



#### MODULE OVERVIEW

<b>Module Name:</b>	Human Rights, Accountability and World Politics
<b>Module Code:</b>	PUBL0059
<b>Lecturer:</b>	Dr. M. Rodwan Abouharb
<b>Seminar Leader:</b>	Dr. M. Rodwan Abouharb
<b>Office Hours:</b>	TBC
<b>Teaching:</b>	10 hours of lectures, 10 hours of seminars
<b>Credits:</b>	15
<b>Assessment Method:</b>	3,000 word essay
<b>Assessment Deadline/s:</b>	TBC

#### USEFUL LINKS

[UCL Timetable](#)

[Extenuating Circumstances](#)

[Essay Extensions](#)

[Penalties for Late Submission](#)

[Penalties for Overlength Essays](#)

[Essay Submission Information](#)

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[Plagiarism and TurnItIn](#)

[Plagiarism and Academic Writing - a Guide for Students](#) (you will need to log in and enrol yourself on the page)

## Human Rights, Accountability and World Politics

**Lectures:** TBC

**Seminar Group 1:** TBC

**Lecturer:** Dr M. Rodwan Abouharb

**Virtual Office Hours:** TBC

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### Aims and Objectives

This module explores the development of human rights norms and practices in international politics. We focus on civil and political rights. These rights are designed to protect individuals from a variety of repressive actions including killing, torture, arbitrary imprisonment and enforced disappearances. We will examine what social science can contribute to our understanding of these rights, why states violate them, and the role of international institutions, states, and non-state actors in protecting them. The readings and discussion will introduce students to the major theoretical frameworks for understanding state human rights performance using both historical and comparative approaches to the topic. Particular attention will be given work that employs principal-agent theory in the analysis of human rights violations. The module will explore the role of political and economic conditions such as regime type, conflict, economic development in the protection or violation of human rights and the impact of human agency and decisions. Finally, it will examine questions of international intervention and the development of accountability mechanisms in the effort to protect human rights. The topic raises interesting normative and empirical questions and the course lectures, seminars, and assessment methods – with student choice of country focus for essays -- are designed to contribute to an appreciation and understanding of both types of questions.

### Lecture overview

Lecture Topic
1. What are human rights?
2. Philosophical foundations of human rights
3. Legal foundations: Is it dawn or dusk for human rights?
4. Empirical theory and evidence: Structural and institutional approaches to human rights violations
5. Empirical theory and evidence: Genocide/mass killing
6. Empirical theory and evidence: Principals and agents of atrocity
7. Empirical theory and evidence: sexual violence
8. Non-state actors and human rights
9. Improving Human Rights: Intervention and prevention
10. Improving Human Rights: Truth, justice, or oblivion

### Learning outcomes

- Understand the conceptual, cultural, normative, and legal basis of human rights
- Critically analyse social science theories and evidence used in the analysis of human rights
- Develop an understanding of the role of states and non-state actors in relation to human rights

- Examine and evaluate intervention policy and accountability mechanisms as they apply to human rights

## Organisation of Teaching

The course is taught through 10 weekly recorded lectures and 10 in-person seminars. Seminar attendance is compulsory. Lectures will address the week's topic in the context of the research literature and available evidence. The topics are designed sequentially to move the module from the origins of human rights as a concept and a challenge to sovereignty, to their place in world politics and why they are violated. We finish by considering how to clear up after violations. Seminars examine the week's topic in more detail through a particular debate, subject, or reading. The object of the seminar is to encourage and facilitate student participation and interaction as well as broaden students' understandings of the issues and debates introduced in the lectures. Students will be expected to contribute to the debate and discussion. The essay requires research and one/two of the seminars will be used to engage students with the research process through a collective data project, which is not marked or assessed.

## Assessment

**ASSESSMENT OF THE MODULE WILL BE ONE ESSAY.**

**ESSAY: A CASE ANALYSIS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ACCOUNTABILITY**

The essay requires independent research. Select country X (Algeria to Zimbabwe). Describe the nature and degree of human rights violations reported in the country and the basis for identifying practices as human rights violations. Drawing on the theoretical literature presented in the course, what factors help explain the human rights violations described? What, if anything, should the international community or other state or non-state actors do about it?

