

### The Making of International Human Rights

The 1960s, Decolonization and the Reconstruction of Global Values

This book fundamentally reinterprets the history of international human rights in the post-1945 era by documenting how pivotal the Global South was for their breakthrough. In stark contrast to other contemporary human rights historians who have focused almost exclusively on the 1940s and the 1970s—heavily privileging Western agency—Steven L. B. Jensen convincingly argues that it was in the 1960s that universal human rights had their breakthrough.

This is a groundbreaking work that places race and religion at the center of these developments and focuses on a core group of states that led the human rights breakthrough, namely Jamaica, Liberia, Ghana and the Philippines. They transformed the norms upon which the international community today is built. Their efforts in the 1960s postcolonial moment laid the foundation – in profound and surprising ways – for the so-called human rights revolution in the 1970s when Western activists and states began to embrace human rights.

Steven L. B. Jensen is a researcher at the Danish Institute for Human Rights. His current research, funded by the Danish Research Council (2015–2017), focuses on the history of economic and social rights after 1945. He has previously published on genocide, HIV/AIDS, global health and development, and 1960s politics and has held positions with the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the United Nations. He is the winner of the 2015 Ester Boserup Thesis Prize and the 2015 Rene Cassin Thesis Prize (Special Mention).





### **Human Rights in History**

### Edited by

Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, *University of California, Berkeley* Samuel Moyn, *Harvard University* 

This series showcases new scholarship exploring the backgrounds of human rights today. With an open-ended chronology and international perspective, the series seeks works attentive to the surprises and contingencies in the historical origins and legacies of human rights ideals and interventions. Books in the series will focus not only on the intellectual antecedents and foundations of human rights, but also on the incorporation of the concept by movements, nation-states, international governance and transnational law.

#### Also in the series:

Eleanor Davey, Idealism beyond Borders

Fisch, trans. Mage, The Right of Self-Determination of Peoples: The Domestication of an Illusion

Hong, Cold War Germany, the Third World, and the Global Humanitarian Regime Fehrenbach and Rodogno, Humanitarian Photography: A History

Hoffmann, Human Rights in the Twentieth Century

Snyder, Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network

Winter and Prost, René Cassin and Human Rights: From the Great War to the Universal Declaration





# The Making of International Human Rights

The 1960s, Decolonization and the Reconstruction of Global Values

STEVEN L. B. JENSEN

The Danish Institute for Human Rights





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107112162

© Steven L. B. Jensen 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Jensen, Steven L. B., 1973– author.

The making of international human rights: the 1960s, decolonization, and the reconstruction of global values / Steven Jensen,

the Danish Institute for Human Rights.

New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Series: Human rights in history

Includes bibliographical references.

LCCN 2015039219 ISBN 9781107112162 (hardback) LCSH: Human rights – History – 20th century. Decolonization –

History – 20th century. United Nations. Commission on Human Rights.

LCC JC571.J468 2016 DDC 341.4/8 – dc23

LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2015039219

ISBN 978-1-107-11216-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



### Contents

Ac	knowledgments	page 1x
	Negotiating universality - an introduction	I
Ι	"Power carries its own conviction": the early rise and fall of	f
	human rights, 1945–1960	18
2	"The problem of freedom": the United Nations and	
	decolonization, 1960-1961	48
3	From Jamaica with law: the rekindling of international	
	human rights, 1962–1967	69
4	The making of a precedent: racial discrimination and	
	international human rights law, 1962–1966	102
5	"The hymn of hate": the failed convention on elimination o	f
	all forms of religious intolerance, 1962–1967	138
6	"So bitter a year for human rights": 1968 and the UN	
	International Year for Human Rights	174
7	"To cope with the flux of the future": human rights and the	!
	Helsinki Final Act, 1962–1975	209
8	The presence of the disappeared, 1968–1993	237
	Conclusion	275
Archives and references		283
Index		301





## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank The Danish Institute for Human Rights, the Saxo-Institute at the University of Copenhagen and the Centre for Advanced Security Theory for funding my research that led to this book. Helle Porsdam was a great support – always positive and encouraging and assisting me in bridging the disciplines of history and law in both practical and academic ways. I would also like to thank Ole Wæver and Eva Maria Lassen for letting me pursue my own path.

I am grateful to Professor Paul Kahn and Yale Law School for hosting me as Visiting Researcher for six months in 2011. As an academic community, it is a truly rewarding place to reside. Yale Law School librarian Margaret Chisholm has become a friend and her dedication to the legacy of civil rights activist Bayard Rustin is inspirational. I am grateful to Augustinus-Fonden, Oticon-Fonden and Knud Højgaards Fond for making my research visit viable.

