THIRD EDITION



The Evolution of International

HUMAN RIGHTS VISIONS SEEN

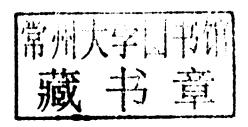
Paul Gordon Lauren

The Evolution of International Human Rights

Visions Seen

THIRD EDITION

Paul Gordon Lauren



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The Evolution of International Human Rights

Third Edition

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Bert Lockwood, Jr., Series Editor

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to my teachers

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What has been accomplished? This: we have kept a vision alive; we have held to a great ideal, we have established a continuity, and some day when unity and cooperation come, the importance of all these early steps will be recognized.

-W. E. B. Du Bois

Human rights were not a free gift. They were only won by long, hard struggle. . . . [R]espect for individual rights, when it passes from theory to practice, entails conflict with certain interests and the abolition of certain privileges. Men and women everywhere should be familiar with the dramatic incidents—well-known and obscure—of a conquest which has been largely achieved through the heroism of the noblest of their fellows.

--UNESCO

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Introduction: Visions and Visionaries

Do not make the mistake of thinking that a small group of thoughtful, committed people cannot change the world; indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.

-Margaret Mead

There are times when the visions seen of a world of possibilities provide a far better measure of a person's qualities and contributions than the immediate accomplishments of his or her lifetime. Visionary men and women who possess a capacity to see beyond the confines of what is or what has been, and to creatively dream or imagine what might be, sometimes have an impact that far transcends their own time and place. Indeed, visions of prophets, philosophers, and activists seen centuries ago in distant lands are still capable of capturing our imagination, inspiring our thoughts, and influencing our behavior today.

Among all these great visions, perhaps none have had a more profound impact than those of human rights. The reason is that they present something that none of us can ever escape. We cannot escape human rights because they address who we were—and who we are—as human beings. They force us to look at ourselves, at life, and at how we treat each other. They raise universal and controversial questions about the value of individual life, life lived with others, and what it means to be truly human. They make us confront what we believe about the relationship between rights and duties, our responsibilities to those who suffer, and the ultimate value of people different from ourselves. As such, human rights raise some of the most serious, painful, shocking, revolutionary, and hopeful features of the human condition itself, both in the past and in the contemporary world.

Throughout history, thoughtful and insightful visionaries in many different times, places, and circumstances have seen in their mind's eye a world in which they and others might enjoy freedom, dignity, and protection of their fundamental rights against those who would abuse them. Many believed that these rights belonged to all men, women, and children, inherited simply by virtue of being human beings born into the same human family. Nothing more, and most certainly nothing less. With this premise they have envisioned a world without borders that divide people from one another in which we all are entitled to receive just and equal treatment without any prejudice,

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discrimination, or persecution on the basis of gender, race, caste or class, religion, political opinion, ethnicity, nationality, or any other form of difference.

These visions did not evolve from any single society, political system, culture, geographical region, or manner. Some emerged out of religious belief, compassion, or a sense of duty to care for brothers and sisters suffering in distress. Others grew from philosophical discourse about the nature of humankind itself, natural rights, ethical limits on how we should treat one another, the appropriate powers of government, or the rule of law. Some came not from quiet contemplation or careful reflection, but rather from the heat of outrage generated by a passionate sense of individual or collective conscience over an injustice inflicted upon innocent or defenseless victims. Still others arose out of violence and pain from wars, revolutions, upheavals, or brutal atrocities. Over the centuries these cases have spanned the world, from Asia to Europe, from the Middle East to the Pacific, and from Africa to the Americas, and have involved exploitation, slavery, racial segregation and apartheid, oppression, gender and class discrimination, persecution of minorities, violence in times of war, torture, conquest, and the mass exterminations of genocide or "ethnic cleansing." As one might expect, the responses to such wide-ranging abuses have evolved through time and have varied greatly depending on what was possible within their particular and specific historical contexts, with the result being not just one concept or school of thought, a single definition or mode of expression, or unified vision of human rights—but rather many visions.

Despite their differences of origin, purpose, meaning, applicability, or terminology, however, all these visions of human rights confronted powerful opposition and forces of resistance every step of the way. The reason can be simply stated: they all directly threatened those with power who refused to share it voluntarily, those with vested interests or prevailing prejudice who wanted special privilege, and those government leaders who hid behind the claims of national sovereignty and insisted that they were immune from ever being held accountable for any abuses they might commit. These visions challenged traditional authority and attempted to limit the arbitrary exercise of power. They repudiated ideas of superiority on the basis of gender or the color of skin, refused to accept the proposition that how a state treats its own people is its own business, and rejected the notion that the strong do what they can and the weak do what they must.