## Seminar discussion

Seminar discussions provide an opportunity for discussion of contentious issues, the research literature and to participate in a panel discussion of human rights conditions in the essay choice country, with preliminary thoughts on what should be done to improve human rights conditions. I expect you to come with points prepared and if asked to talk for 3 minutes, (no PowerPoints).

*A note on plagiarism.* Cheating and plagiarism are unacceptable. If you are caught doing either you will be subject to the disciplinary procedures spelled out in the University Handbook. Please consult the Handbook for a comprehensive description of academic dishonesty. If you have any questions please ask ahead of time.

## Reading and resources

### Required Readings:

Full text available online through UCL Library catalogue

1. Donnelly, Jack. 2013. *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*. Cornell: Cornell University Press. ISBN 9780801450952  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucl/detail.action?docID=3138459#>
2. Samantha Power (2002). *A Problem from Hell: American and the age of genocide*. New York: Basic Books. <https://hdl-handle-net.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/2027/heb.03947>
3. Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. MIT Press.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=nlebk&AN=100040&site=ehost-live&scope=site&custid=s8454451>

### **Recommended Reading:**

1. Carey, Sabine, Mark Gibney, and Steven Poe. (2010). *The Politics of Human Rights: The Quest for Dignity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
<https://www.vlebooks.com/Product/Index/2007573?page=0>

### **Useful Human Rights Sites:**

#### **IGO and Government Sources**

A Summary of United Nations Agreements on Human Rights  
<http://www.hrweb.org/legal/undocs.html>

Universal Declaration of Human Rights  
<http://www.hrweb.org/legal/udhr.html>

United Nations/Women Watch  
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/>

U.S. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/hr/>  
This site offers reports from the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, in the U.S. State Department. <https://www.state.gov/reports-bureau-of-democracy-human-rights-and-labor/>

Perhaps most useful are the *Country Reports* issued by the U.S. State Department. This source provides in depth reports on human rights practices worldwide on a country-by-country basis: <https://www.state.gov/reports-bureau-of-democracy-human-rights-and-labor/country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/>

The United Kingdom, Foreign and Commonwealth Office also have a more limited selection of human rights reporting  
<https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/human-rights-and-democracy-reports>

#### **Academic Sources**

University of Minnesota Human Rights Library: <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/>  
An excellent site for those who wish to study some human rights issue in depth. One of the most extensive sources of human rights documents online. It includes links to over 4000 other sites.

#### **NGO Sources**

Amnesty International: <http://www.amnesty.org/>  
Provides many interesting features. Among them are a “News” Link on what is going on around the world, and an annual report on human rights conditions worldwide.

Human Rights Watch: [www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)  
Human Rights Watch is the largest human rights organization based in the United States. Human Rights Watch researchers conduct fact-finding investigations into human rights abuses in all regions of the world.

Freedom House: <https://freedomhouse.org/>

Freedom House, a non-profit, nonpartisan organization, US-based non-governmental organization. It is a clear voice advocating more democracy and freedom around the world. Through a vast array of international programs and publications, Freedom House is working to advance the remarkable worldwide expansion of political and economic freedom.

## Human Rights Data Sets

### CIRIGHTS Dataset

Cingranelli, David, Mikhail Filippov, and Brendan Skip Mark. 2021. The CIRIGHTS Dataset. Version 2021.01.21. The Binghamton University Human Right Institute, [www.binghamton.edu/institutes/hri/](http://www.binghamton.edu/institutes/hri/)

Description:

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1ZxuitRNKpTcEpwi\\_1p8u0IRnib7ggTKF9TQcf\\_jbmo0/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1ZxuitRNKpTcEpwi_1p8u0IRnib7ggTKF9TQcf_jbmo0/edit)

Data here:

