HARNIUM ANAIA SHELTON

INTERNATIONAL
HUMAN RIGHTS
Problems of Law, Police
and Practice

Fifth Edition



Aspen Casebook Series



Problems of Law, Policy, and Practice

Fifth Edition

Hurst Hannum

Professor of International Law The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Tufts University

S. James Anaya

Regents' Professor and James J. Lenoir Professor of Human Rights Law and Policy University of Arizona James E. Rogers College of Law

Dinah L. Shelton

Manatt/Ahn Professor of Law George Washington University Law School



AUSTIN BOSTON CHICAGO NEW YORK THE NETHERLANDS

© 2011 Hurst Hannum, S. James Anaya, and Dinah L. Shelton Published by Aspen Publishers.

All Rights Reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission to make copies of any part of this publication should be mailed to:

Aspen Publishers Attn: Permissions Department 76 Ninth Avenue, 7th Floor New York, NY 10011-5201

To contact Customer Care, e-mail customer.care@aspenpublishers.com, call 1-800-234-1660, fax 1-800-901-9075, or mail correspondence to:

Aspen Publishers Attn: Order Department PO Box 990 Frederick, MD 21705

Printed in the United States of America.

1234567890

ISBN 978-0-7355-9814-0

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hannum, Hurst, 1945-

International human rights: problems of law, policy, and practice / Hurst Hannum, S. James Anaya, Dinah

L. Shelton. — Fifth edition.

p. cm. — (Aspen casebook series)

Revision of International human rights. 4th ed. c2006.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-7355-9814-0

1. Human rights. I. Anaya, S. James, 1958- II. Shelton, Dinah (Dinah L.), 1944- III. International human rights. IV. Title.

K3240.I583 2011 341.4'8-dc22

2010052147

This book contains paper from well-managed forests to SFI standards.

Preface

This casebook is intended to introduce the student to the established and developing international law governing the protection of human rights. There is now a substantial body of this law, which encompasses substantive norms; procedural rules; and national, regional, and global institutions whose mandate it is to promote, monitor, and supervise international human rights. Human rights issues are a concern today of nearly every country's foreign ministry, whether a country's goal is to expand or constrain their impact on state (and increasingly non-state) behavior. Human rights law has become an integral part of international law per se, and no one with pretensions of being an international lawyer can ignore its content entirely.

At the same time, international human rights law—as it is generally understood—does not encompass every social good or even every international norm whose purpose is to improve the human condition. Among the issues that are extremely relevant to the lives of billions of people but that are not addressed in depth in this casebook are theories of economic development, broad issues of social equality, refugees, and migration. Other important concerns that are addressed only in terms of their particular relationship to international human rights law are trade, protection of the environment, international relations, globalization, and the financial crisis that has affected most of the world since 2008. And, of course, many moral, social, and philosophical issues appropriately lie beyond the reach of

international law of any kind.

The materials in this book are generally organized around distinct problems, selected to illustrate the real issues that face human rights lawyers and to demonstrate how and why human rights law has developed in the way that it has. Most of the 13 chapters are organized around a specific factual situation, and each is accompanied by selected readings, comments, and questions designed to raise the most significant contemporary human rights issues. The situations presented are intended to serve as points of departure for the exploration of the relevant principles, procedures, and policies for protecting human rights through the international (and domestic) legal process. These situations are necessarily presented in a summary fashion and are not intended to provide a comprehensive survey of the subject; the goal is simply to concentrate the student's attention on how international law can be invoked to protect human rights in concrete cases. The casebook is thus a teaching tool, not an encyclopedia or bibliography. Whenever possible, the materials make use of primary sources, such as treaties, international and domestic jurisprudence, UN resolutions, and documents emanating from various human rights bodies and procedures.

The first five chapters consider broadly the substantive content of contemporary international human rights law. The first three chapters examine the historical development of human rights law and its gradual definition through treaties, customary law, and so-called "soft law" instruments. Chapter 4 introduces the student to the related norms of international humanitarian law (or, the law of war) in the context of the "war on terror" proclaimed in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. This chapter, in particular, has undergone extensive revision since the

XXX Preface

fourth edition. Chapter 5 examines the scope of a state's obligations under international human rights law and also considers the obligations that might be imposed on other actors, including international organizations, transnational and national

corporations, and even individuals.

