

Index

- academics, role of, 46–7, 320–5
 accountability, 279
 Afghanistan, 38, 39, 61, 236, 306
 Africa: refugees in, 234–5, 238, 243, 250;
 sub-Saharan, 181, 187
 Albright, Madeleine, 14
 Algeria, 306
 Amnesty International, 2, 209, 250, 318;
 and Hutu refugees, 238; Nobel Peace
 Prize, 77
 Amnesty-USA, and women's rights, 263
 Angola, 20, 220, 236
 animals, 164–5; rights of, 168, 174n
 Anthropology, 6; culturalism in, 36–7;
 presentism of, 32–4; scientific
 objectivity (positivism) in, 46, 48–9
 anti-apartheid movement, 185, 186
 Anti-Slavery International, 265, 276n
 anti-war movements, and Gulf War,
 228
 Armenia, 220
 arms proliferation, 239
 ASEAN, membership of Burma, 24
 Asian values, 98, 155, 157–8, 188, 297;
 debate on, 11–12, 24–5, 154–5,
 294–5; and power politics, 23–4, 280,
 295–7; role of state, 155–7, 295, 296,
 see also China; Western values
 asylum-seekers, 20–2, 234; limited
 provision for, 245–6, 256
 Aung San Suu Kyi, 303, 325
- Balkans, 63, 184, 187; refugees, 233,
 236, *see also* Bosnia; Yugoslavia, former
 Bangkok Declaration (1993), 154, 296
 Banja Luka, Bosnia, 204
 Beetham, David, 324–5
 Bentham, Jeremy, 109
 Berkeley, Bishop George, 174n
 betterment, concept of, 43, 44
 Bosnia, 89, 96, 119, 210, 250; civil
 society in, 203–7; international
 response, 183, 184–5; relief operations,
 240, 254–5; women in, 267–8, 269
 Burma, 15, 90, 93, 303; membership of
 ASEAN, 24, 28n
 Burundi, 88, 185, 256
 Bush, George, US President, 19, 224,
 226, 227, 316
- Cambodia, 88, 89, 183–4, 236
 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
 (CND), 200
 Canada, 269, 276n
 Carr, E. H., 2, 298
 Carrithers, Michael, *Why Humans Have
 Cultures*, 32–4
 Cartagena Declaration (1984), 235
 Carter, Jimmy, US President, 76–8
 Catholic Schoolmen, natural law, 106–7
 Central America, 281, 287; refugees in,
 235, 246
 Central American Law Group, 263
 CHANGE (women's organisation), 22,
 260, 276n; *Of Violence and Violation*,
 262–4
 Chechnya, 93, 210, 219
 children: UN Convention on Rights of,
 76, 270; wrongs against girls, 264
 Chile, UN investigation, 76, 101n
 China, 90, 297; ethnocentric claims on
 human rights, 11–12, 15–16, 27n;
 international pressure on, 14–16, 93;
 nature of social relations in, 13–14,
 157–8; one-child policy, 268–9;
 Tiananmen Square, 44, 303; traditional
 law, 66n, 264; and UN policy on
 Cambodia, 183–4
 Christian Democrat tradition, 295
 Christianity, 54, 161; and concept of
 shared humanity, 81, 290; monism of,
 130, 131; and nationalism, 225, *see also*
 religion; Roman Catholic church
 citizens, rights of, 85–6, 87

330 *Index*

- civil society: in Bosnia, 203–7; and globalisation, 207–9, 210–11; limits of national, 225–7; and national identity, 197; nature of, 18–19, 122–3, 220–1; origins of concept, 195–8; relation to state, 202–3, 205, 210, 211; role in construction of individual, 112, 113–14; to rebuild war-torn states, 253; and transformation of Eastern Europe, 198–202, *see also* global civil society
- class, to serve political interest, 39–40
- Clinton Administration, 14–15, 185, 249; human rights and democracy, 283, 296
- Clinton, W., US President, 186
- coercion: collective regional, 102n, 282; international pressures for, 285–7; soft systems of, 93–4, 282–3; to enforce compliance, 23, 24, 282–7
- Cold War, 73, 115–16, 178, 226; constraints on human rights, 246–7; and *détente*, 200–1
- Cold War, end of, 18, 44; and globalisation of human rights, 78, 88–91, 278, 315–16
- colonialism, 131
- commercial interest, 116; and US policy on human rights, 14–15, 93, 285
- Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 260
- common good, notion of, 109, 110, 277
- common sense, communitarian, 32, 35–6
- communication, globalisation of, 207–8, 215, 288
