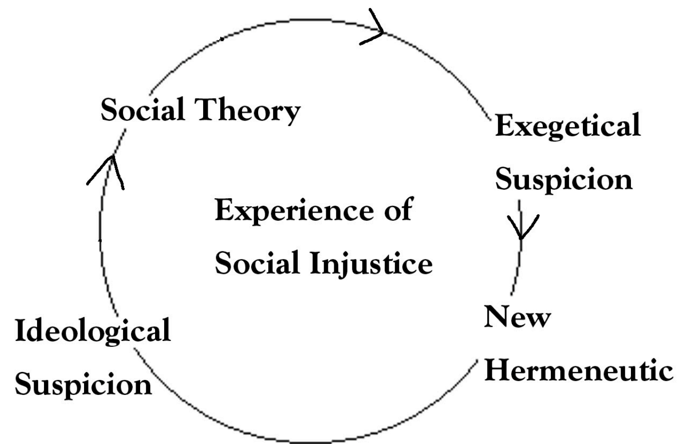
FIGURES OF SOLIDARITY:

Reconciling cultural relativism and universalism

By Ryan Wilson



What is it like to have a member of your family tortured to death and then left to rot in the wilderness as insects claim a new home? What would you do if your government placed you in a cell where your only contact was an eyeball starring at your from another cell across a dark hall? Where would you turn, if a government-sponsored military threatened to rape, torture and mutilate you while you walked down the street in your hometown? In these questions, the persecuted of Latin America scream out for recognition.

Perhaps Latin America is an example of what happens when Western governments fail to condemn the human rights violations of authoritarian regimes. After all, without international intervention from groups that support human rights, it is possible that the people of Guatemala, Argentina and El Salvador would still be in a state of constant fear, repression and obscurity. Fortunately, people like the Mayan activist Rigoberta Menchú, the Jewish publisher Jacobo Timmerman, and the Catholic priests Adolfo Pérez Esquivel and Oscar Romero refused to accept such a bleak existence. Largely due to their efforts, human rights activists around the world have witnessed their call and are continuing the fight for a more humane society in Latin America today.

According to the political scientists Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Latin America has more domestic human rights NGOs than do other parts of the third world."[1] In a 1981 directory of organizations concerned with human rights and social justice, 220 exist in Latin America compared to 145 in Asia and 123 in Africa and the Middle East.[2] Indeed, the geopolitical climate of Latin America, fraught with repressive dictators, oligarchic control, and incessant human rights violations, contributes to the nascent of these organizations. As explained in the Keck and Sikkink 'boomerang' model[3], however, there is also a direct correlation between the growth of these domestic NGOs and their relationship with international NGOs.

Utilizing this 'boomerang' pattern of international involvement as a framework, this analysis will argue that figures of solidarity emerge when a repressive government violates the basic tenets of human rights, and a discursive space within both the international and domestic realm creates an opportunity for previously silenced voices to be heard. Furthermore, this

analysis will show that it is in this space that a hermeneutical redefinition occurs. In turn, this allows domestic figures to confront overwhelming odds, and international organizations to see beyond a universalist approach and embrace a cause despite cultural conflicts. Finally, this analysis will suggest that figures of solidarity are pertinent to the implementation of a successful human rights regime.

UNIVERSALIM AND CULTURAL RELATIVISM

Dating back to 1648 and the Treaty of Westphalia, independent states received the authority "to be the only legitimate actors in a decentralized international system."[4] Resulting from this determination, national sovereignty became an impenetrable bulwark preventing another nation from intervening in the affairs of a repressive government. Over time, events such as the Nazi Holocaust began to question the validity of this emphasis on national sovereignty and began to include human rights in international discourse. With the establishment of organizations such as the United Nations (UN), a new constitutive norm emerged, and the ability of international organizations to intervene in "extreme" cases of human rights violations became a possibility.

With national sovereignty no longer the bearer of emphasis, the new paradigm symbolized a more humane and democratic construct for the world. Unfortunately, as more countries and cultures joined this new international cause for humanity, new problems emerged, and the panacea that once existed in a universal conception of human rights slithered into the hole of cultural relativity. In other words, the debate now shifted to a cultural perspective. Specifically, scholars began to question what degree of authority an international institution should have when intervening in unique cultural traditions and practices. After all, an extreme violation of human rights in one culture might not exemplify an extreme case in another. In this debate, universalism and cultural relativism emerged as opposite constructs in an increasingly complex world.

From a definitional perspective, universalism is the notion that individuals have common rights based on their membership in humanity.[5] Cultural relativism, on the other hand, suggests that we have rights by virtue of our community.[6] Although at first glance these

stances seem diametrically opposed, the postmodern pragmatist Richard Rorty suggests a way of reconciling these positions. For Rorty, "liberal societies provide an epistemological context for human rights justifications,"[7] therefore, they have a "responsibility to nurture and strengthen the 'human rights culture.'[8] Indeed, an implicit aspect of this argument is that liberal societies, which primarily reside in the Western developed world, conceptualize human rights more accurately than the underdeveloped Third World. From this perspective, Rorty adheres to a Western liberal conceptualization of human rights.

However, Rorty also acknowledges that the culture of human rights owes "everything to hearing sad and sentimental stories."[9] This aspect of his argument suggests that human solidarity relies upon testimonial accounts to galvanize support for human rights. In other words, human solidarity requires a spokesperson to express their culturally unique criticisms and situate it within a universalist appeal. Through this process international NGOs, religious organizations, and Western states are more likely to implement strategies that will pressure countries into ending human rights violations.

Unfortunately, the UN has yet to completely implement this aspect of cultural acknowledgement in international law. For this reason, scholars such as Jack Donnelly justifiably argue that international human rights organizations are bound together through a universalist foundation based primarily on Western liberal conceptions of morality, natural law and individual rights. Marchéta Birch's examination of individual and collective rights in international regulations[10] reflects this Western bias as she deconstructs various UN conventions and declarations, in an attempt to prove that individual rights, in particular, permeate the language of international discourse. In one instance, she addresses the UN Convention Against Torture and points to Article 22, which specifies that the Committee Against Torture may "receive and consider communications from or on behalf of *individuals* subject to its jurisdiction."[11] This relative bias for individual rights, she argues, denies indigenous groups who have a more communitarian origin and point-of-view.

Because Western liberal conceptions of human rights often underpin international law, indigenous groups have emerged from the shadows of obscurity and demanded a reevaluation

of this approach. The result, as Birch suggests, is that "their political activities vis-à-vis global relations challenge our current assumptions, norms and practices of protecting and promoting human rights."[12] Certainly, these unique cultural challenges are by no means limited to indigenous groups, although they are typically the ones most affected by an inherent Western preference. In fact, individuals examined in this analysis who have challenged Western conceptions of human rights include members of the Catholic clergy like Oscar Romero and Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, the Mayan descendent Rigoberto Menchú, and the Jewish Argentinean Jacobo Timmerman. In each case, these individuals illuminated human rights violations from a unique perspective that, ultimately, aided the fight against repressive governments in Guatemala, Argentina and El Salvador. Without their testimonies and political activism, it is possible that their respective governments would have remained in power for a longer duration and continued to harm thousands of people.[13] Moreover, in each of these cases, these repressive governments operated with the support of the most powerful Western country in the world, the United States.

