

**PS119A: The Politics of Human Rights**  
**University of California, San Diego**  
**Fall Quarter 2008**

**Professor:** Maureen Feeley **Class Meetings:** Tu/Th, 2:00 – 3:20 p.m.  
**Office Hours:** Tues, 3:30 – 4:30; Fridays, 11 – 12; and by appt. **Lecture Hall:** Ledden Auditorium  
**Office:** SSB #321  
**E-mail:** [mfeeley@ucsd.edu](mailto:mfeeley@ucsd.edu)  
**Phone:** 858.246.0313

**Course Website:** <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~mfeeley/PoliticsOfHumanRights.htm>

**Teaching Assistants:**

Jeremy Horowitz: [jdhorowi@ucsd.edu](mailto:jdhorowi@ucsd.edu)  
Kai Ostwald: [kostwald@ucsd.edu](mailto:kostwald@ucsd.edu)  
Justin Gottschalk: [jgottchalk@ucsd.edu](mailto:jgottchalk@ucsd.edu)

**Course Description:**

What do we mean by “international human rights”? Are these rights universal? How are they typically justified? Under what conditions have human rights been most systematically violated since the drafting of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948? Who were the primary violators, and who were the victims? What types of international, state, and/or local institutions have been most effective in addressing these violations? What have been, or should have been, the respective roles of international institutions, states, citizens, NGOs and other non-state actors in promoting international human rights? Why should “we” (in the United States) care about promoting human rights protections abroad, or should we? What are the trade-offs between national sovereignty and international action in compelling respect for international human rights?

These are some of the central questions that we will explore over the course of the quarter through select case studies of human rights abuse and redress since the drafting of the UDHR. For each case study, we will consider the following questions: How, and why, did demands for human rights protection first emerge? Who were its primary advocates? What types of resources did these advocates mobilize in their defense? Were their claims valid? What was the response of state actors? What was the response of the international community? What types of institutions were activated or introduced at local, state, and/or international levels to address human rights violations? Were these institutions effective? Why, or why not? Should different actions have been taken to address abuses? Why, or why not?

As we consider these questions in light of empirical evidence from our cases, the course has several additional objectives: (1) to familiarize ourselves with central international human rights conventions, policies, and institutions; (2) to think critically about the impact of human rights claims in our world, and whether (and how) these claims are justified; and (3) to compare and critique patterns of abuse and redress over time, and across different regions of the world, and from this empirically-grounded perspective, critically evaluate contemporary human right debates.

**Course Requirements:**

**Summary:**

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|--|-----|
| (1) Midterm Exam: Tuesday, <b>21 Oct.</b> (week 4)                             | 25% |
| (2) Research Project:  |     |
| 1 paragraph (single-spaced) abstract due Tuesday, <b>14 Oct.</b> (week 3)      |     |
| Final paper (10 – 12 pgs., double-spaced) due Tuesday, <b>25 Nov.</b> (week 9) | 40% |
| (3) Final Exam: Thursday, <b>11 Dec.</b> : 3 – 6 pm                            | 35% |

**Exams:**

There will be two exams in this course: a midterm and a final. The midterm exam constitutes 25% of your final grade, and the final exam is worth 35%. Both exams will ask you to critically discuss and evaluate five concepts drawn from your readings and lectures. The final, but not the midterm, will also have an in-class essay question. A

study guide for your midterm will be posted to the course website after class on Thursday, 9 October, and a study guide for your final exam will be handed out in class on Tuesday, 2 December. The midterm is scheduled for **Tuesday, 21 October (week 4)**, and the final exam (cumulative) is **Thursday, 11 December from 3 to 6 p.m.** Please note that exams cannot be made up without *exceedingly* well-documented evidence of an emergency.

### **Research Projects:**

In addition to midterm and final exams, you are also required to write a short (10 – 12 pages, double-spaced) research paper focused on a human rights problem of your choice, which will count for 40% of your final grade. Depending on your personal interests and goals, you may choose to write either a more traditional research paper, or a policy paper. Regardless of which option you choose, your projects should focus on a *specific* human rights problem, and you should also consult a minimum of five relevant academic sources, in addition to assigned course readings. These sources can be books, articles from scholarly journals, or primary sources or materials from authoritative websites (see web links on the course research page for assistance). The general purpose of these papers is to allow you the opportunity for more in-depth analysis of a human rights problem or question of particular interest to you, and to further hone your critical thinking and writing skills in defending the human rights position(s) you put forth. A one-paragraph (single-spaced) abstract/proposal of your research project is due on Tuesday, **14 October** (week 3). Final papers are due no later than the beginning of class on Tuesday, **25 November** (week 9).

