

Summary of Contents

Preface xxxi

Acknowledgments xxxv

Historical Introduction 1

Problem I The Expulsion of Asians from Uganda
 *Are States Bound by the Human Rights
 Clauses of the UN Charter?* 14

Problem II Fujii, Filartiga, and Beyond
 *Are States' Courts Bound by the Human
 Rights Clauses of the UN Charter and the
 Universal Declaration of Human
 Rights?* 90

Problem III Suriname, the United States, and the UN
 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
 *What Obligations Have States Assumed
 Under the UN Human Rights
 Treaties?* 178

Problem IV The "Soft" Law of Principles, Guidelines, and
 Model Laws
 *How Does the UN Create New Human
 Rights Norms Other Than by Treaty?* 276

Problem V The Greek Case, Resolution 1503, and Other
 UN Mechanisms
 *When Does the UN Investigate Human
 Rights Violations?* 340

Problem VI The Problem of Fact-Finding and Evidence
 *How Does the UN Investigate Violations of
 Human Rights Law?* 408

- Problem VII Sanctions and Southern Africa
*How Effective in Causing Compliance with
Human Rights Law Are Coercive Measures
That Do Not Involve the Use of Armed
Force?* 486
- Problem VIII Bangladesh
*When May the UN or Its Member States Use
Armed Force for Human Rights
Purposes?* 600
- Problem IX The European Regime for the Protection of
Human Rights
*Can Regional Systems to Protect Human
Rights Be More Effective Than UN
Mechanisms?* 680
- Problem X The Protection of Human Rights in the
Americas and Africa
*Can Regional Systems to Protect Human
Rights Be More Effective Than UN
Mechanisms?* 780
- Problem XI Human Rights in Extremis
*How Can Human Rights Be Protected in
Armed Conflict, Civil Strife, and States of
Emergency?* 836
- Problem XII International Criminal Law and Procedure and
the Domestic Enforcement of "Piecemeal"
Conventions
*Can the Criminal Process Be Used to Help
Enforce Human Rights Law?* 934
- Problem XIII The Carter Administration's Human Rights
Initiatives and Its Legacy
*How Relevant Are Human Rights Concerns
to the Foreign Policy Process?* 1026

Table of Contents

<i>Summary of Contents</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>xxxi</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xxxv</i>

Historical Introduction	1
-------------------------	---

Problem I **14**

The Expulsion of Asians from Uganda

Are States Bound by the Human Rights Clauses of the UN Charter?

<i>I. Uganda: The "Pearl of Africa" Despoiled</i>	<i>16</i>
A. Background: From Stanley to Obote	16
B. The Role of the Asians and the Rise of Amin	18
C. The Expulsion of the Asians	19
Statement by Idi Amin Relating to the Expulsion of Asians from Uganda	19
The Declaration of Assets (Non-Citizen Asians) Decree, 1972	22
D. The Response of the World Community	26
1. Debates in Great Britain	26
2. Debates at the UN	28
<i>II. Human Rights Before the UN Charter</i>	<i>32</i>
P. Sieghart, The International Law of Human Rights	33
Farer, Human Rights Before the Second World War	34
<i>III. Human Rights After the UN Charter</i>	<i>36</i>
A. Background and Description of the Human Rights Clauses	36
Eighteenth Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, The United Nations and Human Rights	36

J. Brierly, The Law of Nations	38
Comments and Questions	39
B. Content and Legal Status of the Human Rights Clauses	41
Schachter, The Charter and the Constitution: The Human Rights Provisions in American Law	41
Note: U.S. Recognition of the Legal Status of the Human Rights Clauses	46
C. Invocation of the Human Rights Clauses on the International Level	48
Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa)	49
Schwelb, The International Court of Justice and the Human Rights Clauses of the Charter	49
Comments and Questions	54
IV. <i>The Relevance of the Human Rights Clauses of the UN Charter to the Expulsion of Asians from Uganda</i>	55
Wooldridge and Sharma, International Law and the Expulsion of Ugandan Asians	55
Plender, The Ugandan Crisis and the Right of Expulsion Under International Law	59
Chhangani, Expulsion of Uganda Asians and International Law	61
Note: Applying the Human Rights Clauses of the UN Charter and Other International Norms to the Expulsion of Asians from Uganda	64
V. <i>The Response of the International Community to Subsequent Human Rights Abuses in Uganda</i>	66
A. The Situation Worsens	66
Uganda — A Lawless State	66
Mohr, In Amin's Taciturn Uganda, Even Food Is Unspeakable	67
See No Evil	70
B. UN Action (or Inaction)	71
C. The U.S. Embargo	73
D. The Tanzanian Intervention	76
VI. <i>Concluding Thoughts and Observations</i>	78
Bilder, Rethinking International Human Rights: Some Basic Questions	79
Comments and Questions	82
VII. <i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	83

