

PSC 347: *Human Rights*
f2015
Location: Levan 302
Times: Tu, Thu 9:40—11:10
office hours: Wed, 1—2, & by appt

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(please do not email me on D2L)

Ethics in International Relations: Human Rights

In this class we will study ethics in international relations by considering the historical and ideational development of human rights. We will begin by reading two accounts of the emergence of this regime. The first account is by Jack Donnelly and represents the conventional history claiming that human rights logically came out of natural rights and the emergence of liberal democracy. This conventional account further holds that human rights took on a meaningful form during and after the Holocaust. However, even as Donnelly admits, there was little to no human rights discourse or humanitarian interventions until at least the 1970s. Today, many authors now attribute this emergence and the explosion of NGOs (non-governmental organizations—e.g. Amnesty International) in the late 1980s and early 1990s in reaction to the Holocaust. But as Samuel Moyn argues, this conventional account is deeply flawed. Instead, he argues, human rights emerged in the context of the failure of other “utopian” schemes and is currently our “last utopia.” Considering this history as Moyn urges us to—as a very new set of ideas and practices—helps us to understand how human rights are an emerging idea that have not reached their full potential (which is not to argue that Moyn is supporting human rights at all).

We will also study a deeper set of problems that are more theoretical and famously elucidated by Hannah Arendt. First, she discusses how the rights of man and citizen are not actually separate—that there are no inalienable or human rights without citizenship. In fact, she argues that statelessness is caused by increasingly national (or racial) notions of citizenship that include some but exclude others. Statelessness to her is not an accident but a contemporary phenomenon that ensures displaced individuals have no “right to rights.” Indeed, criminals have more rights than the displaced. Pierre Hassner investigates how Arendt’s observations are still largely true, even with the development of the United Nations. As we will discuss, the United Nations is an important organization but is also divided in its mission and it lacks enforcement powers.

After learning about this history, how the United Nations work, and about the emergence and importance of NGOs, we will then consider contemporary conflicts ranging from genocide to economic exploitation and other forms of human rights abuse. We will mix reading with a variety of films and film clips in class. The class will end with student presentations regarding an NGO, explaining how the NGO is working to solve a human rights issue. These presentations will not just be an academic exercise but will also help to focus on positive aspects of civil society and more optimistic politics.

Learning objectives:

1 To learn the fundamental differences between civil rights and human rights, including how and when the human rights regime emerged

2 To be able to understand the key institutions in human rights governance (IGOs) and also the actors and groups in international civil society (NGOs); further, to understand why and how the nation-state poses a problem for any truly supranational governance or justice

3 To be able to critically analyze ideas and debates in this class, including about the positive or negative (or both) effects of humanitarian aid and groups

4 To be able to identify key concepts by the end of this class, including terms like reportage, monitoring, regional, transnational, international, supranational and to understand key debates that continue to challenge the function of the United Nations and any human rights efforts

5 To be able to clearly discuss the political terms we study verbally and in writing

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Please note that support services, including registration assistance and equipment, are available to students with documented disabilities through:

~PLuS Program (for LD, AD/HD) at 773-325-1677 Student Center #370 and/or

~the Office for Students with Disabilities (all other disabilities) at 773-325-1677, Student Center #370

Please also note: this syllabus is provided for informational purposes regarding the anticipated course content and schedule of this course. It is based upon the most recent information available on the date of its issuance and is as accurate and complete as possible. I reserve the right to make any changes I deem necessary and/or appropriate. I will make my best efforts to communicate any changes in the syllabus in a timely manner. Students are responsible for being aware of these changes. I strongly recommend regularly checking the D2L course site.

