

# International Journal of Research Publication and Reviews

Journal homepage: www.ijrpr.com ISSN 2582-7421

# The Role of Human Rights in International Trade Agreements and Economic Cooperation

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#### ABSTRACT

The role of human rights in international trade agreements and economic cooperation is crucial for ensuring ethical and sustainable practices. International trade agreements have a significant impact on human rights, and incorporating human rights clauses in these agreements is essential to promote fair trade practices. These clauses aim to address violations of human rights that may occur as a result of trade activities, ensuring that economic development does not come at the expense of basic human rights. Furthermore, human rights impact assessments play a vital role in evaluating the effects of trade agreements on human rights, helping to identify potential risks and benefits associated with such agreements. By emphasizing the importance of human rights in international trade, countries can work towards fostering a more equitable and just global system that prioritizes the well-being of individuals and communities

Keywords: Human Rights, International Trade Agreements and Economic Cooperation

# 1. Introduction

Human rights are universally considered the basic guarantees for all to live in dignity. These rights encompass the right to life, liberty, and personal security, protection against torture or cruel and unusual punishment, and protection against discrimination on such grounds as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Economic, social and cultural rights are equally important, for they are essential to human dignity. The right to work and the right to participate in one's society are essential if people are to attain an adequate standard of living and contribute to economic, social, and cultural development (Al-Qudah et al.2022).

At the national level, international human rights law can most certainly impact trade and commercial policy. However, as a law that purports to be universally binding, the creators and enforcers of international human rights standards have realized the importance of freeing international trade from human rights violations.

The relationship between human rights and trade is complex. Often international trade protection laws such as anti-dumping policies translated into practice the ideal of protectionism. Measures like these have caused many developing nations to argue that international trade is an arena full of discrimination. They argue that policies designed by developed nations that restrict imports are a tool to preserve the wealth of developed nations while exploiting the natural resources and low-cost labor of third-world nations (Aggarwal & Reddie, 2021). This practice at times conflicts with international human rights law, especially the Covenants cited above. In #8 of the General Comments made by the UN committee on economic, social, and cultural rights, the committee stated that the implementation of these rights is impossible in an environment where individuals and groups are not free from discrimination of any kind in the granting or employment of these rights.

Because of this and other reasons, many groups have criticized GATT for numerous human rights violations. Some of these include labor rights violations in the use of sweatshops and child labor, exploitation, and environmental degradation. Though there is much evidence to support these claims, the nature of GATT as an agreement requiring its members to comply with provisions and rulings renders it as an institution that is in theory reformable. The consensus is that international trade can be used as a tool to promote human rights, provided that the trade policies and how they are executed are in tune with international human rights law (Goldstein & Gulotty, 2021). This would involve an exceptional amount of cooperation between high-ranking officials of different sectors, consensus building, and increased solidarity of the international community. This type of atmosphere is beneficial to the promotion of human rights and is in stark contrast to the power politics and wheeling and dealing commonly associated with international relations and trade.

# 2. Overview of International Trade Agreements

International trade has expanded rapidly in the past few years. Foreign direct investment has increased more than trade. To help facilitate this increase in trade and foreign investment, many international trade agreements have been conducted between countries. Some people refer to these agreements as trade blocks, as they involve not only government-to-government agreements but also person-to-person agreements. Some examples of these agreements are the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), Mercosur, and ASEAN (Essandoh et al., 2020). These agreements aim to create a favorable environment for international trade, increase the welfare of member countries, and promote competition among trade blocks. However, some people have concerns about the impact of these agreements on the welfare of member countries, especially considering the overall increase in world trade.

The purpose of international trade agreements is based on several assumptions. One of the most important assumptions is the concept of gains from trade. Gains from trade refer to the increased role of countries in resource allocation and the overall welfare of member countries. According to the Heckscher-Ohlin theory, increased trade leads to a more equal distribution of resources and production between countries, resulting in increased welfare. This theory also applies to the development of products, as countries with different qualities of resources can improve their product quality through trade, leading to increased welfare. However, some of these assumptions have raised concerns about the welfare of member countries, as some agreements have not produced the expected results in terms of international trade.

## 3. Importance of Human Rights in International Trade

Human rights are important in every area of international engagement, including international trade and trade agreements. First, it should be stressed that adherence to human rights is in itself moral and proper and should not require a counter-balancing economic advantage. Nonetheless, it is often necessary to argue the case based on economic and social progress in which the implementation of human rights is a fundamental factor (Kriebitz & Lütge, 2020).