Problem II 90

Fujii, Filartiga, and Beyond

Are States' Courts Bound by the Human Rights Clauses of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

I. <i>Introduction: The Relationship Between International and Domestic Legal Systems</i>	92
II. <i>The Status of the Human Rights Clauses in Domestic Law</i>	95
A. The Legal Background	95
Schachter, The Charter and the Constitution: The Human Rights Provisions in American Law	95
B. The <i>Fujii</i> Case	101
Note: Mr. Sei Fujii and the California Alien Land Law	101
Sei Fujii v. State (California District Court of Appeal)	102
Hudson, Charter Provisions on Human Rights in American Law	104
Wright, National Courts and Human Rights — The <i>Fujii</i> Case	108
Note: An Unusual Occurrence in the Course of the <i>Fujii</i> Appeal	114
Sei Fujii v. State (California Supreme Court)	115
Comments and Questions	118
C. The Post- <i>Fujii</i> Scene: Regrets and Hopes	121
1. The Present Status of the UN Charter's Human Rights Clauses	121
2. Flashforward: Are Other Human Rights Treaties Self-Executing or Not?	121
III. <i>The Status of the Universal Declaration in Domestic Law</i>	122
A. The Historical Perspective	122
Kunz, The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights	122
Schwelb, The Influence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on International and National Law	127
The Universal Declaration of Human Rights at 20	132
B. U.S. Case Law Developments	133
Setting the Stage	133
Filartiga v. Pena-Irala	137

Fernandez v. Wilkinson	143
Forti v. Suarez-Mason	148
Comments and Questions	154
C. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Nears 50 Restatement (Third) of the Foreign Relations Law of the United States §702	162
Lillich, Remarks	162
International Law Association, Committee on the Enforcement of Human Rights Law, Final Report on the Status of the Universal Declaration of Hu- man Rights in National and International Law	166
IV. <i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	171

Problem III **178**

Suriname, the United States, and the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

What Obligations Have States Assumed Under the UN Human Rights Treaties?

I. <i>Suriname: Development, Independence, Repression</i>	181
II. <i>The UN Treaty Approach to Human Rights</i>	183
A. UN Human Rights Treaties: An Overview	183
Bilder, Rethinking International Human Rights: Some Basic Questions	187
B. General Human Rights Treaties	189
Note: Completing the International Bill of Rights	189
Henkin, Introduction, in The International Bill of Rights	191
C. Specific Human Rights Treaties	193
D. The Human Rights "Generations"	194
1. Introductory Note	194
2. "Second Generation" Human Rights	195
Prepared Statement of Hon. Roberts B. Owen, Legal Adviser, Department of State	198
3. "Third Generation" Human Rights	201
Marks, Emerging Human Rights: A New Genera- tion for the 1980s?	201
A. Robertson, Human Rights in the World	202
Bibliographical Note on the Right to Development	204
E. UN Human Rights Law-Making: The Need for "Qual- ity Control"	206
UN General Assembly Resolution 41/120 (1987)	207

International League for Human Rights, Human Rights at the United Nations: New Standard Setting	208
<i>III. The Civil and Political Covenant</i>	209
A. Substantive Provisions	209
B. Implementation Measures	210
1. State Reporting	211
Shelton, Compliance Mechanisms [Periodic Reports]	212
2. Individual Communications	214
Lewis-Anthony, Treaty-Based Procedures for Making Human Rights Complaints Within the UN System	215
Report of the Human Rights Committee	220
3. Interstate Complaints	222
Leckie, The Inter-State Complaint Procedure in International Human Rights Law: Hopeful Prospects or Wishful Thinking?	222
4. General Comments	224
<i>IV. Suriname Revisited: More Repression in Violation of the Civil and Political Covenant</i>	224
Baboeram Communications	228
Note: The Aftermath	237
<i>V. United States Ratification of Human Rights Treaties</i>	239
A. The U.S. Ratification Record: An Overview	239
1. Introductory Note	239
2. The Carter Administration Initiatives	240
Henkin, The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	241
Moore, Statement Before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations	244
Note: Carter's Legacy	245
3. Developments During the Reagan and Bush Administrations	246
B. U.S. Ratification of the Civil and Political Covenant	248
1. The Covenant and the U.S. Constitution and Laws	248
Restatement (Third) of the Foreign Relations Law of the United States §701	248
2. The Reservations, Understandings, and Declarations "Debate"	250
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: The Administration's Proposed Reservations, Understandings and Declarations	251
International Human Rights Law Group, Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by the United States	254

