

# Contents

<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xiii
Introduction: A Ride on the Human Rights Bus	1
<i>Bardo Fassbender and Knut Traisbach</i>	
I. The Journey Begins	6
II. After the Journey	10
III. Before the Next Journey Begins	18
Prologue: Limits and their Varieties	23
<i>Henry J. Steiner</i>	
I. Introduction	23
II. Limits Distinguishing Human Rights from other Fields of International Law	24
III. Legislatures and Courts: Economic and Social Rights and Political Democracy	29
IV. Conclusion: Majestic Ideals, Limited Means	35
 PART I. LIMITS OF IDEAS, LIMITS OF COMMUNITIES: PARADIGMS AND BIASES  	
1. Humanity and the Claim to Self-Evidence	39
<i>Lynn Hunt</i>	
I. 1776 and 1789	39
II. The Cultural Learning Implied by Self-Evident Universal Human Rights	43
III. Limitations	48
2. The Self-Evidence of Human Rights: Origins and Limits of an Idea	55
<i>Bardo Fassbender</i>	
I. The Origins of Self-Evidence	56
II. 'All Men'? The Limits of Self-Evidence	63
III. The Shattered Belief in the Self-Evidence of Human Rights	65

3. Human Rights, Global Justice, and the Limits of Law	69
<i>Kate Nash</i>	
I. Human Rights are Globalizing ...	69
II. ... through States	71
III. Two Sovereignties	74
IV. The Citizen/Human Paradox	75
V. Human Rights are Political	79
4. Human Rights beyond the Double Bind of Sovereignty: A Response to Kate Nash	81
<i>Mark Goodale</i>	
5. Emergencies and Human Rights: A Hobbesian Analysis	89
<i>David Dyzenhaus</i>	
I. Legitimacy, Justification, and Human Rights	93
II. Hobbes and the Basic Legitimation Demand	96
III. Constitutionalism versus Reason of State	101
6. Reason, Faith, and Feelings: A Response to David Dyzenhaus	109
<i>Conor Gearty</i>	
I. The Flight from Reason	109
II. Land	112
III. Community	114
IV. Justification by Faith	116

## PART II. LIMITS OF FUNCTIONS, LIMITS OF USES: ACTORS AND PRACTICES

7. Being a Realist about Human Rights	121
<i>Christian Reus-Smit</i>	
I. Realist Scepticism	122
II. Power and Agency Reconceived	124
III. Orders, Rights, and Uncertainty	126
IV. The New Scepticism	128
V. To Cut a Long Story Short	130
VI. Conclusion	133
8. Political Limits of International Human Rights: A Response (or a Rejoinder) to Christian Reus-Smit	137
<i>Başak Çalı</i>	
I. Realism about International Human Rights: A Simple Story Line	139
II. Modern versus Contemporary International Human Rights: An Even More Complex Story on Political Limits	141

III. Political Limits of Contemporary International Human Rights	142
IV. Conclusion	144
9. Human Rights Bodies and the Structure of Institutional Obligation	147
<i>Jan Klabbers</i>	
I. Introduction	147
II. Human Rights Institutions	150
III. Institutionalization	153
IV. Three Illustrations	157
V. To Conclude	162
10. Dissecting the Institution: A Response to Jan Klabbers	167
<i>Rosa Freedman and Ruth Houghton</i>	
I. Individuals and the Institution	169
II. Institutionalism: The Structure and Function of an Institution	171
11. Differentiating Fundamental Rights and Economic Goals	175
<i>Aryeh Neier</i>	
I. Economic Goals	176
II. Upholding the Rights of the Unpopular	178
III. Conflicts between Economic Goals	179
12. Advocating for Social and Economic Rights—Critical Perspectives: A Response to Aryeh Neier	185
<i>Jeremy Perelman</i>	
I. Conceptual and Pragmatic Considerations: SER as Rights and as Political Strategies	186
A. SER as Rights	186
B. SER as Political Strategies	188
II. SER as Rights and Political Strategies: Responses from the Fields	190
A. The Positivist Answer: SER as International Law	190
B. Theoretical Rejoinders	191
C. Doctrinal Rejoinders: The Structure of Rights and the Respect, Protect, and Fulfil Trilogy	193
III. Revisiting and Transcending Critique: The Limits of the Human Rights Framework and Beyond	195
IV. Conclusion	198