If you choose the research paper option, you may write either a more theoretically oriented critical inquiry focused on a human rights question or problem of your choice, or a more empirically oriented paper, in which you investigate a specific human rights problem in a case study of your choice. For either option, unless you have instructor permission to do otherwise, please focus on a *specific* human rights violation or question, and reference (either in a footnote or in the text) the specific international human rights covenant and article that you are investigating (i.e. ICCPR, Article 8.3 (a) “No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour”). This should help focus and ground your study in a specific problem, as well as better familiarize you with specific human rights conventions, one of the course goals. In addition, your paper should stake out a specific position on the human rights problem you choose, and defend this position through compelling argument and evidence.

If you choose the policy paper option, for the purposes of the assignment, you will become a human rights analyst employed by a human rights organization of your choice. This organization can either be a governmental organization (i.e. U.S. State Department), an intergovernmental organization (i.e. U.N. organization), or a nongovernmental organization (NGO), such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Human Rights First, etc. There are four basic parts to the policy brief: (1) statement of the international human rights law violated in the country of your choice, (2) a brief history of the rights abuse in your case study, (3) critical analysis of root cause(s) of this abuse; and (4) statement of your policy recommendations to address the problem, and your justification/reasons. In this case, also, your paper should persuade your target audience of your human rights policy position through compelling argument and evidence.

A more detailed guide to research projects will be handed out and discussed in class, and you will find research links on the course website to assist you. If there is sufficient student demand, I am also willing to organize a workshop to assist you with your projects. As mentioned above, a one-paragraph project proposal is due at the beginning of class on **Tuesday, 14 October** (week 4). Proposals should include: (1) a brief statement of the international human rights problem you will investigate, and why; and, if applicable, (2) a brief statement and justification of your case study. If you are writing a policy paper, please also include: (3) the human rights organization you will represent, and (4) your target organization(s). (As noted above, if you’d like, your paper can be an internal policy paper, designed to persuade members of your organization to take specific action on a human rights problem, and/or to change its current policy or course of action.) Final papers are due at the beginning of class on **Tuesday, 25 November** (week 9). Because of the size of the class, and the importance of maintaining standards of fairness for all students, late papers will be penalized one-third of a grade for each day that they are late. Please also note that e-mailed versions of papers cannot be accepted.

### **Class Participation:**

As an upper division political science course, you are expected to come to class meetings prepared to discuss central questions, puzzles and concerns that arise from course readings assigned for that day, or current events that are related to course topics. Ideally, approximately 20 minutes of most 80 minute class sessions will be devoted to questions and discussion. There are three main ways to participate in the course: (1) class discussion, (2) postings

on the course web-board (this will be linked to the course website), and (3) office hours. General participation in the course in these three ways will be used to “bump-up” any borderline final grades. For example, if you end up with an 89% in the class, but have made a conscious effort to participate in the above ways, your grade will be bumped-up to an “A-”. Please try to come to office hours at least *once* (preferably more!) to discuss your research projects, course readings, films, lectures, development related current events, etc. I look forward to getting to know and learning from each of you.

### Course Texts:

There are four texts available for purchase at the UCSD bookstore; however, only two of these are required reading for the course:

1. Debra L. DeLaet, *The Global Struggle for Human Rights: Universal Principles in World Politics*, Thomson-Wadsworth Press, 2006.
2. Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

We will read only excerpts from the remaining two texts; so, although they are both very good books, you do not need to purchase them. Book excerpts are available electronically through the course reader (discussed below).

3. Michael Ignatieff, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
4. Jack Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Boulder: Westview Press, 2007.

Please also feel free to purchase texts independently on-line or elsewhere. In addition, multiple copies of all texts have been placed on reserve at Geisel Library. If you choose not to purchase books, and experience any problems obtaining a reserve copy, please let me know.

All additional course readings (articles, etc.) are available via electronic reserves from Geisel Library. To access reserve items, go to <http://libraries.ucsd.edu/services/reserves.html> and follow the links. If you have any questions about reserves, instructions can be found at: <http://libraries.ucsd.edu/proxy>. You can also confirm your username by going to: <http://www-no.ucsd.edu/services/netusername.html>. If you encounter any problems, call or email network operations at 858.534.1857, or [userserv@ucsd.edu](mailto:userserv@ucsd.edu), and/or contact me.

