

## POL412H1S

### Human Rights and International Relations

Course Instructor: Dr. Geoffrey Cameron

July 4 – August 14, 2018

Mondays and Wednesdays, 4-6pm (Unless otherwise noted)

BL 113

#### **Course Description**

In this course, we will inquire into the origins of human rights, how they have become mobilized for politics, and what this means for international relations. We begin by entering into a vibrant debate about the conceptual, legal and political sources of human rights. From where did this concept emerge? How did it come to seize the imagination of millions of people around the world? In what ways has it shaped the development of international law and politics? We will read and discuss recent influential works alongside classic texts that have shaped the way we think about humanity and human rights. In the second part of the course, we explore how human rights work in the world today. Engaging more closely with the application of international relations theory, we examine how transnational human rights movements evolved, how human rights treaties, courts and prosecutions work, and how military intervention became entangled with the human rights movement. Finally, we will examine how international law is implicated in the contemporary refugee crisis, and consider whether human rights have succeeded in their aims.

#### **Required texts** (Available at the university bookstore)

Samuel Moyn. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, Harvard University Press, 2010.

#### **Assignments**

Attendance – 5%

Reading Response (Seminar 3 – 6) – 15%

Reading Response (Seminar 7, 9 – 11) – 15%

Book Review (*The Last Utopia*) (Due Seminar 8) – 25%

Critical Essay (Due Seminar 12) – 40%

**Note:** Assignments are to be submitted in hard copy at the beginning of class on the due date. Late work may be emailed to me in soft copy at: [geoffrey.cameron@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:geoffrey.cameron@mail.utoronto.ca). You are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work of your assignments.

#### **Attendance**

Attendance is mandatory. A single unexcused absence will result in a zero (0). Full attendance is result in full marks. Participation is not graded, but it is an expected part of the seminar.

### Reading Responses

A reading response is a 500-700 word discussion of the required readings during the two seminars you have been assigned (Seminars 3—6; Seminars 7, 9 —11). We will assign these seminars in our first class. Your responses must be submitted to me in hard copy before the beginning of the class for which the readings were assigned. Missed responses will receive a grade of zero (0).

Your responses should summarize the most important points of that seminar's readings, evaluate those arguments, and discuss their broader implications. Grades will be based on the clarity, insight and originality of your responses to the seminar's readings.

### Book Review

Your book review must be about six pages (typed, single-spaced, 12 point font), and it should respond to the following questions:

- What is Moyn's central argument about the origins of human rights?
- How does he engage with other arguments we have studied in the first half of the course?
- How has he helped you to think about human rights in a new way? Are you convinced by his thesis, and by the evidence he provides?
- What are some of the broader implications of his argument?

### Critical Essay

In the form of a critical essay, respond to the question, “**Have human rights succeeded?**” Your essay should be about eight pages (typed, single-spaced, 12 point font) and it should draw primarily from the assigned readings, citing at least ten of them in the bibliography. Original research to supplement these readings is acceptable, but not strictly required. This assignment is intended to invite your own analysis of existing debates; however, it is not an opinion editorial or a literature review. I want to know what you think, within the context of a clear and rigorous engagement with the academic discourse in this field. The essay will be graded according to the effectiveness with which you discuss the assigned readings, the originality and insightfulness of your observations, and the clarity of your writing.

### Late Penalties

Late reading responses will not be accepted and will receive a grade of zero (0). Other late assignments will be penalized at 5 per cent per day (including weekends).

### Academic Integrity

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see: Writing at the University of Toronto <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>.

