# THE CONTENTIOUS HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL BILL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Today, the idea of human rights enjoys near-universal support; yet, there is deep disagreement about what human rights actually are, their true source of origin, how to study them, and how best to address their deficits. In this sweeping historical exploration, Christopher N. J. Roberts traces these contemporary conflicts back to their moments of inception and shows how more than a half century ago, a series of contradictions worked their way into the International Bill of Human Rights, the foundation of the modern system of human rights. By viewing human rights as representations of human relations that emerge from struggle, this book charts a new path into the subject of human rights and offers a novel approach for addressing some of the most challenging contemporary problems.

Christopher N. J. Roberts is an associate professor at the University of Minnesota Law School and an affiliated faculty member of the Department of Sociology. His research spans the areas of human rights, citizenship, social theory, concept formation, and jurisprudence.

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN LAW AND SOCIETY

Cambridge Studies in Law and Society aims to publish the best scholarly work on legal discourse and practice in its social and institutional contexts, combining theoretical insights and empirical research.

The fields that it covers are: studies of law in action; the sociology of law; the anthropology of law; cultural studies of law, including the role of legal discourses in social formations; law and economics; law and politics; and studies of governance. The books consider all forms of legal discourse across societies, rather than being limited to lawyers' discourses alone.

The series editors come from a range of disciplines: academic law; sociolegal studies; sociology; and anthropology. All have been actively involved in teaching and writing about law in context.

Series editors Chris Arup Monash University, Victoria Sally Engle Merry New York University Susan Silbey Massachusetts Institute of Technology

A list of books in the series can be found at the back of this book.

- For Robin -

# THE CONTENTIOUS HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL BILL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

#### **Christopher N. J. Roberts**

University of Minnesota Law School



#### 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/9781107601635

© Christopher N. J. Roberts 2015

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 2015

Printed in the United States of America

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

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data Roberts, Christopher N. J., 1975– author. The Contentious History of the International Bill of Human Rights / Christopher N. J. Roberts. pages cm – (Cambridge studies in law and society) Includes index. ISBN 978-1-107-01463-3 (hardback) – ISBN 978-1-107-60163-5 1. United Nations. General Assembly. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 2. Human rights–History. I. Title. K3238.31948.R63 2014 341.4'8–dc23 2014015720 ISBN 978-1-107-01463-3 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-60163-5 Paperback

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

Preface		page ix
Acknowledgments		xiii
	Introduction	1
1	What Are Human Rights and Where Do They Come From?	19
2	From War and Politics to Human Rights: The Cold War and Colonial Recession	53
3	Protecting State Sovereignty from the "Dangers" of Human Rights	72
4	Saving Empire: The Attempt to Create (Non)-Universal Human Rights	122
5	A Human Rights Treaty that Permits Lynching?	153
6	The United States' Unequivocal Ambivalence toward Socioeconomic Rights	190
	Epilogue	225
Index		231

## PREFACE

The International Bill of Human Rights comprises three principal human rights texts: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. Together, these three documents are the foundation of the modern system of international human rights. Although historians have written volumes on the development of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, much less is known about the creation of the other two-thirds of this human rights triumvirate. Entire swaths of this history have been lost from memory, crucial pieces of the human rights concept have been elided from our minds, and rights-bearers often remain rightless. This book attempts to reconnect them.

THE PALACE THAT STANDS TODAY emerged on the eve of a second Great War. Its two column-laced white wings bolt skyward from the semicircular foundation it inherited from the past. A broad, openair concourse splits the edifice into two halves, with its vast theater ensconced below. It was within this space – the Great Hall of the Palais de Chaillot – that in 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights came into being.

The monumental Palais now shares its history with the foundational text of the modern international system of human rights. The plaza that divides the Palais' twin wings, which is now known as "the esplanade of the rights of man," memorializes the historic achievements of those who breathed life into a concept that is now an organizing principle of the modern world. To celebrate the adoption of the Universal Declaration, the UN established the tenth of December as *Human Rights Day* – a testament to the triumph of a concept that enjoys unparalleled normative strength today, a day to honor those who in the Great Hall of the Palais de Chaillot helped make it so.

Yet there is another side to the venerable ideas, monuments, and history we commemorate - an altogether distinct, unremembered

#### PREFACE

founding story characterized not by celebration and triumph but rather by controversy. Contrary to the tenor of the well-known story of success and consensus that surrounds the Universal Declaration's adoption, there was in fact incredible opposition against the idea of human rights. After World War II, individuals, mainstream groups, nations, conservative leaders, and progressive scholars objected to the emerging idea of human rights for numerous reasons. The hesitations, doubts, and objections that filled the Palais so many years ago, as well as their lasting effects, have gone unobserved and the lessons they offer unheeded by human rights scholars and historians.

Paralleling the historical controversies are the countless contemporary scholarly disagreements about the nature and origins of human rights, how to study them, and how to mend their deficits. Although human rights are held to be a universal good, there has never been anything close to universal agreement about the nature of the concept. And perhaps most seriously, despite the apparent triumph of human rights in the modern world, violations often go unanswered, leaving people separated from their noble words and lofty principles.

THIS BOOK CHARTS A NEW PATH into the subject of human rights – one that offers a new theory of human rights and a new methodology for rigorous empirical study. Human rights are defined not as moral, legal, or political entities but rather as representations of human relations that emerge from struggle. Human rights struggles become the entry point within this exploration. This new path into the subject permits a reengagement with the historical record, which brings to light a previously buried history and shows how the bitter opposition against human rights integrated itself into the human rights concept during its moments of inception. The struggles of an era that has long since passed remain embedded within the concept that the modern world now takes for granted, while the opposition over a half-century later continues to work from within.

