This book explores the fluctuating relationship between human rights and humanitarianism. For most of their lives, human rights and humanitarianism have been distant cousins. Humanitarianism focused on situations in faraway places dealing with large-scale loss of life that demanded urgent attention while human rights advanced the cause of individual liberty and equality at home. However, the twentieth century saw the two coming much more directly into dialogue, particularly following the end of the Cold War, as both began working in war zones and post-conflict situations. Leading scholars probe how the shifting meanings of human rights and humanitarianism converge and diverge from a variety of disciplinary perspectives ranging from philosophical inquiries that consider whether and how differences are constructed at the level of ethics, obligations, and duties, to historical inquiries that attempt to locate core differences within and between historical periods, and to practice-oriented perspectives that suggest how differences are created and recreated in response to concrete problems and through different kinds of organized activities with different goals and meanings.

Michael N. Barnett is University Professor of International Affairs and Political Science at the George Washington University. He has written critically acclaimed books on global ethics, humanitarian intervention, and humanitarianism, including *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (2002) and *Empire of Humanity* (2012), and edited *Paternalism Beyond Borders* (2016).
Human Rights in History

Edited by

Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, University of California, Berkeley
Samuel Moyn, Yale University, Connecticut

This series showcases new scholarship exploring the backgrounds of human rights today. With an open-ended chronology and international perspective, the series seeks works attentive to the surprises and contingencies in the historical origins and legacies of human rights ideals and interventions. Books in the series will focus not only on the intellectual antecedents and foundations of human rights, but also on the incorporation of the concept by movements, nation-states, international governance, and transnational law.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at:
www.cambridge.org/human-rights-history
Humanitarianism and Human Rights

A World of Differences?

Edited by

Michael N. Barnett

George Washington University, Washington DC
## Contents

*List of Contributors*  
*Acknowledgments*  
Page vii  
viii

**Introduction: Worlds of Difference**  
Michael N. Barnett  
1

### Part I Differences or Distinctions?

1. **Human Rights and Humanitarianization**  
   Samuel Moyn  
   33

2. **Suffering and Status**  
   Jeffrey Flynn  
   49

3. **Humanitarianism and Human Rights in Morality and Practice**  
   Charles R. Beitz  
   71

4. **For a Fleeting Moment: The Short, Happy Life of Modern Humanism**  
   Stephen Hopgood  
   89

### Part II Practices

5. **Humanitarian Governance and the Circumvention of Revolutionary Human Rights in the British Empire**  
   Alan Lester  
   107

6. **Humanitarian Intervention as an Entangled History of Humanitarianism and Human Rights**  
   Fabian Klose  
   127
Contents

7 Mobilizing Emotions: Shame, Victimhood, and Agency
   BRONWYN LEEBAW
   140

8 At Odds? Human Rights and Humanitarian Approaches to Violence Against Women During Conflict
   AISLING SWAINE
   160

9 Innocence: Shaping the Concept and Practice of Humanity
   MIRIAM TICKTIN
   185

10 Reckoning with Time: Vexed Temporalities in Human Rights and Humanitarianism
    ILANA FELDMAN
    203

11 Between the Border and a Hard Place: Negotiating Protection and Humanitarian Aid after the Genocide in Cambodia, 1979–1999
    BERTRAND TAITHE
    219

    Conclusion: Practices of Humanity
    MICHAEL N. BARNETT
    235

Notes
   252
Bibliography
   286
Index
   330
Contributors

M I C H A E L  N. B A R N E T T is University Professor of International Affairs and Political Science at the George Washington University.

C H A R L E S  B E I T Z is the Edwards S. Sanford Professor of Politics at Princeton University.

I L A N A  F E L D M A N is Professor of Anthropology, History, and International Affairs at the George Washington University.

J E F F R E Y  F L Y N N is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Fordham University.

S T E P H E N  H O P G O O D is Professor of International Relations at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

F A B I A N  K L O S E is Professor of International History at the University of Cologne.

B R O N W Y N  L E E B A W is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California-Riverside.

A L A N  L E S T E R is Professor of Geography at the University of Sussex.

S A M U E L  M O Y N is the Henry Luce Professor of Jurisprudence at the Yale Law School and Professor of History at Yale University.

A I S L I N G  S W A I N E is Professor of Gender Studies at the School of Social Policy, Social Work and Social Justice at University College Dublin.

B E R T R A N D  T A I T H E is Professor of History and the Executive Director of the Humanitarian and Conflict Response Unit at the University of Manchester.

M I R I A M  T I C K T I N is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the New School for Social Research.
Acknowledgments

My first thanks go to those who contributed to the volume and participated in the two workshops at George Washington University. In addition to those who wrote, I want to thank the following for their commentary and contributions: Susanna Campbell, Daniel Cohen, Ruti Teitel, Kathryn Sikkink, Bill Luban, Melani Macalester, and a huge thanks and debt of gratitude to Sally Engle Merry. I also benefited from presentations given at various institutions and conferences on the topic: University of Minnesota; University of Sydney; a conference on the history of the ICRC at the University of Adelaide; a presentation at a conference on the history of humanitarianism at the Leibniz Institute of European History, Mainz; and the University of Washington. Although he declined to review the book for Cornell University Press, Roger Haydon provided some exceptional suggestions that strengthened the manuscript and made it more likely to survive the review process at Cambridge. The volume also benefited considerably from the trenchant reading by and suggestions from two anonymous reviewers, and Samuel Moyn and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffman, the editors of the series in which this book appears. Last but hardly least, Danielle Gilbert helped organize the two workshops at GWU. It is fair to say that none of this would have been possible without her, in part because I never would have organized a conference on my own.

Much like humanitarianism and human rights, all the good thoughts, hard work, and compassionate criticism would not have been possible without a donor with money. The generous donor in this case is the Office of the Provost at the George Washington University, which provides the funds for the university professorship that I am able to use for events such as the ones that made possible this volume.

Lastly, thanks to Michael Watson and Emily Sharp at Cambridge University Press for expertly shepherding the manuscript through the entire process.