### Course Schedule:

#### Week 0:

Thursday, 25 September: General Introduction to the Course

Readings:

None.

#### Week 1:

Tuesday, 30 September: What Do We Mean By Human Rights? Are Human Rights Universal?

Readings:

1. Michael Ignatieff, “Human Rights as Politics,” in *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 3 – 22. (20 pgs.)
2. DeLaet, *The Global Struggle for Human Rights*, Introduction, pp. 1 – 8 (8 pgs.); Chapter 1, “The Contested Meaning of Human Rights,” pp. 10 – 24 (15 pgs.); Chapter 3, “Are Human Rights Universal?” pp. 44 – 52; pp. 59 – 60 (10 pgs.).

Film Excerpts: *Human Rights in China: The Search for Common Ground*, 2004.

Discussion: Are international human rights universal?

Thursday, 2 October: The Development of International Human Rights Law: Does International Human Rights Law Matter?

Readings:

1. DeLaet, Chapter 2, “The Development of International Human Rights Law,” pp. 25 – 42 (18 pgs.).
2. Universal Declaration of Human Rights: <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>
3. Mary Ann Glendon, “Propter Honoris Respectum: Knowing the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights,” *Notre Dame Law Review*, v. 73, n. 5, May 1998, pp. 1153 (16 pgs.).

4. Charles Beitz, “What Human Rights Mean,” *Daedalus*, v. 132, Winter 2003, pg. 36 (11 pgs.).

## Week 2:

Tuesday, 7 October: Political and Civil Rights, and National Security: The Politics of Terrorism and Torture: Argentina, Chile and the United States

Readings:

1. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights  
[http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a\\_ccpr.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_ccpr.htm)
2. DeLaet, Chapter 4, “Civil and Political Rights in a World of Sovereign States,” pp. 62 – 66; 68 – 71; 75 – 76 (10 pgs.).
3. Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, Chapter 4, “The Domestic Politics of Human Rights: The Case of the Southern Cone,” pp. 59 – 73 (14 pgs.).
4. Janice T. Gibson and Mika Harito-Fatouros, “The Education of a Torturer,” *Psychology Today*, November 1986, pp. 50 – 58 (9 pgs.).
5. Begin reading Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Chapter 3, “Human Rights Advocacy Networks in Latin America,” *Activists Beyond Borders*, pp. 79 – 102 (23 pgs.).

Film Excerpts: *Las Madres*

Thursday, 9 October: State Repression and Resistance in Latin America, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Southern Cone

Readings:

1. Finish reading: Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Chapter 3, “Human Rights Advocacy Networks in Latin America,” *Activists Beyond Borders*, pp. 102 – 120 (18 pgs.)
2. Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, Chapter 6, “Human Rights and Foreign Policy: The United States and the Southern Cone,” pp. 126 – 128 (2 pgs.).
3. Lars Schoultz, “U. S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights Violations in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis of Foreign Aid Distributions,” *Comparative Politics*, v. 13, n. 2, January 1981, pp. 149-170 (19 pgs.).

Film Excerpts: *School of the Americas*

For further interest:

National Security Archives: Chile [www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/latin\\_america/chile.htm](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/latin_america/chile.htm)

See also documents and summary of the role of the U.S. in the

military coup: [www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/nsaebb8i.htm](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/nsaebb8i.htm)

Or the role of the CIA: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/20000919/index.html>

## Week 3:

Tuesday, 14 October: The Domestic Politics of Apartheid in South Africa

***Research project abstract/proposal due at beginning of class.***

Readings:

1. Peter Ackermann and Jack DuVall, Chapter 9, “South Africa: Campaign Against Apartheid,” in *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000, pp. 335 – 368 (34 pages).

Film Excerpts: The Politics of Apartheid in South Africa

Thursday, 16 October: International Politics of Apartheid in South Africa

Readings:

1. Donnelly, Chapter 4, “The Multilateral Politics of Human Rights: Apartheid,” pp. 90 - 94 (5 pgs.); Chapter 6, “Human Rights and Foreign Policy: U.S. Policy Toward South Africa,” pp. 129 – 132 (4 pgs.).

