

Human Rights & Human Welfare

Volume 6 | Issue 1

Article 31

2006

Human Rights in Latin America: Human Rights in Argentina

Scott Muttersbaugh

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/hrhw>



Part of the [Human Rights Law Commons](#), [International Law Commons](#), [International Relations Commons](#), [Latin American Studies Commons](#), and the [Other Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Muttersbaugh, Scott (2006) "Human Rights in Latin America: Human Rights in Argentina," *Human Rights & Human Welfare*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 1 , Article 31.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/hrhw/vol6/iss1/31>

This Topical Research Digest is brought to you for free and open access by the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at Digital Commons @ DU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Human Rights & Human Welfare by an authorized editor of Digital Commons @ DU. For more information, please contact jennifer.cox@du.edu, dig-commons@du.edu.

Human Rights in Argentina

by Scott Muttersbaugh

The election of populist Juan Peron in 1946 brought expanded economic and social rights to the working class. Consequently his popularity continued to rise, although the armed forces staged a coup in 1955, resulting in Peron's nearly twenty-year exile. By 1973 Argentina's economy had fallen apart and the still popular Peronist party gained the support needed for Peron's return. With terrorism on the rise, the government granted a special executive authority to the military, allowing Peron to imprison people indefinitely without a trial, signaling a change in the government's priorities towards human rights.

Ever-popular, Juan Peron died in office in 1974, leaving his widow, Isabella Martinez de Peron, as successor. The armed forces overthrew her in 1976, marking the sixth time that the military ended democracy in Argentina since 1930 and another change in the state's attitude toward human rights. This return to military rule would not be like the others. Citing the need to protect Christian values from the communists and the specter of Peronism, the military junta authorized the armed forces to begin interrogations and arrests in the name of national security. This "National Reorganization Process" evolved into "the Dirty War" as the distinction between armed and unarmed resistance began to blur, skyrocketing the number of human rights abuses. Between 1976 and 1982, more than 15,000 people were "disappeared," while 5,000 more have been identified as murdered by the state. Human rights groups have estimated more than 30,000 disappeared. Kidnapping, torture, and murder became a constant fear for communists, students, intellectuals, reporters, Jews, and eventually, unarmed citizens. This was a change in Argentines' attitudes toward the military, which were traditionally quite favorable.

In 1977, the mothers and grandmothers of the disappeared began gathering in the Plaza de Mayo, demanding the whereabouts of their missing children. As the Madres de la Plaza movement gained popularity, the military junta continued to face growing demands for justice and democracy, corruption charges, and the constant economic woes. To create a surge in nationalism, in 1982 the armed forces attempted to seize the Falkland/Malvinas Islands and were soundly defeated by the British. Humiliated and discredited, the junta began preparing for its exit from power, and "the Dirty War" came to a close.

The return to democratic elections and civilian rule brought accountability, justice, and retribution for victims of the "Dirty War." Raul Alfonsin, publicly elected in 1983, began trying to prosecute high-level military officials and to implement democratic reforms. He drastically cut the military budget, but economic woes forced him to resign, ushering in Carlos Menem. Menem felt that the support of the military would benefit his party as well as the country, and he immediately began pardoning all members of the military junta either already convicted or still indicted. The Supreme Court has since revoked the pardons, paving the way for prosecutions to resume. Nestor Kirchner, elected in 2003, garnered local and international support by firing unpopular officials and revoking amnesty laws for the military. Still dealing with the legacy of the "Dirty War," many Argentines are as concerned with contemporary crime and police brutality as they are with prosecuting human rights violators from the old regimes.

Civilian Rule in Argentina

2000. "Argentina." *Journal of Democracy*. 11(2): 186.

Abstract: Presents excerpts from the speech of Fernando de la Rúa, president-elect of Argentina. Announcement of implementation of a policy directed at sterile confrontations and political divisions; Preparation for a consolidated institution; Protection of human rights and dignity; Promotion of unity among political parties.

2004. "Argentina: Human Rights Commemoration." *NACLA Report on the Americas*. 37(6): 44.

Abstract: Presents highlights of the human rights commemoration in Argentina on March 24, 2004. Statement issued by Argentine President Nestor Kirchner regarding the murder and torture of civilians under the country's 1976-1983 dictatorship; Attendance of human rights supporters in the event; Participation of labor and grassroots groups.

2004. "Crimes past, crimes present." *Economist*. 371(8378): 5.

Abstract: The author reports on Argentine president Nestor Kirchner's efforts to restore law and order to the country. The Naval Mechanical School, built in French colonial style with tall, shuttered windows, occupies a leafy enclave in the prosperous northern residential districts of Buenos Aires. After the 1976 coup that established the dictatorship of General Jorge Videla and his successors, the school was the chief among several clandestine concentration camps where up to 30,000 people were killed, many after being kidnapped and tortured. To mark the coup's anniversary, on March 24th this year Mr Kirchner made an emotive speech before a crowd of 10,000. He apologized to the victims of state terrorism and announced the conversion of the school to a Museum of Memory. Human-rights groups are impressed. On taking office, Mr Kirchner immediately set about purging the armed forces. He backed a new law to revoke the pardons granted by Mr Menem to the junta members jailed under his predecessor, Raul Alfonsín, and another that would declare void two laws blocking further trials. Officials argue that concern for human rights is part of a broader agenda. "Today, a politician who wants public support has to adhere to an agenda of the rule of law, fighting corruption, and promoting open government and human rights," says Roberto Saba of the Association for Civil Rights, a pressure group for reform.

2003. "A full stop removed." *Economist*. 368(8340): 33.

Abstract: This article reports on the annulment of laws related to human rights abuses which occurred prior to the restoration of democracy in Argentina in 1983. The bloodiest military government in recent South American history held power in Argentina from 1976 to 1983. Once democracy was restored in 1983, the cases of human-rights abuses passed to military courts. When these proved reluctant to prosecute, the cases were moved to the civil justice system, which imposed prison sentences on five junta leaders. Trials of lower-ranking officers, however, caused increasing restlessness in the armed forces, and the nervous then-president, Raul Alfonsín, pushed through two laws to halt the proceedings: the punto final, or "full stop" law (1986) and the obediencia debida, or "due obedience" law, which excused soldiers who were obeying orders. The annulment--a victory for President Nestor Kirchner, who had promised to get it--is certainly contentious, because the constitution does not seem to allow it, and the whole debate will almost certainly end up in the Supreme Court. Several military leaders are also under arrest for the theft of the babies of the disappeared, which was excluded from the amnesties. On August 21st the Supreme Court rejected an appeal by General Jorge Videla, who is being tried for the systematic kidnapping and illegal adoption of children. Perhaps most important was the ratification, and insertion into the constitution, of the idea that a statute of limitations cannot be applied to war crimes and crimes against humanity.