The next section of six chapters deals with various aspects of the implementation of human rights norms. Chapter 6 considers the crucial element of domestic enforcement, focusing on developments in U.S. jurisprudence over the past 30 years. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 deal with supervisory mechanisms created by the United Nations and two of the three regional human rights regimes; the third regional system of protection (Africa) is considered by way of example in Chapter 5. Substantively, the European materials are focused on the issues of religion and privacy, while the inter-American materials consider the regional response to the phenomenon of disappearances in Argentina in the 1970s and 1980s. Chapters 10 and 11 examine the most extreme forms of enforcement: coercion against governments, through the imposition of sanctions and even the use of military force (taking the situation in Darfur, Sudan, as an example), and holding individuals accountable for human rights violations that also constitute international or domestic crimes.

The final two chapters address particular issues of human rights implementation that combine law and politics. Chapter 12 analyzes issues associated with fact-finding by both nongovernmental organizations and international bodies. Chapter 13 surveys the complex issue of how human rights concerns have been (or should be) integrated into a country's relations with other states, utilizing the

U.S.-China relationship by way of example.

This casebook is designed primarily for use in a one-semester, three-hour course or seminar at the law school or university level, although such an approach is increasingly difficult as the range of relevant human rights issues and institutions expands. With some omissions, the book also could be used in a shorter seminar, although balancing depth and breadth of coverage is always difficult. While a background in international law would certainly be helpful to both students and teachers, it is not required for an adequate understanding of most of the materials. Some of the particularly technical legal issues, such as domestic implementation, might be omitted if the book is used in a school or department of international relations, as opposed to a law school or faculty. Similarly, one might choose to exclude human-rights-related issues, such as the use of force or international criminal law, if pressed for time. While many of the materials focus on the United States, comparative analysis of other domestic jurisdictions is included where possible.

The problem-oriented nature of the materials is designed to engage the student in thinking about concrete issues and the application of human rights law to the "real world." Philosophical issues are addressed at various points in the book, but our primary purpose is to explore the practice of human rights in depth, rather than the theory. Many of the problems lend themselves to student role-playing, and the materials present different perspectives and positions on many of the more hotly contested issues in human rights. For all of its sophistication, human rights law—indeed, international law in general—is in constant movement, and many of the materials present the student with alternatives that are actively under discussion rather than offering the "correct" answer to every question. The materials do not attempt to provide a synopsis of human rights law for the casual reader; rather,

they are intended to focus attention on the theoretical and legal underpinnings of the international human rights regime, as well as on contemporary, cutting-edge

issues that are still in dispute.

Finally, this book strives to present a picture of international human rights law as it is, not as we might wish it to be, while understanding that the substantive scope of human rights is constantly evolving. Human rights advocates can justifiably claim a great deal of success over the past 60 years, and the shield of sovereignty that protected states from external criticism over how they treated their own citizens is gone forever. At the same time, however, merely adopting new declarations or citing the progressive opinions of independent experts does not automatically create effective international law. International law is under increasing challenge today on a number of fronts, and human rights law is not immune from that challenge. "North-South" issues, the unilateral use of force by states. economic and political instability, and a near obsession with "terrorism" pose challenges to the structure and normative foundation of international law itself. Only with a full understanding of the constraints on international law can students (and activists) move forward in the most effective manner possible. There is no dichotomy between realism and idealism, because both are necessary; however, neither cynicism disguised as realpolitik nor willfully exaggerated claims for the power of law are useful.

The first edition of this book was published in 1979, when issues such as domestic enforcement of human rights norms, international criminal accountability, and the use of force against human rights violators were little more than theories. It is a tribute to the prescience of the authors of that first edition, Richard B. Lillich and Frank C. Newman, that the subjects addressed 30 years later and the general approach of the book have largely remained the same. Of course, those who have used previous editions will notice that substantial material in this edition is different from that in the fourth edition, as the still-new 21st century continues to bring

significant changes and challenges to the field of human rights.

Hurst Hannum S. James Anaya Dinah L. Shelton

December 2010

Acknowledgments

This edition of the casebook was greatly facilitated by the support its three authors—Hurst Hannum, S. James Anaya, and Dinah L. Shelton—have had from their respective universities and from many colleagues, friends, and loved ones. In particular, Hurst Hannum would like to thank Ann for putting up with too many

long hours in the midst of yet another major household move.