[https://www.dropbox.com/sh/t8utmzsvde8m63q/AAAs1\\_WIJTqXurAE5nvEKWE5a?dl=0](https://www.dropbox.com/sh/t8utmzsvde8m63q/AAAs1_WIJTqXurAE5nvEKWE5a?dl=0)

### Political Terror Scale

<http://www.politicalterror scale.org/>

Codebook: <https://www.politicalterror scale.org/Data/Files/PTS-Codebook-V140.pdf>

Date here: <https://www.politicalterror scale.org/Data/>

### Varieties of Democracy dataset has a large number of rights under its civil liberties section

<http://v-dem.net/>

Codebook: <https://www.v-dem.net/static/website/img/refs/codebookv111.pdf>

Data here: <http://v-dem.net/vdemds.html>

### Ill-Treatment and Torture Data Project

[https://faculty.ucmerced.edu/cconrad2/Academic/ITT\\_Data\\_Collection.html](https://faculty.ucmerced.edu/cconrad2/Academic/ITT_Data_Collection.html)

Codebook:

[https://faculty.ucmerced.edu/cconrad2/Academic/Under\\_the\\_Hood\\_files/ITTCODEBOOKNorms6May10.pdf](https://faculty.ucmerced.edu/cconrad2/Academic/Under_the_Hood_files/ITTCODEBOOKNorms6May10.pdf)

Data here: <https://faculty.ucmerced.edu/cconrad2/Academic/Data.html>

### Freedom House: Freedom in the World

Codebook: <https://freedomhouse.org/reports/freedom-world/freedom-world-research-methodology>

Data here: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world>

## Term Sessions

### Week 1: What are human rights and who can speak for them?

This module examines those human rights sometimes referred to as first generation human rights. We will be concerned with civil and political liberty and protection against torture, killing and political imprisonment, rather than economic and social rights. The idea of human rights is sometimes criticised as part of a 'Western' cultural and political agenda and as essentially hypocritical. Western states own human rights performance may fall short of the standards used

to criticise others. The lecture explores these issues with an examination of the human rights performance of Western nations.

- Donnelly, Jack. 2013. *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*. Cornell: Cornell University Press. ISBN 9780801450952. Ch1  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucl/detail.action?docID=3138459>
- Hillebrecht, C. (2019). A Discussion of Kathryn Sikkink's Evidence for Hope: Making Human Rights Work in the 21st Century. *Perspectives on Politics*, 17(3), 810-811.
- Eric Posner. "The Case Against Human Rights", *The Guardian* (14.12.2014)  
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2014/dec/04/-sp-case-against-human-rights>
- Eric Posner "Are Human Rights Dead?" 1.3.17.  
<https://ericposner.com/are-human-rights-dead/>
- Alan Dershowitz Torture Could Be Justified
- <http://edition.cnn.com/2003/LAW/03/03/cna.Dershowitz/>
- Saville Inquiry Bloody Sunday Inquiry Report – at least ‘overall assessment’:  
<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/report-of-the-bloody-sunday-inquiry>
- Herbert Kelman and Lee Hamilton, "The My Lai Massacre," *Crimes of Obedience* pp1-12

### Recommended Reading

- Stephen Hopgood. 2013. *The Endtimes of Human Rights*. Cornell UP
- Eric Posner. 2014. *The Twilight of Human Rights*. CUP  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c2qBKq6UCnc>
- Helen Fein, *Imperial Crime and Punishment: The Massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh and British Judgement 1919-1920* University of Hawaii Press 1977.

## Week 2: Where Do Human Rights Come From?

### Questions to think About:

What are the different sources of human rights? Do these different sources affect the breadth of what are considered *human rights*? Does it matter if rights are conceived of as duties instead? Do these different sources affect whether these rights can be violated? What do you think of Donnelly's conception of human rights? Is his a weak conception? Could it be stronger or is that impossible?