Due to this simple fact, Donnelly's argument that human rights is commonly associated with Western liberalism denies the role that Western countries have in perpetuating human rights violations. Furthermore, his belief that Western liberalism serves as the "normative foundation for the Universal Declaration model"[14] neglects the agency of indigenous groups, domestic activists and social movements that continually fight against human rights violations in their respective country. Indeed, his argument is valid in the fact that liberal states tend to value human rights more than illiberal states, but any strict adherence to the Western state as the only mediator for human rights[15] denies the possibility of transnational advocacy networks and the implementation of a more pervasive universal egalitarianism.

IDENTITY OF AN ACTIVIST

According to Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "governments are the primary "guarantors" of rights but also their primary violators."[16] This statement further substantiates the claim that situating the responsibility to uphold human rights on a state (even a Western liberal state, who theoretically embraces human rights) results in a precarious situation where

human rights becomes dependent upon state intervention as opposed to a humanitarian or international intervention. Beyond this, activistsm along with domestic and international NGOs, inherently represent a more humanitarian perspective for holding states accountable to human rights than Western states do. This is due to the fact that those involved in these organizations and movements are "motivated by values rather than by material concerns or professional norms."[17] Pamela Oliver and Gerald Marwell add that activists are typically:

> People who care enough about some issue that they are prepared to incur significant costs and act to achieve their goals.[18]

For these reasons, activists and international organizations embody the vital characteristics that construct them as a better protagonist for human rights. Unfortunately, like Donnelly suggests:

> Until we develop institutional mechanisms to implement and protect internationally recognized human rights, an active positive role for states will remain essential.[19]

What Donnally fails to realize, however, is the emergence of transnational advocacy networks and their increasing influence on the constitutive norms societies embrace. In fact, Keck and Sikkink clearly recognize this oversight in scholarship as well when they suggest, "scholars have been slow to recognize either the rationality or the significance of activist networks."[20] Conveniently, these authors provide a useful framework for understanding the process behind transnational advocacy networks.

FIGURES OF SOLIDARITY: A METHODOLOGY AND PROCESS

In 2002, Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink published a collection of essays on transnational advocacy *groups*.[21] Identified in their discussion, transnational advocacy *networks* represented one form of transnational collective action. The remaining three types include international nongovernmental organization, transnational coalitions, and transnational social movements.[22] Although they argue that each of these forms of collective action influence norms, domestic and international, this analysis is primarily concerned with transnational advocacy networks. Indeed, in the discussion that follows, many of the actors and organizations involved exemplify characteristics of each category. However, because this

analysis focuses on the beginning stages of transnational advocacy, where informal contacts are established,[23] transnational advocacy networks best exemplify the organizational representation of those involved in the discussion that follows.

In Keck and Sikkink's discussion of transnational advocacy networks, two aspects are important to define in order to reveal their methodology. First, they define transnational advocacy networks as, "networks of activists, distinguishable largely by the centrality of principled ideas or values in motivating their formation."[24] From churches, the media, and trade unions to local social movements and branches of governments, these authors suggest that transnational advocacy networks consist of a diverse set of actors. Subsequently, however, their research indicates that international and domestic NGOs are the most prevalent ingredients to all advocacy networks.[25]

Second, Keck and Sikkink emphasize that most transnational advocacy networks emerge in situations where governments deny domestic groups the space necessary for recognition. As is the case throughout much of Latin America, domestic advocacy groups regularly encounter a government bulwark of repression and violence. During Argentina's "dirty war," for example, a repressive government instilled a campaign of forced disappearances, known as *desaparecidos* in Spanish. Between 1976 and 1983, thousands of leftist insurgents and other dissidents labeled as "subversives" disappeared.[26] However, due to the efforts of domestic NGOs such as Las Madres De La Plaza De Mayo (Las Madres) in Argentina, the atrocities of Argentina's "dirty war" garnered international attention. In fact, after Las Madres gained international attention they played a critical role in pressuring the UN to recognize "forced disappearances" as a crime against humanity, and, subsequently, encouraged the drafting of the UN Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.[27]

Explaining how Las Madres garnered international support involves what Keck and Sikkink refer to as the "boomerang pattern" of transnational advocacy networks. According to this methodology, domestic NGOs residing within a structurally repressive government must bypass traditional avenues within their state and form links with international organizations.

These organizations then utilize their influence to pressure these governments from the outside. In the words of Keck and Sikkink:

> International contacts can amplify the demands of domestic groups, pry open space for new issues, and then echo back these demands into the domestic arena.[28]

This pattern assumes, however, that domestic groups have the ability to link with an international NGO or organization that can help them circumnavigate their particular government structure. This point of contention, therefore, is of central concern in order for the 'boomerang' pattern to be effective.

The inception and subsequent state repression of Las Madres in Argentina and the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of the Political Prisoners, Disappeared, and Assassinated in El Salvador[29] (CoMadres) illustrate this contention in real, albeit tragic, terms. Despite the fact that both of these organizations achieved various successes in exposing the human rights violations present in their respective countries, they also encountered numerous attempts by the state to repress their efforts. For Las Madres, twelve of the original fourteen mothers became *desaparecidos* themselves, including the founder of Las Madres, Azucena de Vicenti.[30] Although tragic, the CoMadres experienced even worse military suppression. During the height of this organization, membership included 700 mothers and, ostensibly, 48 were captured, raped and tortured, three are still missing, and five were assassinated. In an interview with a member of CoMadres the potential punishment these women subjected themselves to is revealed. According to her:

> [When] the death squads captured a compañera, Maria Ophelia Lopez, she was detained, tortured and raped. She was tied down by her hands and feet and burned with cigarettes. Every time they showed her a photo of a different CoMadre, and [then] asked if she knew them, when she replied no, they would torture her.[31]

Eventually, both Las Madres and CoMadres achieved international recognition for their efforts to illuminate their country's respective human rights violations and the issue of *desaparecidos*. Today, these organizations embody the true essence of a transnational social movement because they have "coordinated and sustained social mobilization"[32] between women throughout Latin America and have influenced institutions such as the UN to pass declarations for their cause. Furthermore, these organizations have expanded and now

advocate against human rights violations of all people, domestic violence, and the passing of laws and policy-making that are harmful to women.[33] Nevertheless, in the beginning these organizations had to overcome extraordinary fear in order to appeal to the international community and become part of a transnational advocacy network. Understanding how an individual defeats these threats requires extending Keck and Sikkink's 'boomerang' pattern for transnational advocacy networks into the realm of hermeneutics and liberation theology.

