

The Recovery of Truth and Justice--Comparing China and Latin America Human rights movements in late 20th century

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Abstract: In the 1970s, the international human rights entered its golden age. Latin America, as an area having experienced severe human rights violations during the military dictatorship, became the center of the international human rights movements. In the same period, China, ending the chaotic state of cultural revolution, also started its human rights discourse by beginning the open up reform. This paper aims to compare the human rights movements in China and Latin America by reading important primary sources of human rights movements and analyzing them. Unlike Latin American human rights, the Chinese human rights movements focus more on economic rights, emphasizing more on collective welfare instead of particular groups, and are propelled mainly by government.

Keywords: international human rights, Chinese 1978 reform, economic rights, collective welfare

1. Introduction

There is a common myth that the human rights movement was and is a Western movement that had little impact in China, which is actually not based on actual knowledge about the Chinese case. China signed the UDHR in 1948, and Dr. Peng-chun Chang, a Chinese scholar, participated in the process of drafting it. Though professor Samuel Moyn define the 1970s as the golden age for the international human rights, the human rights in China was still not recognized [1]. In the 1970s, when NGOs like Amnesty International propelled human rights course throughout the world, Latin America was their focus. When many Latin American countries experience dictatorship accompanied by human rights violations and final restoration of democracy, the human rights movement prosper in the area, making Latin American human rights trials representative of international human rights cause. In roughly the same period, China also ended the cultural revolution and started the open-up economic reformation, developing its own understanding and way of promoting renquan, the Chinese word for human rights. Such Chinese human rights cause was largely ignored or considered insignificant by scholarly discussions due to its different understanding of human rights. Unlike International or Latin American human rights that strengthens political and civil rights, the Chinese renquan focus more on the economic and social rights. This essay aims to compare the Chinese renquan and Latin American human rights movements, discussing their different meanings and implementing acts. The human rights movements at the two places both evolve after the previous state terrorism. Unlike Latin American human rights, the Chinese renquan movements focus more on economic and social rights and shows macro characteristics in scope.

2. Human Rights in China and Latin America

2.1. Human Rights in China in Late 20th Century

China was long accused for its violations of human rights by western countries and NGOs like Amnesty International. The scholarly discussion about Chinese human rights also shows such attitude. For instance, Professor Natsu Taylor Saito describes Chinese plenary institution as ongoing abuses of human rights [2]. There are discussions that acknowledge Chinese human rights, but in the perspective of international human rights instead of Chinese own understanding of human rights. Professor Richard Press attributes the emergence of Chinese official acceptance of human rights solely to the international pressure, especially after the 1989 crisis [3]. Wu chengqiu argues that the Chinese recognition of human rights domestically and internationally is only because of its will to protect the benefits of the nation, and it constantly holds the view that sovereignty is more important than human rights [4]. Chen dingding discusses the development of Chinese understanding of human rights after the 1978, but mostly tries to fit Chinese version of human rights into the international norms, arguing that though not apparent, China actually have the human rights like international ones [5]. These articles discuss Chinese human rights under the international way of political and civil rights and conclude that the Chinese human rights movements are insignificant or not influential enough. The Chinese understanding of human rights as economic and social ones is seldomly considered significant. The project will discuss Chinese human rights from such perspective, strengthening on Chinese different understanding of renquan apart from the mainstream international view.

As a country long being accused of ignoring human rights, China truly does not have the concept of human rights for a long period. From the 1949 foundation of the People's Republic of China, it always interprets the rights of the citizens (not human rights) in a collective way, adopting communism's concept of collective rights. Between the 1950s and 1970s, the main propagandas are things like "Four hundred million people United together" or "The power of working class", stressing people's rights either in particular classes or in the identity of Chinese citizens. The cultural revolution states the similar thing: the slogan of the cultural revolution is "the danger of subversive actions of capitalism", also putting classes and collective rights prior to individual rights. However, the 1978 open-up reformation marks a transition in Chinese human rights, utilizing markets as the main media to distribute resources and abandoning the old "Three Old Irons". Accompanied by economic reformation and the open-up to the outer world, China increasingly emphasizes adopt the concept of human rights, but in its own way of economic and social rights. The Chinese human rights cause shows macro characteristics: it is mainly propelled by the government, and the subject of the acts is all the citizens instead of particular groups.