1997. "Hands across the Andes." *Economist*. 344(8027): 30.

Abstract: Focuses on the joining of Chile and Argentina in joint military maneuvers. The two countries' request to the IMF or World Bank to help work out standard accounting procedures for defense spending in the region; The suspicion surrounding Chile's plan to sign contracts for \$1 billion dollars worth of weapons; The tendency of Argentines to mistrust the armed forces.

2005. "In Brief." *International Law Update*. 11(96).

Abstract: This article reports that Argentine Supreme Court has struck down its amnesty laws. On June 14, 2005, the Argentine Supreme Court struck down the laws of final point and due obedience, which granted amnesty to members of the military dictatorship from prosecution for human rights violations. The Court finds that the statutes violated directly applicable treaties such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as well as customary international law. While the Court acknowledges the U.S. Congress' constitutional power to grant amnesties, it cites articles from the Inter-American Convention on Forced Disappearance of Persons and the U.N. Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment hold that such amnesty powers are not absolute.

2005. "Justice or politics?" *Economist*. 375(8432): 39.

Abstract: The article reports on a decision by Argentina's Supreme Court that two laws intended to halt prosecution of military officers for their crimes are unconstitutional. The ruling was hailed by human-rights groups. The laws were extracted from a reluctant government by coup threats and barracks rebellions. They violated the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights, to which Argentina is a signatory. The Argentine junta of 1976-83 was the most vicious of its Latin American peers: it murdered at least 8,900 people, and perhaps 30,000. The vast majority of its victims were not directly involved with the guerrillas. The reopening of the cases is unlikely to provoke serious tension with the much-shrunken armed forces. Most of the officers concerned are long-retired. The decision pleased Nestor Kirchner, Argentina's president, who has championed the cause of the "dirty war" victims.

1991. "The pardoners' tale." *Economist*. 318(7688): 35.

Abstract: Reports that the transition to democracy is smoothest when military murderers are left unpunished and unpardoned. Respect for the rule of law; Collapse of Argentina's military dictatorship in 1983; Referendum called for by General Augusto Pinochet of Chile that would confirm him in power.

2003. "Past crimes." *Economist*. 368(8332): 33.

Abstract: Reports on the efforts of Argentine President Nestor Kirchner to bring to account those responsible for the so-called dirty war of the 1970s and 1980s in which up to 30,000 died, most of them civilians murdered by the armed forces. Kirchner, promises to reform his country's discredited institutions. He purged dozens of senior officers, many of whom served the dictatorship. Now, Kirchner is set to repeal a decree blocking the extradition of Argentines to face human-rights trials abroad. Instead, he wants the courts to decide each case. Kirchner is also wielding his broom against the Supreme Court. He has secured the resignation of one judge, and wants others to go.

2004. "Reign of terror." *Economist*. 370(8366): 39.

Abstract: This article focuses on efforts to bring corrupt corporate and political figures to justice in the province of Santiago Del Estero in Argentina. Every Friday evening for the past year, a swelling group of protesters has marched the five miles from the town of La Banda to Santiago del Estero, the sleepy capital of one of Argentina's most backward provinces. Their immediate grievance was the murder of two women, and the apparent involvement in the killings--and subsequent cover-up--of politicians, businessmen and judges. But their crusade is symptomatic of a yearning for political renewal in parts of Argentina's poorer interior, where local strongmen have traditionally ruled supreme. According to the judge now in charge of the case, Leyla Bshier was killed at an orgiastic party attended by some of the local elite. Her body was then cut up, and parts of it fed to animals at a private zoo belonging to Musa Azar, the province's former (and still much-feared) security chief. Inspired by the protests, the judge summoned up the courage to order the arrest of Mr Azar(Musa Azar), his wife and son, plus a provincial legislator, several police officers and the judge who originally oversaw the case. And Nestor Kirchner, Argentina's president, has sent his human-rights secretary, Eduardo Luis Duhalde, to Santiago. He has joined the marches, and has filed charges against Mr Azar for the murder of 28 people who "disappeared" during Argentina's military dictatorship of 1976-83.

Amnesty International. 1987. *Argentina: the military juntas and human rights: report of the trial of the former Junta members, 1985.* Amnesty International Publications. 0862101352 (pbk.).

Recounts the 1985 trial of nine military commanders who formerly ran Argentina during the 1976-1983 "dirty war." Discusses court proceedings and gives background on how Argentina's transformation from military regime to democracy. Describes struggles with old regime accountability for atrocities committed while in office. Additionally discusses the neutrality or bias of the court.

Louis Bickford. 2000. "HUMAN RIGHTS ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH ON HISTORICAL MEMORY: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay." *Latin American Research Review.* 35(2): 160.

Abstract: Focuses on a study which examined documentary collections of major human rights non-governmental organizations in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. Relationship of human abuses and democratization processes in Latin America; Human rights organizations in Argentina; Collections in Uruguay.

Erik B. Bluemel. 2004. "The Implications of Formulating a Human Right to Water." *Ecology Law Quarterly.* 31(4): 957.

Abstract: This Comment explores the content, legal forms, and implications of recognizing an international human right to water. The concept of water as a human right developed from the recognition that treating the right to water as an economic good may result in an affordability problem for some communities, depriving them of access to water. To counter these effects, a human right to water is being developed. This human right to water, though not fully defined by existing international law or practice, has been protected as necessary to secure other human rights, such as those to health, well being, and life. Given the structure of international law. State obligations depend upon which human right a right to water is found to support or whether such a human right to water is ultimately found to be a separate and independent human right from other recognized human rights. Whether a human right to water is ultimately established as a right subordinate to other human rights or as an independent human right, recognition of a human right to water will have far-reaching effects. This Comment analyzes legal developments in South Africa, India, and Argentina to illustrate some of the ways in which States have implemented a legal right to water. The Comment then identifies some of the key challenges and development constraints in ensuring a right to safe water within reasonable distance for all persons. These challenges include

modifying riparian and prior-appropriation systems of water rights, defining and limiting impacts upon other legal doctrines, and making economic adjustments associated with providing water to meet the “basic needs” of all persons. The Comment concludes that while recognition of a human right to water is necessary, its implementation is fraught with difficulties.

Fernando J. Bosco. 2004. “Human rights politics and scaled performances of memory: conflicts among the Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina.” *Social & Cultural Geography*. 5(3): 381.