Human rights and trade have had an uneasy relationship. Classical trade theory tended to ignore human rights, assuming that free trade would increase wealth and rights would follow. Modern trade theory recognizes that while this may be true in the long run, in the short to medium term, there may be instances when free trade may exacerbate rights abuses and violations.

The idea that free trade can lead to a short to medium-term worsening of human rights is founded on several concepts. The most simplistic argument is that free trade can act as a substitute for or reduce the need for aid. If we assume that the demand for foreign exchange is price inelastic, a fall in the price of primary products in global markets in comparison with that of manufactured goods will lead to a deterioration in the current account balances of many LEDCs (Gerstle, 2022). This will cause a reduction in living standards and finance for social policies in those countries, thereby exacerbating rights abuses and violations.

# 4. Human Rights Clauses in Trade Agreements

The human rights clause was introduced to protect human rights and introduce some human rights regulations in countries importing from countries that violate human rights. Since this is a "non-issue" area for many countries and many businesses especially, clause language is an interesting issue. The EU, and in particular the European Parliament, has insisted on strong language using words like "essential element" linking trade to human rights performance, though this has had varied success (Deva, 2023).

A good example of a failed linkage was in the Cotonou Agreement where African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries rejected the use of 'essential element', fearing that failure to comply would result in trade sanctions. This resulted in separate agreements on trade and human rights in the various ACP regions and was not a comprehensive human rights clause. This is in contrast to the agreement with South Africa where the clause was deemed an 'essential element', effectively linking trade and human rights performance. Another subjective example was the EU-Chile agreement where the Chileans saw proposed EU human rights clauses as an infringement on national sovereignty and were removed from the agreement at Chile's request (Bartels, 2023).

An example of strong and successful language can be seen in the agreement with Fiji where a linkage of trade preferences to human rights performance has seen threatened suspension of trade preferences due to the abrogation of the Fiji constitution in 2009. The United States takes a different approach to human rights clauses, usually preferring to have said clauses in the preambular sections of agreements (which are generally not legally binding), to avoid justiciable dispute settlement on human rights issues. The US is very reluctant to link these clauses to trade preferences. A firm US stance is cited as a major reason why proposed 'social clause' agreements in the late 1990s, especially between the EU and the US, were ultimately unsuccessful (Carrère et al.2022).

# 5. Impact of Human Rights on Economic Cooperation

International economic agreements whose principal aim is economic cooperation and development may contain human rights provisions that require the parties to respect a specific group of human rights as a means of ensuring the realization of the agreement's economic objectives. Among the reasons economic agreements may include such human rights provisions are: (1) economic asymmetries between parties may undermine the benefits of trade and investment rules, (2) human rights abuses may be the cause of or worsen economic crises or be a barrier to economic recovery, (3) respect for civil and

political and economic, social, and cultural rights may boost economic growth, (4) such human rights provisions may be effective tools for the pursuit of the agreement's economic objectives, (5) the international community's commitment to human rights imposes a restraint on pure market-oriented behavior, and (6) economic and human rights values are joint products or part of a larger single set of values.

Inclusion of these human rights provisions in international economic cooperation agreements is likely to lead to an increase in economic cooperation. First, the prospect of economic cooperation enhances the effectiveness of the promotion of the relevant human rights. Thus, trade benefiting the hierarchy of human rights will initiate support for the realization of economic rights in the respective country (Dou et al., 2021). Second, human rights provisions can be adequately grouped with reservations or limitations, making it easier to win over developing and transition countries to these restrictions. Third, the existence of objective links between respect for the listed human rights and the economic cooperation agreement's goals will facilitate developing and transition countries' acceptance of these provisions.

#### 5.1 Economic Development and Poverty Reduction

Global leadership envisages a world in which all people can work in dignity and realize their potential as individuals and full-fledged members of the world community. It is therefore essential that economic, trade, and investment policies and agreements respect and promote human rights. A prerequisite for this is that nations accept their international human rights commitments as the foundation for the making of such policies (Ruggie, 2020). It then follows that international trade, investment, or any form of economic cooperation will be in full conformity with the body of international human rights treaties. Promoting human rights and the rule of law is both the primary end and means of advancing economic development and creating conditions for trade and investment to thrive. This vision combines international cooperation in the field of economic and trade policies with openness, as well as the willingness to address and support the internal enabling conditions of each nation in the field of human rights. (Dent, 2024)

Trade and human rights are linked with the overarching objective of economic development and poverty reduction. The realization of civil and political rights, as well as economic, social, and cultural rights, with an enabling human rights environment, contributes to sustained development. This would help ensure that benefits from trade are equitably shared. Addressing human rights through trade and economic cooperation will help globalization move in the direction of a more inclusive and equitable process (Zhang et al., 2020). This will advance the universal values upon which the United Nations is built and ensure that economic growth and trade benefit all the people of the world. A development-friendly, pro-poor, and people-centered globalization is a shared vision that is within reach, provided we deploy all policies - economic, trade, and human rights - in mutually supporting and reinforcing ways.

