguayo most recently visited Chicago in 2006, when an NGO he founded to monitor transparency issues (Fundar) received a major award from the MacArthur Foundation.

For more information, see: Professor Aguayo’s website (<http://www.sergioaguayo.org/>)

b) lecture (in English) 6:00 – 7:30 p.m.: World Beyond the Headlines series: Sergio Aguayo, “Human rights in Mexico: in the labyrinth of drugs and billionaires” at International House, 1414 E 59th St., Chicago

Week 4 (January 28 & 30) The promise of the Mexican revolution and the evolution of the corporatist state

Re: Midterm assignment - Students will be expected to have an individual appointment with Susan Gzesh at some time during week 4 or week 5 to discuss their chosen paper topic and sources available.

Monday, January 28 – The PRI (Partido de la Revolucion Institucionalizada) betrays the legacy of the Mexican Revolution and Lazaro Cardenas –

Primary text - Film: We will view the award-winning Mexican film, *La ley de Herodes*, directed by Luis Estrada, 1999. According to many Mexicans, the film contributed to the defeat of the P.R.I. in the 2000 presidential election. Read a review of the film and discussion of the scandal regarding attempted suppression of the film at:

http://cinemexicano.mty.itesm.mx/peliculas/ley_herodes.html

View trailer on Youtube:

<http://www.atlatl.com.mx/youtube/viewvideo.php?id=14FvY-pNrgk>

Readings: The consolidation of the PRI in the Cardenas period set up structures which have an important and unique impact on the later development (or lack of development) of a modern human rights movement in Mexico.

Lorenzo Meyer, "Historical Roots of the Authoritarian State in Mexico," *Authoritarianism in Mexico*, eds. José Luis Reyna & Richard S. Weinert. Philadelphia: Ins. for the Study of Human Issues. 1977, pp., 3-22.

Lorenzo Meyer, "A mi general: Parte de novedades," en *La segunda muerte de la revolucion Mexicana*, Cal y Arena, 1992/2006 (10th printing), pp. 267-274
(alternate either one of the next two readings)

Hector Aguilar Camin y Lorenzo Meyer, "Las ultimas decadas," in *A la sombra de la Revolucion Mexicana*, Cal y Arena 1989/2005, pp. 295 - 312

Or, in English - David Thelen, "A Conversation with Lorenzo Meyer about Mexico's Political Transformation: From Authoritarianism to What?" in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 2, 1999, pp. 601-612

More background readings:

Alan Knight, "Political Violence in Post Revolutionary Mexico." In *Societies in Fear: The Legacy of Civil War, Violence and Terror in Latin America*, eds. Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt. Zed Books, 1999, pp. 105-124

Evelyn Stevens "Mexico's PRI: The Institutionalization of Corporatism?," In *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*, edited by James Malloy. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977 pp., 227-258

Wednesday, January 30 – Discussion of film and readings – class will end today at 4:00 p.m.

Week 5 (February 4 & 6) – 1968: watershed year of politics, protest, and repression

Monday, February 4 –The student movement and the events at the Plaza de Tlatelolco

Readings:

1. Julia Preston & Sam Dillon, Chapter 3 “Tlatelolco, 1968,” and Chapter 4 “Earthquake, 1985” in *Opening Mexico: The Making of a Democracy*, Julia Preston & Sam Dillon, Farrar Straus, 2004, pp. 63-115;
2. Elena Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico (La Noche de Tlatelolco)* English language edition, 1975: Octavio Paz, “Introduction,” and Poniatowska, selected narratives of the massacre and imprisonment of students (“*Massacre in Mexico*” on Chalk documents list)
3. Julio Scherer Garcia and Carlos Monsivais, *Los Patriotas: De Tlatelolco a la guerra sucia*, 2004 (excerpts from Scherer’s narrative of events immediately following 1968);
4. Elena Poniatowska, “The student movement of 1968,” in Gilbert Joseph & Timothy Henderson, Eds., *The Mexico Reader*, Duke, 2005, pp.555-569; (in “Poniatowska 1968 & 1986” on Chalk site)

Supplemental material:

Kate Doyle, “Mexico Project,” *National Security Archive*, George Washington University: The best archival collection of documents, testimonies and photographs of the events of 1968, as well as the dirty war period of the 1970s, has been assembled by the highly-regarded independent investigator Kate Doyle. The material, which I urge you to browse through, can be found at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/mexico/>

Films to view – optional (showings to be scheduled):

El Grito, 2 de octubre no se olvida - El Centro Universitario de Estudios Cinematográficos (CUEC) de la UNAM, editado por Leobardo López Arretche. Durante el movimiento de 1968, los estudiantes del CUEC decidieron tomar la escuela, el equipo y material a disposición y filmar los acontecimientos. The film reviews the four months of student activism leading up to the events of October 2. In Spanish with English subtitles.

