Global Civil Society & NGOs
What is Global Civil Society (Glasius & Lettinga)

a. A “third sector,” distinct from the state & business
b. Global voluntary associations or global social movements
c. Institutions for a global world
d. Global citizens
e. People organizing to influence the(ir) world by shifting norms
Major Human Rights NGOs I

a. Amnesty International – ‘Prisoners of Conscience’
b. “Better to light a candle than curse the darkness”
c. Founded in 1961
Major Human Rights NGOs II

a. Human Rights Watch
b. ‘research factory’
Major Human Rights NGOs III

a. International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH)

b. Coalition of 178 local HR grassroots organizations
Strategies

a) “Naming and shaming” governments that violate HR through mass media, letter writing, petitions & advocacy.

b) Litigation in courts through representation of victims & submitting *amicus curiae* briefs.

c) Seeking to influence inter-state behavior through demands for sanctions & humanitarian intervention.
Campaign Case Study: Economic and Social Rights

a) Caught in the cross-fire between liberalism & socialism & between HR & global justice advocates (concerned with power hierarchies & redistribution)

b) International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966) – from ‘goals’ or ‘aspirations’ to entitlements?

c) GCS lacks representation at G+ summits & IMF & World Bank

d) Right to health: WTO Doha negotiations: developing countries have flexibility in producing generic drugs
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984 - I

a) What Is Torture?

b) Article 1
• 1. For the purposes of this Convention, the term "torture" means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions.
• **Article 2**
  2. No exceptional circumstances whatsoever, whether a state of war or a threat of war, internal political instability or any other public emergency, may be invoked as a justification of torture.
  3. An order from a superior officer or a public authority may not be invoked as a justification of torture.

• **Article 3**
  1. No State Party shall expel, return ("refouler") or extradite a person to another State where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture.
CAT - III

a) Who is being tortured?
b) Excuses for torture & their rebuttal
c) Universal jurisdiction over torturers:
   Filartiga v. Pena-Irala (1980) under the Alien Tort Statute (ATS)

- **Article II**
- In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
  - (a) Killing members of the group;
  - (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
  - (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
  - (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
  - (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.
Genocide Convention - II

- **Article III**
- The following acts shall be punishable:
  - (a) Genocide;
  - (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
  - (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
  - (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
  - (e) Complicity in genocide.
Genocide Convention - III

a) Why did US wait until 1988 to ratify convention?
b) Genocide or ‘atrocities’?
c) Causes of genocide.
d) Post-WWII genocides (see list G:355-356)
e) The 1994 Rwanda genocide.
Historical Repertoires (Brysk) I

a. Visibility → resonance → legitimacy
b. The Dreyfus Affair (France 1894-1906)
c. *J'accuse* & the engaged intellectual
d. Voice & public (or audience)
Historical Repertoires (Brysk) II

e. The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

f. Fascist support v democratic equivocation

g. International Brigades & solidarity
h. The Holocaust & international indifference
i. The new term ‘genocide’ frames nature of crime
j. The Diary of Anne Frank
k. The Nuremberg Trials (1945) & Eichmann Trial (1961)
k. Never Again !?
Voices of Messengers (Brysk) I

a. Personalize the HR violation & struggle – transform personal suffering into public cause

b. Persuasive voices draw on a combination of charisma, credibility, and connection.

c. Nelson Mandela: translational figure, non-racialism, world’s most famous political prisoner.
Voices of Messengers - II


d) Amartya Sen – expertise - ‘capacities approach,” UN’s Human Development Index.

e) Paul Farmer – expertise – frames public health crises as result of political abuse & links community health and socio-economic conditions
Voices of Messengers - III

g) Doctors Without Borders – collective expertise, civil wars (AIDS patients, humanitarian transnational expert advocacy NGO)

h) Why US campaign against the death penalty didn’t succeed?
   (i) Invokes rational arguments: it is biased, inefficient, inhumane-- and hasn’t developed communication politics
   (ii) Not seeking to establish a new standard of civilization
   (iii) Religious leadership, such as US Conference of Catholic Bishops, more concerned with abortion than death penalty
Audiences (Brysk) - I

a) Radiating outwards from concern for suffering of kin to fellow travelers to generic humanity
   (i) First layer: networks of professional solidarity
   (ii) Second layer: similar suffering or common principle – bridging narratives
   (iii) Third layer: cosmopolitan audiences
Audiences - II

b) Antiapartheid solidarity
c) American Jews & the Darfur genocide
d) Japanese-Americans and 9/11 detentions
e) Unsuccessful audience building: “Who Remembers the Armenians?”