

POLS UN3961. International Politics Seminar:  
Debating Human Rights

Fall 2016 -- meets Thursdays, 10:10–12:00, in 711 International Affairs  
Jack Snyder -- office: 1327 IAB; office hours: Weds. 2:00-4:00.  
jls6@columbia.edu, 854-8290.

8/22/16

Themes: Debates among social scientists and activists about the circumstances that affect human rights outcomes and strategies for strengthening human rights. Although the seminar has no prerequisites, it is designed to build on C3001, Introduction to Human Rights. Students who have taken C3001 may have already read some of the required readings, and those who have not will need to catch up.

Requirements: One paper, about 25 pages. A great deal of flexibility will be allowed regarding topics and formats. One possible format is to use case studies to test a theoretically grounded argument. Historical cases are appropriate, though their relevance to contemporary issues should be explained. Students may do policy options papers, though these should be informed by relevant theories. Paper proposals will be discussed in small groups in my office at times to be arranged during the third week of October. Rough or partial drafts of your paper will be discussed in the first week of December. The final version of the paper is due on December 15. Late papers will be penalized.

Readings: Required readings on reserve at Lehman Library or on electronic reserve on courseworks. Some but not all supplementary readings are also on reserve. Asterisk (\*) indicates a paperback ordered at the Book Culture bookstore, 536 W.112 St. Most required articles and some individual book chapters are on the Columbia library web course reserves.

September 8. **INTRODUCTION AND COURSE OVERVIEW**

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, access document and supporting materials at <http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/mmt/udhr/>

Stephen Hopgood, J. Snyder, L. Vinjamuri, "Introduction: Human Rights Past, Present and Future," in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of introductory chapter (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), all chapters on electronic reserve.

**SUPPLEMENTARY:**

Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, chapter 10 on the Rwanda genocide—or read Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwanda Tragedy Happen," *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001.

January 29. **DEBATING HUMAN RIGHTS**

\*Aryeh Neier, *The International Human Rights Movement: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), Ch. 3, pp. 57-92.

Samuel Moyn, "Human Rights and the Crisis of Liberalism," in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

Stephen Hopgood, "Human Rights on the Road to Nowhere," in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

Beth Simmons and Anton Strezhnev, "Human Rights and Human Welfare: Looking for a 'Dark Side' to International Human Rights Law," in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

Emilie Hafner-Burton, *Making Human Rights A Reality* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 1-6, 21-40.

**SUPPLEMENTARY:**

Makau Mutua, "Savages, Victims, and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights," *Harvard International Law Journal* 42:1 (Winter 2001), pp. 201-245.

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

**September 15. MAINSTREAM APPROACHES AND THEIR CRITICS**

\*Beth A. Simmons, *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 12-17 (overview of argument) and Ch. 7, pp. 256-306, on the torture convention.

\*Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 1998), ch. 1, 2, 3, 5.

Chaim Kaufmann and Robert Pape, "Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's...Campaign against the Slave Trade," *International Organization*, fall 1999. It's domestic coalition politics, not transnationalism.

Geoff Dancy and Kathryn Sikkink, "Human Rights Data, Processes, and Outcomes: How Recent Research Points to a Better Future," in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

J. Snyder, "Empowering Rights with Mass Movements, Religion, and Reform Parties," in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

Christopher Fariss, "Respect for Human Rights has Improved over Time," *American Political Science Review* (May 2014).

**SUPPLEMENTARY:**

Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action," *International Security*, summer 2002.

James Ron and David Crow, "Public Attitudes Towards Human Rights Organizations: Honest Brokers, Imperial Handmaidens, or Counter-Hegemons?" manuscript (ask Snyder).

**September 22. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF RIGHTS IDEAS**

Philip Alston, "Does the Past Matter? On the Origins of Human Rights," *Harvard Law Review* 126:1 (2013).

\*Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*, especially introduction, ch. 1 & 2, pp. 15-112

\*Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia*, especially chapter 3, pp. 84-119.

**SUPPLEMENTARY:**

Micheline Ishay, *The History of Human Rights from Ancient Times to the Globalization Era* (University of California, 2004). Very good at placing the evolution of rights concepts in the context of changes in prevailing social, economic, and political contexts.

### September 29. **CONDITIONS FACILITATING COMPLIANCE**

\*Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds., *The Persistent Power of Human Rights* (Cambridge, 2013), esp. chapter 1; also peruse 3, 4, 9, and 14.

Thomas Risse, “Human Rights in Areas of Limited Statehood: From the Spiral Model to Localization and Translation,” in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

Emilie Hafner-Burton, Edward Mansfield, and Jon Pevehouse, “Human Rights Institutions, Sovereignty Costs, and Democratization,” *British Journal of Political Science*, January 2015.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY:

Emilie Hafner-Burton, “Sticks and Stones: The Efficacy of Human Rights ‘Naming and Shaming.’” *International Organization* 62, no. 4 (2008).

