Contents

Acknowledgments xi

Introduction: After Exception 1
Shifting the Question 5
Overview 6
Part I Theories of Containment 6
Part II Practices of Containment 8
Part III Consequences of Containment 12
Horizons of Containment 13

Part I: Theories of Containment

1 An Introduction to the Background Theoretical Problem:
The Paradox and Its Paradigmatic Solutions 17
The Background Theoretical Question: Can Law Constrain
Emergency Measures? 17
The Post-9/11 Emergency Powers Debate 21
Extralegal, Legal, and Dictatorship Answers: The
Paradigmatic Responses to the Problem of Containment 24
Conclusion 39

2 The Legacy of the Models in the Legal
Politics of Emergencies 41
From Models to Mechanisms 41
On Dictatorship 42
From Prerogative to Martial Law and Suspension Acts in
the Common Law Tradition 43
Table of Contents

Part I: The State of Siege and Exception

The State of Siege in the French Tradition 45
The State of Exception in the German Tradition 46
From Mechanisms to the “Emergency Paradigm” 48
Conclusion 52

Part II: Practices of Containment

3 The Legal Politics of Definitions: Article 15 Derogations in the House of Lords 57
The Belmarsh Case and the Politics of Defining the Indefinable 58
What Is an Emergency? 60
Article 15 of the ECHR and the Belmarsh Answer to the Indefinable 76
Belmarsh: A Window to an Alternative Politics of Definitions 91
Conclusion 119

4 The Legal Politics of Authorization: The Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) in the U.S. Executive and the Joint Committee on Human Rights (JCHR) in the U.K. Parliament 122
Overview 123
The Problem of Authorization and the Politics of Power and Constraint 125
The Problem of Authorization and the Alternative Politics of Institutional Competence 129
Distribution of Powers to Respond in the US and in the UK Post-9/11 130
The OLC and the JCHR: Roles and Capabilities of Institutional Actors in Different Authorization Structures 138
Conclusion 174

5 The Legal Politics of Jurisdiction: Regional Intervention in a Domestic Disaster, Cyclone Nargis in 2008 176
Making Sense of Evolving Regional Capabilities 177
Emergencies and the Problem of Jurisdiction 179
The Event and its Jurisdictional Politics: Creating a Humanitarian Space 180
ASEAN: The Regional Intervention 196
Conclusion 213
Contents

6 The Legal Politics of Time and Temporality: Ticking Time in the Israeli Supreme Court 218
  The Exceptional Time Frame 221
  The Ticking-Bomb Scenario: Torture's Exceptional Time 225
  Torture Beyond Exceptional Time: Timelines and Time Frames in the 1999 Israeli Supreme Court Decision 232
  Conclusion 255

Part III: Consequences of Containment

7 The Legal Politics of Change and Continuity in Emergencies 261
  Three Traditions and their Distinct Narratives of Change in Emergencies 261
  Two Examples: January 1827 and September 2011 271
  Conclusion 280

8 Horizons of Containment: A Dialectical Process Story of Emergencies and Change 282
  Bridging over Two Historical Narratives about Crisis and Change 283
  Analysis: Disaster Relief Precedents in Early Congressional Debates about Response to the Great Depression 288
  Conclusion 308

  Epilogue: The Process of Emergency 311

Index 319