Abstract: This paper builds on the geographies of commemoration literature extending the scope of inquiry to consider the scaled performances through which the politics of memory unfold, I focus on an analysis of conflicts over the creation of memorial landscapes that emerge from the intricate ways in which representations of the past and the everyday politics of social movements intersect. The paper analyses the competing politics of memory of two groups of Madres de Plaza de Mayo (mothers of people who 'disappeared' during Argentina's Dirty War). Their strategies underscore geographic dimensions of the politics of memory as the Madres clash over how to appropriately place memory in the landscape. While one group emphasizes making visible the events of the past to promote transmission of memory and to remember those who disappeared, the other group focuses on re-interpreting symbols about the past in an attempt to encourage future activism. Such conflicting strategies manifest spatially in a variety of ways, ranging from the creation of physical markers in the built environment to the performance of collective rituals that center on activists' bodies as sites for either commemoration of the past or future activism. The Madres' conflicts highlight how different spatialities contribute to validate or condemn competing politics of commemoration.

Sebastian Brett and Human Rights Watch. 2001. Argentina: reluctant partner: the Argentine government's failure to back trials of human rights violators. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch.

Alison Brysk. 1994. The politics of human rights in Argentina: protest, change, and democratization. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Describes the troubling history of the Argentine human rights movement. Discusses successes and failures on the path to democratization for grieving families, religious figures, and civil libertarians. Relates the give and take relationship between democracy and human rights implementation and enforcement.

Susana Chiarotti. 2005. “Learning and transforming reality: women from Rosario's neighborhoods demand access to public health services free of discrimination.” *Intercultural Education*. 16(2): 129.

Abstract: This article focuses on the activities of two women's groups in Argentina: CLADEM and INSGENAR. CLADEM, which has a much broader presence in Latin America, aims to give a feminist perspective to the construction of real democracies with social justice, free of discrimination and with full exercise of human rights. INSGENAR is a local, non-governmental organization based in Rosario in the Province of Santa Fe, one of the provincial chapters of CLADEM Argentina. We describe the human rights workshops that have been conducted with women in the past few years and their transformative impact.

Jose C. D'odorico. 2001. “Chief to Chief.” *Armed Forces Journal International*. 138(10): 62.

Abstract: Presents Argentine Chief of Staff General Ricardo Brinzoni's views on several military issues and his meeting with the United States Chief of Staff General Eric Shinseki. Importance of professional military

education; Obtain excess equipment from U.S. Army's surplus stockpile; Cooperation program with neighboring armies; Support to United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Jim Forest. 2005. "Jim Forest. (Cover story)." *Commonweal*. 132(8): 19.

Abstract: Details a meeting between Adolfo Perez Esquivel, leader of Argentina's human rights movement Servicio Paz y Justicia, and Pope John Paul II on December 13, 1980 in Rome, Italy. Background on the kidnapping and release of Perez Esquivel by the secret police; Outline of topics discussed in the meeting; Item given by Esquivel to the pope.

Claudio Fuentes. 2005. *Contesting the iron fist: advocacy networks and police violence in democratic Argentina and Chile*. New York: Routledge.
<http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip0418/2004012933.html>.

Relates progress of human rights groups in regards to agenda setting, promoting citizen rights, especially during arrest, and advocacy's role in checking police action in Chile and Argentina. Attempts to find a balance between citizen rights and prevention and deterrence of crime. Outlines difficulty in abandoning the "Iron Fist" legacy of military rule.

Manuel A. Garreton Merino and Edward Newman. eds. 2001. *Democracy in Latin America: (re)constructing political society*. New York: United Nations University Press.

Authors suggest that redemocratization in Latin American is contingent on the political society. Argues that balancing justice and reconciliation of past state-sponsored human rights abuses, as well as involving societies in global economics is necessary. The author takes into account the role of civil society. Discusses the transition to democracy in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay.

Joshua Goodman and Rose Brady. 2003. "Argentina's Surprise." *Business Week*. (3845): 47.

Abstract: Describes the effort by Argentine President Nestor Kirchner to put an end to corruption in government. Decision to strip immunity from retired military officers charged with human rights violations; Increased popularity rating.

Jeff Guntzel. 2004. "The bones don't lie!" *National Catholic Reporter*. 40(35): 13.

Abstract: Reports on the work of American forensic anthropologist Clyde Snow in identifying victims of mass murderers in Argentina, Guatemala, El Salvador and other countries. Snow's use of a computer program for forensic anthropologists; Work with Argentinean medical and anthropology students who volunteered to help him dig up mass graves; Reactions of families when seeing the bones of their loved ones; Exhumation activities; Lessons learned by Snow from his work; Use of bones as evidence in mass murder trials. INSET: Forensic sciences in defense of human rights.

E. Mark Hanson. 1996. "Educational Change under Autocratic and Democratic Governments: the case of Argentina." *Comparative Education*. 32(3): 303.

Abstract: Contrasts the strategies, procedures and outcomes of educational reform in Argentina under the military government and the civilian democratic government. Difference in educational governance methods; Strategies for educational reform; Creation of an organization and management structure for educational change.

Mark Holston. 2005. "Moving Monuments to Dark Memories." *Americas*. 57(1): 4.

Abstract: *Focuses on the conversion of several facilities which symbolized repression during the military government rule in 1970s and 1980s into human rights monuments in South American nations. Reclamation of a prison in Brazil into a museum; Transformation of a military installation in Argentina into a museum; Information on a solitary statue which served as a visual reminder of the troubled past in Santiago, Chile.*

Alistair Horne. 1982. "A British Historian's Meditations." *National Review*. 34(14): 886.

Abstract: *Focuses on lessons learned from the territorial dispute between Argentina and Great Britain over Falkland Islands in 1982. Impact of the dispute on the relations of both the U.S. and Britain with Latin America; Doubts on the decision of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to invade and claim Falkland Islands; Victory of the British campaign.*

Wendy Hunter. 1994. "Contradictions of civilian control: Argentina, Brazil and Chile in the 1990s." *Third World Quarterly*. 15(4): 633.

Abstract: *Examines the contradictions in civilian policies to secure control over the military in Argentina, Brazil and Chile in the 1990s. Constraints to military professionalism in the 1990s; History of civil-military relations in the three countries; Policy implications.*

International Commission Of Jurists; Amnesty International; Watch Human Rights and Correctional Argentina. 2001. [Argentina: Amicus Curiae brief on the incompatibility with international law of the full stop and due obedience laws.](http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAMR130122001?open&of=ENG-2M3) Geneva: International Commission of Jurists: Commission Internacional de Juristas.
<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAMR130122001?open&of=ENG-2M3>

Arthur Jones. 2002. "Documents reveal nuncio's cautious human rights stance." *National Catholic Reporter*. 38(37): 16.

Abstract: *Reports on documents released by the U.S. State Department on August 20, 2002, which reveal stance of Archbishop Pio Laghi, the former papal nuncio to Argentina, on political and social conditions, and human rights in the country during the Argentine war between 1976 and 1983. Number of Argentinians who disappeared during the Argentine war; Conviction expressed by Laghi about the former Argentinians President Jorge Videla and other leaders; Reason for Laghi's criticism by Argentinians religious groups.*

Luis Justo. 2003. "Argentina: torture, silence, and medical teaching." *BMJ: British Medical Journal*. 326(7403): 1405.