S. James Anaya, likewise, is grateful to his family—Jana, Andrea, and Emilio—for their constant patience and loving support for this and all his professional endeavors. Additionally, he thanks Nichole Friederichs, Moira Gracey, Maia Campbell, Leonardo Alvarado, Kate Shaw, and Abra Lyman for assisting with the research for Chapters 1, 3, 6, 7, and 12 and for providing useful comments on the text.

For her part, Dinah L. Shelton gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Daniel Nadel (JD, George Washington University Law School, 2006) in preparing the documentary supplement. She would also like to thank the research librarians at GWU for their unwavering support and rapid response in obtaining books and articles for this work. Luke Wilson (JD 2009) and other students in the human rights course offered valuable insights and keen eyes in reading the assigned text. Judges, commissioners, and staff attorneys on the regional human rights bodies were generous with their time and assistance in preparing Chapters 5, 8, and 9.

Countless colleagues at other universities, in government, at international organizations, and in private practice and non-governmental organizations have shared their experiences with us and helped us to understand (and, we hope, explain) the complexities of several areas of the ever-expanding and changing body of international human rights law. We thank them all.

The editors also wish to express their appreciation to the following authors, periodicals, and publishers for their permission to reproduce materials from their publications.

Acheson, Dean, The Arrogance of International Lawyers, 2 International Law 591,

591-599 (1968). Reprinted by permission.

Alston, Philip, The Commission on Human Rights in The United Nations and Human Rights 139, 145-153, 155, 158-161, 165, 167-168, 171-173, 175-177, 180-181 (Philip Alston ed. 1992). Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

Anaya, S. James, Indigenous Peoples in International Law 16-19 (2d ed. 2004).

Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

——, The Maya Petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights: Indigenous Land and Resource Rights, and the Conflict over Logging and Oil in Southern Belize in Giving Meaning to Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights 180-211 (Isfahan Merali and Valerie Oosterveld eds. 2001). Reprinted by permission of the University of Pennsylvania Press.

Anstey, Roger, The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810 94-97,

126-127, 212-217 (1975). Reprinted by permission.

- Aptel, Cecile, Closing the U.N. International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda: Completion Strategy and Residual Issues, 14 New Eng. J. Int'l & Comp. L. 169, 186-188 (2008).
- Asiimwe, Arthur, Rwanda Estimates 1 Million Face Genocide Charges, Reuters, January 14, 2005. Reprinted by permission.
- Baxter, Modernizing the Law of War, 78 Military Law Review 165, 168-173 (1978). This article is reprinted from the Military Law Review, Department of the Army Pamphlet 27-100 Series: The opinions and conclusions expressed therein are those of the individual author, and do not necessarily represent the views of the Judge Advocate General's School, the United States Army, or any other governmental agency.
- Belgrade Minimal Rules of Procedure for International Human Rights Fact-Finding Missions. Reproduced with permission from 75 American Journal of International Law 163, 163-165 (1981), © The American Society of International
- Benatar, Pat and Roger Capps, "My Clone Sleeps Alone." Reprinted with permission.
- Bilder, Richard, Rethinking International Human Rights: Some Basic Questions, 1969 Wisconsin Law Review 171, 205-207. Copyright 1969 by the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System. Reprinted by permission of the Wisconsin Law Review.
- Bolivar, Simon, Message to the Congress of Bolivia (May 25, 1826) in Selected Writings of Bolivar, 1810-1830 (Vicente Lecuna and Harold A. Bierck eds. 1951). Reprinted by permission.
- Borelli, Silvia, Casting Light on the Legal Black Hole: International Law and Detentions Abroad in the "War on Terror," 87 International Review of the Red Cross 39, 45,48-49, 52-53, 65, 68 (No. 857, March 2005). Reprinted by permission.
- Bowden, Mark, Black Hawk Down, A Story of Modern War 63, 106, 125, 217 (1999). Copyright © 1999. Used by permission of Grove/Atlantic, Inc.
- Bradley, Curtis, The Juvenile Death Penalty and International Law, 52 Duke Law Journal 485, 541-544, 557 (2002). Reprinted by permission.
- Brysk, Alison, Global Good Samaritans: Human Rights as Foreign Policy, 3-6, 19-23, 28, 40 (2009).
- Buchwald, Art, Moderate Repression, International Herald-Tribune, December 20-21, 1980, at 16. Reprinted by permission.
- Buergenthal, R. Norris, The Inter-American System for the Protection of Human Rights in 2 Human Rights in International Law 482-484 (Theodor Meron ed. 1984). Reprinted by permission.
- Buergenthal, R. Norris and Dinah Shelton, Protecting Human Rights in the Americas, Selected Problems 299-301 (3d ed. 1990). Reprinted by permission.
- Buergenthal, Thomas and John Bolton. An Exchange. Reproduced with permission from 1993 American Society of International Law, Proceedings 241-242, © The American Society of International Law.
- Carothers, Thomas, Democracy and Human Rights: Policy Allies or Rivals? 17 Washington Quarterly 109, 110-111 (1994).
- The Democracy Nostrum, 11 World Policy Journal 47, 47-48 (No. 3, 1994).
- Cassese, Antonio, International Criminal Law 37-38, 40, 41 (2003). Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

