

## **WWS 555C - Human Rights and World Politics**

**Instructor:** Professor Emilie M. Hafner-Burton  
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**Office Hours:** Monday, 2-3pm  
Wednesday, 12-1pm

**Seminar:** Thursday, 1:00pm – 4:00pm  
Robertson Hall (ROBEH) 005

Violations of human rights are insidious. While there are many strategies for reform, people everywhere are repressed. This research seminar is designed to prepare graduate students in international affairs to analyze the causes of repression and the effectiveness of various political interventions. It applies insights from a variety of disciplines to explore conflicts among peoples competing for power, resources, and autonomy in various contexts. Attention will be focused on developing the tools to evaluate the design, implementation, and effectiveness of human rights strategies, including international laws and organizations, multi-national business activities, foreign aid and investment, and social movement advocacy. We will consider core intellectual arguments and puzzles as they concern various forms of violations—including civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights—against various groups—including children, refugees, women and workers.

**Course requirements:** All students are required to come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Weekly response papers, a mid-term (take home) exam and a final paper (10-15 pages) are required.

**Reading Assignments:** Approximately 150-200 pages per week.

**Course Materials:** All course materials are on reserve or are available electronically. I strongly recommend students purchase the following books:

David P. Forsythe. 2006. *Human Rights in International Relations, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*. Cambridge University Press.

Todd Landman. 2006. *Studying Human Rights*. London: Routledge.

Thomas Risse, Steven C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1999. *The Power of Human Rights*. Cambridge University Press.

J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane. 2003. *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge University Press.

Peter R. Baehr. 2001. *Human Rights: Universality in Practice*. Palgrave.

Philip Alston, ed., *Labour Rights as Human Rights (2005)* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Grading:** Final grades will reflect class participation (20%), weekly response papers (20%), a midterm exam (20%) and a final paper in lieu of a final exam (40%). Response papers are due by email *before* class and should be written in the format of a policy analysis. They are not to exceed 4 double spaced pages. The take home mid term exam is short essay. Students are required to answer 2 out of 4 questions provided on the exam. The exam will be handed out in class on Thursday, October 26<sup>rd</sup> and due on Friday, October 27<sup>th</sup> by 1pm. Mid-term exams that exceed ten double-spaced pages will not be accepted. The final paper (10-15 page) should analyze the effectiveness of one international strategy for protecting human rights covered by this course. Papers are due on the last day of class, Thursday December 14<sup>th</sup>. Written work will be graded for substance as well as for quality of writing, so be sure to make use of the Writing Center (<http://web.princeton.edu/sites/writing/>).

## SECTION ONE - AN INTRODCUTION TO THEORY AND PRACTICE

### Thursday, September 14<sup>th</sup>: An Introduction to Human Rights in World Politics

*David P. Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations, chapter 1, pp. 3-28.*

*Todd Landman, Studying Human Rights, introduction and chapters 1, 2 and 5, pp.1-35 and 75-92.*

### Thursday, September 21<sup>st</sup> : The Causes of Repression – Theoretical and Methodological Foundations

*David P. Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations, chapter 2, pp. 29-54.*

*Todd Landman, Studying Human Rights, chapters 3, 4 and 8, pp.36-74 and 126-139.*

*Poe, Steven C. and C. Neal Tate, Repression of Human Rights to Personal Integrity in the 1980s: A Global Analysis. American Political Science Review (1994) 88, pp.853-900.*

## SECTION TWO –INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

### Thursday, September 28<sup>th</sup>: The United Nations Commission and Council

*David P. Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations, chapter 3, pp. 57-88.*

*Peter R. Baehr, Human Rights: Universality in Practice, chapter 6, pp. 57-71.*

*Nigel Rodley, United Nations Human Rights Treaty Bodies and Special Procedures of the Commission on Human Rights-Complementarity or Competition? Human Rights Quarterly (2003) 25 (4).*

*James H. Lebovic and Erik Voeten, The Politics of Shame: The Condemnation of Country Practices in the UNHRC:*  
[home.gwu.edu/~voeten/politicsofshame.pdf](http://home.gwu.edu/~voeten/politicsofshame.pdf)

*Jimmy Carter, Oscar Arias, Kim Dae Jung, Shirin Ebadi and Desmond Tutu, Principles Defeat Politics at the U.N., The New York Times, Section 4, Column 2, Editorial Desk, p. 14, March 5th, 2006:*  
<http://www.nytimes.com>

*Ending the "Human Rights" Farce, The National Review, op ed, February 13, 2006: <http://www.nationalreview.com/>*

*Warren Hoge, World Briefing United Nations: End Of The Line For U.N. Rights Commission, The New York Times, Section A, Column 2, Foreign Desk, p. 7, March 28, 2006: <http://www.nytimes.com>*

*Visit:*

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocusRel.asp?infocusID=114&Body=human%20rights%20council&Body1=>