Abstract: *Argues that human rights should be central in teaching medicine. Since 1983, Argentina has been living a "democratic" government, but torture is still rampant. Sergio Pesutic, a Chilean psychiatrist, has described the phenomenon of torture and the role of Chilean health professionals, ranging from active complicity to denial of its existence and sometimes to resistance. He concluded that several primary prevention measures should be taken to avoid torture, including the incorporation of human rights teaching into formal and non-formal medical curriculums, the application of codes of medical ethics, and research into the long term effects of torture. The criminal and unethical behavior of doctors involved in or colluding in torture reflects a society's moral decline.*

Susana Kaiser. 2005. "To Punish or to Forgive? Young Citizens' Attitudes on Impunity and Accountability in Contemporary Argentina." *Journal of Human Rights*. 4(2): 171.

Abstract: The Argentinean democratization process had a promising beginning. The commission to investigate disappearances (1983-1984) and the military juntas' trials (1985) were without precedent in a region devastated by state terrorism. Argentina showed the world it was capable of addressing matters of truth and justice; it became a key global case study for communities dealing with the aftermath of violence, issues of impunity and accountability, or questions of reconciliation and forgiveness. Then, a process of legalization of impunity revealed the civilian government's partial commitment to justice as well as the military's power to set limits. However, in 2004 major events unfolded that might set new historical precedents concerning justice for crimes against humanity. At this historical moment, both local initiatives and the globalization of justice are influencing the possibility of canceling the cycle of impunity. This essay takes us back to a period where prospects for justice were not very promising. In 1998, more than two decades after the coup of 1976, I asked a group of young people, "If you were Minister of Justice, what would you do regarding this past?" The essay explores young Argentines' opinions about the political and legal system, their feelings of anger and impotence, and what they believe should be done. It evaluates the need for justice and recommendations on whom should be punished, why, and how. The information is helpful to understand how young people view Argentina's past as a background against which current changes are occurring. It also sheds light on how the post-dictatorship generation was conceptualizing justice and the roles they may play to create a culture of accountability and respect for human rights.

Howard Lafranchi. 1999. "Latin America's new concerns over 'colonial' interference." *Christian Science Monitor*. 91(242): 7.

Abstract: Reports on the arrest warrants filed by Spanish judge Baltasar Garçon for 98 participants in Argentina's military dictatorship between 1976-1983.

Larry Luxner. 1999. "Israel Fortifies 50 Years of Friendship." *Americas*. 51(2): 52.

Abstract: Focuses on relations between Israel and Latin American countries. Israeli businesses in Latin American countries; Terrorist acts against Jews in Argentina; Military relations between Ecuador and Israel; Historic military cooperation of Israel with Latin America's right-wing dictators; Israeli assistance to those affected by damage caused by Hurricane Mitch in Latin America; Negotiations for a free-trade agreement with Mexico.

Larry Luxner. 2005. "A Probe of Truth and Justice." *Americas*. 57(3): 58.

Abstract: Reports on the admission of the Argentine government of covering up an investigation into the terrorist attack on the headquarters of the Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina in Buenos Aires, during a hearing before the Organization of American States Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR). Accusations of the IACHR against the government; Violation of the government against the human rights of the victims of terrorism; Commitment of the government to revise its national security services to prevent terrorist attacks.

Jaime Malamud-Goti. 1991. "Punishment and a rights-based democracy." *Criminal Justice Ethics*. 10(2): 3.

Abstract: Focuses on the human rights situation in Argentina. Human rights in the post-dictatorial era; Human rights abuses; Political scenario in Argentina; Human rights trials.

Juan E. Mendez. 1991. Truth and Partial Justice in Argentina. An Update. Human Rights Watch. ISBN: 0-929692-91-8.

Update from original report in 1987 which examined how a newly democratic Argentina attempted to deal with prior human rights violations. Explains how the democratic government made and lost progress in publicizing human rights violations as well as attempting to justly try and convict perpetrators of the atrocities. The author describes the situation in Argentina as a positive experience for other nations coming to terms with past state-sponsored human rights violations.

Carlos Santiago Nino. 1996. Radical evil on trial. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press.

Teresa Opheim. 1988. "Argentina: Human Rights Horrors on Hold." *Utne Reader*. (25): 22.

Abstract: Reports on Argentinean President Raul Alfonsin's introduction of legislation that revoked the amnesty the junta had granted itself in its final days in 1988. Initiatives to promote the country's quest for human rights and justice after eight years of military rule; Trial and conviction of former junta leaders after the passage of the legislation.

Philip Oxhorn. 2001. "FROM HUMAN RIGHTS TO CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS? Recent Trends in the Study of Latin American Social Movements." *Latin American Research Review*. 36(3): 163.

David J. Park. 2002. "Media, Democracy, and Human Rights in Argentina." *Journal of Communication Inquiry*. 26(3): 237.

Abstract: This article examines the relationship between media and democracy in Argentina. A Tinker/Nave short-term field research grant supported this research project during the summer and fall of 1997. It uses archival sources on media concentration, as well as an ethnographic investigation, to gather information concerning media access by human rights groups. The author argues that media concentration, institutional connections with media, foreign ownership, violence against the press, and neoliberal market restraints limit the quality of Argentina's transitional democracy. These conditions can restrict the discussion of human rights issues and simultaneously limit the re-creation of a severely damaged public sphere. [ABSTRACT FROM AUTHOR]

Anthony W. Pereira. 2003. "Explaining Judicial Reform Outcomes in New Democracies: The Importance of Authoritarian Legalism in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile." *Human Rights Review*. 4(3): 3.

Abstract: Recent judicial reforms after democratic transition have been substantial and relatively successful in Chile, but much less so in Argentina and Brazil. This article traces this variation in outcomes to the legal strategies of the prior authoritarian regimes. The Brazilian military regime of 1964-1985 was gradualist in its approach to the law, and had a high degree of civilian-military consensus in the legal sphere. It was not highly repressive in its deployment of lethal violence, and this combination of factors contributed to a gradualist and consensual transition in which judicial reform was not placed high on the political agenda. The Argentine case of military rule between 1976 and 1983 was almost the opposite. The military side-stepped and even attacked the judiciary, engaging in almost entirely extrajudicial violence. This generated a "backlash" reform movement after the transition to democracy that was mostly retrospective and only partially successful. In Chile, in contrast, the military engineered a radical break with previous legality, engaged in violent repression, but made considerable efforts to reconstruct a judicial order. It was in the aftermath of this situation that reformers were able to push through a prospective and relatively successful judicial reform. This article's findings suggest that judicial reform may be more likely to succeed where the prior authoritarian regime was both repressive and legalistic, as in Chile,

Poland, and South Africa, than where high degrees of repression were applied largely extrajudicially, as in Argentina, Cambodia, and Guatemala, or where the authoritarian regime was legalistic but not highly repressive, as in Brazil, Mexico, and the Philippines.