A HERMENEUTICAL EXTENSION

As Keck and Sikkink suggest in the constituency of advocacy networks, churches can play a significant role in their emergence. In the case of Latin America, this is particularly pertinent due to the ubiquitous nature of churches in the area. Ironically, like the state, no other institution in Latin America has simultaneously championed and hindered the advocacy for human rights as the Catholic Church. For instance, during the Spanish conquest of Mexico, the church played a complicit role in the dissemination of Spanish rule and orthodoxy. On the other hand, Catholic bishops, like Archbishop Oscar Romero, founded domestic NGOs such as CoMadres in order to assist the cause against the repressive Salvadoran government. In fact, Romero's story not only serves as a lucid explanation of the nascent of liberation theology, one of the most pervasive human rights campaigns to spread throughout Latin America, but also introduces the notion of hermeneutics and the process individuals most go through in order to confront a seemingly insurmountable fear.

In 1977, the Vatican, with support from the Salvadoran government, ordained Oscar Romero as the Archbishop of San Salvador. To the dismay of progressive clergy in the archdiocese of El Salvador, Romero's beliefs adhered to the traditional ethos of the Catholic Church. On March 23, 1980, however, Archbishop Romero publicly denounced his conservative teachings and pleaded for a peaceful resolution to the government-sanctioned violence that had come to plague his country. At the end of his now infamous sermon, he called out to the military and security forces of the right-wing White Warrior Union and officials in the Salvadoran government to stop killing the peasants.

> "God's Law, 'Thou shalt not kill!' takes precedence over a human being's order to kill. No soldier is obliged to obey an order that is against God's law. No one has to obey an immoral law."[34]

The next day a group of hired assassins[35] murdered Romero, shooting him while he performed Mass at a church in the Eastern part of the country.

Recent discussions suggest that Romero understood the consequences of his actions,[36] which raises a quandary. How is it possible that a historically conservative bishop radically departed from his beliefs? The sociologist Christian Smith[37] also questions this fact when he asks, "What could have transpired in those few years to turn the acceptable choice of El Salvador's rich and powerful into one of their greatest enemies?" Ultimately, Smith concludes:

> Romero was influenced by the ideas of a new, peculiarly Latin American way of understanding the meaning of the Christian faith, commonly known as "liberation theology." Although not a leading liberation theologian himself, Romero's *lived experience* in a violent, oppressive, and unjust situation made many of the *ideas* of liberation theology very real to him, transforming his perception and evaluation of the world.[38]

Few interpretations of Romero's life disagree with Smith's analysis; however, this raises another interesting question. Is an ideology, or in this case theology, enough to convince someone to risk their life for a greater cause, or is there a broader, more introspective process at work?

Proponents and critics of liberation theology agree that the underpinnings of the movement exist within its unilateral identification with the poor. In this regard, theologians point to hermeneutics as a central characteristic that simultaneously explains this preferential dogma and the ascendancy of liberation theology. From a purely definitional perspective, hermeneutics is "the theory and methodology of interpretation, especially of scriptural text."[39] In other words, theologians interpret 'God's words' and subsequently deduce that an inherent preferential treatment for the poor exists in the scripture, therefore, theologians should practice this belief in their work and life.

The political scientist John R. Pottenger[40] offers a similar explanation as he defines hermeneutics according to the theologian J. Andrew Kirk who sees it as:

> The task of transposing the biblical message from one situation to another: an attempt to understand how the Word of God, which was written and lived out some 2,000 or more years ago, can command obedience in today's context.[41]

In a more theoretical vein, John Pottenger argues that Christianity and the message of salvation emerged out of a historical context that witnessed oppression and persecution. As a result, liberation theologians that attempt to place their current context within their understanding of scriptures create a world that embraces Christian salvation. In Pottenger's words,

> A hermeneutics of liberation is developing in liberation theology that attempts to relate the historical reality of God's incarnation and message with the historical reality of contemporary conditions of poverty and oppression.[42]

From here, Pottenger examines the work of Juan Segundo who created a religious version of the "hermeneutical circle."[43] Segundo defines the hermeneutic circle as "the continuing change in our interpretation of the Bible, which is dictated by the continuing change in our present-day reality."[44] Pottenger explains this circle through the caricature of a typical liberation theologian. In this caricature, he begins with an individual who makes a commitment to change a morally repugnant circumstance such as poverty. According to Pottenger, the impetus for such a commitment originates from a new conceptualization of the scriptures, which reinforces the individual's morals and her desire to change the circumstance. As these forces work together, the individual attempts to understand the forces behind this persecution and studies ideologies that might explain the phenomenon. Segundo refers to this step as "ideological suspicion." This is where social theories such as Marxism and economic dependency theory provide means for understanding the social context of a situation. However, Pottenger makes it clear that:

> These explanations are not intended to displace the Bible and its focus on the moral implications of God-man relationships; however, they are understood as necessary to augment biblical teaching and to help the individual committed to human liberation to better guide his actions.[45] (60)

After the individual achieves this social awareness, she begins to question the traditional interpretations of the Church that create a scriptural justification for the status quo, and thus, arrives at the next step in the hermeneutical circle, referred to as "exegetical suspicion." Now

that the individual is enlightened spiritually, intellectually and politically she enters the fourth step of the circle and creates a “new hermeneutic.” According to Pottenger, the individual proceeds to develop “a religiously more meaningful, socially more relevant, and politically more adequate theological response to contemporary social problems.”[46]

In the final stage of the circle, the individual responds to the morally repugnant injustice she originated from, thus, moving away from abstract theology and to religious praxis. Pottenger argues that typical engagements of religious praxis include passive resistance, nonviolent strikes, boycotts, guerrilla warfare, and violent revolution.[47] It is at this point in the hermeneutical circle that individuals begin to act on their beliefs despite the potential threats of their actions.

It is important to divulge that the process of creating a new hermeneutics requires the existence of a discursive space for introspection. In Latin America, this space emerged in the 1930s with the inception of Christian Base Communities (CEBs),[48] which were Christian groups organized by laymen that reinterpreted the gospel as a means of creating God’s kingdom on earth. During their prime, CEBs had a membership of nearly 4 million participants in places like Brazil, and, ultimately, became a permanent fixture on the religious landscape in Latin America during the 1980s.[49]

In a political context, CEBs represent a different manifestation of what the domestic NGO is today in that, it is a “private, voluntary, nonprofit group whose primary aim is to influence publicly some form of social change.”[50] Furthermore, CEBs have the ability to circumnavigate local structures and appeal to an outside party, in this case the church. This is similar to domestic NGOs when they petition transnational advocacy networks in the ‘boomerang’ pattern of influence. In both cases, these local groups gain voice and validity in the international arena.

Beyond the obvious similarities between CEBs and domestic NGOs, an element of hermeneutics exists in both organizations. As Pottenger explains in the aforementioned caricature, God’s words served as the foundation for a new perspective justifying liberation theology. Although international NGOs could use scriptures as a foundation for a

hermeneutic redefinition, this analysis argues that testimonials from Latin America serve as the international form of the scripture. In fact, as the case studies below will show, while domestic figures might use the scripture for their hermeneutical redefinition, international organizations often utilize testimonials in order to advocate for change and garner support in the international arena. Furthermore, their use of these literary works allows universalist and cultural relativist stances to reach common ground, as the next section of this analysis will show.