#### 5.2. Labor Rights and Working Conditions

The question of whether labor rights belong to the set of fundamental human rights is a highly disputed issue. Adherents of the neoliberal perspective generally argue that labor rights are essentially different from other human rights and that workers are essentially different from other vulnerable groups, such as children or the mentally handicapped. They argue that no universal standards regarding work and employment can be conceived, and that such standards should be left to each country's discretion. From this perspective, the promotion of labor rights through international trade agreements is seen to be both unnecessary and harmful. Promoting such rights would reduce developing countries' comparative advantages, increase the cost of production, and hence reduce the flow of foreign investment to these countries. In addition, promotion may have the perverse effect of reinforcing nondemocratic regimes. (Rodrigues, 2020)

The presence of a large number of unemployed and underemployed workers in many developing countries has led to intense discussions about the establishment of certain minimum standards regarding working conditions and the right to work. The discussions have taken place both at the national and international levels. At the national level, countries consider enacting and enforcing labor standards for both economic and humanitarian reasons. From an economic perspective, some minimum labor standards are necessary to ensure fair competition, the maintenance of a stable market, and the prevention of a "race-to-the-bottom" in which countries would compete by lowering labor standards (Steinbaum & Stucke, 2020). From a more humanitarian perspective, it is argued that all persons have a right to meaningful work, to conditions of work that respect human dignity, and to adequate working conditions. Humans have material needs as well as a need for self-respect and recognition, and labor is essential for satisfying these needs.

#### 6. Case Studies on Human Rights and Trade Agreements

The first case study discusses China and the implications of free trade agreements on human rights. China and the US are both members of the WTO and thus are under the obligation of MFN agreements. Before China gained MFN status (1979), trade between China and the US was subject to US-sponsored trade sanctions.

In 1971, the US Table Tennis team was invited to compete in China; this was the first US group allowed into China since the 1949 communist revolution. As a sign of goodwill, the Chinese invited the US team to tour several cities. During the visit, the US team and several accompanying journalists were able to witness the sufferings caused by the Chinese leader Mao Zedong's policies, including the Cultural Revolution. When the journalists reported back to the US, it generated enormous sympathy for the Chinese people and created substantial pressure for the US to normalize relations and trade with China (Thothaveesansuk, 2020).

In 1972, President Nixon announced that he had accepted an invitation to visit China. This eventually led to an increase in contact and trade between the two countries, culminating in China gaining MFN status. Since the early 1970s, there has been a huge increase in US investment, trade, and contact with

China. In 1979, China got out of Vietnam and started to normalize relations with the US and other countries. This marked the beginning of the Reforms and Opening period (Hilali, 2020).

In the early 1980s, China sought the establishment of more normal relations with the US when it became increasingly aware of changes taking place in the international system. An agreement was reached vis-à-vis China's regaining of most favored nation status. This status is fundamental to China's involvement in trade agreements with other nations, as MFN forms the principal agreement under which WTO members offer each other trading concessions through reducing tariffs and non-tariff barriers. MFN allows trade between countries to be as predictable as possible, and the most favored status is automatically applied, so it is important in trade relations as it eliminates uncertainty (Dent, 2024).

By the 1990s, negotiations were well underway between the US and China with the intention of China joining the WTO. This eventually happened in December 2001 and has had significant impacts on China's compliance with WTO obligations on a wide range of issues, notably seen during the trade negotiations in 2005-2007 on the US lifting quotas on Chinese textiles. During these negotiations, we can see the intertwined China-US trade relations and increasing Chinese compliance with the international trade system norm.

Coming back to MFN agreements, the status of solely US and China MFN is unclear as it is suggested that since the US established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, China might have received automatic MFN status from successive agreements between the US and Taiwan in early 1980. This would require deeper investigation to clarify and has larger implications for China's relations with other WTO members (GAO, 2021).