Stewart, United States Ratification of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: The Significance of the Reservations, Understandings, and Declarations	259
3. Attitudes of the U.S. NGO Community Towards Ratification Conditioned upon Acceptance of the Bush Administration "Package"	260
Letter from Lawyers Committee for Human Rights to Senator Claiborne Pell	261
Letter from Human Rights Watch to Lawyers Committee for Human Rights	263
Letter from Lawyers Committee for Human Rights to Human Rights Watch	266
C. U.S. Ratification of the Other Human Rights Treaties: The "Package" Redux	268
Comments and Questions Concerning U.S. Ratification of the Human Rights Treaties	270
VI. <i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	273
Problem IV	276
The "Soft" Law of Principles, Guidelines, and Model Laws	
<i>How Does the UN Create New Human Rights Norms Other Than by Treaty?</i>	
I. <i>The Attica Uprising</i>	278
A. Background and Aftermath	278
B. Current Attitudes Toward Treatment of Prisoners	281
C. International Norms Governing the Treatment of Prisoners	283
Besharov and Mueller, The Demands of the Inmates of Attica State Prison and the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners: A Comparison	285
D. Status of the Standard Minimum Rules	296
The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners in the Light of Recent Developments in the Correctional Field	296
II. <i>Applying the "Model Law" or "Soft Law" Approach to Related Areas</i>	300
A. General Observations	300
Toman, Quasi-Legal Standards and Guidelines for Protecting Human Rights	300

N. Rodley, The Treatment of Prisoners Under International Law	301
Heijder, Codes of Professional Ethics Against Torture	302
B. Specific Areas	304
1. Treatment of Prisoners	305
2. Juvenile Offenders	305
3. Standards for the Administration of Justice	306
III. <i>Implementation of the Standard Minimum Rules and Other Criminal Justice Norms</i>	306
R. Clark, The United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Program	307
Report of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention	311
A. Regional Standards: European Prison Rules	313
B. National Standards: United States Federal and State Laws and Regulations (and Their Enforcement)	314
C. Non-Governmental and Private Organization Standards	317
Comments and Questions	318
IV. <i>New Rights for Vulnerable Groups</i>	322
A. General Observations	322
B. Minorities	324
Hannum, Contemporary Developments in the International Protection of the Rights of Minorities	324
Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 23(50) (Art. 27)	327
UN General Assembly Resolution 47/135	329
Note: Implementation	330
Note: European Initiatives	331
C. Indigenous Peoples	332
D. Self-Determination	334
Comments and Questions	336
V. <i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	337
 Problem V	 340
The Greek Case, Resolution 1503, and Other UN Mechanisms	
<i>When Does the UN Investigate Human Rights Violations?</i>	
I. <i>The Right to Petition as a Human Right</i>	342
II. <i>The Situation in Greece: The Sub-Commission's First Test Case</i>	344

A.	Resolution 1503: High Expectations	344
B.	Historical Note	344
	Note: Greece: Justice in Blinkers	346
	Note: Human Rights Report on Greece	347
C.	Communication Alleging Violation of Human Rights in Greece	348
D.	The Sub-Commission's Response to the Communication	354
	Note: Disappointing Start to New U.N. Procedure on Human Rights	354
E.	The Reaction of the Greek Regime	357
	Letter from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations	357
F.	The Overthrow of the Greek Regime and the Sub-Commission's Role Therein	361
	Note: The Overthrow of the Greek Regime	361
	Statement by Amnesty International and the International Student Movement for the UN	362
III.	<i>Analyzing the Procedures and Problems of Resolution 1503</i>	363
	Newman, The New U.N. Procedures for Human Rights Complaints: Reform, Status Quo, or Chamber of Horrors?	363
	H. Tolley, Jr., The U.N. Commission on Human Rights	366
	Alston, The Commission on Human Rights	379
IV.	<i>Other UN Mechanisms for Investigating Alleged Human Rights Abuses</i>	380
A.	Petition Procedures	380
B.	Non-Petition Procedures	382
	J. Carey, UN Protection of Civil and Political Rights	383
	Alston, The Commission on Human Rights	385
	Commission on Human Rights, Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	394
	Commission on Human Rights, Question of Arbitrary Detention	394
	Commission on Human Rights, Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression	395
	Report of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention	396
	Commission on Human Rights, Human Rights and Thematic Procedures	396
C.	Future Prospects	400
	H. Tolley, Jr., The U.N. Commission on Human Rights	400

Farer, The United Nations and Human Rights:	
More Than a Whimper, Less Than a Roar	402
<i>V. Final Comments and Questions</i>	405

Problem VI **408**

The Problem of Fact-Finding and Evidence

How Does the UN Investigate Violations of Human Rights Law?