TESTIMONIAL DISCOURSE

Can the subaltern speak? When Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak proposed this now infamous question,[51] the debate surrounding testimonial discourse revolved around a Foucaultian conception of power and Edward Said's construction of the "Other."[52] To summarize the debate briefly, one contingent of scholars[53] argues that testimonials provide a distinct and alternative identity to the imperialist account of history. On the other side of the argument, speculation exists as to the ability of an interlocutor (i.e. anthropologists, ethnologists or scholars, in general) to accurately interpret and translate an indigenous Other without relying on colonial conceptions of power. As Spivak asks, "What must the elite do to watch out for the continuing construction of the subaltern?"[54] Indeed, this is a difficult question to answer. Take for instance, Elisabeth Burgos-Debray's interpretation of Rigoberta Menchú. In her prologue she candidly admits:

> It was pointed out to me that placing the chapter dealing with birth ceremonies at the beginning of the book might bore the reader. I was also advised simply to cut it or include it in an appendix. I ignored all these suggestions.[55]

"Such a lack of respect for boundaries between self and other," Elzbieta Sklodowska[56] argues, "is not without consequences for the dissociation of authorship, especially in the politically charged space of collaborative life writing, ostensibly devoted to empowering a subaltern."[57] Even more disturbing is the subsequent English translation of Menchú's title from Spanish. In Spanish, Debray translated it as *Me Llamo Rigoberta Menchú, y así me nació la conciencia*. As an individual who lived in Central America, I roughly translate this to mean, *My Name is Rigoberta Menchú, And Like That My Conscience Was Born*. Reading her testimonio, this translation seems

accurate in that, Menchú claims to have learned Spanish in order to reveal the consciousness of her people. However, in Ann Wright's translation, which states, *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, this meaning is lost. Certainly, Sklodowska and postcolonial theorists have reason to raise these important questions concerning testimonials.

The analysis that follows, however, diverges from these critiques in two ways. First, although the testimonials discussed below include Menchú's polemical translation, this analysis also examines Jacobo Timmerman's story of isolation as a *desaparecido* in Argentina, which is completely void of an interlocutor's influence if one understand Spanish. Certainly, there must be some discrepancy in the English translation; however, it is not as damaging as what exists when an indigenous language is translated. Second, this discussion suggests that because testimonials display similar characteristics as scriptures they are essential in creating a hermeneutical redefinition among international advocacy groups. Substantiating this claim requires a return to Keck and Sikkink.

Keck and Sikkink acknowledge that, "Human rights violations must be deliberately brought to the foreign policy agenda of a third party or an international organization before influence can be brought to bear."[58] Conveniently, the political anthropologist Jennifer Schirmer suggests that, "Many of us, for political and moral reasons choose to believe the veracity of the testimony of the powerless victim."[59]

Tracing the proliferation of testimonials, this preference emerged following the war tribunals of World War II. In these war tribunals testimony served as a primary source of evidence in bringing about justice, consequently the first-person perspective began to infiltrate the literature surrounding human rights.[60] This relative boom of the first-person narrative did not reach Latin America, however, until the middle of the twentieth century. Scholars suggest that the ascendancy of the first-person narrative in this region, known as *testimonio*, began with the Cuban Revolution and then proliferated during the civil wars of the 1980s.[61] The relative correlation between testimonio's propagation and these political time periods suggests that, for Latin America, this literary format incorporates a strong political agenda. As the literary scholar Alberto Moreiras purports:

> Testimonio provides its reader with the possibility of entering what we might call a subdued sublime: the twilight region where the literary breaks off into something else, which is not so much the real as it is its unguarded possibility. This unguarded possibility of the real, which is arguably the very core of the testimonial experience, is also its preeminent political claim.[62]

Unlike other forms of literary expression, the inherent political dimension that testimonio possesses creates a format that moves beyond mere representation and into the realm of human solidarity. George Yúdice, a respected scholar in Latin American cultural studies, argues that in Rigberta Menchú's testimonio, her ability to incorporate Christian aspects of the Western culture blurs cultural boundaries and serves as "a means for establishing solidarity."[63]

Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith reflect a similar sentiment when they argue that domestic movements based on local actors become international when they "offer members of the dominant community occasions for witnessing" human rights abuses from a first-person perspective. In regards to recorded history, this is particularly important in that, as international institutions, such as the UN, provide a discursive space for recognition[64] more individuals emerge from their particular cultural milieu and provide an alternative interpretation of the past. This is similar to what CEBs provided for liberation theology. In fact, Yúdice clearly makes this correlation when he argues that testimonios, like CEBs, "emphasize a rereading of culture as lived history."[65] This further substantiates that when testimonios infiltrate the dominant sphere of influence, a hermeneutical redefinition is likely to occur.

Concomitantly, as more individuals from the margins of different cultures emerge, universalist assumptions such as individualism and self-determination are challenged. Although this exists more pervasively between international institutions such as the UN and indigenous cultures with a communitarian perspective, domestic NGOs and international NGOs experience a similar dilemma. Keck and Sikkink acknowledge this dilemma when they suggest:

> In a campaign, core network actors mobilize others and initiate the tasks of structural integration and cultural negotiation among the groups in the network."[66]

In most cases, members of a transnational advocacy network accomplish this task by consciously seeking to develop a "common frame of meaning," which, as Keck and Sikkink argue, is "a task complicated by cultural diversity within transnational networks."[67] It is in this regard that testimonials reconcile unversalist and cultural relativist positions by providing groups a means of obtaining a more common understanding.

For instance, consider Rigoberta Menchú's account of her mother's torture in Guatemala after she refused to divulge the whereabouts of her children and those involved in the Mayan "uprising:"

> The army took her to a place near the town where it was very hilly. It was my hope that my mother would die surrounded by the nature she so loved. They put her under a tree and left her there, alive but dying. They didn't let my mother turn over, and her face was so disfigured, cut and infected; she could barely make any movement by herself. They left her dying for four or five days, enduring the sun, the rain and the night... When my mother died, the solder stood over her and urinated in her mouth.[68]

Indeed, anyone reading this description would find it difficult to support any military responsible for such atrocities. Furthermore, in spite of Menchú's understanding of the consequences associated with exposing these human rights violations, she wrote her testimonio and then claimed that it was the "story for all poor Guatemalans."[69]

Over time, this tragic account of suffering forced people in the developing world to reconsider and chastise the human rights violations of indigenous people occurring in Guatemala in the 1980s. Even David Stoll, an anthropologist who adamantly attacks Menchú's work, admits that her text influenced the eventual outcomes of the civil war. Although he suggests that her testimonio ultimately aided the "guerrillas," he concurs that it kept pressure on the Guatemalan army, continually legitimated the Mayan insurgency, and allowed Mayans to obtain concessions during the December 1996 peace accords.[70] On a similar note, the Humanities Department at Stanford University regarded this text highly enough to require it as an example of a multicultural perspective.[71] The political scientist Leslie Roman further concurs that testimonios are a powerful tool for solidarity.[72] In a word, she suggests:

> Testimonial forms can animate, compel, or draw urgent attention to a community's vital needs or cries.[73]

Given these examples, it is hard to imagine that a hermeneutical redefinition did not occur when international activists and organizations began to read Menchú's story and reevaluate the situation in Guatemala.

