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Spring 2019

DIPL 6198 Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy

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by phone or e-mail

Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy, DIPL 6198
Seton Hall School of Diplomacy
Spring 2019
St 122 (Alfieri Hall)
Tuesdays, 7:35-9:45

"From the start, the United States was understood to be both country and cause, a distinct national community and standard-bearer of global political revolution." – Gideon Rose, Editor of Foreign Affairs, December 11, 2018

"Critics say that America is a lie because its reality is so far short of its ideals. They are wrong. America is not a lie; it is a disappointment. But it can be a disappointment only because it is also a hope." – Samuel P. Huntington, Professor, Harvard University

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course is designed to help answer a fundamental question for students of American foreign policy: **Should the United States promote human rights around the world, or should it pursue its own strategic and domestic corporate interests, without regard to the promotion of democracy or human rights?** If the former—if the U.S. is to be, in Gideon Rose's words, both "country and cause," to what extent should promotion of human rights and the pursuit of justice be prioritized in American foreign policy? Another way of asking this question might be this: Is the United States, as a global leader or hegemon, "exceptional" in how it pursues its interests around the world? *Should* the United States be exceptional in this regard?

The spring of 2019 is an excellent, and many would argue, urgent time to consider these questions. The current occupant of the White House seems to have a starkly different view about American exceptionalism than his predecessors. If asked directly whether the United States should pursue moral concerns in its foreign policy, it seems likely that Donald Trump would answer "no." His signature foreign policy, "America First," pushes human rights almost completely off the agenda. One purpose of this seminar is to explore the roots, efficacy, and, ultimately, wisdom of this position. The concept we will use to better understand the role human rights plays in U.S. foreign policy will be American Exceptionalism. What is exceptional about the United States? Anything? Where does this notion come from? Is it a good or bad thing to be exceptional? Should human rights play a role in U.S. foreign policy because America is "exceptional"? Should it play a guiding role in every country's foreign policy? Can the promotion of human rights standards be

incorporated into U.S. foreign policy without compromising American security and economic interests around the world? Who should take the lead in promoting human rights in American foreign policy: the president and his (or someday her) administration? Congress? NGOs?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

For students of human rights, this course adds a foreign policy dimension; for students of foreign policy, this course adds a human rights dimension; and for all students, this course provides the opportunity to think about the complex, dynamic relationship between the two fields. This course also teaches critical thinking skills about foreign policy, and provides students with an opportunity to improve their writing and communication.

Having completed this course, students should be able to:

- Understand how human rights factor into the U.S. foreign policy making process;
- Identify historical trends in the relationship between human rights and U.S. foreign policy;
- Identify variations in the idea of American Exceptionalism;
- Discuss the roles played by civilian, military and institutional actors in the foreign policy-making process;
- Debate with authority contemporary developments pertaining to the usage of American Exceptionalism and human rights in U.S. foreign policy;
- Conduct policy analysis of historical and contemporary problems; and
- Think creatively and effectively about whether the U.S. has a responsibility to address international human rights problems.

REQUIRED BOOKS

1. Robert J. Lieber, *Retreat and its Consequences: American Foreign Policy and the Problem of World Order*, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
2. Michael Ignatieff, Ed., *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005)
3. Sarah B. Snyder, *From Selma to Moscow: How Human Rights Activists Transformed U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2018.)
4. Paul Sondrol, "The 'English Patient: General Augusto Pinochet and International Law," *ISD Case Study Program, Case 258* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, 2000) ISBN: 1-56927-230-1.

Also Required: Students in this course must keep up with current world events. Good sources for international news: The New York Times, The Wall Street

Journal, The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Economist, National Public Radio (NPR), the BBC News Hour.

Recommended Book on the origins of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Mary Ann Glendon, *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, (NY: Random House, 2001)

Policy on Plagiarism and Academic Integrity

I strongly believe that learning is a collaborative venture. I encourage you to study with your classmates, meet to discuss readings with them, and, on particular assignments, collaborate with them. That said, the work that you produce for this course must be your own. Where you quote from other sources, those sources must be acknowledged with quotations and/or text references. There are no exceptions to this rule and no legitimate excuses for violating it.