Basically, the Chinese human rights after 1978 reformation can be divided into two stages, 1978-1989, the initial absorption of human rights, 1989-1997, the development and internalization of human rights. During the process, the Chinese understanding of human rights is deepened, and it gradually internalized the human rights, understanding it in its own way of social and economic rights.

2.1.1. The First Stage, 1978-1989

After the ten-year cultural revolution, the China was in a damaged situation: the economic development stopped, constitution got violated, and people's mind were chaotic and uncertain. To save the country and reorient it on the right track, Chinese communist party (CCP) start the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to settle the previous controversies and develop new ways to achieve modernization.

In the conference, China makes some important transitions on its attitude to human rights. According to the official report of the conference:

Now we need to keep pace with the international situation, immediately, firmly, undoubtedly end the criticism of past politicians and class struggles. There are still enemies of the socialism in China, and we still need to fight firmly against them. However, the large-scale, storm-like class struggle ends now. We need to change our focus on economic development and socialism modernization, ensuring people's happy life and modernization of the country.

For the first time, China abandons class struggles as its main focus and switches to economic development and improving individual life standards. The things related to individual life and economic situation, like education, work position, salary, free choice of commodity, are called social and economic rights. When the "rights of man" first emerged during the enlightenment era, it means civil and political rights, like suffrage, equality, or freedom of prosecution. Such economic and social rights are relatively new components in the field of human rights. By ending the class struggle and implicitly adopting such newly developed economic and social version of human rights (though still seldom use the particular phrase human rights), China provide the necessary condition for starting its human rights discourse: instead of the collective rights or obligations to the nation in the previous era, the government focus more on the economic need of every individual. People is no longer understand as a component of their particular class, but as their own identity and needs. This change in understanding provide the foundation for the human rights, which requires the recognition of individual needs and preferences.

The conference also states several principles of economic reconstruction and ensuring people's life quality. Though there are various economic circumstances in China, the fundamental principle of such reformations, like declining the role of central government in planning the economy, separating enterprise from party and politics, or abandoning the fixed position and salary, is to use the market instead of central planning to guide the economic activity. Such reformation boost people's morale in producing and labor since their revenue is proportional to their productivity instead of the previous fixed income and position. Some content of the reform, like the free choice of job and product, is directly mentioned in content of 1948 UDHR. Though the ultimate goal of the reformation is somehow mainly in the field of economy and seemingly unrelated to human rights, it incorporates some key components of economic and social rights shown in the UDHR, the internationally acknowledged criteria for human rights. The economic reformation can also be understood as promoting the human rights cause implicitly.

After the 1978 conference, the China continues to open itself to the rest of the world and the economic reformation of market. Though still seldom officially mentioning human rights, the discussion of human rights in newspapers and academic field is increasing. Many scholars or writers try to accommodate Marxist socialism with the human rights, designing so-called "socialism human rights", believing that human right is the recognition of individual rights under the socialism by providing people with enough economic products and freedom. Like an article in 1989 contends [6]:

Economical human rights are the foundation of any other rights, including political ones. Without the basic economic rights, it is impossible for people to hold political, civil and cultural rights. If a person has no jobs and is in a hungry state, then how can he utilize those so-called freedom in the social or cultural backgrounds?

The mainstream voice in China on the human right issue recognize the economic and social rights as the foundation of all the other human rights. In their line of reasoning, the rapid development of Chinese economy due to the open-up reformation means the respect of economic and social ones—the foundation of socialism human rights thought system. However, other understanding of human rights also exists, and most of them strengthens the role of political rights. For instance, an article in 1988 states that "China maintains that human rights should include both the rights of the individual

and the rights of the collective, and that a citizen's political rights are as important as his economic, social and cultural rights”, emphasizing the importance of political rights like democracy and suffrage.