Despite these encouraging results, there is reason to view testimonials with a critical eye. As Leslie Roman argues, witnesses to testimonials must consider the context of their creation. In other words, "they must be understood as part of the material and sociopolitical context and conditions in which they come to be used, received, and engaged."[74] Like Roman, Schirmer believes that by accepting a particular testimonial as a window of truth and then extending that truth as a way to understand a broader historical context,[75] denies the possibility of alternative perspectives. Because of this preferential perspective, Schirmer's analysis questions why scholars prefer to examine an indigenous testimonial like Menchú's, while neglecting to consider any insight from the perspective of the military regime in Guatemala at the time. Indeed, from an academic origin, scholars who strive for objectivity must be aware of potentially denying other, equally important, truths that exist in a particular situation. However, does this mandate for objectivity apply to domestic NGOs, activists, and transnational advocacy groups?

This raises an array of difficult questions. First, can a transnational advocacy network consciously utilize this discursive format when advocating a particular cause, if the information is inaccurate? Second, does a falsified testimonio lessen the validity of a cause? Finally, do transnational advocacy networks have a responsibility to portray an event as historically accurate? Answering these questions requires an inquiry into the goals of transnational advocacy networks and the tools they use to achieve these goals.

OUTCOMES OF ADVOCACY NETWORKS

Keck and Sikkink identify five stages of influence, or goals, for transnational advocacy. In their view, these stages are useful in determining the success or failure of international figures and organizations participating in these networks as they push forward a particular cause. First, networks have the potential to influence international organizations such as the UN to address new issues and agendas. Second, these groups can influence the multifarious

positions a government or institution adheres to on particular issues. Third, they can affect a state's institutional procedures. Fourth, they can have an impact on the policy of "target actors" such as the World Bank. Finally, they can influence and change particular actions predicated on historical state behavior.[76]

To achieve these goals, Keck and Sikkink suggest that networks "use the power of their information, ideas, and strategies to alter the information and value contexts within which states make policies."[77] In a more technical terminology, these authors refer to the tools of influence as information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics.

Keck and Sikkink believe that these tools represent the means for a transnational advocacy network to succeed. Because of this fact, when a network uses testimonios it is important that they do not conflict with these tools. To answer the previously purported questions, when a transnational advocacy network utilizes a testimonio it is often used to aid symbolic politics because it is a means of making "sense of a situation for an audience that is frequently far away."[78] In addition, testimonio, even if it reflects false information, can support information politics as well, because it is a piece of "politically usable information."[79] However, if a government or institution discovers that a particular testimonio is false, it is conceivable that a network would lose some or all of its ability to use leverage politics that "call upon powerful actors" to affect change in a situation. At the same time, it is possible that a network would be unable to use accountability politics and "hold powerful actors to their previously stated policies." An important aspect to consider, however, is that even if a testimonio falsifies information, they represent a voice that has experienced human rights violations. In this sense, it is problematic to argue that their voice contains less validity. In the case of Rigoberta Menchú, even David Stoll admits that the human rights violations in Guatemala were extreme.

Finally, considering the circumstances above, transnational advocacy networks have a responsibility to portray an event as historically accurate depending on the outcomes of its use. After all, if a testimonio has the potential to galvanize support, create change, and end human

rights violations, to suggest that networks should not utilize it because it is historically inaccurate only benefits those in power and perpetuates a deadly cycle of domination.

CASE STUDY: Rigoberta Menchú and Jacobo Timmerman

To this point, this analysis has suggested that Keck and Sikkink's 'boomerang' pattern of influence in transnational advocacy networks incorporates a hermetneutic redefinition when a testimonio from Latin America is absorbed into its panoply of tools. The following case studies of Rigoberta Menchú and Jacobo Timmerman illustrate this further, and show how an individual's actions in the face of extreme suffering often begins with a hermeneutic redefinition, and that when these experiences are expressed they explode into the international arena where they are used to bring about positive change for human rights.

Perhaps no other figure from Latin America possesses international recognition like Rigoberta Menchú. In the early stages of Menchú's life as a peasant in Guatemala, she witnessed the activist tendencies of her father, who helped organized the Committee for Peasant Unity (CUC) after Mayan land was confiscated by the Guatemalan government. Reading her testimonio, it becomes apparent that his activist career served as a primary impetus for her own activist tendencies. Returning to Pottenger, although he suggests that hermeneutics begins with a scriptural redefinition, in the case of Menchú, it seems as if her father represented this role and the reason she began to become socially aware. After the Guatemalan government killed her mother and father because of their organizational activities as part of the CUC in Guatemala, Menchú, began a process of ideological and exegetical suspicion. In fact, the following excerpt illustrates her ideological and exegetical suspension poignantly, and then alludes to her new hermeneutic based on a Marxist redefinition of the scripture. She says:

> We realized that it was not God's will that we should live in suffering, that God did not give us that destiny, but that men on earth have imposed this suffering, poverty, misery and discrimination on us. We even got the idea of using our own everyday weapons as the only solution left to us.[80]

The final sentence in this passage reveals that Menchú possessed the revolutionary thoughts of Marxism, which is one aspect of her political identity that scholars have chastised. It is also

important to note that Menchú participated extensively in Catholic Action, which was a Catholic precursor to the CEBs that proliferated in the 1980s. In this sense, her ability to reflect on her current situation, along with her father's example, created a discursive space for her activist energy.

Over time, Menchú's involvement in organizing indigenous resistance movements led to government threats on her life. After several instances where her life was threatened, Menchú left her country and went into exile in Mexico. In Mexico, she began to establish contact with groups on an international level and through speeches and UN visits, Menchú became a respected figure on the international landscape, and, in time, international NGOs began to adopt her cause. Indeed, this process occurred before her testimonio became known throughout the world and, in fact, many scholars suggest that she won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992 for her role as an activist not her testimonio.[81] Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine that she would have won the Nobel Peace Prize without her powerful testimonio.

Furthermore, international activists such as Arturo Taracena encouraged Menchú to write her testimonio in 1983.[82] This suggests that members of international advocacy groups realized the power of her testimony and saw promise in its publishing. Ultimately, her testimonio and her acknowledgement with the Nobel Peace Prize utilized symbolic and information politics to pressure the Guatemalan government to end the civil war. In this aspect, Menchú utilized the tools of transnational advocacy for a positive gain.