### Required Reading

- Donnelly, Jack. 2013. *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*. Cornell: Cornell University Press. ISBN 9780801450952. Ch2-11  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucl/detail.action?docID=3138459>
- Landman, Todd. 2005. *Protecting Human Rights: A Comparative Study*. Georgetown University Press. Chapter 2.
- Makau Mutua, 'Savages Victims and Saviours,' *Harvard International Law Journal* (Winter 2001)
- Annan, Kofi. 1999. "Two Concepts of Sovereignty." *The Economist*.

Reading: The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Identify one or two human rights mentioned in the UDHR. Are these rights mentioned in either of the Covenants? If so, how is the language different in the two documents? Why do you think the language is different in the Covenants? How does Annan's conception of sovereignty speak to Donnelly's discussion? International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/cpr.html>  
Universal Declaration of Human Rights <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/udhr.html>

### Recommended Reading

- Carey, Gibney and Poe, *The Politics of Human Rights* ch 1 & 2.
- John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*
- Laura Donohue, *The Cost of Counterterrorism: Power, Politics and Liberty*, Cambridge University Press 2008
- Peter Jones, “Making Sense of Toleration,” *British Journal of Political Science* July 2007
- John Locke, *Second Treatise*
- Jeremy Bentham, *Anarchical Fallacies*
- Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights*
- Margaret Macdonald, *Natural Rights*
- Michael Walzer, *On Toleration*
- John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*
- Steven Lukes, “Five Fables About Human Rights,” *Dissent* (Fall 1993) in S. Shute and S. Hurley eds. *On Human Rights*.
- Steven Lukes, “Liberal Democratic Torture” *British Journal of Political Science* 2005
- (Geoffrey Levey, ‘Beyond Durkheim: A Comment on Lukes’s Liberal Democratic Torture’ *British Journal of Political Science* July 2007; Steven Lukes, ‘Response to Levey’ *British Journal of Political Science* July 2007).

### Week 3: Foundations of human rights: Legal and Institutional (is it dawn or dusk for human rights?)

What are the main elements of the international legal and institutional framework to protect human rights? Why do states ratify treaties that limit what they do within their borders and do they keep their promises? Do treaties and courts improve rights?

### Required Reading

- Donnelly, Jack. 2013. *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*. Cornell: Cornell University Press. ISBN 9780801450952. Ch11,12  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucl/detail.action?docID=3138459>
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2000. The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe. *International Organization* 52 (2):729-752.
- Neumayer, E. 2005. Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(6), 925–953.
- Emilie M.Hafner-Burton and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. 2005. “Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises.” *American Journal of Sociology* (March) 110: 1373-1411.
- Payne, Caroline L. and M. Rodwan Abouharb. 2016. ‘The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the strategic shift to forced disappearance.’ *Journal of Human Rights*, 15:2, 163-188.
- Appel, Ben, J. 2018. In the Shadow of the International Criminal Court: Does the ICC Deter Human Rights Violations? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(1), 3–28.

### Recommended Reading

- Morrow, James. 2007. ‘When do States Follow the Laws of War?’ *American Political Science Review*. 101(3), 559-572.
- Hathaway, Oona A. 2002. “Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?” *Yale Law Journal* 111 (June): 1935-204

- Kate Cronin-Furman. 2013. Managing Expectations: International Criminal Trials and the Prospects for the Deterrence of Mass Atrocity? *International Journal of Transitional Justice*.
- Carey, Gibney and Poe, *The Politics of Human Rights* ch 3.
- David Forsythe, *Human Rights in International Relations*, ch 3
- Seyom Brown, *Human Rights in World Politics*, ch 4
- Donnelly, Jack. 1986. International Human Rights: a Regime Analysis. *International Organization* 40 (3):599-642.
- Risse, Thomas. 1999. International Norms and Domestic Change: Arguing and Communicative Behavior in the Human Rights Area. *Politics & Society* 27 (4):529-559.
- Todd Landman, *Protecting Human Rights* (Georgetown University Press 2005).
- David P. Forsythe, *Human Rights in International Relations*, 2006, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition Cambridge UP. Chs. 2 and 3.
- Philip Alston ed. *The United Nations and Human Rights* Oxford: Clarendon Press 1995.
- Richard Falk, *The United Nations and a Just World Order*.
- Jack Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, (Westview Press 1993) pp19-38
- Keith, Linda Camp. 2002. "Constitutional Provisions for Individual Human Rights (1977-1996): Are they More than Mere 'Window Dressing'?" *Political Research Quarterly* 55 (March):111-143
- Kathryn Sikkink, *Mixed Signals: U.S. Human Rights Policy and Latin America* Cornell University Press 2004
- Beth Simmons, 2009. *Mobilizing for Human Rights*. CUP