- communitarian pragmatism, 4, 9–10
- communitarianism, 60, 306; traditional, 4, 10, 32, *see also* ethical community; individual
- community, definition, 92–3
- compassion fatigue, 21, 187
- compliance gap, 3, 8, 23, 115
- conditionality, 284, 285
- conflict resolution, 250–1, 283
- consensus *see* international consensus
- context: of ethical community, 104, 111; rights in, 113, 117–20, 281–2
- cosmopolitan democracy, 57, 65, 191, 222–3, 232n
- cosmopolitan education, 307, 323–5
- cosmopolitan pragmatism, 4, 10–11
- cosmopolitanism, 60–1
- crime, 86; international networks, 208
- Croatia, 89, 96, 210
- cross-cultural dialogue: and international consensus, 132; to establish universal values, 139–40, 143–4, 158, *see also* cultural difference/diversity
- Cuba, 90
- cultural difference/diversity: and education, 314; historical origins of, 48–9; intolerance in, 26, 141; limits of, 12–13, 281; and moral monism, 136–7; postmodern tolerance of, 6, 56; reconciling with universalism, 150–8, *see also* cross-cultural dialogue; cultural relativism; moral diversity
- cultural evolution, 34, 37
- cultural relativism, 4, 8–9, 132, 293; in Anthropology, 36–7, 46, 49; and criticism of universality, 53–4, 103, 111; ethically flawed, 50–1; as falsifying, 49–50; and social criticism, 117; Vienna Declaration and, 89
- culturalism (cultural essentialism): as dogma, 6, 32, 36–41; emancipation to counter, 40–6
- culture: concept of human identity in, 144–5; dependent on human capacity, 148–9; as exclusive, 37, 49–50, 146; internal differences in, 38–9; nature of, 133–4; privileged, 39, 132
- Czechoslovakia, 201; Charter 77 group, 18, 199, 201, 212n
- Dayton Agreement, Bosnia (1995), 184
- democracy: diversity within, 55; importance of education in, 316–17; norm of tolerance within, 188; and pressure for human rights, 279, 282; universalism of, 291, 292, *see also* cosmopolitan democracy
- Denmark, policy on China, 14
- détente*, 18, 200–1, 201, 212n
- deterrence, 186, 198–9
- diasporas, 208
- dictatorships, collapse of, 87
- diversity, 6; moral, 128–33, 136–7; within universalism, 55–6, *see also* cultural difference/diversity
- duty-bearer: in concept of rights, 3, 4, 5, 78; and environment, 166–7; multinational corporations as, 95; state as, 25, 114–15, 126n, 172
- Dworkin, Ronald, 109
- East Asia, 116, 303, *see also* Asian values
- East Germany, 199
- Eastern Europe: human rights pressures on, 185, 316; role of education in, 316; role of transnational civil society in, 18, 198–202

- economic development: in Asia, 157, 189, 296, 297; modernisation theories, 292, 293; and political liberalisation, 279–80; and refugee agencies, 251–2
- economic globalisation, 189–91, 215, 315; interdependence, 94–6, 187, 288
- economic rights, 84, 115, 126n; and markets, 95, 279
- economic sanctions, 283
- economics, *laissez-faire*, 18, 315
- education: access to higher, 311, 319, 327n; cosmopolitan, 307, 323–5; and cultural diversity, 314; global initiatives on, 318–19; as human right, 269, 304–5, 306–7, 309–11, 325, 326–7n; human rights content of, 25–6, 311–16, 324–5; national priorities in, 312–14; nature and content of, 305, 311; neo-liberal values in, 314–16; politics in, 312–14, 320–2; role of universities in, 308–9, 319–24; sentimental, 120, 121; use of empathy, 324–5; and women's rights, 267
- El Salvador, 89, 90
- emancipation: concept of, 6, 40–1, 45–6; false, 41–2; and progress, 43–5, 180–1; true, 43–6
- enforcement: by coercion, 23, 24, 282–7; and conditionality, 284, 285; no international power of, 73, 75, 115, 298; and political will, 285–6; practical consensus on, 299–300; reforms to enable, 187; of women's rights, 270–1
- Enlightenment, the, 162, 163–4, 180, 306
- environment: consensus on, 292, 317–18; and human advantage, 164–5