#### **Thursday, October 5<sup>th</sup>: International Human Rights Law**

*Visit: <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/>*

*Zehra F Kabasakal Arat, Forging A Global Culture of Human Rights: Origins and Prospects of the International Bill of Rights. Human Rights Quarterly (2006) Vol. 28(2), pp. 416-438.*

*Beth Simmons, International Human Rights: Law, Politics and Accountability, book manuscript, chapters 1 and 6.*

*Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Kiyoteru Tsutsui, Human Rights Practices in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises, American Journal of Sociology (2005) 110(5), pp. 1373-1411.*

*Oona Hathaway, The International Law of Torture, in Torture: Philosophical and Legal Perspectives:*  
<http://islandia.law.yale.edu/hathaway/pub/pub.htm>

*Laurence R. Helfer. Overlegalizing Human Rights: International Relations Theory and the Commonwealth Caribbean Backlash against Human Rights Regimes. Columbia Law Review (2002) 102(7), pp. 1832-1911.*

*Suggested:*

*Michael J. Dennis, Application of Human Rights Treaties Extraterritorially in Times of Armed Conflict and Military Occupation. The American Journal of International Law (2005) 99(1), pp. 119-141.*

*Eric Neumayer, Do international human rights treaties improve respect for human rights?, Journal of Conflict Resolution (2005) 49(6), pp. 925-953.*

*Oona Hathaway, Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?, Yale Law Journal (2002) 111(8), pp. 1935-2042.*

#### **Thursday, October 12<sup>th</sup>: Regional Human Rights Law**

*David P. Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations, chapter 5, pp. 121-151.*

*Peter R. Baehr, Human Rights: Universality in Practice, chapter 7, pp. 72-83.*

*Makau Mutua, The African Human Rights Court: A two-legged stool?. Human Rights Quarterly (1999) 21(2), pp. 342-364.*

*Visit: <http://www.cidh.org/>*

*Lindsay Moir, Law and the Inter-American human rights system. Human Rights Quarterly (2003) 25(1), pp.182-202.*

*Visit: <http://www.achpr.org/>*

*Andrew Moravcsik, The Origins of International Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe. International Organization (2000) 54(2), pp.217-252.*

*Visit: <http://www.hri.org/docs/ECHR50.html>*

*Suggested:*

*Nsongurua J. Udombana, So Far, so Fair: The Local Remedies Rule in the Jurisprudence of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. The American Journal of International Law (2003) 97(1), pp. 1-37.*

#### **Thursday, October 19<sup>th</sup>: Tribunals and Truth Commissions**

*David P. Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations, chapter 4, pp. 89-120.*

*Todd Landman, Studying Human Rights, chapter 7, pp.106-125.*

*Pricillia B. Hayner, Fifteen Truth Commissions-1974-1994: A Comparative Study, Human Rights Quarterly (1994) 16, pp. 597-655.*

Visit: <http://www.un.org/icty/index.html> and <http://69.94.11.53/>

Read at least two of the following:

*Joanna R. Quinn and Mark Freeman, Lessons Learned: Practical Lessons Gleaned from Inside the Truth Commissions of Guatemala and South Africa. Human Rights Quarterly (2003) 25(4).*

*Tim Kelsall, Truth, Lies, Ritual: Preliminary Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sierra Leone. Human Rights Quarterly (2005) 27(2), pp.361-382.*

*Mark Ensalaco, Truth commissions for Chile and El Salvador: A report and assessment. Human Rights Quarterly (1994) 16(4).*

*Payam Akhava, Justice in The Hague, Peace in the Former Yugoslavia? A Commentary on the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal, Human Rights Quarterly (1998) 20(4), pp.737-816.*

### **Thursday, October 26<sup>th</sup>: TAKE-HOME MIDTERM (NO SEMINAR)**

The exam will be handed out in class on Thursday, October 26<sup>rd</sup> and due on Friday, October 27<sup>th</sup> by 1pm by email ([ehafner@princeton.edu](mailto:ehafner@princeton.edu)).

## **SECTION THREE – INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS**

### **Thursday, November 9<sup>th</sup>: International Labor Standards**

Visit: <http://www.ilo.org/>

Visit: <http://hrw.org/doc/?t=labor>

*Philip Alston, ed., Labour Rights as Human Rights (2005) Oxford: Oxford University Press.*

*William A Douglas, John-Paul Ferguson and Erin Klett, An Effective Confluence of Forces in Support of Workers' Rights: ILO Standards, US Trade Laws, Unions, and NGOs. Human Rights Quarterly (2004) 26(2), pp. 273-299.*

*Philip Alston, Facing Up to the Complexities of the ILO's Core Labour Standards Agenda, European Journal of International Law (2005) 16(3) pp. 467-480.*

*Michael J. Dennis. The ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. The American Journal of International Law (1999) 93(4), pp. 943-948.*

*Anita Chan, Labor Standards and Human Rights: The Case of Chinese Workers Under Market Socialism, Human Rights Quarterly (1998) 20(4), pp. 886-904.*

*Suggested:*

*David Strang and Patricia Mei Yin Chang, The International Labor Organization and the Welfare State: Institutional Effects on National Welfare Spending, 1960-80. International Organization (1993) 47(2), pp. 235-262.*