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Required texts to purchase:

~Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, 3rd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell, 2013), ISBN: 978-0801477706

~Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard University Press, 2010) ISBN: 9780674048720 0674048725 (call: 323.09 M9387U)

~Daniele Archibugi, David Held and Martin Köhler, ed.s *Re-imagining Political Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998)

~all other texts will be on-line or available through the DePaul library website (your i.d. number is required to get the article for free)

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Course Requirements:

~you will be graded on the following:

- a) Two take home exams—the exams will be distributed 10 days (+/-) before they are due; they will be 6-8 pages typed, double spaced—35% each (total: **70%** of grade); endnotes and bibliography should be added to the page count (that is, you are expected to write 6—8 pages of pure text, no footnotes, and the endnotes and biblio will be additional; endnotes with complete bibliographic citations)—1st due: 10/15 (thurs)

Final paper due: Nov 19, 10:00 am, at my office

- b) 10 one page summaries of the reading, assigned below—Times New Roman, 12 point, margins unaltered, double spaced (no extra spaces between paragraphs); no cover pages allowed—(2 pts each) **20 points total (20%)**
- c) Class participation and attendance—**10% of the grade—5% of this will be accounted for in your final presentation**

~failure to meet any of these deadlines can lead to an administrative drop; all students are expected to work in this class

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~*reaction papers:*

~in this class, you are required to write ten (10) one to two page summaries total; they must be turned in at the beginning of class time for the specific texts assigned; absolutely no reactions will be accepted after the last day of class. **You can choose when you write the reactions, except for the MANDATORY reaction regarding Arendt.**

~in these paragraphs, you should analyze the main themes of the readings (What are the main concepts? The most important questions authors raise? What are solutions proposed?)

~make sure you write the reaction after you have read the entire reading;

~the reaction should not be a list but written in prose and it should focus on specific ideas of the author assigned; **if I ask you to write about the ideas of multiple authors, you must write on all authors' arguments and the hardest texts must make up the greatest proportion (e.g. if there is a one-page article added to the reading, you should only discuss that article in one or two sentences)**

~the reaction should not be considered a journal (or a rant) and you do not need to agree (or disagree) with the author's ideas; nor do you need to "outsmart" the author; instead, you want to show that you know how to identify the main themes of the assigned reading and can explain how these concepts are linked; ideally you can suspend your own beliefs and emotions and simply enter into the text; the goal is to show you can "speak the author's language"

~make sure the reaction is readable—if you have trouble writing your paragraphs, DePaul has a writing center that will proofread drafts (by appointment)

~all paragraphs should be double spaced, Times New Roman, with normal margins and no more than one page;

~I expect there to be a learning curve—for example, I expect that if an author is difficult to understand that by the second reading, you understand the text more (because we have gone over it in class and you are now used to the author's language); second, I expect you to respond to feedback on the paragraph

~make sure you discuss ideas only—please do not evaluate the emotional state of the author, "read between the lines" or discuss his or her writing style (unless it is relevant to political theory);

~**using quotes—this is fine, although they should be minimized in a paragraph—you should use quotation marks about the word, phrase or sentence of the author and then give the page number in parentheses; explain all quotes and introduce them in your own words; all terms, special words (concepts), specific facts and direct quotes should be cited with a page number in parentheses**

~plagiarism: any specific words, phrases or sentences from text must have quotation marks around them and the page number should be given; merely changing a letter (for example, Hobbes' "trayne" is changed to "train") or simply changing a few words but retaining the syntax or diction of the author is still plagiarism—you must rephrase the idea entirely and in contemporary language (which includes contemporary spelling and avoiding Old English) to avoid plagiarism; so, for example, using parts of an author's sentence and filling in some of your words is called "mosaic plagiarism"; using a specific word that the author uses but not using quotation marks is plagiarism; or writing as if the idea were your own....

~you will receive a mark of **SAT** (good job), **SAT+** (exceeds expectations—excellent), or **SAT-** (below course requirements)—2 or more **SAT-s** will result in no credit for those and any future paragraphs receiving a **SAT-**. If you do not discuss all authors assigned, you will automatically receive a **SAT-** or **NC** (no credit) depending on the quality of what you did write. Please do not write more than two pages—even if there are multiple authors—you should write a total of two pages per assignment; these should help you to prepare for the exams and maintain focus on the themes for that assignment; finally, make sure that all your ideas are original and not culled from the internet—not only is this cheating, but the information you find will most likely be wrong or highly distorted.

