

Organized Section on Human Rights

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Message from the President

[Michael Goodhart]

Greetings! I will keep my remarks brief, as we will soon have the chance to meet in person to discuss the affairs of the section and to catch up with friends and colleagues at our business meeting in conjunction with the APSA Annual Meeting in Washington, DC. **Our section business meeting will be held in the Calvert Room of the Omni Shoreham hotel on Thursday 1 September at 6pm, to be followed at 7pm by the section reception in the Diplomat room on the same floor.** Please mark your calendars.

First, as a reminder, elections for the offices of Vice-President Elect and Treasurer will be held at the business meeting; see the Secretary's Report for brief bios of the candidates nominated thus far. Nominations are still open, and should be sent directly to me at goodhart@pitt.edu and to the secretary, Rhonda Callaway, at rlcgsm@rit.edu.

Second, at the business meeting we will also vote on proposed changes to the section's by-laws (the proposed revised text is again included as part of this newsletter). As you recall, the reasons for this change are to bring our bylaws into conformity with the requirements mandated by APSA's procedures for preparing the program for the annual meetings and to correct small errors and inconsistencies in the prior version.

Third, I am pleased to announce that our section website has migrated to its new home and can now be found at <http://apsanet.org/humanrights/>. There will be a redirect notice in effect for the remainder of our contract with our current provider, but please update your links and bookmarks now. Thanks especially to

Muhammad Faridi for his efforts in making this transition happen.

Fourth, this edition of the newsletter introduces a new feature: Spotlight on Human Rights. This section is designed to highlight some event, project, or development in the field of human rights that might be of general interest to members of the section. In the first installment, Professor Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann describes her new website on political apologies and reparations. Members with ideas for the Spotlight feature should contact a steering committee member.

Finally, I want to remind you all of how important it is that our panels be well attended. I know many of you are quite busy at APSA, but I urge you to attend as many of the section's sponsored panels as possible. While room locations are not yet available (consult the final program), a complete listing of section panels is included as part of the Vice President's Report.

I have been fortunate to work with an excellent steering committee, many of whom will continue next year, and with many members who have contributed to building our section and securing its future. In conclusion, let me take this opportunity to thank you all for giving me the chance to serve as President of the section this year and to wish next year's team much luck and success.

Section Best Book and Best Dissertation Award Winners Named

The section's best dissertation and best book committees have selected winners for this year's awards.

The **Best Book Award** goes to Julie Mertus for *Bait and Switch: Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2004). The committee's citation follows:

Julie Mertus' study offers a thought-provoking analysis of the differences

between the rhetoric and practice of human rights in U.S. foreign policy. Anchored in a theoretical framework shaped by the solidarist variant of the international society school and constructivism, and drawing extensively on interviews and survey work, Mertus skillfully captures the successes and failures of the human rights discourse during the post-cold war presidencies. She disaggregates the United States into three sets of actors around which the book is organized: U.S. civilian policymakers, U.S. military and U.S.-based NGOs. The author then tests the extent to which the identities and interests of different actors affect policy outcomes. Among the book's many strengths is its discussion of the role of civil society in shaping human rights and foreign policy. In this context, the focus on issues relating to children's rights, tobacco control (health rights), and disability rights is highly instructive. What emerges is a mixed record: human rights advocates have been fairly effective in framing policy issues in human rights terms, but this success is tempered by the inability to transform human rights talk into consistent human rights behavior in these critical issue areas. In a short but provocative conclusion, Mertus calls upon advocates to adopt a more constituency-oriented approach to the promotion of human rights norms.

Mertus' insightful scholarly analysis, combined with her passionate commitment to the cause of human rights, render *Bait and Switch* the most comprehensive, theoretically informed, and methodologically systematic work to date on this subject. It is a must read for all interested in exploring the issue of the global protection of human rights. In recognition of this achievement, the Human Rights Section of the American Political Science Association is both pleased and honored to select *Bait and Switch* as the 2004 Best Book in Human Rights.

The **Best Dissertation Award** goes to Dr. Leslie Wirpsa. The committee's citation follows:

The Best Dissertation Award Committee of the APSA Organized Section on Human Rights selected Dr. Leslie Wirpsa's dissertation as the winner of the year 2005.

Dr. Wirpsa carried out her dissertation research under the supervision of Professor J. Ann Tickner, at the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California. Her dissertation, entitled *Oil Exploitation and Indigenous Rights: Global Regime Network Conflict in the Andes*, examines the conflict between Occidental Petroleum and the U'wa indigenous peoples of Columbia. The study of this small indigenous community's ability to work with international human rights and environmental rights groups and successfully challenge the Occidental Petroleum and the Columbian government -- which supported the multinational corporation's drilling of U'wa lands -- addresses the issues of state sovereignty, neo-liberalism, and conflicting norms. Most important, it provides insight to the establishment of human rights alliances and networks and presents findings that challenge the international relations regime theory.