- equality, as universal value, 97, 99, 149–50
- ethical community: elements of, 111–14; rights in context of, 104, 111; role of education, 308; universal, 61, 64
- Ethiopia, 236
- ethnic cleansing, 92, 204–6
- ethnic identity, 208
- ethnocentrism, 11–12, 26
- Europe, Council of, and women's human rights, 271, 276n
- European Commission, 85, 282
- European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 115
- European Court of Human Rights, 85
- European Nuclear Disarmament (END), 199–200, 201
- European Union, 14, 246; response to Bosnia, 184–5, 219
- exclusivity: cultural, 37, 49–50, 146; principles of, 290–1
- family, role of, 111–12
- feminism, 55, 272–3, *see also* women
- Ferguson, Adam, 197
- First World War, and refugees, 237
- foreign policy: human rights in bilateral, 77, 88, 115; realist view of morality, 18, 178, *see also* realism
- foundationalism, in social theory of rights, 4, 5
- France, 220, 227, 271
- French Declaration of Rights of Man (1789), 105
- French Revolution, 60, 61, 83, 261
- fundamentalism, 40, 92, 96, 273
- geist*, 111, 113, 118–19
- Gellner, Ernest, 197; *Conditions of Liberty*, 122–3
- gender: and education, 306, 307; in human rights assumptions, 22–3, *see also* women
- Geneva Convention, 72, 244
- genocidal politics, 182–8, 187
- genocide, 2, 56; as claim of group superiority, 96; moral awareness of, 16–17; response to, 17–18, 88, 188
- Georgia, 20, 220
- Germany: in Second World War, 72, *see also* Nazism
- Giddens, Anthony, 196, 207
- Global Center for Women's Leadership, 263
- global civil society, 191, 207–9, 290, 317–18; coherence of, 221–2; as counterbalance to state, 25, 211, 288; in Eastern Europe, 18, 198–202; and media, 220–2; moral role of, 18, 57, 196, 211; representation in, 222–3; role of universities in, 323, *see also* civil society
- global human rights regime, 71–8, 292, 304, 305; commitment to basic moral equality, 97, 99; consensus on human rights, 7, 24, 71–8, 96–100; and education, 318–19; limited success of, 114–17, 121, 295, 298; and practical consensus, 299–300; pressure for expansion in, 278–9; and role of states, 85–8, 115
- global market: effect on moral purpose, 17–18, 191; and genocidal politics,

332 *Index*

- 187–8; and interdependence, 94–6, 187, 215; and supply-side fiscal policies, 189, 190–1
- global political crises, 214, 218–20, 230–1; Iraqi wars, 223–4
- global society, 214, 215–16; normative ambitions of, 277, *see also* global civil society
- globalisation: and civil society, 207–9, 221–2; and cultural relativism, 103; effect on states, 181, 214, 216–18; from below, 181; and marginalisation of victims, 177
- God, Calvinist perception, 196
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, *New Thinking*, 201
- Gordimer, Nadine, 313
- Gore, Al, US Vice-President, 14
- Grayling, A. C., 308, 309
- Greece, Ancient, 81, 113, 118, 131
- Greenpeace, 209, 221, 318
- Guatemala, 89, 90, 236
- Gulf War, 223, 226, 228
- Habermas, J., 138
- Hague Convention, 72
- Hague, the: International Court of Justice, 115; Tribunal on War Crimes, 88
- Haiti, 89, 90, 219
- Hampshire, Stuart, 132, 138, 298
- Hart, H. L. A., 131
- Havel, Václav, 200
- health services, and women's rights, 261, 268
- Hegel, G. W. F., 111, 113, 118–19, 197
- Helsinki Accord (Final Act 1975), 18, 77, 198, 200
- hierarchy, 136, 137
- Hobbes, Thomas, 107, 133, 162
- Hofeld, Wesley, 105
- hospitality, concept of, 52, 208
- human advantage, over Nature, 164–6
- human agency, as basis of universality, 132
- human capacities, nature of, 137, 143–4, 146–7, 148
- human consciousness, 52
- human desires and needs, 144–5
- human dignity: concept of, 5, 7, 80–1, 147; minimalist interpretation, 151–2; new conceptions of, 96–100