#### **Week 4: Structural and institutional approaches to human rights violations**

Does social science contribute to our understanding of human rights protection? This week we move beyond single cases to the contributions of large scale statistical analyses of human rights violations and the measurement issues involved.

#### **Required Reading**

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Boston: MIT Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 8, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=nlebk&AN=100040&site=ehost-live&scope=site&custid=s8454451>
- Poe, Steven, C. Neal Tate, and Linda CampKeith. 1999. "Repression of the Human Right to Personal Integrity Revisited: A Global, Cross-National Study Covering the Years 1976–1993." *International Studies Quarterly* 43: 291–313.
- Møller, Jørgen & Svend-Erik Skaaning. 2013. 'Autocracies, democracies, and the violation of civil liberties' *Democratization*, 20(1): 82–106.
- Hill Jr., Daniel W., and Zachary M. Jones. 2014. "An Empirical Evaluation of Explanations for State Repression" *American Political Science Review* 108(3):661-687

#### **Recommended Reading**

- Marie Clark, Ann, and Kathryn Sikkink. 2013. "Information Effects and Human Rights Data: Is the Good News about Increased Human Rights Information Bad News for Human Rights Measures?" *Human Rights Quarterly* 35(3):539-568.



- Richards, D.L. 2016. The Myth of Information Effects in Human Rights Data: Response to Ann Marie Clark and Kathryn Sikkink. *Human Rights Quarterly* 38(2): 477-492.
- Steven Poe and Neil Tate, "Repression of Human Rights to Personal Integrity in the 1980s: A Global Analysis," *American Political Science Review*, (December 1994).
- Cingranelli, David and Mikhail Filippov 2018. "Are Human Rights Improving" *American Political Science Review*.
- Cingranelli, David and Mikhail Filippov, 'Electoral Rules and Incentives to Protect Human Rights,' *Journal of Politics* (January 2010).
- Carey, Gibney and Poe, *The Politics of Human Rights* ch 4 & 5.
- Ragnhild Nordas and Christian Davenport. 2013. "Fight the Youth: Youth Bulges and State ° Repression" *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4):926-940.
- Conrad, Courtenay R., and Emily Hencken Ritter. 2016. "Preventing and Responding to Dissent" *American Political Science Review*
- Christopher Fariss, 2014. Respect for Human Rights has Improved Over Time: Modeling the Changing Standard of Accountability *American Political Science Review* : 297-318.
- Hill Jr., Daniel W., and Zachary M. Jones. 2014. "An Empirical Evaluation of Explanations for State Repression" *American Political Science Review* 108(3):661-687
- Kristen Renwick Monroe, *Ethics in an age of terror and genocide*, Princeton 2012.
- Christian Davenport, and David Armstrong. 2004. "Democracy and the Violation of Human Rights: A Statistical Analysis from 1976 to 1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(July):538-554.
- Christian Davenport, *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007),
- Bruce Bueno De Mesquita, Feryal Maries Cherif, George W. Downs and Alastair Smith, "Thinking Inside the Box: A Closer Look at Democracy and Human Rights," *International Studies Quarterly* September 2005.
- Todd Landman, "Review Article: The Political Science of Human Rights," *The British Journal of Political Science* (Feb 2005).
- Todd Landman. 2004. "Measuring Human Rights: Principle, Practice, and Policy." *Human Rights Quarterly* 26: 906-931.
- Todd Landman, *Protecting Human Rights* (Georgetown University Press 2005).
- Zanger, Sabine. 2000. "A Global Analysis of the Effect of Political Regime Changes on Life Integrity Violations, 1977-1993." *Journal of Peace Research* 37(2):213-233
- Richards, David L. 1999. "Perilous Proxy: Human Rights and the Presence of National Elections." *Social Science Quarterly* 80 (December): 648-665.
- Cingranelli, David L. and David L. Richards. 1999. "Measuring the Level, Pattern, and Sequence of Government Respect for Physical Integrity Rights." *International Studies Quarterly* 43 (June): 407-417.
- Abouharb, M. Rodwan and Cingranelli, David L. 2007. *Human Rights and Structural Adjustment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neil J. Mitchell and James M. McCormick 1988 "Economic and Political Explanations of Human Rights Violations." *World Politics* 40:476-98.
- James McCormick and Neil Mitchell, "Human Rights Violations, Umbrella Concepts, and Empirical Analysis" *World Politics* (July 1997).
- Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Patrick M. Regan. "Threat and Repression: The Non-Linear Relationship Between Government and Opposition Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 33 (1996): 273-87.