Tlatelolco: las claves de la masacre, La Jornada y el canalseisdejulio, 2002, a meticulous examination of events of October 2 at the Plaza Tlatelolco, including contemporary footage supplemented with animation. In Spanish, no sub-titles.

Wednesday, February 6 – Guest speaker: Carlos Arango, Executive Director, Casa Aztlán, Chicago; veteran student activist in Mexico in 1968-71, refugee to the U.S. in the early 1970s; co-founder of Centro de Acción Social Autónoma (one of the first organizations to advocate for the rights of the undocumented). Carlos was a leader and participant in the student movement of the summer and fall of 1968 in Mexico City which was brutally repressed at the demonstration in the Plaza Tlatelolco in October 1968.

Week 6, February 11 & 13- Impunity, transitional justice, and the legacy of 1968

Monday, February 11

The origins of the modern human rights movement and the re-examination of Mexico's "dirty war"

Readings;

1. on the beginnings of the human rights movement in Mexico

Priority:

Carlos Monsivais, "Los derechos humanos: la implantacion de otro punto de vista," en "El Estado Fuera de la Ley," en *Los Patriotas: De Tlaltelolco a la guerra sucia*, con Julio Scherer Garcia, Nuevo Siglo, 2004, pp. 174-179;

Victims Coordinating Council, "After the Earthquake," more testimonies on the evolution of civil society "waking up" after the earthquake of 1985, in Gilbert Joseph & Timothy Henderson, Eds., *The Mexico Reader*, Duke, 2005, pp.579-590 (in "Poniatowska 1968 & 1986" on Chalk site)

Secondary readings;

Paolo Carozza, "From Conquest to Constitutions: Retrieving a Latin American Tradition of the Idea of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 25 (2003) 281-313;

Margaret Keck & Katherine Sikkink, from *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, (1998) pp., 79 – 120 and 165-198.

2. re-examining Mexico's dirty war

a) Human Rights Watch, *El Cambio Inconcluso/ Lost in Transition*, 2006, Chapter IV: Accountability: Ongoing Impunity for Past Atrocities," pp. 69- 110 (English) or "Rendicion de Cuentas", pp. 67 – 106 (en espanol)

b) selected remarks from a conference organized by Comision de Derechos Humanos del Distrito Federal (Mexico), Asociacion para la Prevencion de la Tortura (Suiza), Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustin Pro (Mexico), y Corporacion de Promocion y Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo (Chile), *Memoria, Seminario Internacional: Comisiones de la Verdad: Tortura, reparacion y prevencion*, 2003

1. Salvador Martinez della Rocca ("El Pino"), "El movimiento estudiantil del 68;"
2. Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustin Pro, "Resena del contexto mexicano;"
3. Emilio Alvarez Icaza Longoria, "El derecho a la verdad: discurso inaugural;"
4. Ignacio Carrillo Prieto, "La creacion y el labor de la Fiscalia Especial;"
5. Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, "La lucha por la verdad y la justicia;" and
6. Sergio Aguayo, "El derecho a la informacion: hacia una comision de la verdad;"

Supplemental readings:

1) In Latin America there is an ongoing debate on use and utility of transitional justice mechanisms.

Zalaquett, José. 1995. "Confronting Human Rights Violations Committed by Former Governments: Principles Applicable and Political Constraints." In *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon With Former Regimes*, edited by Neil Kritz. Washington D.C.: United States Institute for Peace, pp., 3-32.

2) Critiquing incomplete efforts:

An article about the efforts of Mexico's Special Prosecutor and the public debate that follows in the pages of *Proceso* magazine (these are live links from Sergio Aguayo's website):

["Ni verdad ni justicia"](#) (Artículo de Sergio Aguayo Quezada y Javier Treviño publicado en *Proceso* 1515, 13 de noviembre de 2005)

[Respuesta a Sergio Aguayo Quezada y Javier Treviño Rangel](#) (Desplegado publicado por la Oficina del Fiscal Especial para Movimientos Sociales y Políticos del Pasado en *Proceso* 1517, 27 de noviembre de 2005)