The winners will be honored at the upcoming section reception, following our annual business meeting. Please join me in thanking those who served on these committees for their contribution to the section.

Book Award Committee: George Andreopoulos (chair), Sonia Cardenas, Mahmood Monshipouri.

Dissertation Award Committee: Zehra Arat (chair), Bethany Barratt, Michael Forman.

Vice President's Report: Human Rights Panels at APSA 2005

[Mark Gibney]

The section has organized the following panels for the upcoming annual meeting. You can also view the panels online at

<http://www.apsanet.org/mtgs/program/divisions.cfm>; our Division number is 45.

45-1 Justice Within and Between States (Co-sponsored with 21-3)

Date: Friday, Sep 2, 8:00 AM

Chair: Gary Bass, Princeton University

Contrition, Backlash, and International Reconciliation

Jennifer M. Lind, University of Pennsylvania

The Evolution of the Accountability Norm

Leslie Vinjamuri, Georgetown University

Official Apologies in Domestic Politics: Do They Matter?

Melissa Nobles, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Global Trends in Transitional Justice

Kathryn Sikkink, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Carrie Booth Walling, University of Minnesota

Why Bad States Do Good Things (and Why It May Not Matter): The Rhetoric of Human Rights Law

Emilie Marie Hafner-Burton, Oxford University, Nuffield College

Kiyoteru Tsutsui, SUNY, Stonybrook

Discussant: Allan C. Stam, Dartmouth College

45-2 Courts and Human Rights

Date: Thursday, Sep 1, 10:15 AM

Chair: Eric K. Leonard, Shenandoah University

International Courts and Human Rights: The Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the Struggle for Justice in the Americas

Jeffrey Davis, University of Maryland, Baltimore

Prosecuting Politics: International and Domestic Courts in the Enforcement of International Human Rights Law

Rachel Bowen, Georgetown University

Tanja Gertz Flanagan, Georgetown University

Is Judicial Review a Likely Tool to Curb Human Rights Abuse? An Empirical Assessment of the U.S. Supreme Court's Exercise of this Power Over Two Centuries
Linda Camp Keith, Collin College

Incorporating the Bangalore Principles of Judicial Conduct into Domestic Law: A Case Study in Comparative Judicial Ethics
Alison Dundes Renteln, University of Southern California
Madhu Messenger, American Bar Association, Asia Law Initiative

Funding Institutions of Human Rights: Do International Tribunals Provide Good Value?
Steven D. Roper, Eastern Illinois University
Lilian A. Barria, Eastern Illinois University

Discussant: Eric K. Leonard, Shenendoah University

45-3 Globalization and Human Rights
Date: Thursday, Sep 1, 2:00 PM

Chair: Mahmood Monshipouri, Quinnipiac University

Defining Human Rights in Economic Terms: The Role of the IMF and the World Bank in Analyzing the Effects of Globalization on Human Rights.
Pamela E. Blackmon, Oklahoma State University

Harsh Medicine: Structural Adjustment and Economic Human Rights
David L. Cingranelli, SUNY, Binghamton
Mohammed Rodwan Abouharb, SUNY, Binghamton

Transnational Corporations, Economic Development and Human Rights: On the Importance of Assets and Institutions
Bjørn Letnes, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Of Rights and Happiness: the Impact of Economic Globalization on Women in Developing Countries
Ifeoma Mary Okwuje, University of Michigan
Deniz Erkmen, University of Michigan

Stakeholder Theories of Corporate Governance, Corporate Social

Responsibility and Multilateral Human Rights Regimes: Do They Advance Accountability in the Promotion and Development of Human Rights Norms, Laws and Practices?
Edward Weisband, Virginia Tech

Discussant: Mahmood Monshipouri, Quinnipiac University

45-4 Human Rights and Terrorism
Date: Saturday, Sep 3, 10:15 AM

Chair: Micheline Ishay, University of Denver

Terrorism and Civil Liberties in the U.S.
Michael Elliot Freeman, Naval Postgraduate School

Defending Human Rights in the Age of Terror
Todd Landman, University of Essex

Prisoners of War, Enemy Combatants, and the Global War on Terror: Law and Policy for the United States Military
Robert E. Williams, Pepperdine University

