

**The College of New Jersey**  
**School of Culture and Society**

**PHIL398/POLS391**

**Human Rights in International Relations**

**Dr. Marianna Sullivan**

**Dr. Morton Winston**

**Course Description**

At the end of WWII the international community established a set of institutions designed to prevent the scourge of world war from recurring in human history. Three important elements of this system for ensuring international peace were the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the economic and political leadership of a “benevolent hegemon” -- the United States of America. But tensions among these elements soon emerged.

The UN Charter was enacted upon the assumption that nation states were sovereign and should not meddle in each other’s internal affairs, and human rights were seen as matters of domestic concern. However, during the past fifty plus years, human rights have increasingly come to be seen as matters of international concern about which nations may, and sometimes should, attempt to influence the behavior of other nation states. The idea that national sovereignty is a shield against such scrutiny has all but dissolved, and on several occasions during the decade of the 1990s states or coalitions of states intervened in the affairs of other states at least in part for humanitarian reasons. At the same time, during the period of the Cold War (1949-1989), U.S. foreign policy became increasingly governed by a realist approach to international relations that construed U.S. national interests narrowly in terms of balance of power politics. While the US trumpeted the values of free markets, democracy, and human rights, it sometimes used its power to prop up authoritarian states whose anti-communistic postures were to its liking, often with disastrous results for human rights in those countries.

This constellation of factors has produced an extended debate over the question: “What is the proper role for human rights issues and considerations in the formulation and execution of foreign policy?” With the end of the Cold War and the emergence of economic globalization as a dominant trend in world affairs, scholars have expanded this debate to encompass the emerging roles of important type of non-state actors in international affairs. Increasing attention is now being paid to the roles of nongovernmental organizations, transnational corporations, and intergovernmental organizations in world affairs, and a new

model of the process of global governance is emerging, which, while not denying the importance of nation states, places increasing emphasis on the roles of non-state actors both at the subnational and the transnational levels.

This course will examine a range of issues related to the question of the role of human rights in international relations. The first unit of the course will consist in a rapid immersion in the idea of international human rights as it has emerged in the past half century in the form of international declarations and conventions accepted by the majority of the world's nations. The goal of this unit is to provide a detailed understanding of the nature of human rights as they are presently understood.

The second unit of the course will be devoted to an examination of several important cases in which human rights conditions in particular countries raised the question of humanitarian intervention: Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda and Kosovo. The goal of this unit is to add complexity and nuance to the consideration of the basic issue by taking a hard look at a range of actual cases that policy-makers had to grapple with during the decade of the 1990s.

In the third and concluding unit of the course we will turn our attention to the phenomenon of globalization, and examine the roles that social movements and nongovernmental organizations, transnational corporations and international economic organizations such as the WTO and World Bank, and finally, international terrorist networks, are now playing in shaping international affairs.

### **Required Texts and Readings**

Students taking this course for credit should expect to do approximately 80 pages of reading a week. Most of the required reading will be found in either of the two main course texts, or in the course pack that will be distributed shortly after the course begins. Additional readings will be placed on reserve in West Library, distributed as handouts, or accessed via the World Wide Web.

#### Main Course Texts:

David P. Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations [Cambridge, 2000].

Joel H. Rosenthal, ed. Ethics and International Affairs; A Reader 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. [Washington, D.C., 1999].

Course Pack. (available from instructors).

Subscription to World Press Review. (class discount).

Cases from Pew series [Georgetown Univ] and Teaching Human Rights Online [THRO] (available online)

Recommended Texts:

Richard A. Falk. *Human Rights Horizons: The Pursuit of Justice in a Globalizing World*. New York NY: Routledge, 2000.

Paul Gordon Lauren. *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Jessica Stern. *The Ultimate Terrorists*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Thomas G. Weiss and Cindy Collins. *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention: World Politics and the Dilemmas of Help*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1996.

**Course Requirements**

Students in this course will be evaluated by means of several types of assignments. In addition to midterm and final exams, students will be asked to participate in and submit group reports on a series of cases dealing with various dilemmas of involving human rights and international relations. Students will each be asked to make one presentation to the class on a recommended reading and to submit a short summary and précis. Students will also be asked to prepare a research paper of no more than 20 pages on a topic or issue related to the course material, with the approval of the instructors. The breakdown of each of these types of assignments as they will affect the final grade is as follows:

Mid term exam.....	15 %
Final exam.....	20%
Presentations on recommended books and articles.....	10%
Participation.....	10%
Research paper.....	25%
Team case report.....	20%

**Instructors**

This course will be team-taught by Dr. Marianna Sullivan, Professor of Political Science, and Dr. Morton Winston, Professor of Philosophy. Office hours and contact information for each instructor will be supplied in class.