<i>I. The Challenge: To Find Out What Is Really Happening</i>	410
<i>II. Gathering the Facts</i>	411
A. Information Reported by States	411
Bayefsky, Making the Human Rights Treaties Work	412
B. Fact-Finding by the UN General Assembly	417
Rules of Procedure of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices	419
Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices	421
C. Fact-Finding by the UN Commission on Human Rights	422
1. Country-Specific Rapporteurs	423
Consideration of the Report of the Mission Which Took Place in Cuba	424
Jimenez, Report on the Question of Human Rights in Chile	427
Galindo Pohl, Report on the Human Rights Situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran	430
2. Thematic Mechanisms	431
Wako, Report [on Summary or Arbitrary Executions]	431
Kooijmans, Report [on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment]	436
Vidal d'Almerida Ribero, Report [on Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief]	439
Report of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention	441
Note: The Role of the UN Secretariat	444
Brody, Improving UN Human Rights Structures	444
Note: A Rapporteur from the Commission on Human Rights Visits Suriname	445
Wako, Report [on Summary or Arbitrary Executions]	445

D.	The Need for General Standards for Fact-Finding by International Organizations	448
	Note: Toward a Solution — The Belgrade Rules on Fact-Finding by International Organizations	449
	Belgrade Minimal Rules of Procedure for International Human Rights Fact-Finding Missions	449
E.	Fact-Finding by Non-Governmental Organizations	452
	Orentlicher, Bearing Witness: The Art and Science of Human Rights Fact-Finding	452
	H. Thoolen and B. Verstappen, Human Rights Missions: A Study of the Fact-Finding Practice of Non-Governmental Organizations	456
	Correspondence: Professor Moore	458
	Correspondence: Professor Glennon	461
	H. Thoolen and B. Verstappen, Human Rights Missions: A Study of the Fact-Finding Practice of Non-Governmental Organizations	465
	Hannum, Fact-Finding by Non-Governmental Human Rights Organizations	468
F.	Fact-Finding by Judicial and Quasi-Judicial Bodies	469
	T. Buergenthal, R. Norris, and D. Shelton, Protecting Human Rights in the Americas	472
III.	<i>Evaluating the Facts</i>	475
A.	Admissibility of Evidence	475
B.	The Burden of Proof	475
	Ramcharan, Evidence	476
	Bleier v. Uruguay	479
	The Velásquez Rodríguez Case	480
	The Gangaram Panday Case	481
	Weissbrodt, Human Rights Implementation and Fact-Finding by International Organizations	482
IV.	<i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	483

Problem VII 486

Sanctions and Southern Africa

How Effective in Causing Compliance with Human Rights Law Are Coercive Measures That Do Not Involve the Use of Armed Force?

I.	<i>Rhodesia: The Factual Context</i>	489
A.	The Background	489
B.	The Prelude to Independence	490
C.	Unilateral Declaration of Independence	491

D. Initial Attempts at Settlement	493
II. <i>UN Economic Sanctions Against Rhodesia: Their Legality Under the UN Charter</i>	495
Introductory Note	495
McDougal and Reisman, Rhodesia and the United Nations: The Lawfulness of International Concern	497
Acheson, The Arrogance of International Lawyers	504
III. <i>A Brief Overview of Economic Sanctions</i>	509
A. International Sanctions	509
B. Regional Sanctions	511
C. Unilateral Sanctions	513
D. Voluntary Sanctions	514
IV. <i>U.S. Implementation and Enforcement of UN Sanctions Against Rhodesia</i>	515
A. U.S. Implementation of Sanctions	515
1. The Legal Framework	515
Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, The United Nations Participation Act Sections Relating to Economic and Military Action	515
2. Presidential Action: Executive Orders 11,322 and 11,419	517
U.S. Extends Program Banning Trade with Southern Rhodesia	518
Executive Order No. 11,419 (Relating to Trade and Other Transactions Involving Southern Rhodesia)	518
3. The Overlooked (?) Loophole: Rhodesian Sanctions Regulation 31 C.F.R. §530.307 (1969)	520
B. U.S. Enforcement of Sanctions	522
1. Introduction	522
2. Congress Enacts the Byrd Amendment	524
UN Sanctions Against Rhodesia — Chrome	524
Hearings on S. 1404, UN Sanctions Against Rhodesia — Chrome, Before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations	524
Note: The Byrd Amendment Becomes Law	531
Irony in Chrome: The Byrd Amendment Two Years Later	532
3. Critics Challenge the Byrd Amendment: Diggs v. Shultz and the Eventual "Repeal" of the Byrd Amendment	535