- human identity, 142; cultural concept of, 144–5
- human nature: as basis of universality, 132, 141–2; and social idealism, 52; theories of, 5–6, 129–30
- human rights, 2, 74; assumption of gender neutrality, 22, 259; expansion of agenda, 278–82; history of development, 82–5; international consensus, 7, 24, 71–8, 96–100, 160, 299–300; nature of, 80, 81–2; in peace-keeping operations, 89–90; provisions for refugees, 244, 245, 246–8; and role of civil society, 18, 19; and role of state, 85–8; social theories of, 3–5, 4; as universal standard, 2, 291–2, *see also* education; global human rights regime; individual; rights; universality; wrongs
- human rights violations: moral condemnation of, 50–1; political costs of, 93; refugees from, 235, 239, 244
- Human Rights Watch, 250, 265
- human sentiments, 62, 120, 305
- humanitarian aid, 21, 249; as human right, 92; linked with foreign policy, 77, 228–9, 252–3; linked with human rights protection, 250; political manipulation of, 242; and safe areas for refugees, 240, 253
- humanitarianism, 163
- humbug (hypocrisy), 169–70
- Hungary, 18, 199, 201
- Hutu refugees, 238, 256
- idealism, 164, 186
- ideas, spread of, 53–4
- identity: ethnic, 208; human, 61, 63, 65, 142
- ideology of realism, 18, 47–8, 186, 290
- India, caste system, 59, 61, 135–6
- individual, 96–7, 103; autonomy within civil society, 196–7; role of institutions in formation, 111–14, 134; subordinated in Asia, 155–8; in Universal Declaration, 65, 114–15, 139, *see also* communitarianism
- individualism, 98, 315
- Indochina, 238
- Indonesia, 303
- institutions: and formation of individual, 111–14, 134; functional, 225; global, 215–16; for global representation, 222–3, 230–1, 284; and globalisation, 216–18, 230; international financial, 91, 189, 279, 284; representative, 225–7; to realise values, 152–3
- Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 271, 281, 282
- Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1994), 267, 269, 271

- International Bill of Human Rights (1943 draft), 72, 74
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 241, 249
- International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), 268
- International Congress on Education for Human Rights (1993), 318
- international consensus, 7, 24, 71–8, 96–100, 160; criticism of, 117, 138; cross-cultural, 132, 139–40; enforcement policies and, 285, 298–9; procedural, 300; substantive value, 300
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 73, 75
- International Convention on Homeworking (1996), 271
- International Court of Justice at The Hague, 115
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), 309, 310, 326–7n
- international financial institutions, 91, 189, 279, 284
- International Human Rights Law Group, 265
- International Labour Office (ILO), 270–1
- international law, 115
- international refugee regime, 245–6
- International Relations, 6, 191; and cultural evolution, 34–5; culturalism in, 37, 53; and positivism, 47–8; realism in, 171, 320–1
- International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women (1976), 274n
- intervention, 86, 185; in response to genocide, 183–4; to prevent refugee flows, 240, *see also* military intervention; non-intervention
- Iraq, 20, 89, 90, 254; invasion of Kuwait, 17, 219, 223; and Kurds, 19, 224; Shi'ite rebellion, 20, 223–4, 226–7, 230
- Islam, 54, 96; Koranic punishments, 12–13; practice of stoning, 153–4; restrictions on rights, 116, 270, 294; *sharia* tradition, 66n; and women's rights, 268, 273
- Israel, UN Special Committee on, 101n
- Jackson–Vanick Amendment to US Trade Act, 77
- Japan, and Asian values, 295
- Jews, political discrimination, 83
- journalists *see* media; television
- Kant, Immanuel, 162, 163, 174n, 293; *Perpetual Peace*, 207–8
- Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, 183
- Kissinger, Henry, 178, 192n
- Kurds, 19–20, 227–9; and global television, 214, 229–30
- Kuwait, armed intervention, 17, 219, 223
- labour: commodified, 315; organised, 189
- laissez-faire* economics, 18, 315
- Latin America, 281, 287
- law: and control of violence, 204; and moral obligation, 167–8; and women's rights, 263–4, *see also* natural law; positive law
- League of Nations, 73
- Li Peng, Chinese prime minister, 14
- liberal societies, 111, 113; as ethical community, 113–14, 121; rights of individuals in, 104–5
- liberalism: divisions within, 290–1; universalism of rights, 4, 4, 104–6, 122
- Liberia, 20, 204, 236
- literacy, 83, 304; and poverty, 310; women's, 264, 269, 272, *see also* education
- lobby groups, for women's rights, 266
- Locke, John, 107, 130, 133, 298; *Second Treatise on Government* (1688), 82
- love, universality of, 52–3
- Major, John, UK prime minister, 19, 224, 227
- Malaysia, 188
- Mandela, Nelson, 44, 58
- markets *see* economic rights
- Marx, Karl, 298
- Marxism, 130, 297
- media, 205; freedom of press, 99; and global civil society, 220–2, *see also* television
- Michnik, Adam, 199, 200, 201–2
- militarism, continuing, 186–7, 194n
- military intervention, 23, 284; limitations on, 17–18, 286; and refugee relief, 253–5
- Mill, J. S., 130, 133
- minimum universalism, 10, 130–2, 133, 138–9; and cultural diversity, 151–2
- monitoring powers, international, 73, 75–6, 88, 246, 247, 283
- moral awareness, 2, 16–17, 160–2, 299
- moral diversity, responses to, 128–33
- moral judgements, cross-cultural, 118–20, 140–1
- moral minimalism, 117–18, 121, 162

334 *Index*

- moral monism, 10, 129–30, 131, 132, 136–7
 moral nihilism, 51
 moral values, *see* universal moral values
 Mozambique, 89
 multinational corporations, 95, 172
- Namibia, 89
 nation-state, 60, 86, 172, 179; and education, 307; and global political crises, 218–20; moral interdependence, 173; and realism, 171–2, *see also* state(s)
 national identity, and civil society, 197
 nationalism, 60, 96, 294; in Bosnia, 205–6; resurgence of, 92–3, 95
 natural law, 4–5, 51, 131; rights under, 106–7
 Nazism, 16, 17, 172–3, 182–3
 negative rights, 1
 NGOs, 2, 77, 288–9, 295; agents of humanitarian aid, 21, 249–50; in Bosnia, 206–7; civil society role of, 202–3, 288; diversity among, 289–90; and human rights for women and children, 22–3, 260, 263, 266–7; persuasive political action, 94, 283; and protection for refugees, 248–51; role in conflict resolution, 250–1; and role of state, 203, 289–90
 Nietzsche, F. W., 163
 non-intervention, 1, 24, 186; and internally displaced refugees, 243–4
 non-liberal societies, 122
 nuclear weapons, 198–9, 199–200
 Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, 72
 Nussbaum, Martha, 59, 132, 307
 Nye, Joseph, 43–4
- OAU, Convention on Refugee Problems in Africa (1969), 234–5
 objectivity: limitations of, 46–7, 320–1, *see also* positivism
 OECD Development Committee, 264, 284
 operationalism, 171, 174n
 OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe), 278
- Pakistan, 88, 264
 Palestinians, displaced, 235
 participation *see* democracy
 peace movements, 199–200, 228
 Peace Research, and values, 321
 peace-keeping operations, multilateral: costs of, 249; human rights concerns in, 89–90, 283–4; and refugee relief, 241, 253–5, 254
 Plato, 25, 130, 306
 Poland, 18, 199, 201
 political interest: and political will, 285–6; and realism, 71, 284–5; served by traditionalism, 39–40
 political practice: in Asia, 295–7; and expansion of human rights, 278–9, 299–300
 population growth, 161
 pornography, 98, 273
 positive law: and environmental rights, 166; international human rights in, 115; rights under, 80, 106, 108, 110