Charlesworth, Hilary, Feminist Methods in International Law. Reproduced with permission from 93 American Journal of International Law 379, 382-383, 387-388 (1999), © The American Society of International Law.

Cmiel, Kenneth, The Emergence of Human Rights Politics in the United States, 86 Journal of American History 1231-1250 (December 1999). Copyright © Organization of American Historians. All Rights Reserved. Used with permis-

sion of the copyright holder.

Conetta, Carl, Disappearing the Dead: Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Idea of a "New Warfare," Project on Defense Alternatives Research Monograph #9, sec. 7 (2004). Reprinted by permission.

Davis, David, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution: 1770-1823 41-44

(1975). Reprinted by permission.

Douglass, Frederick, The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro, Rochester, NY (July 5, 1852) in 2 The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass: The Pre-Civil War Decade, 1850-1860 188-192 (Philip S. Foner ed. 1950). Reprinted by permission.

Draper, Gerald, Human Rights and the Law of War, 12 Virginia Journal of

International Law 326, 326-333 (1972). Reprinted by permission.

Economist, The, Goldstone on Gaza: A UN Report on the Fighting in Gaza Is Deeply Flawed. But That Should Not Stop Israel Holding Itself and Its Soldiers to the Highest Standards (Sept. 17, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

Editorial, Speak Louder on Rights in China, The New York Times, August 29,

1994, at A14. Reprinted by permission.

- Falk, Richard, Why the Goldstone Report Matters, Sabbah Report (Sept. 22, 2009).
- Feder, Don, Human Rights Not a Foreign Policy Concern, Boston Globe, March 11, 2002.
- Fisch, Audrey, American Slaves in Victorian England: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture 52-54, 70-71 (2000). Reprinted with permission of Cambridge University Press.

Fitzpatrick, Joan, Human Rights in Crisis: The International System for Protecting Rights During States of Emergency 36-38, 52-66 (1994). Reprinted by permission of the Lie of

sion of the University of Pennsylvania Press.

——, Rendition and Transfer in the War Against Terrorism: Guantánamo and Beyond, 25 Loyola of Los Angeles International & Comparative Law Review 457, 471, 480-481, 490-492 (2003). Reprinted by permission.

——, The Role of Domestic Courts in Enforcing International Human Rights Law in Guide to International Human Rights Practice 247, 253-254 (Hurst

Hannum ed., 3d ed. 1999). Reprinted by permission.

Franck, Thomas M., Editorial Comment, Criminals, Combatants, or What? An Examination of the Role of Law in Responding to the Threat of Terror. Reproduced with permission from 98 American Journal of International Law 686 (2004), © The American Society of International Law.

Glennon, Michael J., Limits of Law, Prerogatives of Power: Interventionism after

Kosovo 177-178, 203 (2001). Reprinted with permission.

Goldsmith, Jack, The Self-Defeating International Criminal Court, 70 University of Chicago Law Review 89, 89-92, 95-99, 101-102 (2003). Reprinted by permission.