[Carta de Sergio Aguayo al Procurador Daniel Cabeza de Vaca](#) (publicada en la sección "Palabra de Lector" de *Proceso* 1520, 18 de diciembre de 2005)

[Precisiones en torno al desplegado publicado por la Oficina del Fiscal Especial para Movimientos Sociales y Políticos del Pasado](#) (Desplegado de la Procuraduría General de la República publicado en *Proceso* 1520, 18 de diciembre de 2005)

[A la Opinión Pública](#) (Desplegado publicado por Ignacio Carrillo Prieto, Fiscal Especial para Movimientos Sociales y Políticos del Pasado, en *Proceso* 1522, 1 de enero de 2006)

[Los aficionados](#) (Artículo de Sergio Aguayo Quezada sobre la FEMOSPP publicado en *Reforma*, 8 de marzo de 2006)

[Respuesta del Editoralista](#) (Contestación de Sergio Aguayo Quezada al desacuerdo expresado por la investigadora Olga Murguía Carmona sobre el artículo "Los aficionados" publicado en *Reforma*, 10 de marzo de 2006)

[A la Opinión Pública](#) (Desplegado publicado por Ignacio Carrillo Prieto, Fiscal Especial para Movimientos Sociales y Políticos del Pasado, en *Reforma*, 12 de marzo de 2006)

[A la Opinión Pública](#) (Desplegado corregido publicado por Ignacio Carrillo Prieto, Fiscal Especial para Movimientos Sociales y Políticos del Pasado, en *Reforma*, 13 de marzo de 2006)

Wednesday, February 13 – discussion of Monday readings

Week 7 (February 18 & 20) –

Chiapas: Indigenous Rights are Human Rights

The historical concept of Mexico as a unified nation has roots in both 19th Century liberalism and the Mexican Revolution of the early 20th Century. The outbreak of the Zapatista rebellion near the end of the 20th Century challenged official and popular concepts of “Mexicanidad” by making evident the inequalities in Mexican society suffered by that part of the population which self-identifies as indigenous. The 1994 rebellion, led by the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional and its charismatic leader Sub-comandante Marcos, brought the attention of the world to the unresolved problems of the indigenous people of Mexico. Despite a long period of negotiations, under the supervision of Chiapas Bishop Samuel Ruiz and his mediation team, the resulting “acuerdos” were never implemented by the Mexican government. The 2006 demonstrations and repression in the state of Oaxaca are only the most recent manifestation of the on-going struggle for indigenous rights.

Monday, February 18 – Indigenous rights are human rights – understanding Chiapas (and Oaxaca) in the context of indigenous rights movements worldwide

lecture, discussion, and meeting with Miguel Alvarez Gandara, advisor to Bishop Samuel Ruiz during the Chiapas negotiations, 1994-1997), Visiting Research Fellow, University of Chicago Human Rights Program, 1998; currently at NGO Serapaz (see: www.serapaz.org.mx)

Readings:

1) the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional, the 1994 Chiapas rebellion, and the Acuerdos de San Andres (various voices):

* from Luis Navarro Hernandez y Ramon Vera Herrera, eds, *Acuerdos de San Andres*, ERA, 1998:

- a) Hernandez Navarro, “Ciudadanos iguales; ciudadanos diferentes;” pp. 15 – 32; “Acuerdos sobre derechos y culturas indigenas” (los Acuerdos de San Andres), pp. 53-95;
- b) Sub-comandante Insurgente Marcos, “Los siete arcoiris,” pp. 132 – 136; and
- c) Adelfo Regino Montes, “San Andres: el lugar de las muchas verdades y de los muchos caminos,” pp. 235 – 238

* from the Chiapas negotiators:

a) Browse around the website of the NGO Serapaz, founded by Bishop Samuel Ruiz after he was forced by the Vatican to retire from his post in Chiapas; Serapaz continues to play a role in community conflict mediation in Chiapas and elsewhere in Mexico: <http://www.serapaz.org.mx/paginas/principal.html> ;

b) Former Secretary-General of Bishop Ruiz’s negotiating team, Miguel Alvarez Gandara, wrote a final report on the negotiations while on sabbatical as a Human Rights Visiting Activist at the University of Chicago, “La CONAI ante la crisis del Proceso de Paz.” The report is available under Course Documents on the Chalk site.