## **Schedule of Readings/Discussions:**

N.B. Asterisks [\*] indicate required readings. Other listed readings are recommended.

### **January 21,24**

#### **Human Rights, Ethics, and International Relations**

\*Forsythe, "Introduction: Human Rights in International Relations." Chapter 1, pp 3-27.

\*Stanley Hoffman, "The Political Ethics of International Relations" In Rosenthal, pp. 28-49.

\*Universal Declaration of Human Rights [course packet]

Paul Gordon Lauren, "Proclaiming a Vision: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" [reserve],

Shestack, "The Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 20 (1998): 201-234 [reserve];

Richard A. Falk, "Theoretical Foundations of Human Rights." [reserve]

### **January 28,31**

#### **Development of International Human Rights**

\*Forsythe, "Establishing Human Rights Standards," Chapter 2, pp. 28-52.

\*Forsythe, "Global Application of Human Rights Norms," Chapter 3, pp. 55-83.

\*Jack Donnelly, "Post-Cold War Reflections on the Study of International Human Rights," in Rosenthal, pp. 242-270.

\*International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. (course pack)

\*International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. (course pack)

\*Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (course pack)

Paul Gordon Lauren, "Transforming Visions into Reality: Fifty Years of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" [reserve].

Henry Shue. "Security and Subsistence." In Winston. *The Philosophy of Human Rights*. pp. 152-171.

**Case I** Tom J. Farer *Human Rights and Foreign Policy: What the Kurds learned: A Drama in One Act* [Pew Case # 515].

**February 4, 7**

### **Constructing a Global Consensus for Human Rights**

\*Forsythe, "Regional Application of Human Rights Norms." Chapter 5, pp 110-128.

\*Frances V. Harbour, "Basic Moral Values: A Shared Core." In Rosenthal, pp. 103-123

\*Amartya Sen, "Human Rights and Asian Values." In Rosenthal, pp. 170-193.

\*European Declaration of Human Rights (course pack)

\*Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

\*Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

\*Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

Mark R. Amstutz, *International Ethics*, ch 4 [reserve] ;

Dalai Lama. "Human Rights and Universal Responsibility." [reserve]

Fernando Teson. "International Human Rights and Cultural Relativism." [reserve].

Plano/Riggs pp 326-345;

Kegley/Wittkopf pp 197-254

**February 11, 14**

### **Humanitarian Intervention: Somalia**

\*Michael J. Smith. "Humanitarian Intervention: An Overview of the Ethical Issues." In Rosenthal, pp. 271-295.

\*Tom Farer. "A Paradigm of Legitimate Intervention." [reserve]

Thomas G. Weiss and Cindy Collins. "Evolution of the Humanitarian Idea." [reserve].

**Film** “Blackhawk Down”

**Case II** Alberto Coll, *The Problems of Doing Good: Somalia as a Case Study in Humanitarian Intervention* [Pew Case #518].

Amstutz ch 6;

**February 18, 21**

### **Humanitarian Intervention: Bosnia**

\*Forsythe, “International Criminal Courts” Chapter 4, pp. 84-109.

\*Amir Pasic and Thomas G. Weiss, “The Politics of Rescue: Yugoslavia’s Wars and the Humanitarian Impulse.” In Rosenthal, pp. 296-333.

\*Commentaries on Pasic and Weiss by Natsios, Winston, Destexhe and Mapel. In Rosenthal, pp. 334-355.

Thomas G. Weiss. “Principles, Politics and Humanitarian Action” [reserve]

\*Martha Finnemore. “Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention.” [course pack]

**Case III** Steven Lamy, *The Dutch in Srebrenica: A Noble Mission Fails*. [Pew Case #241].

**February 25,28**

### **The Failure of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda**

\*Samantha Powers. “Bystanders to Genocide.” *The Atlantic Monthly*. September 2001. [course pack].

\*Romeo A. Dallaire. “The End of Innocence.” [course pack]

Kristen Renwick Monroe. “The Psychology of Genocide.” In Rosenthal.

Video: “Forsaken Cries: The Story of Rwanda.”