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More specifically: ~attendance: more than one absence will affect your grade negatively—your average attendance will be factored in to the above percentage in addition to participation and written work; only documented absences will be excused at the discretion of the professor
~reading: please do not fall behind on the readings—all are theoretical in nature and cannot simply be read the night before an exam; please bring all readings to class; readings listed on the syllabus should be read by the beginning of that class; please read and interpret these texts yourself and do not rely on information from the internet—much of this information is incorrect
~participation: it is essential that participation is related to the topic at hand; digressions or personal stories do not count towards a grade; second, there must be respect for all opinions in order to have a good class discussion and all discussion must be kept confidential; civility in the classroom is expected at all times

~use of technology during class time—if a student is surfing the web or using his/her cell phone (including texting), s/he will be marked absent for that day; if this happens a second time, the student will be required to meet with the professor to discuss disciplinary measures; cell phones may be put on vibrate as long as they do not distract the class

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some on-line resources:

- ~ReliefWeb <http://reliefweb.int/>
- ~Humanitarian Practice Network <http://www.odihpn.org/>
- ~The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance <http://sites.tufts.edu/jha/>
- ~Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue <http://www.hdcentre.org/>
- ~IRIN Humanitarian News and Analysis www.irinnews.org
- ~United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs www.unocha.org
- ~International Committee of the Red Cross www.icrc.org
- ~Medecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) www.msf.org
- ~Stuff Expat Aid Workers Like <http://stuffexpataidworkerslike.com>

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Course schedule:

week 1 intro to history of HR and what human rights means

1a introduction to class, history, main ideas, vocabulary

9/10 (thurs)

films in class: ~Neuland--<http://www.pbs.org/pov/neuland/full.php>

~ *Paraíso*—short film (in Chicago):

<http://www.pbs.org/pov/paraiso/full.php#.Ve31X33Xsz0>

1b readings (5 total)

9/15 (tues)

~Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice* Ch 2 (pp 24—39)

~UN Declaration of Rights on-line [<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>]

~Moyn, *Last Utopia* prologue (pp 1—10) + epilogue (pp 212—227)

~Samuel Moyn, “On the Genealogy of Morals,” *The Nation*, March 29, 2007, <http://www.thenation.com/article/genealogy-morals#>

~American exceptionalism:

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/torture/themes/geneva.html>

films in class: ~*Neuland*--<http://www.pbs.org/pov/neuland/full.php>

~ *Paraíso*—short film (in Chicago):

<http://www.pbs.org/pov/paraiso/full.php#.Ve31X33Xsz0>

1c readings (2 total)

9/17 (thurs)

~Moyn, *Last Utopia*, ch. 2 (pp 44—83)

~Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights*, ch. 5 (pp 75—92)

films in class: ~*Neuland*--<http://www.pbs.org/pov/neuland/full.php>

~ *Paraíso*—short film (in Chicago):

<http://www.pbs.org/pov/paraiso/full.php#.Ve31X33Xsz0>

week 2 older visions of HR—Arendt

2a readings (2 total)

9/22 (tues)

~Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, ch. 9 (Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man, pp 267—302)—a PDF will be uploaded on D2L or you can walk to the library, get the copy from reserves and read the chapter in the library (only two hours allowed)
MANDATORY REACTION FOR ARENDT READING

~Nick Cumming-Bruce, “Refugees at Level Not Seen Since World War II,” *New York Times*, June 20, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/21/world/refugees-at-levels-not-seen-since-second-world-war.html?smid=fb-share&_r=0

film in class: Hotel Rwanda

2b reading (2 total)

9/24 (thurs)

~Hassner, in *Re-imagining Political Community*, ch 13 (273—286) [13]

~Moyn, *Last Utopia* ch 4 “The Purity of the Struggle” (pp 120—175)

film in class: Hotel Rwanda

week 3 the UN and general background of IGOs

3a reading (5 total)

9/29 (tues)