Enrique Peruzzotti. 2002. "Towards a New Politics: Citizenship and Rights in Contemporary Argentina." *Citizenship Studies*. 6(1): 77.

Abstract: The emergence of a human rights movement represented a cultural turning point in many Latin American societies. The movement's struggle acted as a catalyst for political learning, triggering a profound renovation of the region's democratic traditions. The most impressive development has been the emergence of a rights-oriented discourse that reunites two elements that populist forms of self-understanding had kept separate: democracy and the rule of law. Cultural innovation gave birth to a new form of politicization that greatly differs from the movementist and corporatist practices of past populist movements, for the former is guided by a liberal concern: establishing clear institutional boundaries between state and civil society. Through the analysis of a series of citizens' initiatives and movements, the paper analyzes this new form of politicization and its contribution to the authorization and effectivization of rights as institutions. [ABSTRACT FROM AUTHOR]

Marcia Petracci; Silvina Ramos and Dalia Szulik. 2005. "A Strategic Assessment of the Reproductive Health and Responsible Parenthood Programme of Buenos Aires, Argentina." *Reproductive health matters*. 13(25): 60.

Abstract: Since 1991, Argentina has had provincial reproductive health laws, a far-reaching national programme and strong public consensus in support of reproductive health policies. Nevertheless, the challenges of strengthening public services, increasing the number of programme sites and resisting conservative attacks remain. This article describes an assessment of the reproductive health programme of the city of Buenos Aires, passed in 2000, whose objectives are to prevent unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases/HIV and to train health personnel. The programme operates in every public hospital and primary health care centre in the city. The assessment was conducted jointly by the Ombudsperson's Office of Buenos Aires and the Centre for the Study of State and Society (CEDES). Hormonal contraceptives, IUDs and male condoms were mostly available, but emergency contraception, female condoms and other barrier methods were not. Some health professionals and service users were knowledgeable about the new laws and the reproductive rights recognised under the law. Over 90% were satisfied with quality of care in service delivery but many professionals described excessive workloads, deficient infrastructure, and shortages of supplies and staff. Wanting help to obtain a tubal ligation was the most frequent reason for the claims lodged with the Ombudsperson's Office, followed by HIV, quality of care, and abortion. Information and training for both health care providers and women's and human rights NGOs was carried out. (English)

Terence Roehrig, Shale Horowitz and Albrecht Schnabel. 2004. Human rights, the military, and the transition to democracy in Argentina and South Korea. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University Press.

The authors give a brief overview of Argentina's struggles from democracy to military rule and back from 1966-2001. Description of national security and economic concerns as causes and torture, kidnapping, and murder as the results of military rule. Briefly describes the issues in returning to democracy and balancing accountability with moving forward.

Larry Rohter. 2005. "Argentine Ruling Revives Cases of 'Dirty War' Victims." *New York Times*. 154(53276): A3.

Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder. 1999. *The legacy of human-rights violations in the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Michael Shifter and Vinay Jawahar. 2004. "Reconciliation in Latin America: A Fine Balance." *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 11(1): 127.

Abstract: Examines the role of the truth and reconciliation commissions in healing the society, prosecution of those responsible for crimes, and prevention of further abuses. Findings unveiled by Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in August 2003; Discussion of the Argentine experience in attaining partial justice; Role of the Chilean commission in revealing the pattern of repression and the deaths that occurred during Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet's rule; Investigation conducted by the Peruvian commission into the human rights abuses committed under democratically elected governments in the 1980s and 1990s.

Elin Skaar. 2001. "The Legacy of Human Rights Violations in the Southern Cone (Book Review)." *Latin American Politics & Society*. 43(1): 149.

Susanne Soederberg. 2005. "The Transnational Debt Architecture and Emerging Markets: the politics of paradoxes and punishment." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(6): 927.

Abstract: The Argentine default at the end of 2001 highlighted the ongoing problems plaguing the existing transnational debt architecture, namely the tensions between creditor rights and human rights. While these debates have thrown important light on what needs to be done in terms of improving the transnational debt architecture, few studies have actually attempted to evaluate critically the manner in which transnational debt has been managed since the outset of the Bretton Woods system in 1944. I argue that the postwar informal arrangement governing transnational debt architecture not only helps augment the power of credit to serve as an effective form of social discipline, but that it is also profoundly contradictory. Through an historical survey, spanning the beginning of the Bretton Woods system to the recent Argentine default, I demonstrate that the informal nature of the transnational debt architecture, coupled with the mounting power of global financial capitals over debtor states, has played a major role in bringing about increased levels of volatility and vulnerability in the international credit system.

Chandra Lekha Sriram. 2004. "Argentina: Struggle for Accountability." Confronting Past Human Rights Violations: Justice vs Peace in Times of Transition. U.S., Canada, and Great Britain: Frank Cass.

Author attempts to explain how different methods of accountability may be necessary to bring about justice while trying to maintain peace in Argentina. Because the military junta dictated their own departure as head-of-state, the books suggests that they retain some authority and ability to influence government. Therefore, there must be some balance between prosecution of those responsible for the "Dirty War" as well as some measure of amnesty via confession under the new democracy.

Silvio R. Waisbord. 2004. "Scandals, Media, and Citizenship in Contemporary Argentina." *American Behavioral Scientist*. 47(8): 1072.

Abstract: This article examines several scandals in 1990s Argentina to discuss the linkages between scandals, media, and citizenship. Suggesting that media publicity is central for scandals to unfold, the article examines a particular arms scandal. An institutional approach that considers the role of different political actors in different scandals shows how and why the media and other institutions contributed to the making and unmaking of

scandals. Although scandals offer opportunities for “doing politics by other means,” not all actors are similarly involved. Scandals that dealt with official corruption mainly featured political elites, whereas scandals that followed revelations about human rights violations showed a different pattern: public outrage and citizens' mobilization. In a political context of “scandal fatigue,” scandals do not necessarily trigger public action or moral crusades. Only those scandals that directly affected groups of citizens and were not simply causes that were followed by public demonstrations and intense audience attention.

Karen Wilson. 1993. “Argentina's human rights: Crisis in transition.” *Human Rights: Journal of the Section of Individual Rights & Responsibilities*. 20(3): 28.