- Graling, A.C. and David Rieff, Global Rights? A Debate Between Graling and Rieff, 38 Prospect Magazine, London (February 1999). Reprinted with permission.
- Hannum, Hurst, Fact-Finding by Non-Governmental Human Rights Organizations in Fact-Finding Before International Tribunals 293, 301-303 (Richard B. Lillich ed. 1992). Reprinted with permission.
- ——, The Rights of Persons Belonging to Minorities in Human Rights: Concepts and Standards 277-294 passim (Janusz Symonides ed. 2000). Reprinted with permission.
- Henkin, Louis, Editorial Comment, NATO's Kosovo Intervention: Kosovo and the Law of "Humanitarian Intervention." Reproduced with permission from 93 American Journal of International Law 824, 824-825 (1999), © The American Society of International Law.
- ——, The International Bill of Rights 9-11 (Louis Henkin ed. 1981). Reprinted with permission.
- Herbertson, Kirk et al., A Roadmap for Integrating Human Rights into the World Bank Group.
- Heyns, Christof, The African Regional Human Rights System: The African Charter, 108 Penn State Law Review 679, 680, 681-682, 686, 687, 688-689, 691-692, 693-694, 695-696, 697-698, 700-701 (2004). Reprinted with permission.
- Howland, Todd, Op-Ed: In Haiti, Rhetoric Trumps Human Rights, Boston Globe, August 16, 2005, at A15. Reprinted with permission.
- Howse, Robert and Makau Mutua, Protecting Human Rights in a Global Economy:
 Challenges for the World Trade Organization, Rights and Democracy (2000).
 Reprinted with permission.
- Humphrey, John, The International Bill of Rights: Scope and Implementation, 17 William & Mary Law Review 529, 577 (1976).
- ——, The International Law of Human Rights in the Middle Twentieth Century in The Present State of International Law and Other Essays 75 (1973). Reprinted by permission of Aspen Publishers, a division of Wolters Kluwer.
- ——, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Its History, Impact and Juridical Character in Human Rights: Thirty Years After the Universal Declaration 21-37 (B.G. Ramcharan ed. 1979). Reprinted with permission.
- IBRD/World Bank, Development and Human Rights: The Role of the World Bank 2-4, 5-6, 8, 11, 12, 30 (1998).
- Ignatieff, Michael, Is the Human Rights Era Ending? The New York Times, February 5, 2002, at A25. Reprinted with permission.
- Independent International Commission on Kosovo, Kosovo Report 41-42, 43, 44, 50, 67, 71, 72, 74, 76-78, 82-83, 88, 97 (2000). Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.
- Inter-American Court of Human Rights, Case of the Mayagna (Sumo) Community of Awas Tingni: Transcript of the public hearing on the merits, November 16, 17, and 18, 2000, at the seat of the Court (unofficial translation), published in 19 Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law 129, 132-156 (2002). Reprinted by permission.
- International Commission of Jurists, Disappointing Start to New U.N. Procedure on Human Rights, 9 International Commission of Jurists Review 5, 5-7 (1972). Reprinted with permission.

-, Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy 32-38 (1984). Reprinted with

permission.

International Law Association, Committee on the Enforcement of Human Rights Law, Final Report on the Status of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in National and International Law, Report of the Sixty-Sixth Conference 525, 544-549 (Buenos Aires 1995). Reprinted with permission.

Report of the Seventieth Conference 797 (New Delhi 2002).

Interview with Guy Womack, "Hardball with Chris Matthews," MSNBC, January 5, 2005.

Kamminga, Menno, T., Lessons Learned from the Exercise of Universal Jurisdiction in Respect of Gross Human Rights Offenses, 23 Human Rights Quarterly 940, 941-942, 943-944, 951-953, 954, 955, 956-958, 959, 960, 963, 964-965 (2001). © The Johns Hopkins University Press. Reprinted with permission of The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kirsch, Philippe and Valerie Oosterveld, Negotiating an Institution for the Twenty-First Century: Multilateral Diplomacy and the International Criminal Court, 46 McGill Law Journal 1141, 1143, 1145-1153, 1155-1158 (2001). Reprinted

with permission of the McGill Law Journal.

Kiss, Alexandre, Permissible Limitations on Rights in The International Bill of Rights: The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 290 (L. Henkin ed. 1981).

Kissinger, Henry, The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction, 80 Foreign Affairs (2001).

Reprinted with permission.

Koh, Harold Hongju, Review Essay: Why Do Nations Obey International Law? Reprinted by permission of the Yale Law Journal Company and William S. Hein Company from the Yale Law Journal, Vol. 106, pages 2599-2659.

Kourous, George and Tom Barry, U.S. China Policy: Trade, Aid, and Human Rights, 1(5) Foreign Policy in Focus (November 1996). Reprinted with

permission.

Levesque, Christian A., The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: A Primer for Raising a Defense Against the Juvenile Death Penalty in Federal Courts, 50 American University Law Review 755, 784-785 (2001). Reprinted with permission.