In this period, China also started the process of boluan fanzheng (reorient things on the right track). During the years before and during cultural revolution, many leaders or generals of the CCP and also some intellectuals, government officials, and students were wrongly defined as traitor of CCP. Though the government seldom use physical tortures, those victims were usually accused fiercely by the media and forced to leave the hometown to the rural areas to do forced labor. Many of them died in the process. After 1978, the Chinese official gradually start the process of recovering truth and justice. The reputation and social status of the victims were recovered. However, such assist of those victims of human rights violations never evolved into big nation-wide projects.

Overall, the Chinese human rights discourse in the 1978-1989 stage is in its starting and initial development stage. Ending the state terrorism of cultural revolution, the China implicitly, not mention directly, use some key components of human rights. Instead of the particular group of victims in the previous age, the focus of Chinese human rights is all its citizens, aiming to improve their welfare. Though China starts to interpret human rights in its own way of social and economic rights, it still absorbs some elements of traditional political and civil rights. The Chinese unique version of human rights has not formed yet.

2.1.2. The Second Stage, 1989-1997

The 1989 tiananmen square protest marks an important transition in the Chinese human rights discourse. China is condemned by western countries for its suppressive actions during the protest and its violation of human rights. After the event, China uses the phrase “human rights” more outspokenly to cope with international criticism of its human rights situation, but become more conservative in its contents, limiting the civil or political ones and focus on economic and social ones.

In 1991, the Chinese government set up the Chinese human rights white book to examine the human rights situation in China. Unlike the previous documents or constitutions, which only implicitly mention some key components of human rights, the 1991 white book directly mentions human rights and discusses Chinese human rights. As the international condemn continues, China needs to rebut such accusation on its human rights situation, and the content clearly show such purpose [7]:

The Chinese government spoke highly on UDHR, believing it is the first international document on the human rights issue. However, the human rights developments are restricted by particular circumstances in every country. Since there is huge difference in historical backgrounds, social institution, cultural tradition and economic development for countries, they have different understandings and implementations on human rights. Though human right is an international issue, it is still mainly in the scope of sovereignty in countries. It is improper to judge the human rights situation in a country based on the experience of other countries.

Though acknowledging the human rights as an international issue, the human rights white book clearly shows China’s attitude that sovereignty is higher than the human rights, and other countries cannot accuse China’s human rights situation since the circumstance in China is different from other countries. Instead of a universal version of human rights, like the UDHR tries to achieve, China believes in an indigenous version of human rights suitable for particular countries. It is finding justifications for its own version of human rights, which is different from such mainstream voice of civil and political rights.

There are three characteristics of Chinese human rights. First, it is broad. Instead of particular classes, every Chinese citizen owns various human rights, including economic, cultural and social rights. The individual human rights and collective human rights are both protected. Second, it is equal to every person. Regardless of race, gender, family, job, religious belief, education, every citizen

holds the human rights. Third, authenticity. The rights in the constitution and laws are same with the actual rights embraced by people.

It shows the Chinese characteristic definition of human rights. Instead of the traditional point that view political rights as the most important, China views social and economic rights as more essential, as emphasized in the white book. China also strengthens the validity of its human rights outlook, believing it is necessary to ensure people actually have the rights the nominally hold. Such practical vision of human rights actually means social and economic ones. It implies that political rights are just empty promises, and only the economic and social rights, which are ensured by the economic reformation of China, is the valid version of human rights. And the white book also strengthens that collective rights is as important as individual rights. It actually settles China's attitude on human rights: instead of the previous ambiguity and ambivalence on human rights, the white book clearly shows China's strong focus on the social and economic rights. From then on, the Chinese version of human rights start to formed: respecting the universality of human rights, but focus more on social and economic rights. The tradition of collective rights is not completely abandoned, but is put at the same position with individual rights. Human right is internalized by China.