### Part I: Concepts and History

1. **Human Rights and the State** (Wednesday, July 4, 2018)
  - Václav Havel, "Address by Vaclav Havel President of the Czech Republic to the Senate and the House of Commons of the Parliament of Canada," Parliament Hill, Ottawa, 29 April 1999.
2. **Humanity and Human Rights** (Friday, July 6, 2018)
  - Samuel Moyn *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, Harvard University Press, 2010, pp.1-43.
3. **The Rights of Man** (Monday, July 9, 2018)
  - Lynn Hunt. "The Revolutionary Origins of Human Rights," *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History*, Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996, pp. 1-32.
  - Lynn Hunt. "Appendix: Three Declarations: 1776, 1789, 1948," *Inventing Human Rights: A History*, WW Norton, 2007, pp. 215-223.
  - Hannah Arendt. "The Perplexities of the Rights of Man," *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1976[1966], Harcourt, pp. 290-302.
  - **Recommended:** Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History*, WW Norton, 2007, pp.15-69.
4. **Anti-slavery** (Wednesday, July 11, 2018)
  - Jenny Martinez. *The Slave Trade and the Origins of International Human Rights Law*, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp.16-37, 114-139.
  - Philip Alston. "Does the Past Matter?: The Origins of Human Rights," *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 126 (2013): 2061-2081.
  - **Recommended:** Adam Hochschild. *Bury the Chains*, Mariner Books, 2006.
5. **The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Geneva Convention** (Monday, July 16, 2018)
  - Samuel Moyn. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 44-83.
  - Mary Anne Glendon. *World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Random House, 2002, pp. 24-47, 93-120.
  - Michael Ignatieff. "Lemkin's Word," *The New Republic*, February 26, 2001. <https://newrepublic.com/article/62613/lemkins-word>
  - Universal Declaration of Human Rights:  
<http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>
    - See also, Cassin Draft and Humphrey Draft: Glendon, pp. 371-380.

- Convention for the Prevention of Genocide:  
<http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3ac0.html>
- **Recommended:** Mark Mazower. "Nations, Refugees and Territory: The Jews and the Lessons of the Nazi New Order," *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations*, Princeton University Press, 2009, pp.104-148.

#### 6. **The Rights Revolution** (Wednesday, July 18, 2018)

- Samuel Moyn. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, Harvard University Press, 2010, pp.120-175.
- Václav Havel. "The Power of the Powerless," pp.45-80.
- **Recommended:** Jan Eckel, "The Rebirth of Politics from the Spirit of Morality: Explaining the Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s," *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s*, Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn eds., University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, pp.226-259.

### **Part II: After human rights**

#### 7. **Advocacy and civil society** (Friday, July 20, 2018)

- Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders*, Cornell University Press, 1998, pp.1-38, 79-120.
- Clifford Bob, "Merchants of Morality," *Foreign Policy* (March – April 2002), pp. 36-45.

### **NOTE: NO CLASS THE WEEK OF JULY 22**

#### 8. **Treaties and compliance** (Monday, July 30, 2018) – **BOOK REVIEWS DUE**

- Beth Simmons. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp.112-158, 349-380.
- Oona A. Hathaway. "Do human rights treaties make a difference?" *The Yale Law Journal* 111, no. 8 (2002): 1935-2042. (**Only read pp. 2002-2025**)

#### 9. **Courts and prosecutions** (Wednesday, August 1, 2018)

- Aryeh Neier, "What Should Be Done about the Guilty?" *New York Review of Books*, February 1, 1990.
- Kathryn Sikkink. *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing World Politics*. W.W. Norton, 2011, 211-245.

**10. Military intervention** (Wednesday, August 8, 2018)

- Kelly Kate Pease and David Forsythe. "Human Rights, Humanitarian Intervention, and World Politics." *Human Rights Quarterly* 15.2 (1993): 290-314.
- Alan Kuperman. "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign," *International Security* 38.1(2013): 105–36.

**11. Refugees and human rights** (Monday, August 13, 2018)

- Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen. *Access to asylum: International refugee law and the globalisation of migration control*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp.11-43, 231-248.

**12. Are human rights enough?** (Tuesday, August 14, 2018) – **CRITICAL ESSAYS DUE**

- David Kennedy. "The International Human Rights Movement: Still Part of the Problem?" *Examining Critical Perspectives on Human Rights*, Rob Dickinson, Elena Katselli, Colin Murray and Ole W. Pedersen, eds., Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 19-34.
- Samuel Moyn, "The Future of Human Rights," *SUR: International Journal of Human Rights*, 11.20(2014): 57-66.