2) human rights of indigenous peoples, in general:

John R. Bowen, "Should We Have a Universal Concept of 'Indigenous Peoples' Rights?": Ethnicity and Essentialism in the Twenty-First Century", in *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 16, No. 4. (Aug., 2000), pp. 12-16 (on Chalk);

University of Minnesota Library, Human Rights collections: "Study Guide to the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." The University of Minnesota maintains the premier on-line human rights library collection in the U.S. This is their compendium of material on the human rights/ international law protections of indigenous peoples, complete with links to all major international agreements. Browse through the collected material at: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/studyguides/indigenous.html>

3) indigenous people in Mexico, land issues and repression

Bartolome de las Casas – review the readings from Week 1 from the *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*

Emilio Kouri, "Interpreting the Expropriation of Indian Pueblo Lands in Porfirian Mexico: The Unexamined Legacies of Andres Molina Enriquez," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol.82, No. 1 (2002), pp. 69 – 115; (a historical account which examines the popular perceptions of the origins of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 – on Chalk);

Lynn Stephen, "The Construction of Indigenous Suspects: Militarization and the Gendered Ethnic Dynamics of Human Rights Abuses in Southern Mexico," *American Ethnologist*, Vo. 26, No. 4, 1999, pp.822-842 (an anthropological account of the history and origins of the Chiapas conflict – on Chalk)

Wednesday, February 20

Short film clips and discussion of Monday readings

Week 8 (February 25 & 27) Labor rights are human rights –

Mexican labor rights activists and leaders of independent unions face tremendous challenges in vindicating the rights of workers in the Mexican legal system, despite the generous workers' rights provisions of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 and subsequent legislation. As a result, labor lawyers and activists have turned more and more to international fora such as the InterAmerican Commission for Human Rights, the International Labor Organization, and the NAFTA Labor Side Agreement.

Monday, February 25 – guest speaker: Alejandra Ancheita – PRODESC – will present a case study on representation of a group of mineworkers in Guerrero, Mexico, who tried to secure a fair contract from the Canadian company LUISMIN. See: <http://www.prodesc.org.mx/casos.php>

Background readings:

1) labor rights are human rights

Virginia Leary, "Labor," from Christopher Joyner, ed., *The United Nations and International Law*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 208-231 (a survey of labor rights under international human rights; the AFLCIO study below has a less technical survey of the law)

2) labor rights in Mexico

a) main background reading:

*Lance Compa, *The Struggle for Workers Rights in Mexico*, AFLCIO Solidarity Center, 2003 – see Chapters 1 & 2 (pp. 4- 21) for general background and Chapter 3 on discrimination against women workers, including international human rights

b) other perspectives on labor rights issues in Mexico:

Centro de Apoyo al Trabajadores, "Organizing Independent Unions in Mexico," in Resource Center of the Americas.org: http://www.americas.org/item_31 (organizing campaigns in the maquila sector)

Octavio Canton, "Los Derechos Laborales Fundamentales y El Ordenamiento Juridico Mexicano del Trabajo," in Canton and Corcuera, eds., *Derechos Economicos, Sociales y Culturales*, Porrúa, 2004, pp. 177-188 (examining Mexican labor law under international human rights standards);

Ben Davis & Emilio Fernandez, "Presentacion" and Maria Eugenia De la O Martinez, "La industria maquiladora en Mexico, 2000-2004," in Enrique de la Garza & Carlos Salas, ed. *La situación del trabajo en Mexico, 2006*, Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, Solidarity Center AFL-CIO, Institute de Estudios del Trabajo, Plaza y Valdes, 2006

Sam Dillon, "Democracy at Work," in Preston & Dillon, *Opening Mexico*, Farrar Straus & Giroux, 2004, pp. 461-476 (how the labor movement has been affected by political "reform" in Mexico)

Dan LaBotz, "Mexico's Labor Movement in Transition," *Monthly Review*, Vol. 52, No. 7, 2005 <http://www.monthlyreview.org/0605labotz.htm>; (a historical overview of the modern labor movement)

3) more resources on labor rights in Mexico

Centro de Apoyo al Trabajador, an organization dedicated to organizing women workers in the maquila sector: <http://www.catpuebla.org/> (see especially the “Teatro”)

Frente Autentico del Trabajo, an independent labor union, with roots in international Christian trade union work: <http://www.fatmexico.org/>

International Labor Rights Fund, an NGO on workers’ rights issues: <http://www.laborrights.org/>

Mexico Labor News and Analysis, website maintained by Dan La Botz, http://www.ueinternational.org/Mexico_info/mlna.php

Union Nacional de Trabajadores (the union federation which broke away from the PRI-dominated CTM) <http://www.unt.org.mx/>