After the setup of Chinese human rights white book in 1991, China continues to promote its own version of the human rights. During the process, China develops its own focus of human rights as the subsistence rights of people, which strengthens the basic need and life quality of people. In the 1996 human rights white book, it first mentions the phrase shengcun quan (subsistence rights) and place it at the top of the report [8]. By providing statistics of people's increasing life quality, the white book shows that China "significantly increases the life standards of its citizens, which ensure the subsistence rights of its citizens, protecting the most fundamental parts of human rights". The report also discusses several key components of social and economic rights, like the rights for labor, for education, and for vacation. In the 1996 white book, though still mention slightly the political human rights of the citizens, it strengthens the China's focus on social and economic rights and improving life standards and characterized such thing as subsistence rights. The concept of subsistence rights is the fundamental aspect of Chinese human rights. By focusing on the subsistence rights of its citizens, China conducts a macro human rights cause, with the human rights movement relevant to all the citizens.

Overall, the China internalizes human rights during the period 1989-1997. Accompanied by the increasing mention of human rights in official documents, the Chinese develop its own unique understanding of human rights as social and economic ones and still focus on the welfare of all the citizens instead of particular groups.

2.1.3. Conclusion on Chinese Human Rights

In conclusion, China's human rights cause is quite unique. Instead of grassroot groups or NGOs, the main force of human rights in other parts of the world, it is mainly propelled by the official government. It focuses on social and economic rights, emphasizing on the validity of the human rights. Unlike other developing countries that just absorb the international version of human rights as UDHR or other important documents, China develops its own understanding of human rights and incorporate human rights successfully in to its socialism ideology by positioning individual rights and collective rights equal. Instead of completely abandoning the collective rights, China reconciles them. Its practical version of human rights continues into 21st century, and develops as "The well-being of people is the most important human rights". The Chinese human right movement acts on a macro scope of country and government, but focus its content on the practical way of changing individual lives, and the subject of human rights movement is all the Chinese citizens instead of the particular group like the victims of previous state terrorism.

2.2. Human Rights in Latin America in Late 20th Century

The human rights movements in Latin America in the late 20th century occurred in the same period with the rise of international human rights. As the Amnesty International and other NGOs prospered, they paid much attention to the military dictatorship and the violation of human rights in Latin America. The human rights movements in Latin America are representative of the international human rights efforts since 1970s, where many countries, like Argentina in 1976-1983 by Jorge Rafael Videla Redondo, Chile in 1973-1990 by Augusto Pinochet, Uruguay in 1973-1985 by Juan Maria Bordaberry, experience the military dictatorship and suppressive acts against human rights. To ensure their position, dictators use the strategy “disappear” for political crime, secretly exiling, imprisoning, or even killing people they thought threaten the safety of their position, while many of the disappeared people are just innocent workers or citizens [9]. Like the cultural revolution, those countries were experiencing state terrorism. The civil rights are completely disrespected, and people live in the emotion of horror and chaotic. Human rights movements appear in the dictatorship era, aiming to support the victims of the physical torture and other human rights violations. After the end of the dictatorship and the restoration of democracy, those human rights movements continue to preserve memory of the victims and restore truth and justice, arguing for the human rights of the citizens. The human rights movements there are quite different from China, showing two different ways of understanding human rights.

Basically, the human rights movements in Latin America are closer to typical ones, focusing on particular groups and argue for the civil and political rights. Initiated by international forces as well as domestic grassroots groups and organizations, the human rights movement in Latin America aims to free people from the political torture and protect their rights as a citizen. They are relatively micro in scope, focusing on eliminating the horrible shadow of previous state terrorism. The subjects for the action of those movements are mainly individuals damaged by the previous age. Such characteristics make the human rights movement in the Latin America primarily focus on civil and political rights.