Diggs v. Shultz	536
The Significance of Diggs v. Shultz	540
Note: Security Council Resolutions in United States Courts	541
Congress "Repeals" the Byrd Amendment	542
4. The Enforcement of UN Sanctions Under U.S. Law: At Best, Inconsistent; At Worst, Non-Existent	543
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Business as Usual: Transactions Violating Rhodesian Sanctions	544
Lillich, Examining Mobil's Role as Sanctions-Buster	546
The Treasury Department Investigations	550
Note: Sanctions-Breaking Around the World	554
V. <i>Rhodesia: The Achievement of Majority Rule</i>	561
A. The Salisbury Agreement and the Emergence of Zimbabwe Rhodesia	561
B. The Lancaster House Conference and the Creation of Zimbabwe	562
Davidow, Dealing with International Crises: Lessons from Zimbabwe	563
VI. <i>Viewpoints on International Economic Sanctions: Rhodesia as a Case Study</i>	565
H. Strack, Sanctions: The Case of Rhodesia	565
D. Losman, International Economic Sanctions	567
R. Renwick, Economic Sanctions	568
Auglin, United Nations Sanctions Against South Africa and Rhodesia	569
M. Doxey, International Sanctions in Contemporary Perspective	571
VII. <i>Sanctions Against South Africa</i>	573
A. UN Mandatory Sanctions	573
Security Council Resolution 418	574
Note: Implementation and Enforcement of Resolution 418	575
Note: British and U.S. Vetoes Block Further Mandatory Sanctions	576
Statement of Mr. Herbert S. Okun, Acting U.S. Representative to United Nations, February 20, 1987	577
B. UN Voluntary Sanctions	578
1. General Assembly Sanctions	578
2. Security Council Sanctions	578
3. The Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the	

Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa: A Case Study in Implementing UN Voluntary Sanctions	579
C. U.S. Sanctions	580
1. Introduction	580
2. President Reagan's Executive Order: Too Late and Too Little	583
Recent Developments, Economic Sanctions: United States Sanctions Against South Africa	583
3. The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986	585
Note: The Passage of the Federal Anti-Apartheid Act: The Culmination of Anti-Apartheid Efforts Within the United States	585
Implementation and Enforcement of the Act	587
4. The Rangel Amendment Denies Foreign Tax Credits to U.S. Corporations Doing Business in South Africa	588
5. The End of Sanctions and an Evaluation of Their Effectiveness	589
VIII. <i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	590

Problem VIII **600**

Bangladesh

When May the UN or Its Member States Use Armed Force for Human Rights Purposes?

I. <i>Introduction: The Bangladesh Problem</i>	602
International Commission of Jurists, The Events in East Pakistan, 1971	604
II. <i>Humanitarian Intervention by States</i>	613
A. Background and Legal Issues	613
Fonteyne, The Customary International Law Doctrine of Humanitarian Intervention: Its Current Validity Under the U.N. Charter	614
B. The Debate over Humanitarian Intervention	623
Brownlie, Humanitarian Intervention	624
Lillich, Humanitarian Intervention: A Reply to Ian Brownlie and a Plea for Constructive Alternatives	631
Bibliography (Humanitarian Intervention by States)	641