Lieutenant Duffy's Statement in Crimes of War: A Legal, Political-Documentary, and Psychological Inquiry into the Responsibility of Leaders, Citizens, and Soldiers for Criminal Acts in Ways 248, 249-254 (Richard A. Falk, Gabriel Kolko, and Robert Lifton eds. 1971). Reprinted with permission.

Lillich, Richard, Invoking International Human Rights Law in Domestic Courts,

54 University of Cincinnati Law Review 367, 394-395 (1985).

-, U.S. Foreign Policy, Human Rights, and Foreign Trade and Investment in Private Investors Abroad--Problems and Solutions in International Business in 1979 281, 288-291 (1979). Reprinted with permission.

Marks, Stephen, Emerging Human Rights: A New Generation for the 1980s? 33

Rutgers Law Review 435, 451-452 (1981). Reprinted by permission.

McDougal, Myers S. and W. Michael Reisman, Rhodesia and the United Nations: The Lawfulness of International Concern. Reproduced with permission from 62 American Journal of International Law 1, 1-19 (1968), © The American Society of International Law.

McGrory, Mary, Human Rights Retreat, The Washington Post, July 7, 1994, at Al.

Reprinted with permission.

Medina, Cecilia, The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights: Reflections on a Joint Venture, 12 Human Rights Quarterly 439-447 (1990). © The Johns Hopkins University Press. Reprinted with permission of The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Meron, The Case for War Crimes Trials in Yugoslavia, 72 Foreign Affairs 122

(1993).

Miers, Suzanne, Slavery and the Slave Trade as International Issues 1890-1939, 19(2) Slavery and Abolition 16-37 (1998). Reprinted with permission.

Moghalu, Kingsley Chiedu, The Evolving Architecture of International Law: Image and Reality of War Crimes Justice: External Perceptions of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 26 Fletcher F. World Aff. 21, 33-35, 42-43 (Fall 2002).

Murphy, Sean, Humanitarian Intervention: The United Nations in an Evolving World Order 217-243 (1996). Reprinted by permission of the University of

Pennsylvania Press.

Olson, Laura M., Practical Challenges of Implementing the Complementarity Between International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law—Demonstrated by the Procedural Regulation of Internment in Non-International Armed Conflict, 40 Case W. Res. J. Int'l L. 437 (2009).

Orentlicher, Diane, Bearing Witness: The Art and Science of Human Rights Fact-Finding, 3 Harvard Human Rights Journal 83, 85, 92-108, 135 (1990). © 1990 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College and the Harvard Human

Rights Journal.

——, Settling Accounts: The Duty to Prosecute Human Rights Violations of a Prior Regime. Reprinted by permission of the Yale Law Journal Company and William S. Hein Company from the Yale Law Journal, Vol. 100, pages 2537-2615.

——, Whose Justice? Reconciling Universal Jurisdiction with Democratic Principles, 92 Georgetown Law Journal 1057, 1059-1060, 1133-1134 (2004).

Reprinted with permission.

——, Yugoslavia War Crimes Tribunal. Reproduced with permission from ASIL Focus 1-4 (No. 1, 1993), © The American Society of International Law.

Overholt, William H., Be Tougher on Burma Than China, Asian Wall Street

Journal, July 4, 2003. Reprinted with permission.

Priest, Dana and Barton Gellman, U.S. Decries Abuse but Defends Interrogations: "Stress and Duress" Tactics Used on Terrorism Suspects Held in Secret Overseas Facilities, The Washington Post, December 26, 2002, at Al. © 2002, The Washington Post. Reprinted with permission.

Ramcharan, Bertrand, Evidence in International Law and Fact-Finding in the Field of Human Rights 64, 77-80 (Bertrand Ramcharan ed. 1982). Reprinted

with permission.

Ratner, Steven, Editorial Comment, Belgium's War Crimes Statute: A Postmortem. Reproduced with permission from 97 American Journal of International Law 888, 888-889, 891-892, 893, 896 (2003), © The American Society of International Law.

Ratner, Steven and Jason Abrams, Accountability for Human Rights Atrocities in International Law 8-9, 11, 366-368 (3d ed. 2009). Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

Reinisch, August, Developing Human Rightsand Humanitarian Law Accountability of the Security Council for the Imposition of Economic Sanctions. Reproduced with permission from 95 American Journal of International Law 851, 851-852 (2001), © The American Society of International Law.