~Bienen, et al, "Democracy in the United Nations System," ch 14 (pp 287—304) in *Re-Imagining Political Community*

~ Falk, "The United Nations and Cosmopolitan Democracy," ch 15 (pp 309—328) in *Re-Imagining Political Community*

~read these 3 articles on UN webpage:

~the UN in Brief: <http://www.un.org/Overview/uninbrief/about.shtml>

~UN—What the UN Does for Peace: <http://www.un.org/Overview/uninbrief/peace.shtml>

~UN in Brief: Justice, Human Rights and International Law:

<http://www.un.org/Overview/uninbrief/hr.shtml>

film in class: Hotel Rwanda

3b ~readings (4 total)

10/01 (thurs)

~Donnelly, Ch 12—HR and foreign policy (pp 197—216)

~David Held, "Democracy and Globalization," in *Re-Imagining Political Community*—ch 1 (pp 11—27)

~David Beetham, "Human Rights as a Model for Cosmopolitan Democracy," ch 3 (pp 58—71)

~Jonathan Harr, "Lives of the Saints—International Hardship Duty," *New Yorker*, Jan 5, 2009, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/01/05/lives-of-the-saints-2?currentPage=all>

film in class: Ghosts of Rwanda

week 4 civil society/broad issues

4a~ readings (3 total)

10/06 (tues)

~Mary Kaldor, "Reconceptualizing Organized Violence," in *Re-Imagining Political Community*—ch 5 (pp 91—110)

~Andrew Linklater, "Citizenship and Sovereignty in the Post-Westphalian European State," in *Re-Imagining Political Community*—ch 6 (pp 113—137)

~Ian Birrell, "Aid Agencies Have Become Self-Serving Corporations..." *The Guardian*, July 7, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jul/07/aid-corporations-clothing-compassion-msf-charities-south-sudan-syria>

~midterm assignment will be discussed

film in class: Ghosts of Rwanda

4b civil society/NGOs—readings (4 total)

10/08 (thurs)

~Donnelly, Ch 11—HR regimes (pp 161—196)

~Afef Benessaïeh, “Global Civil Society: Speaking in Northern Tongues?” *Latin American Perspectives* 38 (July 21, 2011), <http://lap.sagepub.com/content/38/6/69> (need to get through DePaul Library portal)

~Nick Cumming-Bruce, “Refugees at Level Not Seen Since World War II,” *New York Times*, June 20, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/21/world/refugees-at-levels-not-seen-since-second-world-war.html?smid=fb-share&_r=0 USED

~Philip Gourevitch, “Alms Dealers: Can you Provide Humanitarian Aid Without Facilitating Conflicts?” *New Yorker*, 10/11/2010 (hard to get but it is available on DePaul Library website—if you just type “alms dealers” into the library search engine, the article will come up but you may have to go through the various options offered to you under “view now” before you get the article)

film in class: Ghosts of Rwanda

week 5 civil society and (separately) the United States’ system

5a ~no reading assigned

10/13 (tues)

film in class: The Triumph of Evil

5b~ reading (2 total)

10/15 (thurs)

~Andrew I. Schoenholtz, “Refugee Protection in the United States Post-September 11,” *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 36, no. 2 (2005): 323—364. (please access through DePaul Library portal)

~Eleanor Acer, Tara Magner, “Restoring America’s Commitment to Refugees and Humanitarian Commitment,” *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal* 27 (Spring 2013): at 445. (22 pp of text; **it is on D2L**)

~midterm paper due in class—paper is due on the front table at the beg. of class

film in class: The Triumph of Evil

optional reading:

~Philip G. Schrag, Andrew Schoenholtz, Jaya Ramji-Nogales, James P. Dombach, “Rejecting Refugees: Homeland Security’s Administration of the One-Year Bar to Asylum,” *William and Mary Law Review* 52, no. 3 (2010): 651—804.