C.	The Aftermath of a Crisis: Bangladesh Since 1971	641
D.	Other Claims of Unilateral Humanitarian Intervention Since the Bangladesh Crisis	643
E.	Nicaragua v. United States: Delphic Dicta from the International Court of Justice	646
	Nicaragua v. United States, Merits	646
	Rodley, Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention: The Case Law of the World Court	647
	F. Teson, Humanitarian Intervention: An Inquiry into Law and Morality	647
	Comments and Questions on the Court's Dicta	649
III.	<i>UN Humanitarian Intervention</i>	651
	Lillich, Humanitarian Intervention Through the United Nations: Towards the Development of Criteria	652
	Security Council Resolution 940 on Haiti	659
	Note: The Significance of Resolution 940	662
	Bibliography (UN Humanitarian Intervention)	663
IV.	<i>Forcible Protection of Nationals</i>	664
A.	Contrasting Views Regarding Forcible Protection of Nationals	665
	Letters to the Editor of the New York Times	665
B.	Reading	667
	Lillich, Forcible Protection of Nationals Abroad: The Liberian "Incident" of 1990	667
C.	Forcible Protection of Nationals Abroad: Post-Entebbe Case Studies	672
V.	<i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	675

Problem IX 680

The European Regime for the Protection of Human Rights

Can Regional Systems to Protect Human Rights Be More Effective Than UN Mechanisms?

I.	<i>The Regional Approach to Human Rights</i>	682
	Weston, Lukes, and Hnatt, Regional Human Rights Regimes: A Comparison and Appraisal	682
II.	<i>The Council of Europe</i>	684
A.	The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms	684

Council of Europe, Protocol No. 11 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and Explanatory Report	687
Note: Interstate Complaints	692
Ireland v. United Kingdom	693
Note: "Degrading Treatment or Punishment" vs. "Cruel and Unusual Punishment"	715
Letters to the Editor	716
Not Sparing the Rod; How Cruel, How Unusual?	721
Soering v. United Kingdom	724
Note: The "Death Row Phenomenon"	760
B. The European Social Charter	760
C. The European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	762
Evans and Morgan, The European Convention for the Prevention of Torture: Operational Practice	762
Comments and Questions	765
III. <i>The Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe</i>	769
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Beyond Process: The CSCE's Institutional Development, 1990-92	769
Helsinki Document 1992, The Challenges of Change	772
IV. <i>The European Community</i>	775
Boyle, Europe: The Council of Europe, the CSCE, and the European Community	775
Comments and Questions	777

Problem X **780**

The Protection of Human Rights in the Americas and Africa

Can Regional Systems to Protect Human Rights Be More Effective Than UN Mechanisms?

I. <i>Introduction</i>	782
II. <i>The Inter-American System</i>	782
A. The Inter-American Commission and Court	782
Medina, The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights: Reflections on a Joint Venture	782

1. Country-Specific Reports	787
Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Haiti	788
2. Individual Complaints	793
Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Committee on International Human Rights, The Inter-American Commission: A Promise Unfulfilled	793
Note: The Role of the Court	799
Note: The Velásquez Rodríguez Case	799
Note: The United States Before the Inter-Ameri- can Commission	802
Inter-American Commission on Human Rights Resolution 3/87, Case 9647 (United States)	803
3. Advisory Opinions of the Court	804
Compulsory Membership in an Association Pre- scribed by Law for the Practice of Journalism	805
Note: The U.S. Position on Ratification of the American Convention on Human Rights	820
Message to the President Transmitting Four Trea- ties Pertaining to Human Rights	820
B. Other Initiatives	826
III. <i>The African Charter on Human and Peoples'</i> <i>Rights</i>	826
Welch, The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights: A Five-Year Report and Assess- ment	826
International Commission of Jurists, Background Paper	830
IV. <i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	832

Problem XI 836

Human Rights in Extremis

How Can Human Rights Be Protected in Armed Conflict, Civil Strife, and States of Emergency?

I. <i>Human Rights in International Armed Conflict: The Traditional Law of War</i>	839
A. An Eventful Day in My Lai Hamlet, South Vietnam, March 1968	839

B.	The Development of the Law of War	844
	Note: Historical Roots of the Concern for Human Rights in the Law of War	844
	Draper, Human Rights and the Law of War	844
	Note: The Law Protecting Civilians in Time of War — International and Domestic	848
C.	Where Does Responsibility Lie for Violations of the Law of War?	853
	In re Yamashita	855
	Note: The Treatment of Command Responsibility in U.S. Domestic Law	858
D.	Prosecuting Those Persons Responsible for My Lai	859
	1. The Legal Framework and the Dramatis Personae	859
	2. The Calley Court-Martial	861
	Extracts from the Original Transcript of the Court-Martial of Lieutenant William Calley	862
	3. Lieutenant Calley's Conviction and the Public's Response	872
	4. The Subsequent Fate of Lieutenant Calley	873
	5. The Courts-Martial of Captain Medina and the Other My Lai Defendants	874
	6. "Orders" from Above: The Experience of Lieutenant James Duffy	875
	Lieutenant Duffy's Statement	876
	Note: The Gulf War	879
E.	Recent Developments in the Law of War	879
	Baxter, Modernizing the Law of War	880
	Note: Relevant Articles of Protocol I	884
	Roberts, The New Rules for Waging War: The Case Against Ratification of Additional Protocol I	888
	Aldrich, Progressive Development of the Laws of War: A Reply to Criticisms of the 1977 Geneva Protocol I	891
	Message from the President Transmitting Protocol II Additional to the 1949 Geneva Conventions	894
	Comments and Questions	896
II.	<i>Human Rights in Internal Armed Conflict: The Developing Norms</i>	900
	A. Background	900
	B. Common Article 3: Its Status and Content	901
	Smith, New Protections for Victims of International Armed Conflicts	901