Some people say "it takes a village" – well for me it actually took several cities. A number of people I gratefully count as friends invited me into their homes making my archive visits economically feasible and socially a lot more joyful. Special thanks goes to Nancy and Richard Turnbull, Clare Turnbull and Nicholas Tims and Ismay and Elodie (London), Tatjana Lichtenstein and Chris Ernst (Austin), Lesley and Kevin Scott-Morrison (Boston), Frances and Danny McCaul, Sinead Ryan and Peter Andersen, Tanya Siraa and Joe Wandall, Susan Timberlake and Gerald Walzer (all Geneva). Michelle Neita in Jamaica opened many more doors for me than just those of her fabulous B&B Neita's Nest by introducing me to people who helped me pursue the Jamaica story. A heartfelt thanks



### Acknowledgments

to her, Charmaine, Graham and Duncan and Karen Hutchison for many insights into Jamaican society.

At the libraries and archives I visited I have been blessed with great assistance from dedicated archivists. Alice Nemcova at the OSCE Archive in Prague and Allen Fisher at the LBJ Library were brilliant. Adriano Goncalves, Carla Bellota and their colleagues at the UN Library in Geneva have over several years and numerous visits been truly remarkable in their support. This project would not have been possible without their advice, expertise and their constant willingness to help me pursue sources through a wide array of UN processes to piece together the larger story presented here.

I owe a particular word of thanks to Samuel Moyn, Ryan Irwin, Sarah Snyder, Mark Bradley, Barbara Keys, Robert Brier, Chris Dietrich, Roland Burke, Nathan Kurz, Patrick William Kelly, Andrew Preston, Simon Stevens, Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann and Jan Eckel for their valuable time, exchanges or encouragement on several occasions. Rasmus Mariager has been a great friend and a constant discussion partner that made a straying historian feel at home at the Saxo-Institute. Hanne Hagtvedt Vik and her management of the Oslo Contemporary International History Network have been wonderful and enabled me to do archival work and interviews in Jamaica and elsewhere. I would also like to thank OCIHN participants Paul Gordon Lauren, Susan Pedersen, Daniel Maul and Marc Frey for valuable comments on a key part of my work.

Hugh Small enabled me to be a fly on the wall at Jamaican Cabinet meetings in the early 1960s and challenged me on my knowledge of Jamaican history. I am grateful to Sir Alister McIntyre, Elaine Melbourne and Ann and Michael Richardson for their valuable insights that gave me a better understanding of the truly remarkable person and diplomat that Egerton Richardson was. Professor Rupert Lewis and Ambassador Patricia Durrant were instrumental in enabling me to bring the findings of my research back to Jamaica and present the forgotten story of Jamaica's pivotal role to a Jamaican audience at the University of the West Indies and at the Jamaican Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) gave me an opportunity to present my findings to an important audience at a critical stage of my research. It was an honor and privilege to do so. I am grateful for the work of my Ph.D. Review Committee consisting of Jay Winter, Jarna Petman and Poul Villaume. A special word of gratitude goes to the two anonymous peer reviewers of the book manuscript. Both



### Acknowledgments

хi

provided a thoughtful and engaging assessment with numerous great suggestions that have strengthened the final version of the manuscript.

I would like to thank my colleagues at the Danish Institute for Human Rights for listening to me telling stories from the archives and seeing the potential in my research findings and prodding me along. The Saxo-Institute was a good academic home and allowed me the space and time to concentrate on the actual writing. A special word of thanks should go to Marie Juul Petersen, Charlotte Flindt Petersen, Charlotte Kristoffersen, Kim Bidstrup, Louise Holck, Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen, Tomas Martin, Annali Kristiansen, Sita Michael Bormann, Niels Nymann Eriksen, Klaus Petersen, Kristine Kjaersgaard, Niklas Olsen and Alexandre Bernier. The participants at the 2012 Venice Academy on Human Rights were a particular joyful bunch to become acquainted with.

My family and friends have kept me grounded. I apologize for the long absences. The Betts family provided me with a wonderful workspace during an important last stretch. There is one who deserves special praise and appreciation for so many more reasons than I can capture here. Heidi Nadine Betts has motivated, challenged, helped and inspired me throughout and been ever so patient. She has joined me on many of the journeys undertaken for my research and in the process become a recording artist of amazing quality. She has also been an editor and critic extraordinaire – my own personal Grammar Queen so to speak – and has made this manuscript so much better than I would ever have thought possible. Her presence was felt every step of the journey and her presence is there on every single page – always for the better.

I dedicate this book to my maternal grandparents David and Enyd Llewellyn. To you grandma and grandpa – in loving memory!