In the event that you fail to acknowledge others' work, or that you are caught plagiarizing from online or hard copy materials, you will receive a zero on that assignment and may be subject to disciplinary procedures.

Caveat: I reserve the right to alter this syllabus. If I do so, I will accompany each change with an explanatory announcement.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS (Assignment Details for no. 3-5 posted under "Assignment" tab on Blackboard)

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| 1. Class Attendance and Active Participation | 20% |
| 2. Weekly "One Discussion Point"* | 10% |
| 3. Book Club: <i>From Selma to Moscow</i> | 20% |
| 4. Paper #1: Op-Ed | 25% |
| 5. Paper #2: Subject to Debate | 25% |

***Main Discussion Point:** Each week, for every assigned reading, you will prepare one discussion point, or discussion question, about each assigned reading. You may email me these points before our class meeting, or you may bring a hard copy to class and I will collect it. These points should be brief. The idea is for you to think about what is interesting and worthwhile about each reading, and what you think would spark for a good class discussion.

TWO FUNDAMENTAL COURSE RULES: Repeated violation of either or both of these will almost certainly adversely affect your grade.

1. ALL ASSIGNED READINGS MUST BE BROUGHT TO CLASS ON THE DAY THEY ARE ASSIGNED. Be sure that you bring whatever is assigned to class with you. For readings brought to class in electronic form, note rule #2...

2. TEXTING AND OTHER IRRELEVANT USE OF ELECTRONIC DEVICES DURING CLASSTIME IS STRICTLY FORBIDDEN. This is the more difficult rule to follow, but it is a critical one to every student's success in this course. If you need to deposit your electronic devices with me at the beginning of class to ensure compliance, I would be willing to guard them, return them at the break, collect them again, and return at the end of class. You are the best judge of your own ability to resist temptation. Computers/tablets may be used for note-taking, but activities such as web browsing, email, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc., are prohibited. An effective learning environment is simply not possible when we are multi-tasking, distracted, or communicating with others outside of our classroom. Should such inappropriate uses become an issue, I will ask that all computers/tablets be shut down.

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COURSE SCHEDULE

DATE	TOPIC	READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS DUE
1/15	PART I: Introduction to Course: U.S. Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective	*Gideon Rose, "The Fourth Founding: The United States and the Liberal Order," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , (Emailed and On Blackboard)
Jan 22	What is American Exceptionalism?	*Michael Ignatieff, "Introduction, American Exceptionalism and Human Rights," in Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i> . *Lieber, <i>Retreat and its Consequences</i> , "Introduction" and ch. 1. *Antony J. Blinken and Robert Kagan, "'America First' is Only Making the World Worse. Here's a Better Approach," <i>Brookings</i> Jan. 4, 2019. Kagan, "Welcome to the Jungle," <i>The Washington Post</i> , Oct. 9, 2018
Jan 29	What are Human Rights?	*Robin Fox, "Human Nature and Human Rights," (On Blackboard) *Andrew Moravcsik, "The Paradox of U.S. Human Rights Policy," in Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i> , ch. 6. *Paul W. Kahn, "American Exceptionalism Popular Sovereignty, and the Rule of Law," in Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i> , ch. 7.