PART III. LIMITS OF SCOPE, LIMITS OF RECOGNITION: THE CASE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS	
13. Between the Margins and the Mainstream: The Case of Women's Rights <i>Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin</i>	205
I. Introduction	205
II. The Human Rights Field	205
III. Women, Peace, and Security	213
IV. Conclusion	219
14. Women's Rights are Human Rights: A Response to Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin from a Chinese Perspective <i>Bai Guimei</i>	223
I. Introduction	223
II. The Margin and Mainstream Discourse	224
III. The Specialist and Generalist Approaches	225
IV. The Family Values Debate	225
V. Women in Armed Conflicts: The Security Council Resolution 1325	227
VI. Article 5 of CEDAW and its Implementation	228
VII. Concluding Remarks	229
15. Women's Progress and Women's Human Rights <i>Martha C. Nussbaum</i>	231
I. Women's Progress: What Does International Law Have to Do with It?	232
II. Does Law Deter Crimes against Women?	236
III. 'Already a Form of Improvement in Itself'	238
IV. CEDAW as a Victory and Midpoint	241
V. CEDAW, the CEDAW Committee, the Protocol, the Recommendations	244
VI. The Limits of International Human Rights Law for Women's Human Rights	246
VII. CEDAW's Modest Contributions	251
16. The Limits of Law: A Response to Martha C. Nussbaum <i>Fareeda Banda</i>	267
I. On Seeing the Unseen: CEDAW and Intersectionality	268
II. Reproductive Rights	270
III. Beyond CEDAW	274
IV. On the Challenge of Measuring Progress	276
V. Conclusion	278

PART IV. LIMITS OF PRAGMATISM, LIMITS	
OF COMPROMISE: THE CASE	
OF ARMED CONFLICT	
17. The Limits of the Laws of War	283
<i>Frédéric Mégret</i>	
I. Contingent Limits	284
A. Lag behind the Reality of War	284
B. Lack of Enforcement	285
C. The Interstate Character of the Regulation of War	286
II. Inherent Limits	288
A. The Limits of Legalism	288
B. The Limits of Compromise	290
C. The Limits of Pragmatism	292
III. Conclusion	294
18. The Banality of Humanity (as an Absolute): A Response to Frédéric Mégret	297
<i>Knut Traisbach</i>	
I. The Limits of Law	298
II. Inherent Limits	299
III. Conclusions	303
19. The Limits of Human Rights in Times of Armed Conflict and Other Situations of Armed Violence	305
<i>Andrew Clapham</i>	
I. Introduction	305
II. Human Rights in Armed Conflict	305
A. A Limited Role for Human Rights in Targeting Decisions?	305
B. A Limited Role for Human Rights in Challenging Internship and Detention?	310
III. Human Rights in Other Situations of Armed Violence	312
A. Human Rights Law for Those Subjected to Targeted Killings by Drones	312
B. Human Rights for Those under the Control of Armed Groups	314
20. The End of the War/Peace Limit on the Application of International Human Rights Law: A Response to Andrew Clapham	319
<i>Yuval Shany</i>	
I. Substantive Expansion	320
II. Institutional Concerns	324
III. Fear of Backlash	326

PART V. LIMITS OF PROSPECTS, LIMITS  
OF MEANS: AN OUTLOOK

21. The Limits of Human Rights in a Moving World—Elements of a Dynamic Approach	331
<i>Mireille Delmas-Marty</i>	
I. Introduction: Limits, Crossing Limits, and Refusing any Limit	331
II. The Limits of 'Reason of State' in Light of the Humanist and Universalist Ideal of Human Rights	334
A. Human Rights or Raison d'État	334
B. Human Rights and Raison d'État: Towards a Common Standard	336
III. The 'Reason of Planet' and Risk Anticipation as Overcoming the Limits of Time	338
A. 'Reason of Planet' as a Limit of Human Rights: The Precautionary Principle	338
B. From Zero Risk to Acceptable Risk: Limiting Limits	340
IV. Does 'Techno-Scientific Reason' Lead to the Refusal of any Limit?	341
A. The Ambivalence of New Technologies	341
B. The Contours of the 'Irreducible Human Core'	342
V. Conclusion	343
22. Where are the Limits of Human Rights? Four Schools, Four Complementary Visions: A Response to Mireille Delmas-Marty	345
<i>Marie-Bénédicte Dembour</i>	
I. The Four-School Human Rights Model	347
II. The Limits of Human Rights According to the Four Schools: Inherent Defects, Limited Results, Specific Domain, Unfortunate 'Mishaps'	350
III. The History of Human Rights as Viewed by the Different Schools	352
IV. Conclusion	354
23. Strategizing for Human Rights: From Ideals to Practice	357
<i>Douglas A. Johnson and Kathryn Sikkink</i>	
I. Context and Background	359
II. What Does It Mean to Strategize?	360
III. Is There a Downside to a More Strategic and Outcome Oriented Human Rights Practice?	360

IV. How to Strategize for a More Effective and Outcome Oriented Human Rights Practice	362
A. Using Tools and Exercises for Strategic Training	365
B. Using Historical and Social Science Research for Training	369
V. Conclusions	372
24. Historical Strategies for Human Rights: A Response to Douglas A. Johnson and Kathryn Sikkink	375
<i>Micheline Ishay</i>	
I. Mapping the Terrain of Human Rights	376
II. Sustaining the Capacity for Change	376
III. Mass Dispersal versus Mass Concentration	377
IV. The Importance of a 'Spectrum of Allies'	377
V. Human Rights Ideology and Strategic Thinking	378
VI. Are Non-Violence Tactics more Likely to Lead to Successful Strategies?	378
VII. When Can We Declare 'Success'?	380
VIII. Conclusion	381
<i>Index</i>	383