Discussant: Micheline Ishay, University of Denver

45-5 NGOs and Human Rights
Date: Thursday, Sep 1, 8:00 AM

Chair: Claudia Dahlerus, Albion College

Humanitarian Coercion and Non-State Actors: Assessing the Strategic Dimensions of Human Rights in the Kosovo War
Steven C. Roach, University of Colorado, Boulder

Rights on the Rise: International Mobilization for New Human Rights
Clifford A. Bob, Duquesne University

International Agenda-Setting in World Politics: Issue Emergence and Non-Emergence Around Children and Armed Conflict
R. Charli Carpenter, University of Pittsburgh

Promoting Democracy and Human Rights: The Role of Transgovernmental Networks
Noha Shawki, Indiana University

Discussant: Claudia Dahlerus, Albion College

45-6 Human Rights in Africa

Date: Sunday, Sep 4, 8:00 AM

Chair: Julie Mertus, American University

Democracy and Human Rights Interface in Africa: The Case of Nigeria and its Leadership

Mark Okechukwu Ajuogu, Federal University Technology, Owerri
Joseph Ugochukwu Ajuogu

The Spectrum of Human Security in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Comparative Analysis

Rhonda L. Callaway, Rochester Institute of Technology
Julie Harrelson-Stephens, Stephen F. Austin State University

International Norms and the End of Apartheid in South Africa

Eliot Dickinson, Hope College

The Politicized Human Rights Dilemma in Africa

Henry F. Carey, Georgia State University

Discussant: Julie Mertus, American University

45-7 Ethnoreligious Conflict and Its Consequences (Co-sponsored with 21-22)

Date: Saturday, Sep 3, 4:15 PM

Chair: Manus I. Midlarsky, Rutgers University, New Brunswick

Killing the Rainbow: Ethnic Challenges, State Repression and Political Homogenization

Christian Davenport, University of Maryland, College Park
David A. Armstrong, University of Maryland, College Park

Emotions in the Onset and Consequences of Genocide

Manus I. Midlarsky, Rutgers University, New Brunswick
Elizabeth R. Midlarsky, Teachers College, Columbia University

Is War Over?: Evidence from Africa
Scott Straus, University of Wisconsin

Are Ethnoreligious Conflicts More Bloody?: An Analysis of the Civilian Consequences of War

Benjamin A Valentino, Dartmouth College

Discussant: Roy Licklider, Rutgers University, New Brunswick

T-19 Theme Panel: Balancing Human Rights and National Security in the Age of Terror (Co-sponsored with 45-8)

Date: Friday, Sep 2, 2:00 PM

*This panel will meet in the Empire room at the Omni Shoreham hotel.

Chair: Michael E. Goodhart, University of Pittsburgh

Panelists:

Timothy Lynch, The Cato Institute
Paul Rosenzweig, The Heritage Foundation
Gayle Smith, Center for American Progress

Discussant: Amitai Etzioni, George Washington University

Secretary's Report: Section Elections

[Rhonda L. Callaway]

The Human Rights Section of APSA will hold elections this fall for the positions of Vice-President Elect and Treasurer. The following individuals have been nominated for each office:

Vice-President Elect: Julie Mertus

Treasurer: Julie Harrelson-Stephens
Susanna D. Wing

Brief biographies of the candidates follow:

Dr. Julie Mertus is an Associate Professor and Co-Director of the MA program in Ethics, Peace and Global Affairs. A graduate

of Yale Law School, her work focuses on ethno-national conflict, human rights, refugee and humanitarian law and policy, gender and conflict and post-war transitions. Her geographic expertise is in Central and Eastern Europe, with a specialty on the former Yugoslavia, but she has also participated in human rights projects in such diverse places as Vietnam, Brazil, China and South Africa. Her prior appointments include: Senior Fellow, U.S. Institute of Peace; Human Rights Fellow, Harvard Law School; Writing Fellow, MacArthur Foundation, Fulbright Fellow (Romania), and Counsel, Human Rights Watch.

As a scholar, Professor Mertus has published widely. Her work appears in leading multidisciplinary journals such as *Ethics and International Affairs*, *Global Governance*, *International Studies Perspectives*, *International Feminist Journal of Politics* and the *Harvard International Review*. Her books include: *The United Nations and Human Rights* (Routledge, 2005) and *Bait and Switch: Human Rights and American Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2004) among others. As a practitioner, Professor Mertus has over fifteen years experience in the human rights field, as a field researcher, lawyer, advocate, political analyst and trainer. As an educator, Professor Mertus has been recognized for her innovative course designs and interactive teaching. She has written curriculum for several human rights courses and her own book on teaching women's human rights has been translated and used in Albanian, Arabic, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Thai and Ukrainian. In 2003 she received the American University Faculty Award for Outstanding Curriculum Development, and in 2002 the American University Faculty Award for Outstanding Scholarship and Professional Service. In 2005, Professor Mertus won the School of International Service award for Scholar/Teacher of the Year.