# 7. Challenges and Criticisms of Incorporating Human Rights in Trade

The topic of human rights in international trade is often considered from a bias of the development of human rights being a necessary consequence of greater economic development. Therefore, they see the activity of the international trade regime in terms of it being a force for improving the material conditions of life. If this is true, then economic, social, and cultural rights should be promoted by the trade regime. However, the link between greater economic development and the realization of these rights is unclear. Enabling greater wealth to some fifty or so countries in the short history of the World Trading System should be an important social gain, but the global experience of this time suggests that it is often at the cost of higher rates of death, disease, and malnutrition. Human rights violations frequently occur in the course of development, for example, forced eviction from housing, denial of education to girls, or the scapegoating of particular communities for economic ills. Economic and trading activity can be both a cause of these abuses and a camouflage for attempts to avoid responsibility for them.

# 8. The Role of International Organizations in Promoting Human Rights in Trade

International organizations have played a very prominent role in promoting human rights and trade. They have been actively involved in activities aimed at integrating human rights into the various aspects of trade and development work. There are various ways in which international organizations have tried to promote human rights in the sphere of trade. These could be classified into standard setting, regular monitoring, and implementation activities. The most prominent way of integrating human rights into trade has been through including a social clause in an international trade agreement. Here it is argued that for a country to be a member of a trading arrangement, it should be required to maintain certain minimum human rights standards (Coleman et al.2020). This should be seen as a preventive measure to avoid the depreciation of human rights conditions in a particular country as a result of moving to a more liberal trade environment. However, this strategy has been subject to much criticism. Many see it as an overly protectionist measure to maintain the comparative advantage in cheap labor held by developing countries. It has been said that linking trade benefits to human rights performance is counterproductive as it may discourage countries from joining an agreement for fear of not meeting the human rights requirements and being labeled as a rogue state.

# 9. Economic Benefits of Respecting Human Rights

First, what is the role of human rights in international trade and economic cooperation? In the era of globalization, the impacts of these two things are very influential on the standard of human rights in a country. These impacts can be seen directly in macroeconomics, like the decrease in state income, or indirectly, like inflation, unemployment, and increasing poverty numbers. The advocates of human rights in international trade agreements and economic cooperation play a very important role. They ensure that if a country prospers and decreases poverty numbers, it does not damage the basic labor wage standard and also guarantees protection for society from the detrimental impacts of economic policies.

One way to implement this is by convincing countries to create more favorable conditions for international trade, which will boost the economy and improve human rights for various races and economic classes. This aligns with the purpose of international trade itself, which is to increase the standard of life, work, and conditions for all members of society, gradually and mandatorily applying human rights. With the fulfillment of basic human rights, the state of social welfare will be reached. Conversely, if there is a decline in the standard of human rights, it will cause the economy to regress because foreign investment will decrease, ultimately impacting national income. This assumes that the implementation of human rights in international trade starts with the policies applied by each country (Geovani et al.2021).

Secondly, economic cooperation between countries can bring many benefits, such as increased trade, investment, and economic growth. It can also lead to the sharing of knowledge and best practices, and help to address global challenges such as climate change and sustainable development.

Economic cooperation between countries can bring many benefits, such as increased trade, investment, and economic growth.

## 10. Ethical Considerations in International Trade

One of the overarching objectives of this article is to examine and evaluate the extent to which human rights can and should be integrated within international trade agreements and economic cooperation, and the likely role that human rights will play within future international trade regimes. This examination has revealed that there are fundamentally diverging views between different groups and countries about the scope of and should be allocated to human rights issues within the broader context of the international trading system (Ratten, 2020). An analysis of the current trend toward increasing linkage between human rights and international trade, and growing support for the principle of trade sanctions for human rights violations, has led to the conclusion that human rights concerns will likely become an increasingly important issue within international trade in the future.

Given that it is quite likely that human rights considerations will play some meaningful role in future international trade regimes, the final part of this article explores the positive and negative outcomes that human rights integration within trade agreements and the impact of this on the well-being of people within countries at different levels of development. This is an important consideration given the extensive human rights abuses that have occurred in many situations in the past. However, it is at this point that the issue becomes highly complex and contested. The discussion revolves around the liberal view that a well-developed economy is that human rights abuses, such as slave labor and unsafe working conditions, and trade sanctions are a means of breaking comparative advantage in an efficient tool for protectionism of domestic industries and disincentive to move production offshore where costs created by human rights compliance may be higher (Kassouri & Altıntaş, 2020). This results in the potential for trade agreements to have negative welfare impacts in developing countries due to the conditional nature of preferential trading arrangements on human rights improvements and the common linkage of human rights sanctions with the general principle of non-discrimination in trade measures.