Restatement (Third) of the Foreign Relations Law of the United States sec. 702 (1987). © 1987 by the American Law Institute. Reprinted with permission of

the American Law Institute.

Richardson, Sophie, Is Talking to Beijing About Human Rights a Waste of Time? Foreign Policy, May 2010.

Robertson, A.H., Human Rights in the World 255-259 (J.G. Merrills ed., 3d ed.

1989). Reprinted with permission.

Schachter, Oscar, The Charter and the Constitution: The Human Rights Provisions in American Law, 4 Vanderbilt Law Review 643, 646-653 (1951). Reprinted with permission.

Scheffer, David, Original Intent at the Global Criminal Court, Wall Street Journal Europe, September, 20, 2002. Reprinted with permission.

Schell, Orville H., Carter on Rights—A Re-Evaluation, The New York Times,

October 25, 1984, at A27. Reprinted with permission.

- Schwelb, Egon, The Influence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on International and National Law. Reproduced with permission from 1959 American Society of International Law Proceedings 217, © The American Society of International Law.
- ——, The International Court of Justice and the Human Rights Clauses of the Charter. Reproduced with permission from 66 American Journal of International Law 337, 338, 341-350 (1972), © The American Society of International Law.

Sen, Amartya, Human Rights and Asian Values, The New Republic, July 14-July 21, 1997. Reprinted with permission.

Shelton, Dinah, The Boundaries of Human Rights Jurisdiction in Europe, 13 Duke Journal of International & Comparative Law 95, 96-102 (2003). Reprinted with permission.

——, Commentary and Conclusions in Compliance and Commitment: The Role of Non-Binding Instruments in the International Legal System 449-463

(2000). Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

——, Compliance Mechanisms [Periodic Reports] in United States Ratification of the International Covenants on Human Rights 151, 153-155 (H. Hannum and D. Fischer eds. 1993). © The American Society of International Law. Reprinted with permission.

——, Human Rights, Environmental Rights, and the Right to Environment, 28 Stanford Journal of International Law 103, 105, 106-109, 121-122 (1991).

Reprinted by permission.

——, Human Rights in Managing Global Issues 424, 438-442 (P.J. Simmons & C. de Jonge Oudraat eds. 2001). Reprinted by permission of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

——, The Inter-American Human Rights System in Guide to International Human Rights Practice 130-138 (4th ed., Hurst Hannum ed. 2004). Reprinted

with permission.

——, The Promise of Regional Human Rights Systems in The Future of International Human Rights 365-366, 369-370, 373, 377, 390-391, 393, 396 (B.H. Weston and S.P. Marks eds. 2000). Reprinted with permission.

- ——, Protecting Human Rights in a Globalized World, 25 Boston College International & Comparative Law Review 273, 275-276, 278-280 (2002). Copyright © 2002 by Boston College Law School. Reprinted with permission.
- Simmons, Beth, Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics (2009).
- Smith, Andrew, International Conflict and the Media, A Curriculum Guide: Incubator Baby Incident. At http://www.globaled.org/curriculum/cml8a .html and http://www.globaled.org/curriculum/cml8h.html. Reprinted by permission.
- Smith, Daniel, New Protections for Victims of International Armed Conflicts: The Proposed Ratification of Protocol II by the United States, 120 Military Law Review 59, 63-65 (1988). This article is reprinted from the Military Law Review, Department of the Army Pamphlet 27-100 Series: The opinions and conclusions expressed therein are those of the individual author, and do not necessarily represent the views of the Judge Advocate General's School, the United States Army, or any other governmental agency.
- Solf, Waldemar A., Problems with the Application of Norms Governing Interstate Armed Conflict to Non-International Armed Conflict, 13 Georgia Journal of International & Comparative Law 291, 295-296 (1983). Reprinted with permission.
- Steinhardt, Ralph, Laying One Bankrupt Critique to Rest: Sosa v. Alvarez Machain and the Future of International Human Rights Litigation in U.S. Courts, 57 Vanderbilt Law Review 2241, 2283-2287 (2004). Reprinted by permission.
- Stevens, Brett, Does Obama Believe in Human Rights? Wall Street Journal, Oct. 19, 2009.
- Temperley, Howard, The Ideology of Antislavery in The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa and the Americas 26-29 (D. Eltis and J. Walvin eds. 1981). Reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press.
- U.S. Institute for Peace, U.S. Human Rights Policy: A 20 Year Assessment, United States Institute of Peace Special Report (June 16, 1999). Reprinted with permission.
- Walvin, James, The Public Campaign in England Against Slavery, 1787-1834 in The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa and the Americas 69-76 (D. Eltis and J. Walvin eds. 1981). Reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press.
- Weiss, Thomas G., Sanctions as a Foreign Policy Tool: Weighing Humanitarian Impulses, 36 Journal of Peace Research 499 (No. 5, 1999). Reprinted by permission of Sage Publications Ltd. Copyright © International Peace Research Institute (Oslo) PRIO, 1999.
- Yokota, Yozo and Chiyuki Aoi, Japan's Foreign Policy Towards Human Rights: Uncertain Changes in Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy (D. Forsythe ed. 2000). Reprinted with permission.