This exploration is driven by two basic questions: What are human rights and where do they come from? Without answers to these questions, it is impossible to fully understand the modern world or navigate its ever-shifting frontiers. These questions hold the keys to addressing contemporary violations, locating an appropriate point of departure for their study, and working through the innumerable pressing and unanswered human rights issues of the day.

PREFACE

Whether the human rights story of origins is viewed as one of consensus and triumph or conflict and controversy depends in large part on the answers to these questions. How we define and locate human rights determines which parts of the past and present are seen, and which parts remain shielded from view. As if to offer these thoughts credence, the Palais de Chaillot bears on its outer wall, high above the esplanade, a Delphic inscription that receives all who have entered:

It depends on he who enters Whether I am tomb or treasure-house Whether I speak or am silent The choice is yours alone. Friend, do not enter without desire.<sup>1</sup>

Paul Valery (translated from the French).

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is impossible to name or repay the innumerable debts I have accrued over the life of this project. But to all of those who have helped to make this possible, your thoughts and your sacrifices appear within these pages. My gratitude is infinite. I would like to offer special thanks to Susanna Blumenthal, Christa Daszkiewicz, Katie Deno, Antony Duff, Michele Goodwin, Jennie Green, Oren Gross, Joan Howland, Heidi Kitrosser, Meghan Laffen, Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, Hari Osofsky, Mary Rumsey, Dan Schwarcz, Greg Shaffer, Lanie Skahen, Bob Stein, Suzanne Thorpe, David Weissbrodt, Barbara Welke, David Wippman, as well as the entire faculty and staff at the University of Minnesota Law School for their support.

For valuable comments, suggestions, feedback, and support as this project moved through its various stages, I thank Ely Aharonson, Chris Arup, Avi Astor, Kirk Boyd, Liz Boyle, Tony Chen, Mary Corcoran, Clea Davis, Jennifer Drobac, Mary Dudziak, Lauren Edelman, Zach Elkins, Dan Ernst, Willy Forbath, Barb Frey, Bill Gallagher, Meg Gentes, Tom Ginsburg, Mark Goodale, Ryan Goodman, Rosann Greenspan, Kim Greenwell, Lakshman Guruswamy, Wiltrud Harms, Angela Harris, Maria Herbel, Toni Hetzler, Rob Howse, Rob Jansen, Michael Kennedy, Howard Kimeldorf, Sir Elihu Lauterpacht, Rick Lempert, Camilo Leslie, Sandy Levitsky, Nancy Luxon, Sally Merry, Melissa Michalski, Roger Michalski, Ali Miller, Cal Morrill, Sam Moyn, Jide Nzelibe, Pat Preston, Jothie Rajah, Bob Rasmussen, Luc Reydams, Atef Said, Joachim Savelsberg, Joe Schwartzberg, Kathryn Sikkink, Susan Silbey, Dan Simon, Jonathan Simon, Sarah Song, Michelle Spornhauer, Robin Stryker, Eric Talley, and Mary Vogel. In particular, I thank my editor, John Berger, for his guidance and wealth of patience along the way, and my dissertation committee members, Margaret Somers, Susan Waltz, Elizabeth Anderson, and Kiyo Tsutsui. I would like to especially thank the co-chairs of the committee: Margaret Somers for sharing with me her immeasurable wisdom and counsel, and Susan Waltz for doing the hard work of being an incredible mentor. For valuable research

xiii

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

assistance, I thank Carol Breimeier, Timothy Culver II, Wm Dane DeKrey, Daniel Jensen, Spencer Ptacek, Will Stancil, Isaac Swaiman, Andy Switch, Sara Vakulskas, and all of the library researchers at the University of Minnesota Law School.

I am most grateful for comments received in faculty workshops at the University of Minnesota Law School, the University of Minnesota Sociology Department, the University of Illinois College of Law, the University of Arizona College of Law, and various conferences and gatherings including the Twin Cities Law & Society/Empirical Legal Studies Conference; the American Branch of the International Law Association meeting at Washington University School of Law; the Center for the Study of Law and Society's Roundtable Series at the University of California Law School, Boalt Hall; the University of Michigan's Colloquium Series; the National Science Foundation-funded conference, Rights and Their Translation into Practice, at the University of Arizona; the Law and Society Summer Institute in Amherst, MA; the Society for Comparative Research meeting in Budapest, Hungary; and numerous meetings convened by the Law and Society Association, the American Sociological Association, and the American Political Science Association. I am equally grateful for the valuable insights offered by the students in my Citizenship & Human Rights course at the University of Minnesota Law School, and for funding from the University of Minnesota Law School and the University of Michigan's Sociology Department, the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy, Rackham Graduate School, and the Nonprofit & Public Management Center at the University of Michigan. I would like to offer a special thanks to the Berkeley Law School and the Center for the Study of Law and Society for providing institutional support and allowing me to tap the wealth of creative synergies while I was in residence as a visiting scholar. I would also like to thank all of those whose names do not appear here, yet have focused upon me their friendship, intellectual energy, and support.

My friends and family, you have endured this process, yet persevered, always by my side. Deane, Paul, Suzanne, Karen, Bobby, and Quinn, I thank you for your patience, encouragement, and care along the way. My mother, Carolyn, and sisters, Bridget and Anne, you are my foundation (Daddy, I know you are smiling). Robin, to thank you for your undying support, endless sacrifice, and eternal love, there are not words enough.