## Week 5: Explaining genocide/mass killing

The focus this week is the Holocaust and subsequent episodes of genocide and mass killing. We draw on a variety of approaches that focus both on individual motivations and the role of structural and institutional factors to gain an understanding.

### Required Reading

- Harff, Barbara. 2003 "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955" *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 57-93.
- Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, at least ch.15
- Hannah Arendt. 1963. *Eichmann in Jerusalem. Chapter VI: The Final Solution: Killing Pp 83-111.*
- Cingranelli, David, Skip Mark, James B. Garvey, Jordan Hutt, and Yuri Lee (Forthcoming) "A Brutality-Based Approach to Identifying State-Led Atrocities," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

### Recommended Reading

- Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. London: The Bodley Head 2010, at least preface and pp. 379-414

### Films

PBS. 2014 *Ghosts of Rwanda*. <https://youtu.be/2xS65zyT4D8>

Oppenheimer, J. (Director). (2012). The Act Of Killing [Video file]. DogWoof. Retrieved January 24, 2022, from Kanopy.  
<https://ucl.kanopy.com/embed/5515372?v=20190405>

### Recommended Reading

- Stanley Milgram 'Some conditions of obedience and disobedience to authority' *Human Relations* (1965)
- Perry, G., Brannigan, A., Wanner, R. A., & Stam, H. (2020). Credibility and Incredulity in Milgram's Obedience Experiments: A Reanalysis of an Unpublished Test. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 83(1), 88–106. Scott Strauss, *Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership and Genocide in Modern Africa*. Cornell 2015
- Christopher R. Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* Cambridge Cambridge University Press 2000
- Richard Evans, *Lying About History*, Basic Books 2002
- Alan S. Zuckerman, "Political Science and the Jews" *American Political Science Review* 93 (December 1999):935-945
- Geoff Eley, "Ordinary Germans, Nazism, and Judeocide," in Eley ed *The Goldhagen Effect*
- Robert R. Shandley, 1998. *Unwilling Germans?* University of Minnesota Press
- Richard Rhodes, *Masters of Death: Himmler's Willing Executioners*
- Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* New York 1985
- Helen Fine, *Genocide* (Sage 1993).

- E. Finkel. 2015. “The Phoenix Effect: Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust.” *American Political Science Review*.
- R.J. Rummell, 1994. *Death by Government*. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Scott Strauss, ‘What Is the Relationship between Hate Radio and Violence? Rethinking Rwanda’s Radio Machete.’ *Politics and Society* 2007
- Masahiro Yamamoto. *Rape of Nanking : Separating Fact from Fiction*. Westport, CT, USA: Greenwood Publishing Group 2001
- Philip Gourevitch, *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families* Picador 1999.
- Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*, Hurst 1995
- Jean Hatzfeld, *Life Laid Bare: The Survivors in Rwanda Speak* Other Press 2007.
- Ravi Bhavani, ‘Accounting for Mass Participation in the Rwandan Genocide’ *Journal of Peace Research*, 2006: 1.
- Philip Verwimp, ‘Machetes and Firearms: The Organization of Massacres in Rwanda’ *Journal of Peace Research*, 2006: 6.
- Helen M. Hintjens, ‘Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda’ *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1999) pp 241-286.