2. Audie Klotz, "The International Politics of Apartheid," in *Norms in International Relations: The Struggle Against Apartheid*, pp. 3 – 12; (10 pages), and Chapter 3, "The United Nations," pp. 39 – 54 (16 pages).

Further Reading:

1. David Black, "The Long and Winding Road: International Norms and Domestic Political Change in South Africa," in *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*, Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds., pp. 78 – 108. (30 pgs.)
2. Audie Klotz, "Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and U.S. Sanctions Against South Africa," *International Organization*, v. 49, n. 3., Summer 1995, pp. 451-478 (28 pages).

#### Week 4:

Tuesday, 21 October

##### ***Midterm Exam***

Readings: None.

Thursday, 23 October: Human Rights as Collective Rights: The U.N. and the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda

Readings:

1. International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: <http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/text.htm>
2. Begin reading Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide, Preface* (ix – xii); pp. 1 – 96 (fast reading!).

Film Excerpts: *Ghosts of Rwanda*

#### Week 5:

Tuesday, 28 October: Top Down Promotion of Human Rights: International Organizations and States

Readings:

1. Finish reading: Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide*, pp. 97 – 181.
2. DeLaet, Chapter 5, "Collective Rights in a World of Sovereign States," pp. 78 – 86; 88 – 99 (20 pgs.); Chapter 8, "Promoting Human Rights from the Top Down," pp. 135 – 153, 155 – 157 (22 pgs.).

Film Excerpts: *Ghosts of Rwanda*

Discussion: Could the 1994 Rwandan genocide have been prevented?

Further Reading on Rwanda:

1. Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*.

Thursday, 30 October: International Politics of Genocide: Rwanda and Darfur Compared

Readings:

1. *Genocide in Darfur: Investigating the Atrocities in the Sudan*, Samuel Totten and Eric Markusen, eds., New York: Routledge Press, 2006, "Introduction," pp. xiii – xvii (5 pgs.);
2. *Genocide in Darfur*, Chapter 1: Robert O. Collins, "Disaster in Darfur: Historical Overview," pp. 3 – 22 (19 pgs.);
3. *Genocide in Darfur* Chapter 14: Samuel Totten, "The U.S. Investigation into the Darfur Crisis and Its Determination of Genocide: A Critical Analysis," pp. 199 – 220 (21 pgs.).

Film Excerpts: *The Politics of Genocide in Darfur*

Further Reading on Darfur:

1. Documenting Atrocities in Darfur," Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Sept. 2004, Appendix 2 in *Genocide in Darfur*, pp. 249 – 258.

2. "The Crisis in Darfur," U.S. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sept. 9. 2004, Appendix 3 in *Genocide in Darfur*, pp. 259 – 267.
3. LexisNexis, UCSD Libraries: <http://www.ucsd.edu/portal/site/Libraries>, click "Databases," click "LexisNexis," search "UN Darfur" for past two years. Review headlines in reverse chronological order.
4. African Union mission in Darfur: <http://www.amis-sudan.org/index.html>
5. Human Rights First, Darfur: [http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/international\\_justice/darfur/video/hope\\_for\\_darfur.htm](http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/international_justice/darfur/video/hope_for_darfur.htm)
6. SaveDarfur: <http://www.savedarfur.org/>

### **Week 6: Human Rights and Justice**

Tuesday, 4 November: Criminal Tribunals and Punitive Justice: Nuremburg, Former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda (Election Day –Don't forget to vote!)

Readings:

1. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem, Report on the Banality of Evil*, pp. 3 – 55; 234 – 252 (70 pgs –skim, fast reading).
2. DeLaet, Chapter 9, "Punitive Justice and Human Rights," pp. 159 – 184 (25 pgs.).
3. Payam Akhavan, "The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda: The Politics and Pragmatics of Punishment," *The American Journal of International Law*, v. 90, n. 3, July 1996, pp. 501 – 510 (10 pgs).

Further Reading:

1. Jamie Mayerfeld, "Who Shall Be Judge? The United States, the International Criminal Court and the Global Enforcement of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, v. 25, n.1, 2003, pp. 93 – 129 (37 pgs.).

Thursday, 6 November: Restorative Justice and Truth Commissions

Readings:

1. DeLaet, Chapter 10, "Restorative Justice and Human Rights," pp. 186 – 202 (16 pgs.)
2. Paul van Zyl, "Dilemmas of Transitional Justice: The Case of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *Journal of International Affairs*, v. 52.2, Spring 1999, pp. 647 – 662 (12 pgs).