**Case IV** “Rape and Genocide in Rwanda: The ICTR’s Akayesu Verdict.” [THRO case, available online].

## **March 4,7 Humanitarian Intervention: Kosovo**

\*Charles William Maynes, et al “America’s Fading Commitment to the World” [course pack]

\*Morton Winston, Review of Noam Chomsky *The New Military Humanism* [handout]

Noam Chomsky, *The New Military Humanism*. [reserve]

Multicultural Lecture: Kerry Kennedy Cuomo. (March 6<sup>th</sup>).

*Mid-term Exam*

## **March 11, 14 Spring Break**

## **March 18, 21**

### **Globalization and Human Rights**

\*United Nations, General Assembly. “Globalization and Its Impact on the Full Enjoyment of All Human Rights.” 31 August 2000. [course packet].

Presentation on NIKE and Sweatshops in Indonesia (March 20<sup>th</sup>).

Film: “Globalization and Human Rights”

**Case V** Unocal: Slavery in Burma [available online].

## **March 25, 28**

### **Corporate Social Responsibility for Human Rights**

\*Forsythe, Chapter 8 “Transnational Corporations and Human Rights.” pp. 191-213.

\*Thomas Donaldson, “Moral Minimums for Multinationals.” In Rosenthal, pp. 455-480.

\*International Labor Organization Standards [course pack]

\*Convention on the Rights of the Child [course pack]

Garth Meinjes. “An International Human Rights Perspective on Corporate Codes.” [reserve].

Marina Ottaway. "Reluctant Missionaries." *Foreign Affairs*, July 2001 (course pack)

Edna Boachich & Richard P. Appelbaum, "Beyond the Label" [course pack]

Cynthia Enloe, "Bananas, Beaches and Bases" Chapter 7 [course pack].

### **April 1-4 Corporate Responsibility for the Environment**

\* Robert Goodin. "International Ethics and the Environmental Crisis." In Rosenthal, pp. 435-454.

\*The Earth Charter. (course pack)

\*The Ceres Principles (course pack)

\*Business Charter for Sustainable Development

Lisa Newton. "Who Speaks for the Trees? Considerations for Any Transnational Code." [reserve]

Robert Massie. "Effective Codes of Conduct: Lessons from the Sullivan and CERES Principles.

### **April 8, 11**

\*Morton Winston. "NGO Strategies for Promoting Corporate Social Responsibility" [course pack].

\*Apparel Industry Partnership Code of Conduct [course pack]

\*SA8000 [course pack]

\*UN Global Compact [online]

David M. Schilling. "Making Codes of Conduct Credible: The Role of Independent Monitoring" [reserve]

Conference: Corporate Codes: Are They Making a Difference? (April 11<sup>th</sup>)

### **April 15,18**

#### **NGOs and Activism**

\*Forsythe, Chapter 7. "Nongovernmental organizations and human rights," pp. 163-190.

\*William Korey. "Nongovernmental organizations and human rights" *Ethics and International Affairs*. Volume 13, 1999: 151-174.

Jessica T. Matthews. "Power Shift." *Foreign Affairs*. Jan/Feb (1997). [reserve]

Neil Stammers. "Social Movements and the Social Construction of Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly*. 21 (1999): 980-1008. [reserve].

Morton Winston. "Assessing the Effectiveness of International Human Rights NGOs: Amnesty International." [reserve]

Widney Brown. "Human Rights Watch: An Overview." [reserve]

Claude E. Welch Jr. "Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch: A Comparison." [reserve].

## **April 22, 25**

### **Terrorism**

\*Augustus Richard Norton. "Drawing the Line on Opprobrious Violence." In Rosenthal, pp. 356-369.

\*Jessica Stern. "Terrorism Today," and "Definitions," Chapters 1 and 2 from *The Ultimate Terrorists*. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). [reserve]

\*Kenneth J. Long, "Understanding and Teaching the Semantics of Terrorism: An Alternative Perspective," [course pack]

Donna M. Schlagheck, International Terrorism, Chapter 9 [reserve]

Martha Crenshaw ???

## **April 29, May 2**

### **Concluding Reflections: Who are the Real Realists?**

\*Forsythe, "The Politics of Liberalism in a Realist World" Chapter 9, pp. 217-237.

\*Benjamin R. Barber. "Beyond Jihad vs. McWorld: On Terrorism and the New Democratic Realism." *The Nation*. January 21, 2001: 11-18 [handout].

## **TERM PAPERS DUE**