Wednesday, February 27, discussion of Monday readings

Week 9 (March 3 & 5): Understanding Cd. Juarez – The human rights problems of women workers in the maquila sector in Cd. Juarez, Chihuahua

Monday: Lecture and discussion

Readings:

1) Women's rights are human rights

Charlotte Bunch and Samantha Frost, "Women's Rights are Human Rights," from the Center for Women's Global Leadership, at

<http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/globalcenter/whr.html> (also on the course Chalk site)

Radhika Coomaraswamy, former UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women, "Different but Free: Cultural Relativism and Women's Rights as Human Rights" (a very short piece on why women's rights are always the focus of the "cultural relativism" argument - on Chalk)

Human Rights Watch, Women's Rights Project, <http://hrw.org/women/> defining the situation of women's human rights world-wide, with additional information on women as workers, <http://hrw.org/women/labor.html>;

2) the case of Ciudad Juarez (read one of these two case studies)

*"Impunity in Ciudad Juarez," pp. 115 – 120 and "Chapter VI: A Paradigmatic Case: Ciudad Juarez," pp. 143-150 in Human Rights Watch, *Lost in Transition*, 2006; **or**

*Amnesty International. 2003. Mexico: Intolerable Killings: 10 years of abductions and murder of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua.

<http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGAMR410262003>

3) failure to protect the women of Cd. Juarez as a violation of human rights:

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. 2003. The Situation of the Rights of Women in Ciudad Juárez, México: The Right to be Free from Violence and Discrimination. <http://www.cidh.org/annualrep/2002eng/chap.vi.juarez.htm>

Yakin Erturk, United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, report on mission to Mexico, January 2006, ECOSOC (in English and Spanish on Chalk site)

4) the campaign for the decriminalization of abortion in Mexico City: Perhaps the most important women's rights victory in Mexico in recent years has been the decriminalization of abortion in Mexico City in 2007. See the following for an evaluation of the effort by Catholic Women for the Right to Decide, a news report on threats made by the Church prior to the Mexico City vote, and a new item about the next steps for reproductive rights activists in Mexico.

Catolicas por el Derechos a Decidir, "Debate sobre la despenalización del aborto en el DF: Se cumplen 9 meses de la iniciativa" 24 enero 2008,

<http://www.catolicasporelderechoadecidir.org/noticia.php?idn=164>

[no author] "Aprobar **aborto** en el DF sería un crimen hitleriano: obispo Arizmendi," *La Jornada*, <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/ultimas/2007/03/14/aprobar-aborto-en-el-df-seria-un-crimen-hitleriano-obispo-arizmendi>

Carolina Gomez Mena, “Activistas impulsan en el pais, leyes de despenalizacion del aborto,” *La Jornada*, 27 sept 2007,
<http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2007/09/27/index.php?section=sociedad&article=047n2soc>

4) Mexican feminists – a leading example:

1) Marta Lamas is one of the “mothers” of the modern feminist movement in Mexico. A short bio of her appears at:
<http://beatrizgarrido.nireblog.com/post/2007/04/17/marta-lamas-dirigente-feminista-mexicana>

I also found a tribute to her by Elena Poniatowska at:
<http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2005/11/06/a06a1cul.php>

A recent short article by Marta on Diversidad Sexual appears in two parts at the following page. For some reason, part 2 is above part 1, so you have to scroll down. (Please also note the item on the right margin of the page asking for support for Carmen Arestegui, a very popular investigative journalist whose television show was recently cancelled.) See: <http://mujeresdefuego.blogspot.com/search?q=%22Marta+Lamas%22>

Wednesday: Wednesday, March 5

Mapping exercise on the women of Cd. Juarez

There are two stages to this exercise. In the first stage, we will draw up a diagram/ map of all the actors involved in the murders of the women in Ciudad Juarez. In the second stage, we will break up into two groups to talk about possible advocacy efforts to impact the conduct of the various actors in our “map.” This technique is borrowed from the work of New Tactics, an innovative international human rights network coordinated by the Center for Victims of Torture in Minnesota. Their website is at: www.newtactics.org
The New Tactics

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From the New Tactics website:

“The modern human rights movement has made enormous strides in the past few decades in the advancement of the human rights ideal and the establishment of specific protections....Three tactics, predominantly, led to these advancements: 1) setting international norms that created a body of conventions, treaties, and standards; 2) monitoring compliance to these standards; and 3) denouncing or shaming government actions and inaction when the standards were violated. Over the years, the infrastructure and skills these approaches demand have grown dramatically. It is clear that these tactics have brought about tremendous advances and thus should continue to be supported and pursued.