 positive rights, 1
 positivism (scientific objectivity), as tyranny, 6, 32, 46–9
 postmodernism, 3, 6, 24, 163
 poverty, 189, 190; and literacy, 310–11; women's, 264–5, 270, 272, 275n, *see also* economic development
 power: and spread of ideas, 53–4; women's political, 269, 276n
 practical reason, and value pluralism, 108–9
 pragmatism, 4, 9
 prejudice, 119
 presentism, 6, 32–6, 32
 production, globalisation of, 94
 progress, material, 180–1
 property, and rights, 82–3, 262, 264, 270
 public opinion, 318; duty to protest, 16, 172–3
- quick impact projects, 251
- race, and cultural relativism, 50
 racial discrimination, 96; Convention on, 73, 75
 rape, 264, 269, 273
 rationalism, 164–5, 166
 Rawls, John, 122, 131–2, 138, 162, 280
 Reagan Administration, 77
 realism, 171–2; centrality of stability, 209; as force of habit, 170–1; ideology of, 18, 47–8, 186, 290; moral limits of, 16, 172; and perception of morality, 177–8, 211–12; and Utopianism, 163–4
 reductionism, 163–4
 refugees, 233, 234–6; countries of first asylum, 234, 237, 238, 245, 255; economic migrants, 236; and human rights regimes, 246–8; internally displaced, 235–6, 239, 251; international mechanisms for, 237,

- 245–6; and military forces, 253–5; new approaches to, 255–6; preventive policies, 239–40; reintegration, 251–3; repatriation, 236, 238–9, 253–4, 255; role of NGOs, 248–51; safe areas, 240, 253, 255–6; traditional approaches, 238–9; Western view of, 20–1, 187, 238, 280, *see also* UNHCR
- regional human rights: as challenge to universalism, 294–5; collective coercive action, 102n, 282; cultural consensus, 154, 191, *see also* Europe
- relativism, 128–9, 133–6; cultural, 4, 9; moral, 10; moral nihilism in, 51, *see also* cultural relativism
- religion, 54, 83, 221; attitude to women, 268, 273; and education, 314; excluded from Westphalian state, 180, 193n; fundamentalist, 40, 92, 96, 273; to serve political interest, 39, 181, *see also* Christianity; Islam; Roman Catholic church
- respect, concept of, 147
- revolutionism, 290
- rights: absolutism of, 99, 109–10; of animals, 165, 168; and common good, 110; contextualised, 104, 111, 113, 117–20; and duty-bearer, 3, 4, 78; entitlement to, 78–80; meanings of, 1, 78, 81; of men over women, 261–2; in natural law, 105, 106–8; right-holder, 3, 4, 78; under positive law (legal), 80, 105, 106, 108, 110, *see also* human rights
- Roman Catholic church, 268, 295
- Roman Empire, 81, 131, 161
- Roosevelt, F. D., 72
- Rorty, Richard, 9, 62–3, 305; shared moral identity, 119–20, 121, 141
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 163, 306
- RSPCA, and human advantage, 165
- rulers, obligations of, 81
- Rumens, Carol, 31
- Russia, 219, 316; human rights groups in, 210–11; refugees, 233, 236
- Rwanda, 89, 90, 92, 96, 254; media coverage, 219–20; refugee crisis, 240, 241, 243, 256; response to genocide in, 88, 185, 204; UN human rights monitoring, 247; women in, 269
- Saddam Hussein, 227–8
- St Augustine, 161, 162, 163
- Saudi Arabia, 264
- science, as threat to tradition, 135
- scientific objectivity, *see* positivism
- Scottish Enlightenment, 200
- Second World War, 186, 197, 226; moral element in, 72; and refugees, 237
- self-determination, 97; and state weakness, 288
- sexual abuse, 264
- sexual decency, debate on, 98, 117
- sexual mutilation of girls, 264
- Sierra Leone, 20, 220
- Singapore, 11, 154, 295
- slavery: abolition movement, 83, 286; in ancient Greece, 113, 118
- social contract theory, 107, 162
- social democracy, Rawlsian, 139
- social idealism, 52
- social rights, 83–4
- Social Science, objectivity in, 46–7
- sociology theory: as counter to presentism, 32, 34–6; and emancipation, 45–6
- society, 144; and individual, 98; nature of, 133, 134