Poe, Steven C., Neal Tate, and Linda Camp Keith. 1999. “Repression of the Human Right to Personal Integrity Revisited: A Global Cross-National Study Covering the Years 1976–1993.” *International Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 2: 291–313.

Andrew Moravcsik, “The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Post-War Europe,” *International Organization*, 54 (2000) 217-252. Locking in reform.

### October 6. **BACKLASH AGAINST RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE**

Leslie Vinjamuri, “Human Rights Backlash,” in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

Alexander Cooley and Matthew Schaaf, “Grounding the Backlash: Regional Security Treaties, Counternorms and Human Rights in Eurasia,” in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY:

\*Kathryn Sikkink, *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics* (N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 2011), skim chapters 1 & 2, read chapters 3, 4, and 6.

Jack L. Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, “Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice,” *International Security* 28:3 (2003), pp. 5-44.

David Scheffer, *All the Missing Souls: A Personal History of the War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton, 2012), chapter 8 on ICC Rome Treaty negotiations pp. 199-226.

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” *International Organization*, autumn 1998.

Kate Cronin-Furman, “Managing Expectations: International Criminal Trials and the Prospects for Deterrence of Mass Atrocity,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, published online, August 7, 2013, at

<http://ijtj.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2013/08/07/ijtj.ijt016.full> .

Lara J. Nettelfield, *Courting Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Hague Tribunal’s Impact in a Post-War State* (Cambridge, 2010).

Jelena Subotic, *Hijacked Justice: Dealing with the Past in the Balkans* (Cornell, 2009).

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Basic Books, 2006, chapters 1-6, 8-13, 19, skim case studies or read them selectively.

Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, 31:1 (Summer 2006), 49-79; Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Doesn't Work," *International Security*, 31:2 (Fall 2006) 42-78; Page Fortna, "Do Terrorists Win?" *International Organization* 69:03 (Summer 2015), 519-556.

Colin Kahl, "How We Fight," *Foreign Affairs*, 85:6 (Nov.-Dec. 2006), 83-101.

Goldstone report on alleged war crimes in Gaza at <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/specialsession/9/factfindingmission.htm>

U.N. Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, [http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/h\\_cat39.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/h_cat39.htm)

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Committee Study of the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program, <http://www.intelligence.senate.gov/study2014/sscistudy1.pdf>

### October 13. **CULTURAL UNIVERSALISM AND CULTURAL RELATIVISM**

Sally Engle Merry, "The Vernacularization of Women's Human Rights," in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter, or read Peggy Levitt and Sally Merry, "Vernacularization on the Ground: Local Uses of Global Women's Rights in Peru, China, India, and the United States," *Global Networks* 9:4 (2009).

Amitav Acharya, "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism," *International Organization*, Spring 2004.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY:

Samuel P. Huntington, "The West, Unique, not Universal," *Foreign Affairs* 75:6 (Nov.-Dec. 1996).

Bilahari Kausikan, "Asia's Different Standard," and Aryeh Neier, "Asia's Unacceptable Standard," *Foreign Policy* (Fall 1993), pp. 24-41, 42-51.

Andrew J. Nathan, "China and International Human Rights: Tiananmen's Paradoxical Impact," in Jean-Philippe Béja, ed., *The Impact of China's 1989 Tiananmen Massacre* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 206-220

Daniel Goldstein, *Outlawed: Between Security and Rights in a Bolivian City* (Duke 2012)

Rachel Wahl, "Protecting Rights Through Violating Them: Law Enforcement and Doubts About Democracy in India," paper for 2012 APSA annual meeting, at [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2108883##](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2108883##)

Andrew Moravcsik, "The Paradox of U.S. Human Rights Policy," 147-197, in Michael Ignatieff, ed., *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), ch. 6.

Rogers Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (Yale, 1997), esp. Dred Scott chapter.

### October 20. **RELIGION AND RIGHTS**

Elizabeth Hurd, "Governing Religion as Right," in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

## SUPPLEMENTARY:

Naz K. Modirzadeh, "Taking Islamic Law Seriously: INGOs and the Battle for Muslim Hearts and Minds," *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, Vol. 19 (2006), 191-233.

Lila Abu Lughod, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?" Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others," *American Anthropologist* 104:3 (September 2002), 783-790.

Lila Abu Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Harvard).

**November 3. NO CLASS. SMALL GROUP MEETINGS.**

Meet in small groups with me at a mutually convenient time during the period Oct. 18-Nov. 1 to discuss your term paper proposal. The proposal should be about three pages. Generally speaking, it should state (1) what question you are asking, (2) why it is important for theory and/or policy, (3) what hypothesis you expect to advance, (4) what alternative hypotheses you will address, and (5) what evidence you will examine to prove your argument. Provide footnotes or brief bibliography.