		<p><u>Book Club</u>: Sarah B. Snyder, "Introduction," <i>From Selma to Moscow</i>"</p>
Feb 12	<p>The Varieties of American Exceptionalism</p>	<p>*Frederick Schauer, "The Exceptional First Amendment," Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i>, ch. 2.</p> <p>*Carol S. Steiker, "Capital Punishment and American Exceptionalism," Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i>, ch. 3.</p> <p>*Cass R. Sunstein, "Why Does the American Constitution Lack Social and Economic Guarantees?," in Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i>, ch. 4.</p> <p>*Harold Hongju Koh, "America's Jekyll-and-Hyde Exceptionalism," in Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i>, ch. 5</p>
Feb 19	<p>The U.S. Relationship with Europe</p> <p>*Paper #1: "Op-Ed" Due. Bring TWO hard copies to class, one with your name and one anonymous.</p>	<p>*Leiber, "Burden Sharing with Europe: Problems of Capability and Will," <i>Retreat and its Consequences</i>, ch. 2</p> <p>*<u>Book Club</u>: Sarah B. Snyder, "Human Rights Activism Directed Across the Iron Curtain," and "A Double Standard Abroad and at Home? Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence," <i>From Selma to Moscow</i>, chs. 1 and 2.</p>
Feb 26	<p>Henry Kissinger, Part I</p>	<p>*Stanley Hoffman, "American Exceptionalism: The New Version," Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i>, ch. 8</p> <p>*Frank I. Michelman, "Integrity-Anxiety"?, Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i>, ch. 9.</p> <p>Christopher Hitchens, "Court Time for Henry," <i>The Nation</i>, Nov. 5, 2001, https://www.thenation.com/article/court-time-henry/</p> <p>*Marc Weller, "On the Hazards of Foreign Travel for Dictators and Other International Criminals," <i>International Affairs</i>, July 1999 (On Blackboard)</p>
Mar 5	<p>Henry Kissinger, Part II</p>	<p>*Paul Sondrol, "The 'English' Patient: General Augusto Pinochet and International Law," <i>ISD Case Study Program</i>.</p> <p>*Henry Kissinger, "The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction," <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, Summer 2001 (On Blackboard)</p>

		<p>Film: <i>The Trials Of Henry Kissinger</i>, 2002. (May watch together in class)</p> <p>*PODCAST, Malcolm Gladwell, "Saigon 1965," <i>Revisionist History</i>, June 22, 2016 (44 minutes) http://revisionisthistory.com/episodes/02-saigon-1965</p>
Mar 12	SPRING BREAK	SPRING BREAK
Mar 19	<p>Genocide</p> <p>U.S. Role in Multilateral Human Rights Organizations</p>	<p>*Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," <i>The Atlantic</i>, Sept. 2001 (On Blackboard)</p> <p>*Brett Schaeffer, "America is Right to Leave the Human Rights Council," <i>The National Interest</i>, Jun 20, 2018 (On Blackboard)</p> <p>*Richard Goldstone, "The Pursuit of International Justice," (On Blackboard)</p> <p><u>Book Club</u>: Sarah B. Snyder Causing Us 'Real Trouble' The 1967 Coup in Greece," <i>From Selma to Moscow</i>, ch. 3.</p>
Mar 26	9/11 and the AUMF	<p>*Leiber, "Middle East Policy: Regional Conflicts and Threats to National Interest," <i>Retreat and its Consequences</i>, ch. 3.</p> <p>*Richard Falk, "In Defense of 'Just War' Thinking," <i>The Nation</i>, Dec. 11, 2001.</p> <p>*Maria Misra, "The Empire Strikes Back," <i>The New Statesman</i>, Nov. 12, 2001.</p> <p>*Gil Bardollar, "No Military Victory in Afghanistan," (On Blackboard)</p> <p>*PODCAST: Radio Lab, <i>Sixty Words</i>, April 18, 2014 (55 minutes) https://www.wnycstudios.org/story/60-words</p>
April 2	America's Role in the World	<p>*Lieber, "BRICS: Stateholders of Free-Riders"?, in <i>Retreat and its Consequences</i>, ch. 4.</p> <p>*Ann Towns, "The Status of Women as a Standard of Civilization," <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> (2009), (On Blackboard).</p>