Abstract: This article highlights the dwindling support for the human rights movement in Argentina as of 1993. Between 1976 and the mid-1980s, the level of organized human rights activity was overwhelming. Today, Argentina's eight nongovernmental human rights organizations (NGO) struggle to survive, their financing drastically cut by the U.S. and European foundations which funded them during the military era. The offices of the various NGO are open only a few hours a day, their staffs struggling to survive--often without the most basic of supplies. This human rights crisis is especially dangerous in the current era of transition. A new democratic government is a delicate creature, easily susceptible to slipping back into oppressive traditions if not watched over carefully. Argentina's military and police forces are still too dominant and disproportionately powerful for a true constitution-based system. Police violence, arbitrary arrests, imprisonment without trial, and discrimination are common. Lack of funding is not the only problem, however. Most of the organizations are uncertain as to what their role should be in their country's transition to democracy. In order to rejuvenate themselves, the human rights organizations must raise consciousness about current human rights concerns.

The Dirty War in Argentina

2004. “Reign of terror.” *Economist*. 370(8366): 39.

Abstract: This article focuses on efforts to bring corrupt corporate and political figures to justice in the province of Santiago Del Estero in Argentina. Every Friday evening for the past year, a swelling group of protesters has marched the five miles from the town of La Banda to Santiago del Estero, the sleepy capital of one of Argentina's most backward provinces. Their immediate grievance was the murder of two women, and the apparent involvement in the killings--and subsequent cover-up--of politicians, businessmen and judges. But their crusade is symptomatic of a yearning for political renewal in parts of Argentina's poorer interior, where local strongmen have traditionally ruled supreme. According to the judge now in charge of the case, Leyla Bshier was killed at an orgiastic party attended by some of the local elite. Her body was then cut up, and parts of it fed to animals at a private zoo belonging to Musa Azar, the province's former (and still much-feared) security chief. Inspired by the protests, the judge summoned up the courage to order the arrest of Mr Azar (Musa Azar), his wife and son, plus a provincial legislator, several police officers and the judge who originally oversaw the case. And Nestor Kirchner, Argentina's president, has sent his human-rights secretary, Eduardo Luis Duhalde, to Santiago. He has joined the marches, and has filed charges against Mr Azar for the murder of 28 people who “disappeared” during Argentina's military dictatorship of 1976-83.

1998. “Where torture is job one.” *Earth Island Journal*. 13(4): 14.

Abstract: Reports on the discovery of evidence that Spanish workers who disappeared during the reign of Argentina's military dictatorship were tortured in a secret detention center at the Ford Motor Co. factory near

Buenos Aires. Argentine subsidiary management's involvement in the detention, torture and execution of the victims; Lawsuit filed by the families of the missing workers.

Martin Edward Anderson. 1993. *Dossier secreto: Argentina's Desaparecidos and the Myth of the "Dirty War."* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc.

The author uses over 1,000 interviews to interpret social justice during the period of military rule in Argentina. He suggests that the "Dirty War" was unnecessary, that the guerillas should have been handled by police, and that Christian and Western ideals helped destroy a once prosperous country. Additionally suggests that subversives were created by the government in order to authorize what would be known as "the Dirty War."

Craig Arceneaux. 2000. "The Legacy of Human Rights Violations in the Southern Cone (Book Review)." *American Political Science Review*. 94(3): 755.

Louis Bickford. 1999. "The Archival Imperative: Human Rights and Historical Memory in Latin America's Southern Cone." *Human Rights Quarterly*. 21(4): 1097.

Abstract: This article argues on archival preservation of primary documentation on human rights abuses in countries of the Southern Cone of Latin America. abuses. To make this point, the article examines the state of documentation relating to human rights abuses under military rule in three Southern Cone countries-- Chile (from 1973 to 1990), Argentina (from 1976 to 1983), and Uruguay (from 1973 to 1984); and discusses the political, social, technical, and financial challenges that face advocates of archival preservation. The article is, in part, a result of the author's visits with each of the Human Rights Nongovernmental Organizations (HRNGOs) discussed in this article, as well as interviews with members of these HRNGOs; scholars; human rights experts; social scientists; lawyers from Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay; and bibliographers and library experts from major research libraries and national library systems. Ultimately, the article is meant to be a call for action in a sphere of activity that is sometimes neglected in human rights discourse.

Alison Brysk. 1993. "From above and below." *Comparative Political Studies*. 26(3): 259.

Abstract: Discusses the evolution of the human rights movement in Argentina. Human rights; Social movements and their effect on the international system; Response of the international human rights groups; Effectiveness of international pressure in promoting human rights; Lessons and limitations of the Argentine experience.

Alison Brysk. 1990. The political impact of Argentina's human rights movement.

Alison Brysk. 1994. "The Politics of Measurement: The Contested Count of the Disappeared in Argentina." *Human Rights Quarterly*. 16(4): 676.

Abstract: The article examines the issue generated by the political sources and implications of measurement through the debate over the number and nature of human rights violations under Argentina's military dictatorship from 1976 to 1983. Between 1976 and 1983, Argentina was ruled by a succession of military juntas which engaged in gross and systematic human rights violations as part of a policy of state terror designed to intimidate and demobilize Argentine society. Under a bureaucratic authoritarian regime, the military pursued a sweeping political program oriented by structural transformation of the economy and the extension of an anti-insurgency campaign to all areas of political life. Civil and political rights were denied, the Constitution was suspended, Congress was closed, unions were terrorized, and the judiciary was silenced. Human rights reform in Argentina

was spearheaded by a shifting coalition of nine human rights organizations. While some mobilized public support through symbolic protest, others collected information which contributed directly to public policy. Within the developing world, Argentina should present a promising case for the accurate measurement of human rights violations. Argentina is highly urbanized, its citizens are literate and educated, and government records are well-established.

Eric Stener Carlson. 2000. "The Influence of French 'Revolutionary War' Ideology on the Use of Torture in Argentina's 'Dirty War.'" *Human Rights Review*. 1(4): 71.

Abstract: Traces the impact of the French Revolutionary War ideology on the Argentine Armed Forces during the war from 1976-1982. Components of the fused French and Argentine ideology; Works on the nature of a revolutionary war; Transfer of torture ideology as a human rights issue.

K. Clymer. 2003. "Jimmy Carter, Human Rights, and Cambodia." *Diplomatic History*. 27(2): 245.

Abstract: Focuses on the plans of President Jimmy Carter on the expansion of human rights in the U.S. Carter's advancement of the cause of human rights on the American political agenda and in the world community; Termination of the aid to the military junta in Argentina; Administration's failure to elevate human rights concerns in its policy toward Cambodia.

Stanley Cohen. 2005. "Post-Moral Torture: from Guantanamo to Abu Ghraib." *Index on Censorship*. 34(1): 24.