It is equally clear that there are great limits to what we can accomplish in this way and that these approaches are not, in and of themselves, enough to solve seemingly intractable human rights problems.”

- The Need for New Tactics by Douglas Johnson

What is a tactic? A tactic is a specific action taken to try to address a situation as it relates to a specific plan (strategy). Tactics can take different shapes and forms. A tactic can be as simple as wearing a certain color, to those that are more involved such as monitoring, sanctions, or forming coalitions.

What is a strategy? Strategy involves a gathering of **many** decisions toward a plan including:

- Selecting key objectives and appropriate targets (people, organizations, laws, etc)
- Understanding the constituencies and resources available and needed
- Reaching a clear understanding of the specific interim goals to reach the strategy
- Deciding which *tactics* to use and when

How does a tactic differ from a strategy? Tactics consist of how to make a change, while strategy is deciding what change to make. Tactics are about 'the how,' and strategies are about 'the what.' In other words, a strategy is an approach that makes the best use of resources and other factors to secure advantage for an organization's goal. Tactics are the means for implementing strategy. It's the difference between a plan, and a way of accomplishing a plan.

Why is a wide range of tactics important?

1. What we know how to do influences what we think is possible to do; the tactics we have available to us can determine the strategy we choose.
2. Tactics have different effects on different targets.
3. Different tactics appeal to different individuals and groups.
4. Tactical flexibility is a source of surprise. [_](#)
5. Tactics serve as a lesson about how to engage in the world. Tactics open one's eyes to possibilities. [_](#)
6. Tactics are training systems for engaging others in an organization's work. [_](#)

'Tactic' isn't a human rights term, is it? Twenty years ago, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) resisted the word 'strategy,' which is now commonplace in NGO language and planning. Strategic planning has helped human rights organizations and other NGOs become more effective. We believe the human rights community will also benefit from incorporating 'tactics' and tactical thinking into its language.

How long have tactics been around? A long time. More than two thousand years ago, Sun Tzu taught that strategy emerges from understanding our adversary, understanding ourselves, and understanding the terrain (where the battle will be fought). Tactics are a key component of strategy. What we can accomplish, including which tactics we know, will affect the formation of our strategy. Tactics and tactical thinking aren't new. But consciously recognizing tactics - *seeing* what's possible and forming a strategy - is the challenge facing human rights activists today.

Week 10 (March 10 & 12) : Protecting the human rights of Mexican immigrants in the U.S.

Various organizations are involved in the protection of the human rights of Mexican workers in the United States. For over a century, the Mexican Foreign Ministry (Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores) has maintained an active presence in the U.S. assisting Mexican nationals with a range of social and human rights problems. The Vienna Convention on Consular Relations guarantees the mutual rights of Mexicans and U.S. citizens to access to consular assistance in each others' country. One of the most high-profile efforts of Mexican consular officials in recent years has been the protection of the human rights of Mexican nationals accused of capital crimes (i.e. crimes for which the death penalty may be imposed). In addition, the SRE has recently developed a cooperative agreement with a number of non-governmental organizations dedicated to the defense of the labor rights of Mexican workers in the U.S.

Readings:

1) For an overview of Mexican government efforts to protect the human rights of Mexicans in the United States, you can consult the webpage of the Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, Direccion General de Proteccion y Asuntos Consulares: <http://www.sre.gob.mx/dgpac/>

2) For background on the history of Mexican migration to the U.S., you can read either of the following articles:

Douglas Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan Malone, "System Assembly: A History of Mexico-U.S. Migration," in *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*, 2002, pp.24 – 51 (on Chalk)

Douglas Massey, "March of Folly: U.S. Immigration Policy After NAFTA," *American Prospect*, March, 1998, <http://www.prospect.org/print/V9/37/massey-d.html>

3) For a view of what some migrants have said about their own experience:

Gallery of retablos (religious paintings) by Mexican migrants, collected by the Mexican Migration Project, Princeton University, Douglas Massey and Jorge Durand, co-directors, view the paintings at: <http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/expressions/gallery-en.aspx>

Monday – guest speaker: Jose Oliva, Interfaith Worker Justice Center

IWJ (Chicago) is part of a national network of workers' rights centers that coordinate advocacy on behalf of immigrant workers, the majority of whom are Mexican. Their work includes advocacy with employers, religious organizations, legislatures, and the Mexican and U.S. governments.

Wednesday – wrap up discussion at Susan Gzesh's home – conclusions from the course