Film: Excerpts from TRC, South Africa

Discussion: Punitive vs. Restorative Justice?

Further Reading:

1. Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*, Ch. 2, "Vengeance and Forgiveness," pp. 9 - 24 (15 pgs.).

### **Week 7:**

Tuesday, 11 November: Veteran's Day Holiday –University is closed

Readings:

None.

Thursday, 13 November: Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: The Right to Development as a Human Right?

Readings:

1. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a\\_cescr.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_cescr.htm)
2. DeLaet, Chapter 6, "Economic and Social Rights in a World of Sovereign States," pp. 102 – 118 (16 pgs.).
3. Declaration on the Right to Development <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/74.htm>

4. Arjun Sengupta, "The Right to Development as a Human Right." [http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/fxbcenter/FXBC\\_WP7--Sengupta.pdf](http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/fxbcenter/FXBC_WP7--Sengupta.pdf) (15 pgs.)
5. Chris Jochnick, "Confronting the Impunity of Non-State Actors: New Fields for the Promotion of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, v. 21, n. 1, 1999, pp. 56–79 (14 pgs.).

Film Excerpts: *Maquilapolis?* (2006)

#### Week 8:

Tuesday, 18 November: Children's Rights as Human Rights: The Problem of Human Trafficking

Readings:

1. United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>
2. ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (C182, 1999): <http://www.ilocarib.org.tt/childlabour/c182.htm>
3. Kathleen FitzGibbon, "Modern Day Slavery: The Scope of Trafficking in Africa," in *African Security Review*, vol. 12., no. 1, 2003 (9 pgs.).
4. Nicholas Kristof, selected articles from *The New York Times*: "Girls for Sale" (January 17, 2004), "Bargaining for Freedom," (January 24, 2004), "Stopping the Traffickers," (January 31, 2004), "Leaving the Brothel Behind," (January 19, 2005), "After the Brothel," (January 26, 2005).
5. Unicef, *Guidelines on the Protection of Child Victims of Trafficking* (2006): [http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/0610-Unicef\\_Victims\\_Guidelines\\_en.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/0610-Unicef_Victims_Guidelines_en.pdf)

Film Excerpts: *I Am a Child*

Thursday, 20 November: Globalization, the State, and Human Rights: Patents, Profits, and People

Readings:

1. Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*, Chapter 4, "Patents, Profits, and People," pp. 103–132 (29 pgs. –fast reading).
2. Mahmood Monshipouri, Claude E. Welch, Jr., and Evan T. Kennedy, "Multinational Corporations and the Ethics of Global Responsibility: Problems and Possibilities," *Human Rights Quarterly* 25.4 (2003), pp. 965- 989 (21 pgs.).

Film Excerpts: *Health for Sale.* (2007)

Further Reading:

Ellen 't Hoen, "TRIPS, Pharmaceutical Patents, and Access to Essential Medicines: A Long Way from Seattle to Doha."

#### Week 9:

Tuesday, 25 November: Human Rights and the Right to a Healthy Environment?

***Research Projects are due at the beginning of class.***

Readings:

None.

Film: *Delta Force*

Discussion: Human rights, the environment, and the Niger Delta.

Thursday, 27 November: Thanksgiving Holiday –University closed.

Enjoy having completed your research projects!

#### Week 10:

Tuesday, 2 December: Where Do/Should We Go From Here? Contemporary Challenges

***Study guide for final exam handed out in class.***

***Course reviews.***

Readings:

1. Donnelly, Chapter 9, "Globalization, the State, and Human Rights," pp. 197 – 210 (13 pgs.).
2. DeLaet, Chapter 11, "Promoting Human Rights from the Bottom Up," pp. 204 – 216 (13 pgs.).

Thursday, 4 December: The U.S., Human Rights, and the "War on Terror:" Do Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights Enhance National Security?

Readings:

1. Donnelly, Chapter 10, "Terrorism and Human Rights," pp. 211 – 221 (10 pgs.).
2. DeLaet, "The Politics of Terrorism," pp. 65 – 66; "The U.S. 'War on Terror,'" pp. 68 – 71; "Conclusions," pp. 75 – 76 (7 pgs.).

**Final Exam: Thursday, December 11: 3:00 – 6:00 p.m.**