Despite Menchú's compelling testimonial, it is not without criticism. Perhaps the most well known criticism of her work resides in the analysis of the anthropologist David Stoll. Originating from an ethnographic study of villages located near Menchú's, Stoll directly attacks the veracity of her portrayal of repression. He suggests that her story does not represent the descriptive entirety of this area and instead emerges out of a Marxist ideology, or as he suggests a "leftist memoir," with a bent towards violence. More specifically, he attacks her assertion of being 'uneducated,' he suggests that she did not work in the fields like so many Guatemalans, that she did not witness the killing of her younger brother because it never took place, and that the Mayan retaliation in Guatemala was unnecessary because they were

"making modest gains."[83] Even more disturbing, Stoll suggests that academia's insistence on her text proves the existence of scholar's leftist agendas. Finally, he calls her an "icon for human rights advocates who blindly accept her story without analysis."[84] Regardless of these points, Menchú's life is a testimony to the power of international solidarity as she continues to fight for indigenous rights, environmental protection, and human rights despite these harsh criticisms.

In a less polemical display of testimonio, Jacobo Timmerman's story of isolation as one of the *desaparecidos* in Argentina's "dirty war" resulted in a corrupt government admitting to extensive human rights violations. An excerpt from his testimonio, *Prisoner Without A Name, Cell Without A Number,* reveals his power of persuasion:

> Have any of you ever looked into the eyes of another person, on the floor of a cell, who knows that he's about to die through no one has told him so? He knows that he's about to die but clings to his biological desire to live, as a single hope, since no one has told him that he's to be executed. I have many such gazes imprinted upon me.[85]

Indeed, Timmerman possessed a talent for the written word and he used this ability to illuminate the human rights violations in Argentina. Contrary to Menchú, however, Timmerman's testimonio did not bring the Argentinean human rights violations to the world community. Instead, as the author of a Jewish periodical, *La Opinion*, where he actually published propaganda that benefited the Argentinean government, served as his calling card to the international community. To his credit, *La Opinion* ran stories against the corrupt government as well, including a couple of articles about *desaparecidos*. In fact, during the presidency of Rafael Videla, *La Opinion's* strategy diverged from the strategy of the Catholic Church and Western governments who maintained that the "most satisfactory relations with Argentina all calculated that the best strategy was patience—to wait for time to pass and the extremists to weaken."[86] It is here that we see Timmerman raise his social consciousness and begin the hermeneutical redefinition. Although, for Timmerman his exegetical suspension did not occur until he found himself in jail in the spring of 1973.

During his time in prison, human rights and religious groups awarded Timmerman prizes in order to pressure the Argentinean government to realease him. Even President

Jimmy Carter advocated for Timmerman's release.[87] Twenty-nine months after his arrest and imprisonment, Videla released Timmerman, due in large part to these movements who had embraced his cause from *La Opinion.* In this sense, *La Opinion* provided that discursive space necessary for the hermeneutical redefinition to occur.

One of Timmerman's allies during this time was the Catholic priest Adolfo Pérez Esquivel. Like Timmerman, Esquivel spent time in prison and then released because of international pressure on the Videla regime. As the founder of the organization, Service for Peace and Justice in Latin America (SERPAJ), Esquivel published a small bulletin that periodically commentated on the human rights abuses in Argentina (at times, Timmerman placed theses articles in *La Opinion*). According to Anne Bacon, SERPAJ was an example of a "Christian-based grassroots peace organization whose philosophy, beliefs, and action stem from a firm belief in God and the power of nonviolence to alleviate poverty and misery."[88] Like Menchú, Esquivel also traveled throughout Central and South America working with groups to galvanize support against the Argentinean military regime and aid the fight against human rights violations around the world. In a sense, his organization provided the same discursive space as *La Opinion* that is necessary to create a hermeneutical redefinition.

Returning to Timmerman's testimonio, at its apex, it achieved success in that it became a powerful piece of symbolic politics during the inception of the Reagan administration and their appointment of a successor to Patricia Derian. Derian was a key actor in Carter's Administration. Without a doubt, the 'dirty war' in Argentina threatened the Carter Administration's human rights emphasis, and Derian addressed this issue on numerous times. Over time, Derian became a strong advocate for human rights and carried Carter's "crusade to the far reaches of the globe."[89] Concomitantly, Reagan, a radio commentator at the time, chastised her efforts and claimed that she "should walk a mile in the moccasins of Argentina's generals before she criticized them." Consequently, when Reagan came to power one of his first appointments was to replace Derian in this position. Her successor came in the form of Ernest Lefever, a right-wing conservative who was on record as stating, "The U.S. government has no responsibility—and no authority—to promote human rights in other sovereign states."[90]

In a true form of symbolic politics, Timmerman, who had just published his testimonio, appeared in the hearing room of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during Lefever's deliberation. When Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois recognized Timmerman, he acknowledged his presence and a moving ovation resounded through the courtroom. Subsequently, Lefever's nomination failed to pass. As one observer stated, Timmerman's appearance "was the most powerful moment in the whole hearings…[he} bore witness simply by his presence."[91]

According to Keck and Sikkink, Timmerman's account further served as a call for recognition among transnational organizations. Groups and individuals such as the Mothers of the Plaza De Mayo, the U.S. Jewish community, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel and international journalists embraced his monograph as a means of making "his case a celebre in U.S. policy circles."[92]

Without a doubt, Timmerman and Menchú represent figures of solidarity, whose testimonios served as a means of galvanizing support for a more humane human rights regime. Nonetheless, their testimonios emerged in a particular milieu, which allowed them to be heard on a global scale. For this reason, it is important to consider what mechanisms elevated their work to the degree that transnational advocacy networks embraced their narrative.

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

As these case studies illustrate, the Novel Peace Prize followed the work of these figures of solidarity in some form. Without a doubt, these case studies do not represent the depth of testimonios to come out of Latin America since the 1950s,[93] but this analysis argues that because these figures received notoriety through the Nobel Peace Prize (Jacobo's correlation with Esquivel allowed him to receive a similar notoriety), they were more successful in illuminating their particular human rights cause in the international arena. Because of this fact, it is important to briefly discuss the ramifications of this reward and how it further aids these individual's causes.

After winning the Nobel Peace Prize Adolfo Pérez Esquivel declared, "The prize is not for me but for my organization and the cause of human rights and justice in Latin America." He went on to proclaim that his acceptance of this award was "on behalf of the poor of Latin

America, the peasants and workers, and all those who strive for a more just and humane society."[94] In a more skeptical, yet possibly more accurate, reaction to winning the Nobel Peace Prize Rigoberta Menchú hoped this recognition was a result of affection for her cause and not "some honor or diploma to be important on this earth."[95] Despite these diverse responses, few scholars would doubt that this prize augments these individual's causes.

In his explanation of the ramifications of this award, Richard Chartier illuminates two key elements that are important for human rights activists and organization to realize. First, he believes that the award serves as an illuminating force in calling attention to the plight of human rights activists in a particular cultural milieu. Specifically, he believes that by awarding Esquivel this prize, it effectively dramatizes the:

> Agonizing dilemma [in Latin America] of those who share the determination to defend human rights and effect the transformation of unjust structures, but who disagree about whether or not violence is necessary and legitimate in the liberation struggle.[96]

Second, Chartier believes that this award encourages, and in some cases obliges, governments, organizations and individuals to become cognizant and concerned about critical issues involving human rights violations. This is evident in how the governments of Guatemala and Argentina reacted when the truth of their repressive regimes became common knowledge in the international arena.