\*Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*, ch. 1-2.

## SUPPLEMENTARY:

Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry*, widely used social science methods text.

Henry Brady and David Collier, *Rethinking Social Inquiry*. Qualitative and mixed-methods critique of and amendment to KKV.

**November 10. CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS: ELECTIONS AND SELF-DETERMINATION**

Emilie Hafner-Burton, Susan Hyde, and Ryan Jablonski, "When Do Governments Resort to Election Violence?" *British Journal of Political Science* (January 2014).

## SUPPLEMENTARY:

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov. 1997.

Carles Boix, "The Roots of Democracy," *Policy Review*, February/March 2006, 3-21.

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, "Inequality and Regime Change," *American Political Science Review*, 106:3 (August 2012): 495-516.

Steven I. Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India* (Cambridge, 2004), chapter 1; supplementary: chapters 2, 5, and 6. (e-book)

**Nov. 17. CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS: FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND MEDIA**

Whitten-Woodring, Jenifer, "Watchdog or Lapdog? Media Freedom, Regime Type, and Government Respect for Human Rights," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (September 2009), 595-625.

Shibley Telhami, *The World Through Arab Eyes* (Basic, 2013), ch. 2-3.

**SUPPLEMENTARY:**

Jack Snyder and Karen Ballentine, "Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas," *International Security*, fall 1996.

Camber Warren, "Not by the Sword Alone: Soft Power, Mass Media, and the Production of State Sovereignty," *International Organization* Vol. 68, No. 1 (January 2014), 111-141.

Marc Lynch, books, blog posts, etc., on Arab media.

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*.

**December 1. ECONOMIC RIGHTS: WOMEN'S AND CHILDREN'S RIGHTS**

Shareen Hertel, "Re-Framing Human Rights Advocacy: The Rise of Economic Rights," in *Human Rights Futures*, typescript of chapter.

**SUPPLEMENTARY:**

\*Shareen Hertel, *Unexpected Power* (Cornell), ch. 3-4, pp. 31-85.

Jean Grugel and Nicola Piper, "Do Rights Promote Development?" *Global Social Policy* 9 (2009), 79-98.

Kenneth Roth, "Defending Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Practical Issues Faced by an International Human Rights Organization," *Human Rights Quarterly* 26 (Feb. 2004), pp. 63-74.

Shannon Kindornay, James Ron, and Charli Carpenter, "Rights-Based Approaches to Development: Implications for NGOs," *Human Rights Quarterly* 34:2 (May 2012), 472-506.

Peter Uvin, *Human Rights and Development*, a pragmatic, but "rights based" approach to development; read esp. ch. 2, pp. 17-38.

Charlotte Bunch, "Women's Rights as Human Rights: Toward a Re-Vision of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 12:4 (November 1990), pp. 486-498.

Madeline Baer and Alison Brysk, "New Rights for Private Wrongs: Female Genital Mutilation and Global Framing Dialogues," 93-107, in Clifford Bob, ed., *The International Struggle for New Human Rights* (University of Pennsylvania, 2009), Ch. 7.

Elizabeth Herger Boyle, *Female Genital Cutting: Cultural Conflict in the Global Community* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2002), chapter 7 (e-book).

Kausik Basu, "Child Labor: Cause, Consequence, and Cure," *Journal of Economic Literature* 37:3 (1999), 1083-1119.

R. Charli Carpenter, "Women and Children First: Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-1995," *International Organization*, 57 (Fall 2003) 661-694.

Carolyn M. Moehling, "State Child Labor Laws and the Decline of Child Labor," *Explorations in Economic History* 36 (January 1999).

**Dec. 8. DEBATING THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT**

Robert A. Pape, "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), 41-80.

## SUPPLEMENTARY:

Michael W. Doyle, "Postbellum Peacebuilding," in *The Question of Intervention: John Stuart Mill and the Responsibility to Protect* (Yale, 2015)

Martha Finnemore, "Changing Norms of Intervention," *The Purpose of Intervention* (Cornell University Press, 2003), 52-84.

Richard Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 73:6 (Nov/Dec. 1994), 20-33.

Gary Bass, *Freedom's Battle: The Origins of Humanitarian Intervention* (Knopf, 2008).

Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chapter on humanitarian intervention.

Benjamin Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Cornell University Press, 2004, as excerpted in Karen Mingst and Jack Snyder, eds., *Essential Readings in World Politics* (Norton, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition), 368-387, or read chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-90), 5-6 (pp. 152-233) in Valentino's book.

Stathis N. Kalyvas "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria," *Rationality and Society* 11:3 (1999), 243-285.

Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*, ch. 2-6.