### **Weeks 6: Principals and agents of atrocity**

What are the motives for human rights violations? How do social scientists incorporate individual accountability in their analyses? Are all civil wars equally hellish? This week examines theoretical approaches to violations and the contributions of principal-agent analysis.

### **Required Reading**

- Neil Mitchell, *Agents of Atrocity: Leaders, Followers, and the Violation of Human Rights in Civil Wars*. Palgrave Macmillan 2004. Chs 1,2, 6 and one other.
- Alexander Downes, ‘Desperate Times, Desperate Measures,’ *International Security* 2006

### **Recommended Reading**

- Dara Cohen and Raghilde Nordas, “Do States Delegate Shameful Violence to Militias? Patterns of Sexual Violence in Recent Armed Conflicts” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2015
- Robert J. Brym and Yael Maoz-Shai “Israeli State Violence during the Second Intifada: Combining New Institutional and Rational Choice Approaches” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 32:611–626, 2009  
<http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/soc101y/brym/isv.pdf>
- Barbara Donagan, “Atrocity, War Crime, and Treason in the English Civil War.” *American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 1137-66.
- Daniel Bar-Tal and Yona Teichman, *Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict: Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish Society* Cambridge UP 2005
- Benny Morris, 1990. *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Benny Morris, 1999. *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- James Ron, “Savage Restraint: Israel, Palestine, and the Dialectics of Legal Repression” *Social Problems* (November 2000).
- Robert Service, *Lenin*
- George Leggett, *The Cheka: Lenin’s Political Police*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
- Machiavelli, *The Prince*

- Brehm, John and Scott Gates. 1997. *Working, Shirking, and Sabotage: Bureaucratic Response to a Democratic Public* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

### **Week 7 Explaining human rights violations: sexual violence**

This week continues with principal-agent theory and explores the particular issue of sexual violence.

#### **Required Reading**

- Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2009. 'Armed groups and sexual violence: when is wartime sexual violence rare?' *Politics and Society* 37(1):131-161.
- Cohen, D. 2013. Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009). *American Political Science Review* 107(3): 461-477.
- Dara Kay Cohen, Amelia Hoover-Green, and Elisabeth Wood. 2013. 'Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications and Ways Forward' United States Institute for Peace.
- Gerald Schneider, Lilli Banholzer, and Laura Albarracin. 2015. Ordered Rape: A Principal-Agent Analysis of War-time sexual violence in the DRC. *Violence Against Women* 21(11) 1341–1363.
- Wood, E. J. 2018. Rape as a Practice of War: Toward a Typology of Political Violence. *Politics & Society*, 46(4): 513–537.

#### **Recommended Reading**

- Christopher K. Butler, Tali Gluch, and Neil J. Mitchell 'Security Forces and Sexual Violence: A Cross-National Analysis of a Principal-Agent Argument' *Journal of Peace Research* (November 2007) 44: 669-87.
- Michele Leiby, 'Wartime Sexual Violence in Guatemala and Peru' *International Studies Quarterly* 2009  
Violations and dissent:
- Gary Lafree, Laura Dugan and Raven Court. The impact of British counterterror strategies in Northern Ireland. *Criminology* 2009
- Dugan, Laura, and Erica Chenoweth. 2012. "Moving beyond Deterrence" *American Sociological Review* 77(4): 597-624.

### **Week 8: Improving human rights**

What can states and NGOs contribute to the protection of human rights? How do they influence state actors and what influences issue selection? This week we examine the role of non-state actors, the types of organisations involved and their impact on human rights.

#### **Required Reading**

- Carothers, Thomas and Saskia Brechenmacher. 2014. *Closing Space, Democracy and Human Rights Support Under Fire*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1-65.
- Risse, Thomas, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1999. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-38.
- Risse, Thomas, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink. 2013. *The Persistent Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch1.