Abstract: The article discusses various events related to torture in the history. The first is a history of the deed, those diverse, many but rather special forms of human violence that are designated as being torture. The second history deals with the oscillation between the extremes of tolerance and prohibition. Since the presumed disappearance after the Enlightenment of judicially approved torture, this has been told as a narrative of successful control. There has to be a third history of torture, the words that justify the deeds. Torture was a prominent feature of the Latin American military dictatorships, notably Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. But the justificatory language of divine violence, purge, salvation, cleansing and national security, in its fascist, rather than democratic version, needed no fancy legal maneuvers, either at the time or afterwards. The collapse of these regimes and the subsequent 'transitions' to democracy in Latin America, South Africa and the Soviet Empire did not direct much attention to torture as a separate issue. Only in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the global war against terrorism and the revelations about the abuse of detainees in Guantanamo, did massive public attention turn towards the subject.

James Dao. 2002. "Ally or Enemy? America Couldn't Get a Fix on Post-Coup Argentina." *New York Times*. 151(52221): 5.

Abstract: Presents text samples of documents on human rights abuses in Argentina during the reign of the military in 1976 posted by the U.S. Department of Defense on its Web site.

Cecilia Menjaivar and Naestor Rodriguez (ed.). 2005. When states kill: Latin America, the U.S., and technologies of terror. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Takes into account the role of culture, technology, and training in American hegemony's role in state-sponsored terror in Latin America. The editors relate how technologies of violence,

received from the United States, propelled Latin American into new and more extensive human rights atrocities.

Steven M. Freeman. 1980. Violations of Human Rights in Argentina: 1980. The Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights.

Reports on the human rights situation in Argentina as of 1980. Emphasizes abuses, including victim testimony, as well as government refusal to accept responsibility, and reveals that Argentine prisons do not meet international standards. Recommends government action to limit police violence as well as improve conditions of prisons and treatment of prisoners.

Eva Galbraith. 1977. "The Self-Liquidating Junta." *National Review*. 29(50): 1494.

Abstract: Focuses on the economic policies of Argentina's military junta. Institutionalized methods by which the junta governs; Ban on the Peronists' return to power; Control of inflation; Rise in interest rates; Improvement of the economic indicators; War against terrorism; United States' concerns for human rights.

Frank Graziano. 1992. *Divine Violence: Spectacle, Psychosexuality, & Radical Christianity in the Argentine "Dirty War."* Boulder, CO and Summertown, Oxford, UK: Westview Press, Inc.

Iain Guest. 1990. *Behind the disappearances: Argentina's dirty war against human rights and the United Nations*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Wolfgang S. Heinz. 1999. "Determinants of Gross Human Rights Violations by State and State-sponsored Actors in Argentina 1976-1983." In Determinants of Gross Human Rights Violations by State and State-sponsored Actors in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina 1960-1990. The Hague, The Netherlands: Kluwer Law International.

Wolfgang S. Heinz; Hugo Fruhling and Mensenrechtenschendingen Programma Interdisciplinair Onderzoek Naar Oorzaken Van. 1999. *Determinants of gross human rights violations by state and state-sponsored actors in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina, 1960-1990*. The Hague; Boston; Cambridge, MA: M. Nijhoff; Sold and distributed in North, Central, and South America by Kluwer Law International.

Rights Inter-American Commission on Human and States Organization of American. 1980. Report on the situation of human rights in Argentina. Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, OAS.

Brett Levinson. 2003. "Dictatorship, Human Rights, and Psychoanalysis in Argentina: One Discourse or Three?" *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies (Travesia)*. 12(1): 71.

Abstract: Focuses on dictatorship, human rights and psychoanalysis in Argentina. Criticism of human rights violations occurring across the globe by the International Psychoanalytic Association; Information on human rights abuse; Intersection of human rights and psychoanalyses in Argentina; Deployment of psychoanalysts by Argentine dictatorship.

Paul H. Lewis. 2002. *Guerillas and generals: the "Dirty War" in Argentina*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

The author gives a thorough account of how the social culture in Argentina created civil and political animosity between the masses and the elites, creating a “seedbed of terrorism.” It follows with an historical account of state and guerilla violence; the aims of military in repression and the “Dirty War”; and the continuing difficulty of retribution against the former aggressors.

Federico Guillermo Lorenz. 2004. “Argentina's Coup: Social Myth, Memory and History.” *History Today*. 54(1): 17.

Abstract: *Assesses the narratives that have shaped the history of the military coup in Argentina on March 24, 1975. Characteristics of social memory; Impact of military coups and Peronism on politics; Interpretation of the junta on the 1976 coup; Actions taken by the government to address human rights violations during the coup; Demands of the human rights movement.*

Jaime E. Malamud Goti. 1996. Game without end: state terror and the politics of justice. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

J. Patrice McSherry. 1999. “The Military in Politics.” *Journal of Interamerican Studies & World Affairs*. 41(2): 117.

Abstract: *Reviews two books about military relations of Argentina. 'Through Corridors of Power: Institutions and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina,' by David Pion-Berlin; 'Democracia y Cuestion Militar,' by Ernesto Lopez and David Pion-Berlin.*

Anthony W. Pereira. 2003. “Political Justice under Authoritarian Regimes in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.” *Human Rights Review*. 4(2): 27.

Edward Peters. 1999. “Truth and Fiction in the Negotiation of Human Rights.” *Human Rights Review*. 1(1): 113.

David Pion-Berlin. 1989. *The ideology of state terror: economic doctrine and political repression in Argentina and Peru*. Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner Publishers.

Henry Raymond. 1982. “Errors all Around.” *New Republic*. 186(17): 9.

Abstract: *Focuses on Argentina's military occupation of the bleak South Atlantic archipelago known as the Malvinas or Falkland Islands. Information on the U.S. policy to resolve the conflict between its friendly countries, Great Britain and Argentina; Report that the U.S. may be forced to choose which it value more either the Monroe Doctrine and Inter-American system or the Atlantic alliance; Preparation for the seizure of islands by Argentina President Leopoldo Galtieri; Appeal made by U.S. Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Enrique Ros to activate the protracted sovereignty negotiations; Information that Argentina's military also seems to have support from Moscow in return to Argentina's refusal to join in the grain embargo against the Soviet Union; Request made by Great Britain for economic sanctions against Argentina.*

David F. Ross. 1971. “Latin America: 1971: Progress Is Not Just Around the Corner.” *New Republic*. 164(1/2): 20.

Abstract: *Discusses increasing economic nationalism, militarism, pragmatic attitude toward Cuba, and penchant for direct action by right- and left-wing movements in Latin America. United States President Richard Nixon's*

policy of "Action for Progress for the Americas"; U.S. is trying to sever economic relations with Chile while maintaining diplomatic ties; Argentina's military dictatorship; Instant coffee dispute in Brazil.