In this part, I will discuss the human rights movements in Chile as a representative case for the Latin American human rights movements. Among the Latin American countries, Chile experiences longest period of dictatorship for 17 years. The suppressive acts against human rights are also strong in Chile, with the help of the institution DINA and the support of the country’s law [10]. The situation of Chilean human rights also astonishes the international society, getting the attention of Amnesty International and other NGOs [11]. Inside the Chile, the movements against the violations are also strong and organized, with church taking the leading role as a powerful organization [12]. All such characteristics make the Chilean human rights movements less conservative and broader in scope compared with its neighbors. By discussing the Chilean case, I will show the typical characteristics of Latin American human right and its difference from Chinese renquan.

2.2.1. Human Rights Movements in Chile

Unlike human rights movements in China, which is largely ignored or considered insignificant by scholars, the human rights violations and movement in Chile were discussed much by the scholars. Professor Alexandra Huneus explores Chile’s legal actions after the dictatorship in support of the human rights cause, showing the change in their attitude in the post-dictatorship era [13]. Elizabeth Lira and Jorge Correa respectively discuss the Chilean seeking of truth and justice against human rights violations during and after the Pinochet dictatorship [14,15]. In this part, I will use a new source apart from theirs: the report written by Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation in 1990 after the restoration of democracy, which comprehensively shows the Chilean human rights efforts in different sectors of the society during the age of dictatorship. Different from many of its

neighbors, Chile is involved into the cold-war ideological conflict between capitalism and socialism more. In the 1970s, its political inclination was increasingly polarized, causing serious domestic conflicts. Accompanied by the severe economic crisis in the 1970s, Chile, confirmed democracy in its 1925 constitution, turned into military dictatorship, with the dictator Augusto Pinochet in 1973 published the Decree Law 77 to enforce the dictatorship. During the period of dictatorship, Chile experience significant violations of human rights, including disappearance after arrests, executions, use of undue force, abuse of power, torture conducted by government agents as well as private citizens for political reasons. During the 1974-1977 period, the political repressions were mainly conducted by National Intelligence Directorate (DINA). After the disintegrate of such organizations in 1977, the political repression continues, but less fierce than before. In 1990, Chile finally restore democracy as Patricio Aylwin was elected as the president. After the restoration of democracy, the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation was formed to conclude the previous violations of human rights during the 1973-1990. In 1990, after a long period of investigation, the commission write a thousand-page report about past violation of human rights for the recovery of truth and justice, aiming to make a conclusion on them and prevent further violations, expressing the final respect of human rights, as its opening paragraph states:

Each person is endowed with numerous rights. All these rights are connected to numerous culturally acknowledged values, and especially those of life, freedom, and justice. The core of our own work, however, had to be an examination of how the most fundamental value – that of life – had been violated. The report comprehensively concludes the past Chilean violations of human rights and the resistance acts of such violations. In this part, I will analyze that long report to show that the Chilean human rights movements during the dictatorship are propelled by non-government domestic and international forces and mainly focused on political and civil rights. Also, the scope of such movements is relatively limited, focusing on the particular group of victims in the violation.

After the initiation of dictatorship, the main sector of the Chilean society was suppressed, afraid of the potential outcome of mentioning human rights. The catholic churches act as the main propeller of the human rights since many priests and bishops were arrested by the state in official, founding organizations and seeking legal support to combat such violations. In 1973, the catholic church creates the Committee for Cooperation for Peace, claiming to protect human rights throughout the country. The Committee was an ecumenical body in which the Catholic Church, the Evangelical Lutheran churches in Chile, Methodist, Methodist Pentecostal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Orthodox and the Chief Rabbi of the Israelite Community of Chile participated, whose mission was to provide assistance legal and social assistance to the victims of the very serious human rights violations that occurred as a result of the Military Coup of September 11, 1973