~Sébastien Chauvin, Blanca Barcés-Mascareñas, “Beyond Informal Citizenship: The New Moral Economy of Migrant Illegality,” *International Political Sociology* 6, no. 3 (September 2012): 241—259.

week 6 refugees in US and political cases—genocide: Rwanda, Kosovo, Darfur

6a~readings (3 total)

10/20 (tues)

~Donnelly, Ch 15 Humanitarian Intervention Against Genocide—(pp 254—273) (Darfur, Kosovo)

~Samantha Power, “Raising the Cost of Genocide,” *Dissent* 49.2 (Spring 2002): 85—95. (available through DePaul Library portal)

~Samantha Power, “Stopping Genocide and Securing ‘Justice’: Learning by Doing,” *Social Research* 69, no. 4 International Justice, War Crimes, and Terrorism: the U.S. Record (Winter 2002): 1093—1107. (available through DePaul Library portal—use JStor as search engine)

film in class: The Triumph of Evil

6b Rwanda + Kosovo **readings (11 total)**

10/22 (thurs)

~Philip Gourevitch, “Letter From the Archive, the Genocide In Rwanda,” *The New Yorker*, April 4, 2014, <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/backissues/2014/04/letter-from-the-archive-the-genocide-in-rwanda.html>

~Philip Gourevitch, “The Triumph of Evil,” interview, FrontLine, PBS, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/interviews/gourevitch.html>

~Philip Gourevitch, “the Congo Test,” *New Yorker*, June 2, 2003 (available on Depaul library website but same issues—need good search engine)

~Rwanda timeline: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/etc/slaughter.html>

~Kosovo timeline on PBS dot org: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/kosovo/etc/cron.html>

~Kosovo backgroundarticle: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/kosovo/readings/roots.html>

~David Rieff, “Lost Kosovo,” *The New Republic* 22, (May 31, 1999), available through DePaul’s Library portal

~Samantha Power, “Who Knew? The Misreading of Milosevic” *The New Republic*, April 26, 1999 (available through DePaul Portal)

~Samantha Power: <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/news-events/news/news-archive/ghosts-of-kosovo>

~ Mark Webber, “the Kosovo War: A Recapitulation,” *International Affairs*, May 1, 2009: 447—459. (available through DePaul Portal)

~Ivo H. Daalder, Michael E. O’Hanlon, “Unlearning the Lessons of Kosovo,” *Foreign Policy* 116 (Autumn, 1999): 128—140. (available through DePaul Library portal—will take a few steps to get to it—must click on view full text, then year on Foreign Policy Website, then article itself)

film: ~the Triumph of Evil

week 7 classic cases + political cases—more recent—Egyptian Spring, Iraq? Syria, etc.

7a Abu Ghraib, Darfur, the Sudan + Muslims in Europe; **readings (4 ttl) 10/27 (tues)**
~Philip Gourevitch, “Interrogating Torture,” *the New Yorker*, 85, no. 13, (May 11, 2009)
(available on DePaul website but takes a few tries to get a good search engine—Academic Search Complete usually works)—short article

~Darfur: --article from “On Our Watch”: Introduction,
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/darfur/etc/synopsis.html>

~Alison J. Ayers, “Sudan’s Uncivil War: The Global-Historical Constitution of Political Violence,” *Review of African Political Economy* 37, no. 124 (June 2010): 153—171. ~find through DePaul Library portal

~broad article on Muslims in Europe: Yasemin Soysal, “Changing Parameters of Citizenship and Claims-Making: Organized Islam in European Public Spheres,” *Theory and Society* 26, no. 4, August 1991: 509—527.

film: clip on Darfur: On Our Watch, Lisa Ellenwood et al (2007) –can get through I share but not in library; can show part of free through pbs website
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/darfur/view/>

~*film*: Abu Ghraib: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/torture/view/> (90 minutes total)

7b the stateless, **readings (2 total)**

10/29 (thurs)

~Palestinians

~Ilana Feldman, “Difficult Distinctions: Refugee Law, Humanitarian Practice, and Political identification in Gaza,” *Cultural Anthropology* 22.1 (Feb 2007): 129—169. (available through DePaul’s Library portal)