- Somalia, 89, 92, 185, 204, 210, 220, 236, 254; rape of women, 269, 273
- Soros, George, 316
- South Africa, 44, 101n, 185; education, 313, 320
- South American Women's Law Network, 263
- South Korea, 303
- sovereignty, principle of, 1, 2, 24, 60
- Soviet Union: and *détente*, 18, 200–1, 212n; former, 220, 292, *see also* Russia
- speech, freedom of, 110
- standards: general, 107, 108, 119–20; and ideals, 169
- state(s): and civil society, 196, 197–8, 210, 211, 220–1; compliance gap, 8, 23; contraction of, 203, 287–8, 302n; disintegration in Yugoslavia, 203–7; as duty-bearer, 25, 114–15, 126n; effect of economic globalisation on, 94–6, 190–1; and funding for UNHCR, 242–3; and globalisation of institutions, 216–18, 230–1; internal criticism, 12, 117–18; national politics in education, 312–14; and nationalism, 92–3; need to reconceptualise, 91–2; and provision of asylum, 245–6; rebuilding war-torn, 251–3; reputation and compliance, 23, 284; resistance to intervention, 248; role in application of human rights, 75, 85–8, 93–4, 278, 282–3, 289, *see also* nation-state; sovereignty
- statism: and compliance failure, 23; realist concept of national interest, 71, 93, 186; in Westphalian system, 64–5

336 *Index*

- Stoics, 163
 strategic interest: and armed intervention, 17, 219; overrides humanitarian intervention, 19, 183–5
 Strategic Studies, 321
 structural adjustment programmes, 91
 students, opposition role, 303
 Sudan, 90, 92, 204, 236
- Tadjikistan, 20, 220
 Tanzania, 256
 technology, effects of, 135, 161, 274, 288
 television: limitations of, 20, 220, 229–30; pressure on government, 19–20, 215, 219; role in Kurdish crisis, 229–30; to represent global voices, 214, 230
 Thompson, E. P., 199, 201
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 130, 197
 torture, 2, 53; UN Convention on, 76, 77; of women, 261, 274n
 traditionalism: and cultural authenticity, 37, 38; political interests in, 39–40, 92–3; to justify practice, 109, 121–2, 135–6, 153–4, 264–5, *see also* Asian values
 transparency, 279
 Tuzla, Bosnia, 205
- Uganda, 88
 UN Charter, 1, 5, 72–3, 284
 UN Commission on Human Rights: and China, 15, 23; monitoring powers, 73, 75–6, 247–8, 282; and refugee protection, 246–7, 248; women's rights, 266, 271–2; Working Group on . . . Disappearances, 76–7
 UN Convention Against Torture (1984), 76, 77
 UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), 76
 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), 2, 16–17, 73
 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), 234, 238
 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), 76, 270
 UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), 7, 73, 74, 84, 282
 UN Covenant on Economic and Social Rights (1966), 7, 73, 74, 84
 UN Decade for Women (1976–85), 260
 UN Development Program (UNDP), 59, 251–2, 264
 UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, 88
 UN Human Rights Centre, 246–8
 UN Security Council, 23, 284
 UNESCO, and right to education, 309–11, 311–12, 318–19
 United Kingdom: Democracy Audit, 271; education, 307–8, 317
 United Nations, 187, 217–18, 244, 292; and armed intervention, 23, 286; and Bosnia, 184–5, 254; commitment to education, 309, 318–19; and Gulf War, 226; and Khmer Rouge, 183; peace-keeping interventions, 89–90, 241, 247, 249, 254–5; and Rwanda and Burundi, 185, 204; special investigations, 76–7, 101n
 United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), 234, 238, 246; constraints on, 242–4, 245; crisis prevention role, 20–1, 240–2; mandate, 235, 237, 241; relations with development agencies, 251–2; relations with UN peace-keepers, 254; and repatriated refugees, 236