		<p>*<u>Book Club</u>: Sarah B. Snyder, “Does the United States Stand for Something? Human Rights in South Korea,” <i>From Selma to Moscow</i>, ch. 4.</p>
April 9	<p>What are the Consequences of Retreat?</p> <p>Military Industrial Complex: 2019</p>	<p>*Anne-Marie Slaughter, “A Brave New Judicial World,” Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i>, ch. 10.</p> <p>*Lieber, “Retreat and its Consequences,” <i>Retreat and its Consequences</i>, ch. 5.</p> <p>*Jeffrey E. Stern, “From Arizona to Yemen: The Journey of an American Bomb,” <i>The New York Times Magazine</i>, Dec 11, 2018.</p>
April 16	<p>Is American Nuclear Policy Moral?</p>	<p>*John Ruggie, “American Exceptionalism, Exemptionalism, and Global Governance,” Ignatieff, <i>American Exceptionalism</i>, ch. 11</p> <p>*PODCAST, Radio Lab, <i>Nukes</i>, April 17, 2017. https://www.wnycstudios.org/story/nukes</p> <p><u>Book Club</u>: Sarah B. Snyder, “Translating Human Rights into the Language of Washington: American Activism in the Wake of the Coup in Chile,” <i>From Selma to Moscow</i> ch. 5.</p>
April 23	<p>Can American Still Lead? Should it?</p> <p><u>Paper #2: “Subject to Debate” Due</u></p>	<p>*Lieber, “Can America Still Lead – and Should it?” <i>Retreat and its Consequences</i>, ch. 6.</p> <p><u>Book Club</u>: Sarah B. Snyder, “‘A Call for U.S. Leadership’: Congressional Activism on Human Rights,” <i>From Selma to Moscow</i>, ch. 6.</p>
April 30	<p>Reflections, Ruminations, Rebuttals, Remarks.</p>	<p><u>Book Club</u>: Sarah B. Snyder, “Conclusion,” <i>From Selma to Moscow</i>.</p> <p>Two-Minute Presentations of “Subject to Debate.”</p>

THE SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY FACULTY OFFICE HOURS
SPRING 2019

<i>INSTRUCTOR</i>	<i>DAY</i>	<i>TIME</i>	<i>ROOM</i>
ARISI, TATSUKI	SERGIO DE MELLO VISING CHAIR		125
ALAM, DR. NABEELA			107
BALMACEDA, DR. MARGARITA	WEDNESDAY	4:30 - 5:00 P.M. & 9:45 - 10:15 P.M.	117
	THURSDAY	12:00 - 12:30 P.M. & 4:30 - 5:30 P.M. & APPOINTMENT	
BARIAGABER, DR. ASSEFAW	THURSDAY	11:00 - 12:00 P.M. 4:00 - 5:00 P.M. & BY APPOINTMENT	119
CHOW, AMBASSADOR JACK C.	MONDAY		110
EKICI, DR. TUFAN	TUESDAY/THURSDAY	1:00 - 2:30 P.M.	107
EDWARDS, DR. MARTIN	MONDAY	11:00 - 2:00 p.m. & BY APPOINTMENT	106
GOKCEKUS, DR. OMER			135
GOLDFRANK, DR. BENJAMIN	WEDNESDAY	2:00 - 5:00 P.M. & BY APPOINTMENT	112
HAFEZIAN, DR. HOSSEIN	WEDNESDAY		110
HIGER, DR. AMY	TUESDAY [7:35 - 9:45 P.M.]	BEFORE & AFTER CLASS	ST 122
HUANG, DR. YANZHONG	THURSDAY	9:00 - 11:00 A.M. & BY APPOINTMENT	103
HUDDLESTON, DR. R. JOSEPH		1:50 - 3:20 P.M. & BY APPOINTMENT	105
M'CORMACK-HALE, DR. FREDLINE			109
MINTEH, BENNEH	FRIDAY	11:00 - 12:30 P.M.	109
MOLLER, DR. SARA BERG			101-C
MOREMEN, DR. PHILIP	THURSDAY	9:30 - 12:30 P.M. & BY APPOINTMENT	127
MURPHY, DR. ANN MARIE	WEDNESDAY	10:00 - 12:00 P.M. & BY APPOINTMENT	135
MUZAS, FATHER BRIAN K.	MONDAY THURSDAY	1:00 - 2:00 P.M.; 6:30 - 7:30 P.M. & BY APPOINTMENT 6:30 - 7:30 P.M. & BY APPOINTMENT	101-D
TINKER, Dr. CATHERINE			
WANG, DR. ZHENG	NOT AVAILABLE	SEE SUSAN MALCOLM	101-A
WOOD, DR. DAVID	TUESDAY - CLASS WEEKS FRIDAY - NON-CLASS WEEKS - REMOTE	9:00 - 11:00 A.M. 9:00 - 11:00 A.M.	101-B REMOTE
SAM:01-28-19			

THE SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY FACULTY OFFICE HOURS
SPRING 2019

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SAM:01-28-19			