~please find one of the New York Times’ recent headlines regarding the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict (there is a picture with number of mortars fired on each side and with the number of deaths, total)

~Roma

~Eva Sobotka, “Influence of Civil Society Actors on Formulation of Roma Issues within the EU Framework,” *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 18 (2011): 235—256. (DePaul Library portal)—somewhat dry article (sorry)

week 8 statelessness + issues of economic development, Bretton Woods, etc

8a **readings (4 total)**

11/3 (tues)

~Donnelly, Ch 13 (pp 217—234)

~U.N. Press Release, “Globalization and Its Impact on the Full Enjoyment of Human Rights,” June 15, 2000,
http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/demo/Globalization_Oloka-Onyango.Udagama.pdf

~Amartya Sen, “Over 100 Million Women are Missing,” *New York Review of Books*, December 20, 1990, 37(20).

~Nicholas Kristof, “An Idiot’s Guide To Inequality,” *New York Times*, July 23, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/24/opinion/nicholas-kristof-idiots-guide-to-inequality-piketty-capital.html?_r=0

8b FTZ workers, guest-workers—**readings (4 total)**

11/5 (thurs)

~Donnelly, Ch 14 the West and Economic and Social Rights (pp 235—253)

~John Miller, “Why Economists Are Wrong about Sweatshops and the Antisweatshop Movement,” *Challenge* 46 (2003): 93—122

<http://www.fordschool.umich.edu/rsie/acit/Documents/Miller-Challenge.doc>

~Sharon LaFraniere, “Africa’s World of Forced Labor, in a 6-Year-Old’s Eyes,” *New York Times*, Oct. 29, 2006,

http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/29/world/africa/29ghana.html?_r=1

~+ please read article at this link: <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/24/017.html>

week 9 economic issues + secondary cases—culture, sexual orientation, etc.

9a **readings (4 total)**

11/10 (tues)

~Donnelly, Ch 16 Nondiscrimination for all-case of sexual minorities (pp 274—291)

~Karen Musalo, “A Short History of Gender Asylum…” (18 pp)

http://cgrs.uchastings.edu/sites/default/files/short_history_of_gender_asylum_Musalo_2010_0.pdf

~please look at this homepage for the facts of *Matter of Kasinga*:

<http://cgrs.uchastings.edu/our-work/matter-kasinga-1996>

~regarding her case, read: (read from 1073—1088; you can skim the rest of the article, skipping the best practices sections—to get an idea of the current dynamics of FGC/female genital cutting):

http://cgrs.uchastings.edu/sites/default/files/Kasinga%27s_Protection_Undermined_Frydman_Seelinger_2008.pdf

9b **readings (5 total)**

11/12 (thurs)

~Kathleen R. Arnold, article regarding the *Matter of RA* and the *Matter of LR* (article will be posted to D2L)

~Roberta Villalón, “Passage to Citizenship and the Nuances of Agency: Latina Battered Immigrants,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 33 (October 12, 2010): 552—560.

~read the following article on refugee children/unaccompanied minors:

<http://www.nationaljournal.com/domesticpolicy/why-90-000-children-flooding-our-border-is-not-an-immigration-story-20140616>

~ Julia Preston,

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/20/us/rush-to-deport-young-migrants-could-trample-asylum-claims-.html?&hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&version=HpSum&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&_r=3&assetType=nyt_now

~plus brief on unaccompanied minors—read the introduction (my page numbers will be the PDF page numbers—not the numbers on the paper document because they are too hard to see)—introduction is roughly the first ten pages of the document; then read Section 1—from 19—40; then 44—down to sentence on next page (the deadline for children section)—here is the link: http://www.uchastings.edu/centers/cgrs-docs/treacherous_journey_cgrs_kind_report.pdf

week 10 domestic violence + final presentations

10a~final presentations

11/17 (tues)

~discussing one human rights situation (must fit definitions from class) and explanation/presentation of an NGO that is doing something to solve the problem; presentations will be brief (maximum of 5 minutes)—you can use computer visuals and must explain why this group is important (please do not just cite facts)