Dr. Julie Harrelson-Stephens received her Ph.D. in December 2003 and is currently an Assistant Professor in political science at Stephen F. Austin State University. She teaches courses in international politics, human rights, international political economy and American foreign policy. Her research focuses on the effects of globalization forces

on the realization of human rights around the globe. She has published work on how trade effects the realization of human rights. More recently she has been working on the relationship between state repression and the formation of terrorist organizations.

Dr. Susanna D. Wing is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Haverford College. She received her PhD from University of California, Los Angeles in 2000 and was a Chateaubriand Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre d'Étude d'Afrique Noire in Bordeaux France in 2000-2001. Her research interests include democracy and women's rights in Africa. She is particularly interested in the dynamics of constitutionalism and legal pluralism in democratizing states and the implications for citizen's rights. Her work has appeared in the journal *Democratization* and various edited volumes.

Treasurer's Report

[Todd Landman]

The section remains in solid financial shape, as this year's annual meeting expenditures are significantly lower than those of previous years. Our 2005 year-end balance is \$2,809.32, though this does not reflect anticipated expenditures for the section's reception and 2005 awards. The section currently has 410 members; this marks a slight improvement over the past year, with our averages now solidly above 400. Still, growth in membership helps our finances and our ability to program more panels at the annual meeting. Please encourage colleagues in the field to join the section when they renew their annual membership.

Spotlight on Human Rights

Website on Political Apologies and Reparations

<http://political-apologies.wlu.ca>

By Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann

As part of my duties as Canada Research Chair in Global Studies and Political Science at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Canada, I have recently established a website on Political Apologies and Reparations. The website infrastructure was financed by the Canada Foundation for Innovation, and the website is located on the server of Wilfrid Laurier University. Ongoing research on content for the website is financed by the Canada Research Chair. This is a publicly accessible website that is free of charge, and which I created with the assistance of several other people. Wendy Webb is project administrator, and Michael Lisetto-Smith is senior research assistant and technical advisor. Other research assistants are Ryan Chapman, Greg Eady, and James Gaede. We hope that the website will be useful to academics, students, the press, policy makers and the wider public. The focus is on political apologies, which we define broadly as apologies by a political or social entity (governments, religious organizations, corporations or other bodies) for events that have harmed identifiable groups. We hope to enlarge this focus in the future to include documents on reparations.

We have so far created archival descriptions of about 250 documents, and as far as possible have also included links to the documents themselves. More documents will be added as research continues. We encourage you and your students to use this website. Also, if you are looking for a document and can't find it on our website, please contact us at political-apologies@wlu.ca. If you know of or have a copy of a document that you think we should include, please contact us and if possible, provide an electronic copy of the document.

Finally, we will soon be establishing a *working paper series* on political apologies and reparations, and invite submissions for this series as of January 1, 2006.

Announcements

- The University of Connecticut will host a conference on "Economic Rights: Conceptual, Measurement, and Policy Issues" this fall (October 27-29, 2005) and invites your participation. Full information and registration form are available online: www.humanrights.uconn.edu
- If you are interested in joining the section discussion forum, please send an email to apsahumanrights@yahoo.com. Please include your name, contact information, profession or affiliation in that email. You will then receive a confirmation and will be added to the discussion forum in a few days. You must also comply with the discussion forum rules set by Antigona Kukic and Mohammad Faridi (the organizers of this forum). We hope that you will take part in what we expect will be an informative and incisive dialogue.

Proposed Section Bylaws – April 2005

Article 1. Membership and Dues

1. The Section comprises all members of the American Political Science Association who elect membership in the Section and pay the Section's membership dues.

2. The Section Steering Committee sets Section membership dues.

3. Non-members are free to attend Section events and subscribe to Section

publications. However, because Section events and services are subsidized by Section dues, non-members may be asked to pay higher attendance and subscription fees than Section members.

Article 2. Officers and Steering Committee

1. Ultimate responsibility for the Section rests with its members. The Section's officers and Steering Committee act for the Section's members on a day-to-day basis.

2. The elective officers of the Section are the President, the Vice President, the Vice President-Elect, the Treasurer, and the Secretary. The Steering Committee comprises the elective officers, three elected members at-large, and the immediate past President. The Steering Committee conducts business between meetings of the Section; its members may discuss and resolve issues in person or using any means of communication on which they may agree by majority vote.