As such, these visions of human rights possessed the capacity to challenge, to generate fear, to hold out hope and inspire, and to change the world. This power was understood not only by those who held the visions—but by those who opposed them. Indeed, it is precisely for this reason that the visionaries discussed throughout this book invariably found themselves ridiculed as naive idealists or impractical dreamers, reviled and persecuted as traitors to their own exclusive group or nation, or even tortured and killed as dangerous revolutionaries bent upon destroying the established order.

Although confronted by formidable odds and forces aligned against them, these visions could not be extinguished and the visionaries who saw them refused to be silenced or to remain passive. They saw abuses as wrong, moved into action, and worked

to protect victims. Upheavals and revolutions in the eighteenth century and successes against slavery and the slave trade and for the rights of women and workers in the nineteenth century gave them hope. Horrors of the twentieth century gave them determination. The magnitude of suffering, brutality, and genocide during World War II, in particular, created a consciousness about the extremes of cruelty so horrendous, in the words of those who lived through it, as to "outrage the conscience of mankind." This awareness, when coupled with the demands of all those survivors who had been given promises about receiving their rights if they would only join in the crusade of war, created a force of global scale on behalf of international human rights that refused to be denied.

Determined postwar visionaries thus set out to champion the cause of international human rights as never before. They believed that they had a duty to care for their brothers and sisters in need; that respect for human rights would contribute to global security, peace and justice; and that victory in war provided a unique opportunity for action that could not be squandered. They thus established the Charter of the United Nations, announcing to the world that human rights henceforth would be a matter of international responsibility, and then created and proclaimed a bold vision "for all peoples and all nations" known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since then, a new generation of visionaries has picked up the torch and worked to extend freedom to literally millions of people, to establish universal standards, to create binding treaties with implementation mechanisms, to develop international criminal law and tribunals to hold abusers accountable, to provide access for individual victims to machinery of protection beyond their own borders, and to promote and enhance human rights in innumerable and innovative ways so as to help transform that vision into reality.

In this dynamic and ever-changing process, these visions and those who saw them began to transform the world. They knew when they started that for most people respect for human rights appeared as only a distant vision or remote dream. They knew that the overwhelming majority of all of those who ever lived and ever died in history had suffered under some form of human rights abuse. They knew that kings and emperors demanding obedience from their subjects ruled the earth, that traditional and hierarchical societies prevailed, that women were expected "to know their proper place," and that human bondage and exploitation were regarded as part of "the natural order." They knew that how governments treated their own people was viewed as a matter of exclusive domestic jurisdiction and one of the political and legal prerogatives of national sovereignty. In this setting, they knew that individual victims of abuse could seek no help beyond their own national governments or borders, and thus had always been forced to remain as objects of international pity rather than as subjects of international law, and suffered accordingly. They knew that they faced powerful resistance. They would come to understand that the relationship between history and human rights is complicated and that their efforts would never be uncontested, never follow a straight path or linear line of unbroken progress, and never be fully complete.

But despite all these obstacles, they refused to be deterred. Instead, they imagined a world that might be, and they believed that they could make a difference—and they

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did. As a result of their remarkable efforts, in the words of one former policy maker, human rights have become "the single most magnetic political idea of the contemporary time." Today they provide the mark by which modern politics and society are defined and play an exceedingly visible and viable role in the lives of individuals at the local grassroots level, the policies of national leaders, and the conduct of international relations. The global community is no longer willing to remain silent over systematic abuses, many victims have a voice and can seek protection, and there is not a government on the face of the earth that can ignore the impact of what is correctly described as "the universal culture of human rights." One perceptive observer writes: "We are scarcely aware of the extent to which our moral imagination has been transformed since 1945 by the growth of a language and practice of moral universalism, expressed above all in a shared human rights culture."4 Indeed, in the words of one authority, human rights have become "the moral lingua franca of our age." The visions and the visionaries who courageously struggled to make this dramatic and radical transformation possible, and the powerful forces and events against which they fiercely struggled and with which they determinedly worked, provide the subject of this book.