Chandra Lekha Sriram. 2002. "Exercising Universal Jurisdiction: Contemporary Disparate Practice." *International Journal of Human Rights*. 6(4): 49.

Abstract: Addresses several cases asserting universal jurisdiction to seek the applicability for crimes committed in another jurisdiction, where the accused is present and the victims are not of the pursuing state's populace. Procedures seeking to bring Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte to justice for killings, torture, disappearances and genocide during his rule; Case filed in Spain against former Argentine junta members and others with regard to disappeared Spaniards in Argentina; Crimes committed by Honduran military official Billy Joya.

Mario Sznajder and Luis Roniger. 1999. "The Crises Beyond Past Crisis: The Unsolved Legacy of Human Rights Violations in the Southern Cone." *Human Rights Review*. 1(1): 45.

Abstract: Focuses on the legacy of human rights violations, crises committed by security forces in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile under the military rule in the 1990s. Arrest of Chilean General Augusto Pinochet in London, England in October 1998; Background of policy making in the Southern Cone of the Americas; How the political leaderships of countries adopted the idea of national reconciliation.

Organizations United States. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Human Rights and International and Affairs United States. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere. 1984. Human rights in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.

Amaranta Wright. 1995. "Children of the disappeared." *New Internationalist*. (270): 35.

Madres de la Plaza de Mayo

V. M. Abreu Hernandez. 2002. "The Mothers of La Plaza de Mayo: A Peace Movement." *Peace & Change*. 27(3): 385.

Marjorie Agosin. 1990. *Mothers of Plaza de Mayo (Linea Fundadora): the story of Rene Epelbaum, 1976-1985*. Trenton, New Jersey: Red Sea Press.

Marjorie Agosin. 1990. *Mothers of Plaza De Mayo (Linea Fundadora): the Story of Renee Epelbaum, 1976-1985*.

Marjorie Agosin; Alicia D Amico and Alicia Sanguinetti. 1992. Circles of madness: Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. Fredonia, N.Y.: White Pine Press.

Leonardo Avritzer. 1997. "Introduction: the Meaning and Employment of 'Civil Society' in Latin America." *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory*. 4(1): 88.

Fernando J. Bosco. 2004. "Human rights politics and scaled performances of memory: conflicts among the Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina." *Social & Cultural Geography*. 5(3): 381.

Abstract: This paper builds on the geographies of commemoration literature extending the scope of inquiry to consider the scaled performances through which the politics of memory unfold, I focus on an analysis of conflicts over the creation of memorial landscapes that emerge from the intricate ways in which representations of the past and the everyday politics of social movements intersect. The paper analyses the competing politics of memory of two groups of Madres de Plaza de Mayo (mothers of people who 'disappeared' during Argentina's Dirty War). Their strategies underscore geographic dimensions of the politics of memory as the Madres clash over how to appropriately place memory in the landscape. While one group emphasizes making visible the events of the past to promote transmission of memory and to remember those who disappeared, the other group focuses on re-interpreting symbols about the past in an attempt to encourage future activism. Such conflicting Strategies manifest spatially in a variety of ways, ranging from the creation of physical markers in the built environment to the performance of collective rituals that centre on activists' bodies as sites for either commemoration of the past or future activism. The Madres' conflicts highlight how different spatialities contribute to validate or condemn competing politics of commemoration.

Fernando J. Bosco. 2001. "Place, space, networks, and the sustainability of collective action: the Madres de Plaza de Mayo." *Global Networks*. 1(4): 307.

Abstract: This article provides a framework for analysing social movements and explaining how collective action can be sustained through networks. Drawing on current relational views of place and space, I offer a spatialized conception of social networks that critically synthesizes network theory, research on social movements, and the literature on the spatial dimensions of collective action. I examine the historic and contemporary network geographies of a group of human rights activists in Argentina (the Madres de Plaza de Mayo) and explain the duration of their activism over a period of more than two decades with regard to the concept of geographic flexibility. To be specific, first I show how, through the practice of place-based collective rituals, activists have maintained network cohesion and social proximity despite physical distance. Second, I examine how the construction of strategic networks that have operated at a variety of spatial scales has allowed the Madres to access resources that are important for sustaining mobilization strategies. Finally, I discuss how the symbolic depiction of places has been used as a tool to build and sustain network connections among different groups. I conclude by arguing that these three dimensions of the Madres' activism account for their successful development of geographically flexible networks, and that the concept of geographic flexibility provides a useful template for studies of the duration and continuity of collective action.

Marguerite Guzman Bouvard. 1994. Revolutionizing motherhood: the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Inc.

Recounts the creation and transformation of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, a politically powerless group of working class women that protested the brutal military regime responsible for the disappearances of thousands of Argentines. The book relates how the Mothers became the first powerful human rights activists in Argentina and were instrumental in building the pro-democracy and human rights movements. Additionally discusses the Mothers role in political and civil society following the return to democracy.

Alison Brysk. 1993. "From above and below." *Comparative Political Studies*. 26(3): 259.

Abstract: Discusses the evolution of the human rights movement in Argentina. Human rights; Social movements and their effect on the international system; Response of the international human rights groups; Effectiveness of international pressure in promoting human rights; Lessons and limitations of the Argentine experience.

K. J. Gardner. 1998. Motherhood and Democratic Citizenship: The Case of the Madres De Plaza De Mayo (Argentina, Human Rights).

Jamie Elizabeth Jacobs and Marta Maldonado. 2005. "Civil Society in Argentina: Opportunities and Challenges for National and Transnational Organisation." *Journal of Latin American Studies*. 37(1): 141.

Tekla Szymanski. 2002. "Mothers in Arms." *World Press Review*. 49(10): 46.

Abstract: Profiles the late Maria Adela Gard de Antokoletz, cofounder of the Asociacion Madres de Plaza de Mayo, an Argentine human rights group of mothers who fought against junta oppression. Reason for cofounding the human rights group; Contributions to society.

Sally Webb Thornton. 2000. "Grief Transformed: the Mothers of the Plaza De Mayo." *Omega: Journal of Death & Dying*. 41(4): 279.

Abstract: Details the organization formed by mothers searching for their missing children in Argentina called Madres de la Plaza de Mayo. Atrocities committed by the military regime from 1976 to 1983; Protests of the group against the military atrocities; Transformation of the mothers' grief to positive action.

Sarah Wildman. 2000. "Women's Fib." *New Republic*. 222(22): 12.

Abstract: Focuses on the Million Mom March organized in the U.S. for gun control in the country. Opinion of the National Rifle Association on the gun control movement; Protest of the organization, Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, on the kidnapping and murder of 30,000 citizens at the hands of Argentina's military dictatorship; Views of Maryland Lieutenant Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend on the gun control movement; Opposition of alcohol industry to gun control measure.