Case Concerning Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States)	903
C. Protocol II: Its Scope and Content	904
Smith, New Protections for Victims of International Armed Conflicts	904
Note: The Content of Protocol II	905
Junod, Additional Protocol II: History and Scope	906
U.S. Position on Protocol II	908
D. Invoking Common Article 3 and Protocol II in Internal Armed Conflicts	908
Weissbrodt, The Role of International Organizations in the Implementation of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law in Situations of Armed Conflict	909
Comments and Questions	912
III. <i>Human Rights in Civil Strife and States of Emergency</i>	914
J. Fitzpatrick, Human Rights in Crisis, The International System for Protecting Rights During States of Emergency	915
Note: Humanitarian Law as a Limitation on the Right of Derogation: Internal Armed Conflict and Civil Strife Contrasted	922
Note: Monitoring States of Emergency	924
Habeas Corpus in Emergency Situations	927
Note: Limitation Clauses	928
IV. <i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	929

Problem XII 934

International Criminal Law and Procedure and the Domestic Enforcement of "Piecemeal" Conventions

Can the Criminal Process Be Used to Help Enforce Human Rights Law?

I. <i>Past Efforts to Bring the Criminal Process to Bear upon Human Rights Violators</i>	936
A. Introduction	936
B. Background and Legal Issues	938

Bridge, The Case for an International Court of Criminal Justice and the Formulation of International Criminal Law	938
Wise, Codification: Perspectives and Approaches	952
C. The International Criminalization of Human Rights Violations	954
M. Bassiouni, International Criminal Law: A Draft International Criminal Code	954
Bassiouni, The Proscribing Function of International Criminal Law in the Processes of International Protection of Human Rights	954
Mueller, Four Decades After Nuremberg: The Prospect of an International Criminal Code	957
II. <i>Current Efforts to Draft a Code of Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Mankind</i>	959
A. Introductory Note	959
B. Readings on the ILC's Draft Code of Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Mankind	961
Ferencz, An International Criminal Code and Court: Where They Stand and Where They're Going	961
Bassiouni, "Crimes Against Humanity": The Need for a Specialized Convention	963
Note: The ILC's Draft Code: A Prognosis	965
Note: NGO Efforts to Draft an International Criminal Code	966
III. <i>Toward an International Criminal Court</i>	968
A. An Iraqi War Crimes Tribunal: Proposed But Rejected	968
Moore, War Crimes and the Rule of Law in the Gulf Crisis	968
O'Brien, The Nuremberg Precedent and the Gulf War	973
B. The Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal: The Security Council Establishes an Ad Hoc International Criminal Court	978
Orentlicher, Yugoslavia War Crimes Tribunal	978
Zagaris, Introductory Note: International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia Since 1991: Rules of Procedure and Evidence	985
Comments and Questions	989
C. The ILC Draft Statute for an International Criminal Court	993

D.	NGO Efforts to Draft a Statute for an International Criminal Court	1001
E.	U.S. Attitudes Toward an International Criminal Court	1002
IV.	<i>The Progressive Development of International Criminal Law: The "Piecemeal" Convention Approach Coupled with Domestic Enforcement</i>	1005
A.	Transnational Terrorism	1005
	Gross, International Terrorism and International Criminal Jurisdiction	1005
	Murphy, Woetzel, and Lador-Lederer, Correspondence [About Professor Gross's Comments]	1006
B.	Apartheid, Torture, Hostage-Taking	1011
V.	<i>Other Suggested Uses of the International Criminal Process</i>	1013
	Mueller, Two Enforcement Models for International Criminal Justice	1013
	J. Carey, UN Protection of Civil and Political Rights	1018
VI.	<i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	1022

Problem XIII 1026

The Carter Administration's Human Rights Initiatives and Its Legacy

How Relevant Are Human Rights Concerns to the Foreign Policy Process?