*Michael Hasenau, ILO Standards on Migrant Workers: The Fundamentals of the UN Convention and Their Genesis. International Migration Review (1991) 25(4), pp. 687-697.*

## **Thursday, November 16<sup>th</sup> Multinational Corporations and Foreign Investment**

*David P. Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations, chapter 8, pp. 218-248.*

*Debora L. Spar, The Spotlight and the Bottom Line: How Multinationals Export Human Rights, Foreign Affairs (1998) 7.*

*David Weissbrodt and Muria Kruger, Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises with Regard to Human Rights. The American Journal of International Law (2003) 97(4), pp. 901-922.*

*Mahmood Monshipouri, Claude E Welch Jr. and Evan T Kennedy. Multinational Corporations and the Ethics of Global Responsibility:*

Problems and Possibilities. *Human Rights Quarterly* (2003) 25(4), pp. 965-989.

*John Ruggie, The Global Compact as Learning Network, Global Governance* (2001) 7(14), pp: 371-379.

*Suggested:*

*William H. Meyer, Human Rights and MNCs: Theory Versus Quantitative Analysis, Human Rights Quarterly* (1996) 18.

*Jackie Smith et al., Human Rights and the Global Economy: A Response to Meyer, Human Rights Quarterly* (1999) 21.

#### **Thursday, November 23<sup>rd</sup>: THANKSGIVING (NO SEMINAR)**

#### **Thursday, November 30<sup>th</sup>: Aid, Trade, and Development**

*Michael Freeman, Human Rights, chapter 8, pp.148-166.*

*J Oloka-Onyango, Who's Watching "Big Brother"? Globalization and the Protection of Cultural Rights in Present Day Africa. Human Rights Quarterly* (2005) 27(4), pp. 1245-1274.

*Robert Paarlberg, The Global Food Fight, Foreign Affairs* (2000) 79(3), pp: 24-38.

*Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression, International Organization* (2005) 59(3), pp. 593-629.

*Clair Apodaca, The Globalization of Capital in East and Southeast Asia: Measuring the Impact on Human Rights Standards. Asian Survey* (2002) 42(6), pp. 883-905.

*Suggested:*

*Philip Alston, Ships Passing in the Night: The Current State of the Human Rights and Development Debate Seen Through the Lens of the Millennium Development Goals. Human Rights Quarterly* (2005) 27(3), pp.755-830.

*Bronwen Manby, The African Union, NEPAD, and Human Rights: The Missing Agenda. Human Rights Quarterly (2004) 26(4) pp. 983-1027.*

## **SECTION FOUR – NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**

### **Thursday, December 7<sup>th</sup>: Non-Governmental Organizations**

*David P. Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations, chapter 7, pp. 188-217.*

*Thomas Risse, Steven C. Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink, the Power of Human Rights, chapter 1, pp. 1-38 and either chapter 3 or 6, pp., 78-108 or 172-204.*

*David Cingranelli and David Richards, Measuring the Impact of Human Rights Organizations, in Claude E Welch, ed, NGOs and Human Rights: Promise and Performance, pp.225-237.*

*Mary Robinson, Advancing Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: The Way Forward. Human Rights Quarterly (2004) 26, pp. 866-872.*

*Kiyoteru Tsutsui and Christine Min Wotipka, Global Civil Society and the International Human Rights Movement: Citizen Participation in Human Rights International Nongovernmental Organizations. Social Forces (2004) 83(2), pp. 587-620.*

*Suggested:*

*Stephen Hopgood, Keepers of the Flame: Understanding Amnesty International (2006), Cornell University Press.*

*Sally Engle Merry, Transnational Human Rights and Local Activism: Mapping the Middle. American Anthropologist (2006) 108(1), pp. 38-51.*

## **SECTION FIVE – FOREIGN POLICY**

### **Thursday, December 14<sup>th</sup>: Foreign Policy and Humanitarian intervention (NOTE: FINAL PAPERS DUE)**

*David P. Forsythe, Human Rights in International Relations, chapter 6, pp. 152-187.*

*J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas.*

*Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, The Responsibility to Protect, Foreign Affairs (2002) November/December.*

*Nsongurua J Udombana, When Neutrality is a Sin: The Darfur Crisis and the Crisis of Humanitarian Intervention in Sudan. Human Rights Quarterly (2005) 27(4),pp.1149-1200.*

*Suggested:*

*Leslie H. Gelb and Justine A. Rosenthal, The Rise of Ethics in Foreign Policy: Reaching a Values Consensus. Foreign Affairs (2003) May/June.*

*Lowell Dittmer, Chinese Human Rights and American Foreign Policy: A Realist Approach. The Review of Politics (2001) 63(3), pp. 421-459.*

*Larry Diamond, James Dobbins, Chaim Kaufmann, Leslie H. Gelb, and Stephen Biddle, What to Do in Iraq: A Roundtable, Foreign Affairs (2006) July/August.*