Though the committee was created by churches and focus more on saving the people related to it, it acts as the solemn actor of human rights, providing legal, economic, technical and spiritual assistance to the victims in the first several months of the dictatorship. Though other human rights propellers also appear, like the labor unions, professional associations or democratic political parties, due to the creation of suppressive organization DINA in 1974, the voice and acts of them are largely restricted. The main propelling force of human rights movements was still the church, claiming to “protect the necessary freedom for a citizen and a man”. From 1974-1977, the churches conduct human rights cause in two ways. 1. Teaching activity on the moral ground, calling on the government to “grant a generous amnesty to those political prisoners who might be eligible for one because there is not enough evidence against them, because they have already been held in jail for a long time without being brought to trial.”, conducted by Permanent Committee of the bishops. 2. Protection of the victims, first conducted by Committee for Cooperation for Peace. After the committee’s disband in 1975, Vicariate of Solidarity takes over the role. The acts of the churches, though initiated by the

particular need of saving those priests, extends to saving the tortured in the human rights violations and calls for political freedom and rights.

After the disband of suppressive DINA in 1977, other sectors of the society also take actions. There are some violent acts aiming to overthrow the origin of oppress and bring freedom, like the 1979 attack on the Agas supermarket. Such acts simultaneously disrespect the human rights of other people, especially the innocent people injured or killed in their actions. Non-violent acts also exist, like several attempts to create the specific community of the victims in the state terrorism. However, the large sector of the society remains indifferent, either lack sufficient understanding of the situation or deceived by the propaganda of government. When the Vicariate of Solidarity started a vote about ending the physical torture and human rights violations, the vote is 43% to 57%, with less than half of the population support such action. The human rights movements fail to reach a broader audience

The international force also plays some role in the Chilean human rights. In 1974, United Nations Commission on Human Rights make an official condemn to Chile's human rights violations, urging it to stop such repressive actions. The Amnesty International, having the principle of "save the world, one individual a time", also send and write reports about the human right situation in Chile. In 1977, it writes a report about the disappearance of people, also including the specific names of the victims. In the report, it tells the ways to support those victims, including the legal support of stopping such action and emotional support to their relatives and friends, and the ultimate goal of publishing such report is to "draw attention to the cases of people known to have been arrested by the Chilean intelligence service. The focus of the Amnesty International is also to save the particular groups of victims from human rights violations. It uses the serious violation of political human rights, like freedom or free of torture, as its justification for intervening in the situation. The international force of propelling human rights movements also emphasizes on political and civil rights.

In conclusion, the major domestic acting force in the Chilean human rights movements is the catholic churches. At first only aiming to protect the rights of bishops and priests, the churches take actions to argue for the political rights of freedom and democracy and support the victims of such violations. Other domestic force as well as international NGOs also involved, but all their actions are targeted at helping the particular group of victims. The focus of the Chilean human rights movement is political and civil rights, and its scope are micro: the leading force is non-government organizations, and the subject for the movement is mainly the group of victims.

2.2.2. Latin American Human Rights

The Chilean human rights movement is a typical case in Latin America in 1970s and 1980s, when many countries experience dictatorship and the final restoration of democracy. Initiated by the will to resist the severe violations of human rights during the dictatorship or to recover the truth and justice after the restoration of democracy, the human rights movements focus on particular groups of victims in the state terrorism. To achieve their purpose of combatting previous human rights violations during the dictatorship, primarily physical torture or disappearance, Chilean human rights movements focused on the civil and political rights of the citizens. Since the official government is experiencing dictatorship, such efforts are mainly conducted by domestic non-government forces, primarily catholic churches, and international NGOs.

In the late 20th century, the Latin America is experiencing dictatorship and the third wave of democratization. After the restoration of democracy in many countries, similar human rights movements seeking truth and justice with those in Chile occur in other countries as well. In Argentina, NGOs initiated the state memorial project after the dictatorship by preserving the old detention centers as monument or special sites [16], aiming to remember the name of previous disappeared people and provide support to the relatives of the previous victims. In Uruguay, the human rights movements mainly take the form of resisting the Expiry Law in 1986 [17], which protect the previous

government officials who are responsible for physical torture and human rights violations from legal punishment. Those micro human rights movements in Latin America, initiated by non-government forces and focused on protecting victims and restoring truth and justice, emphasize on political human rights.