I.	<i>Human Rights Factors in the Foreign Policy Process: A Brief Overview from a Pre-Carter Perspective</i>	1029
A.	Lawyers, Human Rights, and the Foreign Policy Process	1029
B.	Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy	1030
	Bilder, Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: Short-Term Prospects	1031
II.	<i>The Carter Administration's Attitude Toward Human Rights Concerns in the Foreign Policy Process</i>	1039
A.	The Congressional Backdrop: Giving Credit Where Credit Is Due	1039
	Lillich, U.S. Foreign Policy, Human Rights, and Foreign Trade and Investment	1039
B.	Defining the Carter Administration's Human Rights Policy	1041
	Introduction	1041

Vance, Human Rights and Foreign Policy	1041
Carter, Humane Purpose in Foreign Policy	1047
C. Criticism of the Carter Administration's Human Rights Policy and Its Response	1048
1. Criticism	1048
Panel, Human Rights: A New Policy by a New Administration	1048
Hoffman, The Hell of Good Intentions	1052
Kissinger, Continuity and Change in American Foreign Policy	1053
2. Response	1059
Derian, Human Rights in American Foreign Policy	1059
D. Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: Argentina as a Case Study: Part I	1064
de Onis, U.S. Denial of Loan Angers Argentines	1065
Evans and Novak, Human-Rights Zeal That Costs U.S. Jobs	1066
Reagan, Argentina's View on Human Rights	1068
DeYoung and Krause, Our Mixed Signals on Human Rights in Argentina	1069
Letters to the Editor, When Morality Interferes with Exports-as-Usual	1075
III. <i>The Reagan Administration's Attitude Toward Human Rights Concerns in the Foreign Policy Process</i>	1077
A. The Initial Reagan Reaction to the Carter Administration's Rights Policy	1077
1. David Rockefeller: Advance Man in Latin America	1077
Schumacher, Latins Welcome Word on Reagan by Rockefeller	1077
Lewis, On Lending Comfort to Evil in Argentina	1079
2. President-Elect Reagan Adopts the Totalitarian/Authoritarian Distinction	1081
Rosenblum, Reagan and Human Rights: Beyond Classic Examples	1081
Buchwald, Moderate Repression	1083
3. Downgrading Human Rights: The Reagan Administration Takes Office	1084
International Commission of Jurists, Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy	1084
Baker, A Meddling Muddle	1087
4. Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: Argentina as a Case Study: Part II	1088
de Onis, U.S. Acts to Improve Its Ties with Rightist Latin Governments	1088
Editorial, Doing Favors for Argentina	1089

	Lewis, U.S. and Argentina: Question of the Soul	1090
	Editorial, Semantics and Human Rights	1093
B.	The Reagan Administration's Human Rights Policy Falls into Place	1095
	International Commission of Jurists, Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy	1095
	U.S. Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982	1097
	U.S. Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1983	1101
	Note: Two Key Differences in the Reagan Administration's Human Rights Policy	1103
C.	Criticism of the Reagan Administration's Human Rights Policy and Its Response	1105
	Shestack, An Unsteady Focus: The Vulnerabilities of the Reagan Administration's Human Rights Policy	1106
	El Salvador: "The Certification Joke"	1107
	Editorial, The Certification Joke	1108
	Response	1110
	Abrams, Latin America in the Time of Reagan	1110
	Schifter, Building Firm Foundations: The Institutionalization of United States Human Rights Policy in the Reagan Years	1113
	Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: Argentina as a Case Study: Part III	1119
	Editorial, A Toast to Argentina	1120
	Lewis, Lessons from Argentina	1120
	Schell, Carter on Rights — a Re-Evaluation	1122
IV.	<i>The Bush Administration's Attitude Toward Human Rights Concerns in the Foreign Policy Process</i>	1124
V.	<i>The Clinton Administration's Attitude Toward Human Rights Concerns in the Foreign Policy Process</i>	1126
	A Vision for Democracy (Remarks by Governor Bill Clinton)	1127
	Statement of the Honorable Timothy E. Wirth, Counselor, U.S. Department of State	1128
	Shattuck, Human Rights and Democracy in Asia	1131
	President's News Conference (May 26, 1994)	1135
	McGrory, Human Rights Retreat	1139
	Editorial, Speak Louder on Rights in China	1141
VI.	<i>Final Comments and Questions</i>	1143
	<i>Index</i>	1151