3. The members of the Section, voting by secret ballot, elect the Vice President-Elect, the Treasurer, the Secretary, and the at-large members of the Steering Committee. The President-Elect, Vice President, Vice President-Elect, and the immediate past President all serve one-year terms on the Steering Committee. All of the other elected officers and members-at-large of the Steering Committee serve two-year terms. The Vice President-Elect serves in that capacity for one year; s/he then becomes Vice President. After another one year term as Vice President, s/he becomes President for a one year term.

4. The members of the Section may reelect officers and Steering Committee members to their previous posts or to new posts. However, no person who has served as Vice President-Elect may serve as Vice-President-Elect until two years after completing her or his most recent term on the Steering Committee and no member of the Steering Committee can serve on the Committee, in any capacity, for more than six consecutive years.

5. The terms of officers formally begin on the day immediately following the conclusion

of the APSA meeting at which they were elected.

6. The President:

- a. coordinates the activities of the Section;
- b. oversees the organization of the Section's annual meetings;
- c. distributes relevant information to the Section's members, reporting to them as needed on the Section's activities;
- d. facilitates appropriate relationships between the Section and groups with similar concerns;
- e. appoints *ad hoc* Section officers and the members of Section committees and task forces with the approval of the Steering Committee;
- f. designates appointive Section officers in accordance with rules approved by the members of the Section; *and*
- g. directs the selection of recipients for any honors or prizes awarded by the Section.

7. The Vice President:

- a. serves as program chair, in accordance with APSA regulations, for the Section's annual meeting; *and*
- b. acts in the President's place when the President is absent from an official Section event or a meeting of any Section committee of which the President is an *ex officio* member.

8. The Vice President-Elect:

- a. issues the Section's "call for papers" each year at an appropriate time in conjunction with the incoming APSA program committee and serves as the Section's representative on the program committee;
- b. assists the President in the preparation of the Section newsletter.

9. The Treasurer:

- a. oversees the financial affairs of the Section;
- b. disburses Section funds as necessary;
- c. oversees the arrangements for the Section's annual business meeting and reception (when appropriate);
- d. maintains the Section's financial and membership records;
- e. communicates regarding membership applications with the appropriate office of the American Political Science Association; *and*

f. reports annually in writing to the Section's members on the state of its finances.

10. The Secretary:

a. maintains the non-financial records of the Section, including minutes of the Section's meetings, and makes them available to the Section's members;

b. prepares ballots for elections and oversees the administration of elections; *and*

c. publicizes the Section's activities, honors, and awards.

Article 3. Business Meetings and Elections

1. Business Meetings

a. The Section holds a business meeting in conjunction with each annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

b. Any member may speak and vote at any Section meeting.

c. Any member may participate in the meeting of any Section committee. The time and place of any committee meeting that takes place in conjunction with the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association must be publicly announced to all Section members.

2. Elections

a. Section elections take place at each business meeting.

b. At least three months before each election, the Steering Committee notifies the members of the Section that it will take place and encourages them to serve as candidates.

c. Any member of the Section may be a candidate for elective Section office or at-large membership on the Steering Committee. A member may nominate her- or himself at any time before an election takes place. However, if, two months before an election is to take place, no member of the Section has expressed interest in serving as a candidate for a given elective office or if at least three members of the Section have not expressed interest in serving as candidates for at-large seats on the Steering Committee, the Steering Committee nominates additional candidates as necessary.

d. To be elected a candidate must be present during the election for the office. To be elected to an office, the candidate must

receive the largest number of votes cast for that office.

e. Immediately after the ballots in a given election have been counted, the Secretary publicly announces the winners and the vote totals for all candidates.

Article 4. Removal from Office

1. An elective officer or at-large member of the Steering Committee may be removed from office by a two-thirds vote of the Steering Committee.

2. If the President resigns or is removed from office, the Vice President serves out the remainder of the President's term before beginning her or his own term as President.

3. If any elective member of the Steering Committee other than the President resigns or is removed from office, the Steering Committee selects a replacement to fulfill the responsibilities of the office until the next business meetings and election. In the event that any elective member of the Steering Committee is removed during the first year of her/his two year term, the newly elected member will serve only until the conclusion of that full term.

Article 5. Amendment

1. Any member of the Section may propose an amendment of the bylaws

2. Proposed amendments must be posted on the Section website no fewer than two months prior to the business meeting at which they are to be considered.

3. Proposed amendments should be discussed and voted on during the business meetings. To be valid, an amendment must be approved by two-thirds of the members present at the business meeting.

* * *

If you have any questions, comments, or suggestions regarding these proposed bylaws, please contact any member of the Steering Committee. We will discuss and vote on these bylaws at our upcoming business meeting in Washington, DC.