Summary of Contents

Table of Contents Preface Acknowledgments		ix xxix xxxiii
Chapter 1	The Concept of Human Rights From Morality to Law: The Abolition of Slavery	1
Chapter 2	Guaranteeing Human Rights by Treaty Is There a Right to a Safe and Healthy Environment?	57
Chapter 3	The Development of Human Rights Norms Through Non-Binding Instruments How and Why Do New International Human Rights Norms Emerge Other Than by Treaty?	141
Chapter 4	Human Rights in Extremis How Can Human Rights Be Protected in Times of Terrorism, Civil Strife, and Armed Conflict?	213
Chapter 5	Who Is Obligated to Promote and Protect Human Rights? Oil Exploration and Exploitation in the Niger River Delta	351
Chapter 6	Domestic Enforcement Mechanisms Are States' Courts Bound to Apply International Human Rights Norms?	483
Chapter 7	UN Human Rights Mechanisms How Are Human Rights Implemented at the Global Level?	581
Chapter 8	The European System for the Protection of Human Rights Guaranteeing the Right to Freedom of Religion and Belief at the Regional Level	675
Chapter 9	Human Rights in the Americas Responding to Disappearances in Argentina	779

Chapter 10	Coercing Compliance with Human Rights Norms: Sanctions and Armed Intervention Can the International Community Prevent Human Rights Violations by Threatening	s: 855
	or Using Force?	822
Chapter 11	International Criminal Law	
	Can We Deter Human Rights Violations by Using the Criminal Justice Process?	951
Chapter 12	The Problem of Fact-Finding and Evidence How Are Human Rights Violations	
	Investigated?	1043
Chapter 13	Human Rights and Foreign Policy The United States-China Relationship	1117
	,	
Index		1213

Table of Contents

Prej		edgments	xxix xxxiii
TICK	nowie	ragments	xxxiii
Cl	napt	ter 1	A - 1
Th	e Co	oncept of Human Rights	
-, 1	Fron	n Morality to Law: The Abolition of Slavery	
I.	Th	e Concept of Human Rights	2
II.	Th	e Movement to Abolish Slavery and the Slave Trade	2 3 3
	A.	Introduction	3
	В.	The Moral and Philosophical Evolution	5
		David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the	
		Age of Revolution, 1770-1823	5
		Roger Anstey, The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition,	
		1760-1810	6
	C.	Economic and Political Factors	8
		Howard Temperley, The Ideology of Antislavery	8
		James Walvin, The Public Campaign in England Against Slavery,	
		1787-1834	9
	D.	The Rhetoric of Abolition	12
		Simon Bolivar, Message to the Congress of Bolivia (May 25, 1826)	12
		Audrey A. Fisch, American Slaves in Victorian England:	
		Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture	12
		Frederick Douglass, The Meaning of July Fourth for	
		the Negro, Rochester, NY (July 5, 1852)	13
	E.	The Legal Evolution	14
		The Case of James Sommersett	14
		Suzanne Miers, Slavery and the Slave Trade as International Issues,	
		1890-1939	23
		Comments and Questions	28
III.	The	e Philosophical Underpinnings of Human Rights	32
	A.	Natural Law	32
		S. James Anaya, Indigenous Peoples in International Law	32
	В.	Legal Positivism	35
	C.	Critical Legal Studies	36
	D.	Feminist Perspectives	37
		Hilary Charlesworth, Feminist Methods in International Law	37
	E.	Cultural Relativism	39
		Amartya Sen, Human Rights and Asian Values	40
		Comments and Questions	44
IV.	AB	Brief History of Human Rights in International Law and Institutions	47
		, , ,	. /