2.3. The Influence of Human Rights Movements

When the concept of human rights (the rights of man) first appears during the enlightenment age, its goal is to free people from the suppressive monarchy. The goal of all the human rights, no matter political, civil, economic or social ones, is to positively change the individual lives. In this way, the human rights movements in China and Latin America both change the individual lives significantly. The basic goal for human rights is to protect individual from life threat. In this way, the human rights movements in China and Latin America all achieve the purpose. In China, the human rights cause initiated by the 1978 reform saved people from potential torture. However, most victims of state terrorism are intellectuals, which is a small group in China in that age. Instead of the danger of physical torture, the Chinese people are threatened more by the lack of food and resources cause by the ongoing economic downturn. In Latin America, the situation is different. When many countries experience military dictatorships, people were in danger of torture or even disappearance. During the dictatorship, the human rights movements to some extent protect the victims and limit the government's acts. In the post-dictatorship era, those human rights movements end the violation of human rights and recover truth and justice by supporting and memorizing the victims of previous human rights violations. The human rights movements prevent the further outspoken state terror and reorient the civil life to the right track, free from the danger of life. The Latin American human rights movements are more influential in this way, as the movements focus on the suffering of individual, and the state terrorism in Latin America reaches broader social groups than in China. It solves the most serious threat to the individuals.

However, such prevention of outspoken state terror is just a part of the impact. When the monarchy and slavery are abolished for more than a hundred years, the dignity of people and protection from unjust torture or mistreatment is not the only goal of human rights. As the UDHR first include the social and economic rights, and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was published by the United Nation in 1966, the human rights also incorporate the improve of individual life standard. In this way of judging, the Chinese human rights movement are more effective of driving improvement of individual life standard. From 1978-2000, accompanied by the dramatic growth of Chinese economy, the average annual disposable income for Chinese people increase from 343 to 6280 (in Chinese RMB), the Engel's Coefficient decreases from 65 percent to 45 percent, and the urbanization rate increase from about 20 percent to 40 percent, providing more working opportunities to citizens. Such changes mean Chinese citizens can obtain greater variety of products or service and have more excess money to spend, causing the average lifespan of Chinese citizens increase by almost 5 years. The average years of education for Chinese citizens also increase by two years. With Chinese human rights movements' focus on economy and social rights, the life-standard of people truly is truly improved. Overall, the human rights movements in China and Latin America are respectively more influential in different ways. Latin American movements free people from the ongoing physical torture and threaten for subsistence, while the Chinese ones are more influential in improving people's quality of life.

3. Conclusion

The human rights movements in China and Latin America in the late 20th century both shoulder the responsibility of recovering truth and justice after previous state terrorism. However, they develop

into different paths. The Latin American human rights movements are micro in scope, hoping to seek truth and justice by helping the victims of human rights violation. The focus of the movements is the particular group of victims instead of every citizen. They use human rights as their slogans, calling on the respect of citizens' political and civil rights, and the main backup force for such movements are non-government ones. Compared with Latin American ones, the Chinese human rights movement is macro in scope. Though the official corrects the previous mistake and restoring the truth, the victims of previous state terror is never the main focus of Chinese human rights cause. They emphasize on broad part, believing the best way of restoring truth and justice is to improve the real life-standard of people. It internalizes the human rights, putting equal emphasis on individual and collective rights, making every Chinese citizen the subjects of the movement. The Chinese movements focus on the economic and social rights of the citizens and is mainly initiated by the government. The Latin American movements free the citizens from the ongoing threaten of life, while the Chinese movements improve the life quality of the citizens. In the modern age, to really change the individual's lives, the human rights movements may need to achieve both, especially in the global south. That is, the political and economic rights are both important as promoting human rights, and the government may need to intervene in the process and cooperate with NGOs to orient the movements into the right direction. It means that to really make a change to the human rights situation in the less developed areas, where people are facing the danger of both threaten to life and suffering due to lack of resources, the modern human rights movements may need to take the advantage of both human rights movements.

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