

Contents

1 A World Without Rights.....	1
Everyday Life in the Middle Ages.....	1
Apocalyptic Horseman I: Famine	2
Apocalyptic Horseman II: Plague	6
Apocalyptic Horseman III: War.....	8
The Mafia World of the Middle Ages	13
Human and Beast: Worlds of Similitude.....	19
Asking Questions: The Courts and Torture.....	25
A Myopic World: Humanity Stops at the Stile	30
Germs of an Idea: Universal Humanity	33
Pie in the Sky	38
Justice Is Nowhere	43
Conclusions.....	44
2 Eyes Turned Heavenwards.....	45
Continuity and Change	45
The Reformation and the Individual	47
The New Social Contract.....	50
A National-Popular Rule of Law	53
The Common Law	56
The Dutch Model	58
The British Version	64
Belonging to the Church	69
The Bill of Rights.....	72
The First Milestone	73
Hobbes	77
The Popular Sovereign or the Sovereign People.....	78
No Rights for Those Who Not Belong to the Nation.....	80
Sectaries and Other Dissidents.....	84
Rights in International Spaces: Grotius	88

Exporting the National-Popular Rule of Law: 1689 and America.....	93
American Particularism	95
Conclusions.....	103
3 When the World Was New	107
When the World Was New	109
Discovering the Other: The Americas	112
Mildness: A Feminine Virtue.....	116
The Other and International Law.....	117
Imperialism: A Denial of Rights for All Humans.....	122
Learning from the Other: India	126
India Before the Raj	128
Suttee.....	129
Learning from the Other: China.....	135
Learning from the Other: Chinese Thought.....	142
Conclusions.....	145
4 The Open Republic or Kafka's Doorman.....	147
Early French Criticism of Locke.....	148
The Absolute Monarchy and Rights	151
The New Bourgeoisie and National-Popular Rights.....	158
The Peasant Majority and Rights.....	164
Towards the Democratic National Model of Rights	168
The Etats Généraux and Rights.....	173
Universal Human Rights for the First Time.....	176
Conclusions.....	184
5 Jack Is Master in His Own House: The Triumph of the Nation.....	185
Rights and the French Citizen.....	185
Robespierre, Jacobinism and the National-Popular Revolution	188
The Beginning of the End	197
Two Steps Backwards	202
Nationalism Ends British Liberties	204
Exporting Rights at Bayonet Point	209
The Napoleonic Reaction.....	212
Italy and Rights	214
Rights and Cultural Difference	215
The Parthenopean Republic and Rights	216
Hegemony and Universal Human Rights.....	218
Peoples and Nations	228
Conclusions.....	230
6 Rousseau	233
Universal Human Rights and the Revolution:	
The Conservative Orthodoxy	239
Rousseau and Hegemony	240

Rousseau and Democracy	247
Rousseau and Human Rights	250
Conclusions.....	254
7 Human Rights and the Working Class.....	257
The Contradictions of the National-Popular	257
Global Migration.....	260
The Stake-Less Sufferers: The Working Class after 1815.....	262
Parliamentary Reform and the Workers.....	265
France.....	266
Britain	269
Nationalism and the Working Class.....	271
France and the June Revolution of 1848.....	272
National Rights for the Working Class	276
Going it Alone: Trade Unions.....	277
Conclusions.....	286
8 The Excluded: Women.....	287
National Popular Democracy and Women.....	287
Women and the 1789 Declaration.....	288
Womens' Rights Cross the Channel.....	297
New Worlds and Old Standards	306
Conclusions.....	314
9 The Excluded: Slaves.....	317
Another Kind of Slavery?	317
Slavery	322
Haiti.....	327
Latin America	333
The United States.....	338
Abraham Lincoln	341
The Rights of Slaves: The British Model.....	347
Towards Separate Development.....	351
Sending Outsiders "Home": Early Ethnic Cleansing.....	352
Conclusions.....	355
10 It Could Happen to Us: The Uniting Force of Genocide	357
Ethnocide in the United States and Australia	357
Australia.....	364
Democratic Murderers	366
Genocide in the Vendée	367
National Liberation in the Balkans	373
The Rise of Slav Nationalism	375
Turkey	377
The Bulgarian Massacres.....	378
The Genocide of the Armenians 1895–1918	381

Lessons of Armenia	387
The Final Solution of National-Socialism	388
The Holocaust	390
Conclusions.....	392
11 Human Rights in the Nineteenth Century.....	395
A Spreading Stain: Rights from France	395
Marxism, Internationalism and Rights.....	398
Global Reach.....	400
Lessons Learned.....	404
Excavating the Rights of Man.....	407
France from Nationalism to Anti-semitism	408
The Dreyfus Case.....	411
Private Justice and Human Rights.....	416
Tehlirian	417
Mandelstham, Frangulis and Universal Rights.....	418
Franz Bernheim.....	419
Lemkin and Genocide	421
Reviving the Tradition	424
Winning Over the Rest.....	425
A Civic Education in Human Rights.....	427
Conclusions.....	430
12 Fathering the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.....	431
Limits to National Rules of Law.....	431
Challenges to the Rule of Law	432
Nationalism and Genocide: A New Look	434
The Legacy of the War.....	436
The Main Players	440
The Second Division.....	442
Drafting the Declaration	446
Genocide	451
Hersch Lauterpacht	453
René Cassin.....	455
Cassin's Sources.....	457
The Order of the Declaration	461
Cassin's Draft.....	462
National Sovereignty and Politics of Rights	463
The Latin American Tradition and Universality	466
Rereading Cassin	466
Two Traditions Converge	468
Conclusions.....	469

Contents	xiii
Epilogue	471
Drafting the Convention.....	472
Diehard Nations	477
France	480
Universalism v Nationalism: A Continuing Struggle	481
Bibliography	483
Archival, Reference and Official Sources	483
Case Law	483
Books and Articles	484
Author Index.....	509
Subject Index.....	513