Indeed, the Nobel Peace Prize recognizes the efforts of people like Esquivel, Jacobo and Menchú, and in that sense, it is a vital component to the absorption of testimonios in transnational advocacy networks. From a critical standpoint, networks might absorb testimonios before the notoriety of this prize, however, with this prize these testimonios only gain momentum and establish more avenues for human solidarity.

On a final note, the Nobel Peace Prize is not the only means of illuminating a testimonio, in fact, as already illustrated with Archbishop Oscar Romero, other means exist for bringing an issue to the forefront. Certainly, churches, the media, and even multinational corporations can serve to elucidate an individual's cause as well, but in the cases above, this prize emerges as an important factor to consider.

CONCLUSION:

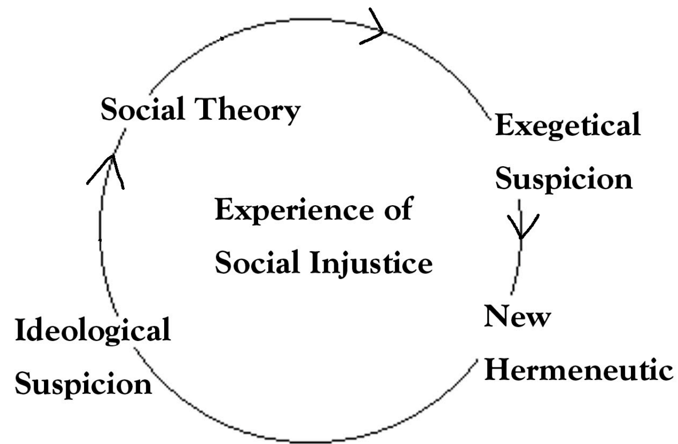
Although it is impossible to know how a person will feel and react to a particular piece of literature or testimony, this analysis suggests that testimonios have the potential to illuminate human rights violations, evoke social change and encourage international organizations to incorporate these individuals within the transnational advocacy network. In closing, Schaffer and Smith believe that:

> Despite the challenges to the philosophies and politics attached to the international regime of human rights, calls for justice, dignity, and freedom continue to engage listeners and call readers to respond ethically by joining the cause of disempowered and disenfranchised people in many parts of the globe. As balancing acts, directed back to a past that must be shared and toward a future that must be built collectively, acts of personal narrating remain foundations to the expansion and proliferation of claims on behalf of human dignity, freedom, and justice.[97]

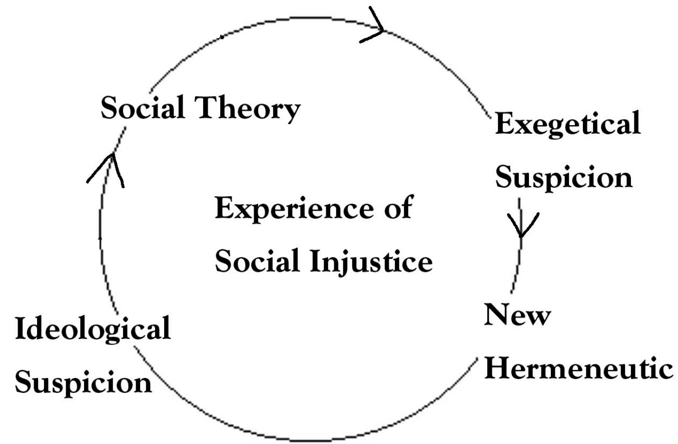
Indeed, this analysis canonizes testimonio as a "unique narrative form, one that can be seen to represent both the creative vitality of Latin American culture and its power to express defiance of subordinate groups and recover historically muted voice."[98] Although there are instances where testimonios fail, in the case of Latin America, they are essential for transnational advocacy networks to emerge.

In a final analysis, applying Keck and Sikkink's 'boomerang' pattern to Latin America reveals a new structure where figures of solidarity emerge and challenge international organizations through their unique cultural perspective and testimonio.[99] In this space, where testimonio meets international solidarity, a new hermeneutics surfaces reconciling cultural relativism and universalism. Further augmenting the formation of this space is international recognition of these international figures through the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize. In the end, this model suggests that with more recognition and an international commitment to seek out testimonios from Latin America, transnational advocacy networks will proliferate the landscape and a successful human rights regime will become reality for this region of the world.

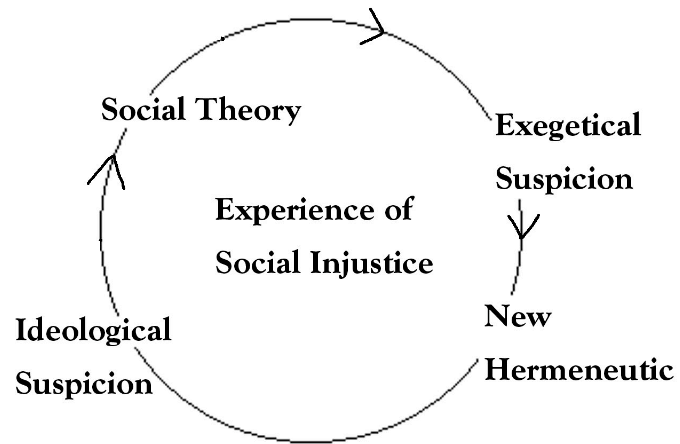
APPENDIX I



APPENDIX II



APPENDIX III



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NOTES:

[1] M. Keck and K. Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction," p. 92, in *Activists Beyond Borders,* (Cornell University Press, 1998).
[2] Keck and Sikkink, 92,
[3] See Appendix I.
[4] P.G. Lauren, "My Brother's Sister's Keeper: Visions and the Birth of Human Rights," *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen*, p. 27, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).
[5] T. Dunne and N. Wheeler "Introduction: Human Rights and the Fifty Years' Crisis," 4, in Dunne and Wheeler eds., *Human Rights and Global Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[6] Dunne and Wheeler, 8.
[7] See page 9 in Tim Dunne and Nicholas J. Wheeler., eds., *Human Rights in Global Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[8] Ibid., 9.
[9] Quoted in Dunne and Wheeler, 9.
[10] M. Birch, "Torture, Identity, and Indigenous Peoples: Individual and Collective Rights," in *Albany Law Review*, Vol. 67, (2003) 537-544.
[11] Birch, 543.
[12] Ibid., 537.
[13] One basis for this argument is the case of the civil war in El Salvador. Scholars such as Peter Kornbluh have suggested that the civil war would have only lasted for a couple of years instead of 12 if the United States had not supported the repressive government in place.
[14] Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights: In Theory and Practice,* p. 46-47, (Cornell University Press, 2002).
[15] See Donnelly's chapter "Human Rights and States Power," in A. Brysk, ed., *Globalization and Human Rights*, (University of California Press, 2002), 226-241. He makes the argument that other forms of state accountability are not successful; therefore, the state must be relied upon to enforce human rights.
[16] Keck and Sikkink, 12.
[17] Ibid., 2.
[18] P. Oliver and G. Marwell, "Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, p. 252, ed. Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) quoted in Keck and Sikkink, 14.
[19] J. Donnelly, "Human Rights and States Power," p. 238, in A. Brysk, ed., *Globalization and Human Rights*, (University of California Press, 2002), 226-241.
[20] Keck and Sikkink, 2.
[21] S. Khagram, J Riker and K Sikkink, eds., *Restructuring World Politics: transnational social movements, networks and norms*, (University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
[22] Khagram, Riker and Sikkink, 6.
[23] According to Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink, transnational advocacy networks are typically "based on informal contacts." (p. 7)
[24] Keck and Sikkink, 1.
[25] Ibid., 9.
[26] Although the number of disappeared remains a contentious statistic, during the Alfonsín presidency a blue-ribbon commission was asked to investigate the whereabouts of more than 9,000