#### 11. The Role of Civil Society in Promoting Human Rights in Trade

Although the increased prominence of human rights in the trading system can be attributed to states, they are not the only actors in the international system. Recently, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have emerged as crucial players in the promotion of human rights. Their role has been especially evident in the WTO, an institution that heretofore has traditionally been the domain of state actors. This article posits that civil society has played a vital role in the promotion of human rights, specifically labor rights, through its influence on both state and non-state actors, and by creating a consciousness within the general populace.

# 12. Balancing Trade Interests with Human Rights

International trade and economy are central interests for the nations of the world today. Thousands of trade agreements have been made throughout the last half century to promote economic cooperation between the countries of the world. These agreements are extremely varied in nature, ranging from agreements on commodities, like the International Wheat Agreement, to economic unions, such as the European Union. More often than not, many of these agreements have a detrimental effect on human rights in the countries involved (Rodrigues, 2020). However, some assert that human rights are not incompatible with economics and that there exists a balance that when struck, is mutually beneficial to the economic and human rights interests involved.

One of the main ways that trade agreements and economic cooperation can have negative effects on human rights is in the allocation of rights to corporations vis-à-vis rights to the citizens in the concerned nations. To promote trade and investment, many trade agreements guarantee the rights of foreign investors and foreign corporations that are investing in a given nation, often to a degree that surpasses the rights guaranteed to citizens. This unequal allocation of rights results in less protection for citizens' rights when those rights conflict with the economic interests of foreign investors (Bastiaens & Postnikov, 2020). For example, it has been shown that foreign investment is a causal factor in the various expropriations of land from indigenous peoples in Latin America, as the investment projects of foreign corporations often require large plots of land. The governments in question have in several cases, displaced the indigenous peoples without due process, or provision for fair compensation. This and various other scenarios show that the privileges and protections provided for foreign corporations can directly result in human rights violations. This is problematic in that human rights abuses negate the authority and work of the people in impoverished nations. Corporate interests that impede human rights can only be avoided if there is a global framework that ensures the rights of citizens are never trumped by the economic interests of any group.

# 13. Future Trends and Developments in Human Rights and Trade

Heightened awareness of the importance of an institutionalized relationship between human rights and trade can be expected in upcoming years. Today, there is substantial evidence supporting a relationship between human rights violations and import and export performance. "Economic globalization creates the condition in which a source country can affect the human rights behavior of a host country without having to answer to an electorate." Thus, as the US and other nations negotiate trade agreements, they will eventually begin to realize the extra costs, or benefits in the form of human rights violations, which are associated with certain trade flows. Whether or not this then leads to any change in policy depends on the strength of the incentive, as discussed by the sanction/engagement debate, to change trade patterns that lead to human rights abuse (Abreo et al., 2021). This is a slow and often subtle process, but an increased understanding of the mechanisms that result in human rights improvements due to changes in trade policy can be of great assistance to human rights proponents. In recent years, there has been a proliferation of regional and bilateral trade agreements. Many of these agreements

have included human rights clauses or other conditionality measures tied to preferences. Although confusing comparative research and a break from multilateral liberalization are not necessarily encouraged, regional approaches and preferential agreements can offer a useful testing ground for human rights and trade linkage. This is because regional trade agreements (RTAs) often involve trade-offs between member states on a range of goods. Such specificity is not feasible in multilateral negotiations where trade-offs involve complex issues and may take place between many countries (Lawson & Beckett, 2021). The ability to monitor the impact of specific trade preferences on certain goods can allow for a more accurate assessment of the trade and human rights linkage.

# 14. Conclusion

While states historically have perceived human rights as a domestic issue and resisted the internationalization of human rights principles, the global human rights movement has been successful in asserting the cross-border dimensions of human rights and the need to hold states accountable for their human rights conduct in the conduct of their relations with other states. The approach to human rights in international trade and economic agreements is an example of the contest between the goals of promoting human rights and the goals of promoting economic development and national autonomy in the conduct of domestic policy. While the globalization of the human rights movement has achieved some notable successes in bringing the two regimes closer together, human rights considerations remain a token part of these agreements. Nevertheless, the intrinsic links between human welfare, social justice, and equality, on the one hand, and economic development, on the other, dictate that the two regimes should complement each other rather than fundamentally conflict. Advocates of human rights can potentially advance their cause through the creative use of existing international trade and investment agreements and through the broader goal of integrating human rights concerns into the mainstream of economic policy-making.

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