- Krain, Matthew. 2012. *J'accuse!* Does Naming and Shaming Perpetrators Reduce the Severity of Genocides or Politicides? *International Studies Quarterly*. Cambridge 56(3): 574–589.
- Daniela Donno & Michael Neureiter. 2018 “Can human rights conditionality reduce repression? Examining the European Union’s economic agreements” *Review of International Organizations* 13: 335–357.

### Recommended Reading:

- Allendoerfer, Michelle Giacobbe, Amanda Murdie, and Ryan M Welch. 2020. The Path of the Boomerang: Human Rights Campaigns, Third-Party Pressure, and Human Rights, *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 64, Issue 1, March 2020, Pages 111–119
- James Meernik, Rosa Aloisi, Marsha Sowell, and Angela Nichols. 2012. ‘The Impact of Human Rights Organizations on Naming and Shaming Campaigns’ *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, April ; vol. 56, 2: pp. 233-256
- Clifford Bob. 2005. *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism*. Cambridge University Press. 2005. selected.
- James Ron, Howard Ramos and Kathleen Rodgers. 2005. “Transnational Information Politics: NGO Human Rights Reporting, 1986-2000” *International Studies Quarterly* September 2005.

### Week 9 Improving human rights: Intervention

What can be done about violations? Do other states or the international community have a duty to intervene? This lecture examines the case for intervention and the risks involved.

### Required Reading

1. Power, Samantha. 2002. *A Problem from Hell: American and the age of genocide*. New York: Basic Books. Ch1-7, 13-14, plus pick one country chapter from 8-12. <https://hdl-handle-net.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/2027/heb.03947>
- Kuperman, Alan. 2008. “The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans” *International Studies Quarterly*. 52:49-80.
- Kuperman, Alan J. 2013. “A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO’s Libya Campaign.” *International Security*. 38(1) 105–136.

### Recommended Reading

- Monica Duffy Toft, *Securing the Peace*, Princeton University Press 2009
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work?* Princeton University Press 2008
- Matthew Krain, “International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides” *International Studies Quarterly* 49:363-38
- Stanley Hoffmann, *The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention*
- Patrick Regan, “U.S. Economic Aid and Political Repression: An Empirical Evaluation of US Foreign Policy,” *Political Research Quarterly*, September 1995.

### Week 10 Improving Human Rights: Truth, justice or oblivion

What happens after atrocities? Should we hold perpetrators accountable or move on? What does accountability mean? The final lecture examines how we clean up after these disastrous events.

- Priscilla Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths* New York Routledge 2002 chs. 14,15.
- Brehm, Hollie Nyseth and Shannon Golden. 2017. "Centering Survivors in Local Transitional Justice." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*. 13:101–21.
- Sikkink, K., & Walling, C. B. 2007. The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America. *Journal of Peace Research*, 44(4), 427–445

#### Recommended Reading

- Neil Mitchell, *Democracy's Blameless Leaders* NYU Press 2012
- Carey, Gibney and Poe, *The Politics of Human Rights* ch 7 & 8.
- Grant, Ruth and Robert Keohane, "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* February 2005 99: 29-43.
- International Military Tribunal Trial of German major war criminals Proceedings of the International Military Tribunal sitting at Nuremberg, Germany. -- London : H.M.S.O., 1946-50.
- Jon Elster, *Closing the Books* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004
- Howard Ball, *Prosecuting War Crimes and Genocide*, University of Kansas Press 1999
- Gary Bass, *Stay the Hand of Vengeance*, Princeton University Press 2000
- James Gibson and Gouws, "Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Attributions of Blame and the Struggle over Apartheid" *American Political Science Review*, September 1999
- James Gibson, "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation: Judging the Fairness of Amnesty in South Africa" *American Journal of Political Science* 46, July 2002
- Geoffrey Robertson, *Crimes Against Humanity*, (Penguin 1999)