people who were missing. See M. Anderson, *Dossier Secreto: Argentina's Desaparecidos and the Myth of the "Dirty War,"* (Westview Press, 1993.).
[27] For further discussion of Las Madres and their involvement in drafting this declaration see R. Brody and F. Gonzalez, "Nunca Mas: An Analysis of International instruments on Disappearances," *Human Rights Quarterly,* 19:2 (1997).
[28] Ibid., 13.
[29] J. Shirmer, "The Seeking of Truth and the Gendering of Consciousness: The CoMadres of El Salvador and the Conavigua Widows of Guatemala," in Radcliffe and Westwood, *Viva*, 30-64.
[30] C. Bejarano, "Las Super Madres de Latino America: Transforming Motherhood by challenging Violence in Mexico, Argentina, and El Salvador," in *Frontiers* 23:1 (2002), 126-150.
[31] Shirmer, The Seeking of Truth, 41.
[32] Khagram, Riker and Sikkink, 8.
[33] Bejarno, 132-134.
[34] Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 1.
[35] Who ordered the assassination of Romero is a controversial topic. Phillip Berryman suggests that they were hired by the government of El Salvador and would latter become members of the *contra* movement in Nicaragua. The sociologist Christian Smith, however, suggests that they were members of the White Warrior Union.
[36] For a full discussion of Romero's advisory council before his assassination, see Berryman, *Liberation Theology*.
[37] Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology,* p.2, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1991).
[38] Smith, 3.
[39] The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language: Fourth Edition. 2000.
[40] John R. Pottenger, *The Political Theory of Liberation Theology: Toward a Reconvergence of Social Values and Social Science,* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).
[41] Pottenger, 56
[42] Ibid., 57.
[43] See Appendix II.
[44] See Juan Segundo, *Liberation of Theology,* p. 8; chap. 1.
[45] Pottenger, 60.
[46] For Pottenger's complete analysis of Segundo's "hermeneutic circle," see pages 59-61.
[47] Pottenger, 62.
[48] Christian Base Communities translates as comunidades eclesiais de base or CEBs.
[49] Segundo, 25.
[50] S. Khagram, J. Riker, and K. Sikkink, "From Santiago to Seattle: Transnational Advocacy Groups Restructuring World Politics," p. 6, in Khhagram, Riker, and Sikkink eds., *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms,* (University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 3-23.
[51] G. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in Nelson and Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, (University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313.
[52] See E. Said, *Orientalism*, (Pantheon Books, 1978).
[53] See J. Beverly, *Subalternity and Representation: Argument in Cultural Theory*. (Duke University Press, 1999).
[54] Spivak, 294.
[55] Menchú, xx.

[56] E. Sklodowska, "Author-(dys)function," in *Foucault and Latin America,* p. xii, (Routledge, 2002), 197-207.
[57] Sklodowska, 199.
[58] Keck and Sikkink, 203.
[59] J. Shirmer, "Whose Testimony? Whose Truth? Where are the Armed Actors in the Stoll-Menchú Controversy?" in *Human Rights Quarterly,* 25 (2003), 60-73.
[60] K. Schaffer and S. Smith, "Conjunction: Life Narratives in the Field of Human Rights," in *Biography*, 27.1 (Winter 2004).
[61] Alberto Moreiras, "The Aura of Testimonio," p. 194, in George Gugelberger, ed., *The Real Thing: Testimonial Discourse and Latin America*, (Duke University Press, 1996), 192-224.
[62] Moreiras, 195.
[63] G. Yúdice, "Testimonio and Postmodernism," p. 56, in George Gugelberger, ed., *The Real Thing: Testimonial Discourse and Latin America*, (Duke University Press, 1996), 42-57.
[64] Schaffer and Smith describe the decade strategy as the "targeting of a particular group and the concentration of attention on its issues for a decade, as in the International Decade for Women and the International Decade of Indigenous Peoples. (p. 4)
[65] Yúdice, 54.
[66] Keck and Sikkink, 6.
[67] Ibid., 7.
[68] R. Menchú, A. Wright, trans., E. Burgos-Debray ed., *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, p. 199. (Verso, 1983).
[69] Menchú, 1.
[70] D. Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú And the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*, p. 278, (Westview Press, 1999).
[71] E. Cook-Lynn, "How Scholarship Defames the Native Voice…and Why," in *Wicazo SA Review* (Fall 2000), 79-92.
[72] L. Roman, "Conditions, contexts, and controversies of truth-making: Rigoberta Menchú and the perils of everyday witnessing and testimonial work" in *Qualitative Studies in Education*, (May-June 2003,) Vol. 16 No. 3, 275-286.
[73] Roman, 283.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Menchú clearly claims that her story is endemic of a broader historical perspective when she says that her story is the "story for all poor Guatemalans."
[76] Keck and Sikkink, 25.
[77] Ibid., 16.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Menchú, 132.
[81] Sklodowska makes this argument.
[82] R. Menchú, A. Wright, trans., *Crossing Borders*, 113-114, (Verso, 1998).
[83] Stoll, 154.
[84] Ibid., 221
[85] J. Timmerman, *Prisoner Without A Name*, (Vintage Books, 1981), 164.
[86] Timmerman, 28.
[87] Ibid., 285.
[88] A. Bacon, "Peace Profile: Adolfo Pérez Esquivel", 472 in *Peace Review*, 11:3 (1999), 471-477.

[89] Anderson, 19.
[90] Ibid., 296.
[91] Quoted in Anderson, 297.
[92] Keck and Sikkink, 106.
[93] Authors of testimonios that did not win the noble peace prize include Teresa Tula in El Salvador or Celsa in Mexico.
[94] Esquivel quotes from R. Chartier, "Behind the Man and the Prize," p. 102, in W. Walter Wink ed., *Peace is the way*, (Orbis Books, 2000).
[95] R. Menchú, *Crossing Borders*, 1.
[96] Chartier, 102.
[97] Schaffer and Smith, 21.
[98] Sklodowska, 198.
[99] See Appendix III