 United States: and asylum for refugees, 246; Bill of Rights, 110, 115; Central America policy, 77; Declaration of Independence (1776), 105; education, 313; as ethical community, 113–14, 279; foreign aid and human rights, 77, 249, 283, 284, 296; and human rights in China, 13–16; moral pretensions, 178, 192n; rights under Constitution, 168; sanctions against Burma, 15, 27n; and Somalia, 185; and strategic interest, 219; view of welfare, 94, 99, 154–5, 189, *see also* Clinton Administration
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), 1, 5, 59, 64–5, 73, 74; and concept of human dignity, 80; position of individual in, 65, 114–15, 139; right to education, 309, 310; and rights of women, 259, 263
 universal moral values, 143–6, 147–9, 158, 297–8; consensus on, 139–42, 299–300; in education, 317; equality, 97, 99, 149–50; human unity, 142–6; worth, 147–9, *see also* human dignity
 universal principles, status of, 138–9
 universalism, 4, 57, 291–7, 303–4; and context, 113, 281–2; and cosmopolitanism, 60–1; danger of

- totalitarianism in, 57–8; diversity within, 55–6; essentialism of, 51–2; as imposition of Western values, 52–5, 104, 292–3; inter-national form, 221; liberal view of, 4–5; as moral, 81–2; nationalist challenge to, 294; and normative universality, 58–64, 298–300; reconciling with cultural diversity, 150–8, 281; regionalist challenge to, 294–5, *see also* minimum universalism
- universities, role of, 308–9, 319–24
- Utilitarianism, 109, 162, 197
- utopias, 164; process, 44, 45; universalism of, 57–8
- values: commensurability of, 59, 135, 137; in education, 305; of ideals, 169–70; neo-liberal, 314–16; and objectivity, 320; realisation of, 79, 152–3; universal moral, 143–6, 147–9, *see also* human dignity; respect; universal moral values; worth
- Vienna Declaration on Human Rights (1993), 7, 15, 81, 89, 267; on education, 312, 327n; rights of women and children, 22, 265–8
- Vietnam, 183–4
- violence: as cause of refugees, 235–6; control of, 204, 253; domestic, 261, 269, 272
- Walzer, Michael, 117–18, 131
- war: avoidance of, 178–9; as global political crisis, 218–20; institutions' view of, 225–7
- welfare, 189, 190; in United States, 94, 99
- welfare state(s), 83–4, 95
- West, the, global dominance of, 217–18
- Western states: market liberalism, 279–80; provision of humanitarian aid [through NGOs], 21; reluctance to accept refugees, 20–1, 187, 238, 280
- Western values: Asian view of, 155–8; changes within, 292–3; differences within, 117, 154–5; universalism as imposition of, 52–5, 104, 292, *see also* Asian values
- Westphalia, Treaty of, 1, 60, 64–5, 262; legacy of, 179–82
- Wilson, Woodrow, 178
- Wollstonecraft, Mary, 306
- women: Beijing conference, 22–3, 268–70; biological rights, 260, 268; coercion of and trafficking in, 267, 272; Convention Against Discrimination, 76, 260; and education, 264, 269, 272, 306; excluded from early definitions of rights, 82–3, 261–2; historical background, 259–65; human rights groups, 22, 265–8; and political decision-making, 269–70; as refugees, 21–2, 269; subordination of, 39, 96, 262–3; and Vienna Declaration, 265–8; violence against, 22, 261, 267, 269, 272
- women's suffrage, 262
- World Bank, 251–2
- World Conference on Human Rights: Teheran (1968), 75; Vienna (1993), 88, 265–8, *see also* Vienna Declaration
- World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995), 22–3, 268–70
- World Food Summit, 271
- world order: moral failure in, 177; values, 45
- World University Service organisation, 310
- worth, universal value of, 147–9
- wrongs, 180, 181; moral condemnation of, 50–1; and religion as political force, 181–2; universality of, 62–4
- Yugoslavia, former, 88, 92, 219; transnational civil society and, 18–19, 203–7; UN human rights monitoring, 247, 278; UNHCR work in, 242, 254, *see also* Bosnia
- Zaire, 90, 240, 243